

For, although he had been in the Nixon White House, Nofziger was never of it. He had come to politics as Ronald Reagan's press secretary in Sacramento, a conservative true believer portrayed by one liberal West Coast cartoonist as playing a rotund Sancho Panza to Reagan's angular Don Quixote. And it was as one of the original Reaganauts, first on the presidential campaign trail, then in the Reagan White House, that he secured his reputation as one of the most skilled operatives on the modern political scene—though not without mixed feelings about the game he played.

"Politics is a strange business," writes

Nofziger in an uncharacteristically dour mood. "No hard and fast rules, few loyalties, no lasting gratitude." Nofziger gives those words of caution as the moral to a story he tells about a well-known United States senator who, having asked and received numerous favors from Ronald Reagan, repaid the debt by turning his back on his benefactor when needed.

The ingrate's name? You'll have to buy the book to find out. I am, as I say, the author's friend, and the fact that he pulls no punches and spares no names is the juice that makes *Nofziger* a read well worth the price. □

THE CLAWS OF THE DRAGON: KANG SHENG—THE EVIL GENIUS BEHIND MAO— AND HIS LEGACY OF TERROR IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

John Byron and Robert Pack

Simon & Schuster / 560 pages / \$27.50

reviewed by WILLIAM MCGURN

In the early spring of 1927, Shanghai's Communists were sitting pretty. After two abortive uprisings against the city's warlord establishment, a general strike timed to take advantage of the approach of the Nationalist Kuomintang Army—the Communists and the KMT were then still allied—led to their capture of the Chinese sections of the city. With most of Chiang Kai-shek's partisans bogged down in the provisional capital of Nanking, the Communists were in an excellent position to present their brother revolutionaries in the KMT with a fait accompli in Shanghai.

Or so they thought. Less than two weeks after they had seized control, Chiang availed himself of the services of

a prominent local hoodlum whose goons set out in force to root out and destroy Chiang's erstwhile Communist allies. This is the "White Terror" of the history books, and it would last until the Japanese invasion a decade later.

Perhaps the most notorious incident in this campaign was the January 1931 arrest in the International Settlement of a faction of Chinese Communists led by He Mengxiong. Inasmuch as the arrest had occurred in the foreign-run concessions, there were certain legal formalities in turning them over to the Chinese courts. Once these were dispensed with, the Communists were handed over to the KMT, who then transferred them to a prison on the outskirts of Shanghai. There two dozen of them—twenty-one men and three women—were told they would be transported to Nanking for trial. Marched out of the prison yard in chains, they instead found themselves before a KMT judge, who barked out a summary death sentence. They died

singing the *Internationale* as a firing squad did its work.

Despite efforts to keep the massacre secret, news leaked out. For among those executed were five prominent local poets and authors. The foreign press in particular made big play of the "Five Martyrs," suggesting that the KMT was pursuing a general suppression of artists. Among the 104 American authors who protested "the torture and execution of writers in China for their political opinions" were Sinclair Lewis, Robert Frost, Thornton Wilder, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Theodore Dreiser, Will Durant, Lewis Mumford, John Dewey, Edmund Wilson, and Malcolm Cowley.

The killings brought international opprobrium on the KMT. But there was one hitch. The man responsible for their arrest was neither freelance warlord nor KMT officer. In fact, he was a member of the Communist Central Committee, and he'd turned over the information about He Mengxiong and the Five Martyrs to the foreign and KMT police because they belonged to a faction trying to wrest control of the Party from the Soviet-directed Comintern. His name was Kang Sheng.

He Mengxiong was not the first comrade Kang Sheng turned on, and he would by no means be the last. Virtually unknown in the West, Kang Sheng was China's answer to Feliks Dzerzhinsky, founder of the forerunner of the KGB. Over the course of almost five decades his name was synonymous with terror in China, even more inside the Party than outside. *The Claws of the Dragon*, by a former diplomat writing under the pseudonym John Byron and by journalist Robert Pack, is his story, based on an internal Communist Party biography intended to heap blame on Kang for most past Communist depredations, a copy of which was leaked to Byron in Peking in 1983. Kang, say the authors, was the "evil genius" behind Mao and in his life can be found "the missing pieces in many of the jigsaw puzzles of twentieth-century China."

Like many a mandarin in the worker's state, Kang was no beer-hall Bolshevik. He possessed a keen eye for antiquities, and excelled at painting and Chinese script; indeed, he had the exceptionally rare talent of wielding the calligrapher's brush with his left as well as his right

William McGurn, who recently returned to Hong Kong as senior editor of the Far East Economic Review, is the author of Perfidious Albion: The Abandonment of Hong Kong 1997 (Ethics and Public Policy Center).

hand. He indulged in his predilection for classic erotica, particularly the theater. Like Mao, he did not scruple to pillage the best of what others had done for his own private collection. When in the summer of 1980 Party officials put the cream of his private collection on display in an effort to discredit his name five years after his death, it included 12,080 rare books and 1,102 antiques and artifacts. Kang, say Byron and Pack, “was a match for the Borgias both in aesthetic refinement and in cruelty and deceit.”

One thing Kang did not have in his pedigree, however, was the Long March. His Party career had begun in Shanghai, where he rose swiftly in the Communist underground. Intimately involved in most of the landmark events of the Party’s early years—the anti-British protests of 1925, the urban uprisings the next two years, and the battle with the KMT that began in 1927—Kang courted imprisonment, torture, and death. Later, in a foretaste of things to come, he would in 1931 assume control of and ultimately bring badly needed discipline to a Communist underground riven with double agents and informants.

For all his successes in Shanghai it appears that Kang did not escape arrest himself in 1930. While the authors present no evidence that Kang betrayed his comrades as a result, they do show that he went to considerable lengths to erase any trace of it. Given the number of agents and double agents in their midst, the news that he had been detained would have been enough to leave Kang suspect in Communist circles—and it certainly could have been used against him by rivals. In 1967 he destroyed the more than ninety pages found in KMT archives in Shanghai that dealt with him.

Yet the arrest did not seem to hurt him, for in 1933 Kang went to Moscow as part of the Chinese contingent to the Comintern. He stayed in the Hotel Lux with other foreign believers, among them Yugoslavia’s Josip Broz, the future Marshal Tito, and ran into fellow travelers such as the American journalist Agnes Smedley. A number of KMT members were also in Moscow at the time, including, ironically, Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek and the man responsible for setting Taiwan

on its present course toward full democratization. But it was also the time of the Trotsky-Stalin rift, and at this point Kang was firmly on Stalin’s side.

Kang’s patron in Moscow was a young revolutionary named Wang Ming. In his early days in Shanghai, Kang had twice disciplined Wang for breaches of security, but when the Soviets anointed Wang as the man to bring the Marxist Gospel to China, Kang immediately turned into a Wang toady. That helped him immensely in Moscow, but in China at the same time events were transpiring that would shake the Party leadership from top to bottom. The KMT crackdown on the Communists had forced the Red Army into its Long



March, out of which Mao Zedong emerged as the pre-eminent (if not unchallenged) leader of the Communist movement in China. In short, Kang’s patron was losing out to a man whom Kang had never even met. That could not have been welcome news to an ambitious young cadre—in Moscow, Kang had tried to keep locals in the dark about Mao’s ascendancy—but it did not prove an immense obstacle, either. He would simply switch sides again when Wang was going down.

Not that Kang’s time in Moscow had been wasted. In close co-operation with the NKVD, he purged many of the “counterrevolutionaries” among the Chinese contingent. Though he would later boast

that the Russians had taught him nothing, he never forgot key lessons in administration. When named head of the Chinese Party’s “Social Affairs” Department, for example, he immediately began reorganizing it along Soviet lines. “The Social Affairs Department integrated the two classic functions of secret services,” write Byron and Pack, “conducting counterespionage and countersubversion, as well as collecting intelligence by all available means about the Party’s enemies, both external and internal.” Throughout his career he would eliminate rivals by first whipping up hysteria, whether over “Japanese spies,” “KMT agents” “renegades,” or whatnot.

Kang’s return to China was precipitated by the outbreak of full-scale war with Japan, Stalin hoping that Kang and Wang would help consolidate the united KMT-Communist Party front he’d been urging. In November 1937, a Soviet plane carrying the two men touched down in Yan’an, a small town in North China where the survivors of the Long March lived in caves cut out of the brown mountain cliffs and operated their own provisional capital. When not purging landlords—he had cut a hole in the nose of one and paraded him through the city—he was busy taking a measure of his own situation, and so within a year of his arrival he abandoned Wang for Mao. In this he was abetted by an old friend, the willowy Jiang Qing, an actress with whom the Chairman had become infatuated. Kang had known Jiang since her childhood, and Byron and Pack repeat longstanding rumors that they were once lovers. When Mao’s affair with Jiang became an issue in the then-puritan Party in 1938, Kang vouched for Jiang and earned Mao’s gratitude. He was rewarded with command of the secret service.

The Jiang-Kang alliance was to have disastrous consequences for China during the Cultural Revolution, and had he not died in 1975 it’s likely that the trial would have been for the Gang of Five, not the Gang of Four. Essentially, Kang’s success lay in anticipating Mao’s whims (particularly when they involved bringing down real or perceived rivals) and then acting decisively to satisfy them. Documentary evidence links his name with the deaths of 30,000 people between 1966-70 alone, and the authors

(continued on page 79)

CLASSIFIEDS

SITUATIONS WANTED

POLITICAL CARTOONIST seeks front-line duty in America's cultural war. Gregory J. Cook, 619 Arizona, El Paso, Tx. 79902.

PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANT

Do you need a cheerful, experienced, educated, articulate initiator to help you organize your schedule and manage your general business? Please call Karen Proctor, 212-979-5515.

BOOKS

PRESIDENTIAL BIOGRAPHIES. Send 29¢ stamp for monthly listing of available titles. New & out-of-print books. American Political Biography, B-39 Boggs Hill Road, Newtown, CT 06470.

Bargain Books

Save up to 80% on publishers' overstocks, imports, remainders. Choose from up to 8,000 titles including 600-1,500 new arrivals each month. Politics, Biography, History, Literature, Science, Nature, Gardening, Cooking—something for everyone. Fast shipment, moneyback guarantee. Write for **FREE CATALOG** Hamilton Box 15-769, Falls Village CT 06031.

BOOKMINE

OLD & RARE BOOKS

Bought • Sold • Searched

1015 2nd Street Steve Mauer
Old Sacramento, California 95814 Daily 10-5
Fax (916) 441-2019 Thurs.-Sat. till 9
E-mail Books4U@AOL.COM (916) 441-4609

MEDIA DISTORTS CONVENTION

That's one headline you won't see on the nightly news. Find out what they **REALLY** said.

FULL Text of speeches by: Reagan, Buchanan, Bush, Quayle, Kemp, Ford, Gram, and Martin.

Only \$19.95 + \$2 s/h. Shipped within 48 hours. Adam Stein, 126 Calvert Ave. E., Edison, NJ 08820

JAYNE'S BOOKSEARCH

OLD & RARE BOOKS

Bought • Used • Sold • Searched

325 Haverford Ave., #B-6 Adam Kaplan, Prop.
Norberth, PA 19072 Open 9-5:30
(215)664-6816 Monday-Saturday

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK

At A Price You Can Afford!

\$1.97 Trim Size: 5 1/2" x 8 1/2"
EACH for 500 copies, 96 pg.,
Perfect Bound book.

From \$529. Write for Price List.
PROFESSIONAL PRESS
P.O. Box 3581 • Chapel Hill, NC 27515-3581

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

HELP! NEED LEADERS for Marketing national consumer-savings network endorsed by Dr. Pat Robertson. 800-377-3227.

EDUCATION/INSTRUCTION

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS RECOVERY CLINIC. 3716 Old Santa Fe Tr. Santa Fe, NM 87505.


UNIVERSITY DEGREES Without Classes! Accredited Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorates. Job/Life Experience Recognized. Free Revealing Facts, Thorson-AS11, Box 470886, Tulsa, OK 74147.

CHADWICK UNIVERSITY offers B.S. and M.B.A. degree programs in Business Administration by Home Study. **FREE** information. 800-767-2423

\$\$\$ CASH FOR COLLEGE \$\$\$ Computer Database will find financial aid for you, or money back!! (800) 831-1878.

MERCHANDISE

NIETZSCHE
T-SHIRTS*TANK-TOPS*SHORTS
With NIETZSCHE barbell squatting & quote: "WHAT DOESN'T KILL ME, MAKES ME STRONGER."
Shirts: Grey w/ Black logo, LG & EX-LG
Shorts: Black w/ White logo, MED & LG
\$15 (ppd). Nietzsche Gym, Dept. TAS,
P.O. Box 447, Athens, GA 30603



REPUBLICANS

Conservatism is on the rise!

Show your Republican spirit by purchasing the

TIME TO KICK SOME **@!

Coffee Mug



Send 6.95 + 3.95 S/H

To: MUG 7139 Hwy 85, #208
Riverdale, GA 30274

Red & blue
on white
T-shirt.

NUKE
HILLARY

© NL Press '92

RUSS
WHO?

Green &
black
on white
T-shirt.

\$14.50 per shirt plus \$2.50 for shipping.
Size: L, XL, XXL (add \$1.00 for XXL).
Volume discount available. Fax orders
shipped C.O.D. Fax 803-233-8605

NL Press, P.O. Box 672
Travelers Rest, SC 29690

MERCHANDISE

SURPRISE YOUR WIFE with a gift she really wants: splendid 14-karat gold jewelry. Free catalogue—shop stress-free at direct wholesale prices. Great Dane Gifts, 847a 2nd Ave., NY, NY 10017 #132a



T-SHIRTS

Black with white lettering or white with black lettering. 100% cotton
S-M-L-XL \$15* plus \$2.50 shipping
Check or m/o to: **CIII Productions**
10137 Riverside Dr.
Toluca Lake CA 91602
*calif residents add \$1.24 sales tax.

ORGANIZATIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL

Churchill Society

Preserving Sir Winston's Memory, & Teaching the Next Generation

Quarterly Journal • Tours • Conferences • Publications

Subscription \$25 or write for free brochure:

ICS, PO Box 385-D, Hopkinton NH 03229



PERSONALS

BEAUTIFUL, BLUE-EYED DANCER, 39, Manhattan, rare breed, politically conservative, seeks established gentleman for marriage and family. Note/phone appreciated. Reply to: Box CY, c/c TAS Classifieds, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549.

JAPANESE WOMEN seek friends, marriage. Other Orientals too! Free brochure: **PACIFIC CENTURY**, 110 Pacific #208-JX, San Francisco, CA 94111. (816) 942-1668.

ASIAN LADIES DESIRE CORRESPONDENCE! Overseas, sincere, attractive. World's #1 Service! Free details, photos! **SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL** Dept. HE, Box 5500, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. (808) 325-7707.

ATTRACTIVE ORIENTAL LADIES seeking correspondence, marriage. Dignified presentations since 1984. Asian Experience, Box 1214TR, Novato, CA 94948. (415) 897-2742.

MEET WOMEN WORLD-WIDE

FREE 32 page catalog from America's most respected correspondence service since 1974.

CHERRY BLOSSOMS
Box 190AN Rainbow Ridge
Kapaa, Hawaii 96755
1-808-961-2114

Advertise in the
American Spectator
and
GET RESULTS!

CLASSIFIEDS

MOVING?

Don't forget TAS Address Changes Made Easy!

1. Please write your new address in the space provided.
2. Attach the mailing label from your most recent issue.
3. Return this form to us at the address listed below.

That's all there is to it. Just be sure to allow six weeks for your change to take effect.

The American Spectator
Circulation Department, P.O. Box 549
Arlington, VA 22216-0549

(Please attach address label here.)

IMPORTANT

Allow six weeks for address change.

- ☐ Renew my subscription for one year (twelve issues—\$35)
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

Name: _____
(Please Print)

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Date of change: _____

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

- Rates:** \$1.65 per word (\$10 extra for TAS box number if desired.)
• \$60 per column inch for classified display ads.
• Pre-payment required for all ads.

Special Discount Offer:

Pre-pay for 3 ads get a 4th ad free.

Enclosed is: \$ _____ for _____ insertions.

Ad Classification: _____

Name: _____
Please Print

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Your ad(s) will begin with the first available issue.

Send ad copy with payment and this form to:

The American Spectator

Classified Department,
P.O. Box 549 Arlington, Virginia 22216-0549

THE CLAWS OF THE DRAGON

(continued from page 77)

quote from Hu Yaobang's 1978 denunciation of Kang: "Before they died many comrades suffered greatly, both psychologically and physically. Some were tortured to death; some committed suicide; some were assassinated; others were poisoned; some died of hunger; others were locked away in mental asylums; some waited for death with their eyes open in hospitals." Of course, Kang was not one to forgo his aesthetic joys even in the midst of purges, and he used the chaos of the Cultural Revolution to build his collection, making him "at once a passionate antiquary and an accomplice to the destruction of the culture that had inspired the art he coveted."

Along with the Party biography, Byron and Pack marshal an impressive body of additional evidence chronicling Kang's wickedness and perversions, personal as well as political. At times, too, they even go out of their way to exonerate Kang for specific crimes. "Kang's reputation was such," they note, "that whenever an unexplainable tragedy occurred in China, he would become the main suspect—just as if one American were held responsible for the mysterious assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr."

But at times they appear to fall into the same trap, if only because the emphasis on Kang diminishes the role of other important actors. *The Claws of the Dragon*, for instance, portrays a more passive Mao than we've seen, and does not sufficiently deal with Kang's time out of favor, including the first six years of the Communist regime. It exaggerates his role as the architect of the Sino-Soviet split, a parting of the ways that, given the natures of Mao, China, and Russia, was more or less bound to occur as each pursued its own interests. Nor is Kang credited for his early attraction to Communism. However loathsome he may have been, to have worked as he did in Shanghai when he did required a certain amount of courage, if not conviction. Ditto his journey to Yan'an. Today this might appear more opportunism, but in 1937, though the Long Marchers had survived, it was by no means clear they

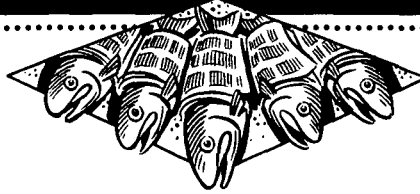
would emerge triumphant. After all, even Stalin was backing Chiang and the KMT over the Communists in those days. Finally, there is the question of the Party biography upon which much of this book is based: it's an old tradition for living Communists to blame dead Communists for all the crimes of the past. However real the crimes outlined in Party indictments, blame tends to be assigned according to the political needs of the moment rather than actual culpability in the past.

Still, in a curious way Kang Sheng's own culpability in specific crimes is the least important aspect of *The Claws of the Dragon*. Even if it is incomplete in some of its details, the portrait of a Communist leadership every bit as venal and treacherous as its counterparts in the former Soviet empire is a welcome antidote in an area that has long been clouded by ideological hagiography. "The value of Kang's history," Byron and Pack write, "lies less in its colorful, chilling episodes than in its power to illuminate the fundamental dynamics of Chinese politics and government."

For however much pain and misery such men as Kang inflicted on their nation, it was complemented by the agony they inflicted upon one another as they jockeyed for position with all the bitchy cruelty of a courtful of eunuchs. Although the rise of Deng and his cohort has tempered some of the excesses, the bloodshed at Tiananmen emphasizes that the essential character cannot change until the unraveling of the PRC itself:

By exposing Kang's crimes, China's current leaders have set limits on their own elitist tendencies. They have repudiated Kang personally, but they failed to dispel the dangers inherent in a revolutionary movement that amounts to nothing more than a new imperial system centered on a small, personalized elite. Mao Zedong was a peasant leader who established a fourteenth-century regime in the twentieth century; even his mausoleum, the contemporary version of an imperial tomb, recalls the dynasties of old China. As long as Mao retains his place in the Chinese pantheon, the spirit of Kang Sheng, Mao's evil genius and hatchet man, will not likely be exorcised.

Precisely. ☐



Los Angeles Times

A highly irregular communiqué to the correspondence page of a leading national newspaper, possibly from a resident of Death Row:

I request that you publish my willingness to have my taxes increased. My income is much above average and if my taxes were raised by as much as 25% or 50%, that would not lower my level of living a bit.

I resent wasteful expenditures on armies and armaments that are not needed; but as long as the fears of our citizens (or the greed of the military-industrial complex) cannot be dispelled by reason, some waste is inevitable. However, we are still rich enough to provide employment, job training and health care sorely needed. Industry is not sufficiently enterprising at this time, and private persons are not able to reverse the recession. For a caring society, for healthy and happy neighbors, for hopeful children, I want to contribute more to a providing government.

—David Ziskind
Los Angeles

[September 17, 1992]

New York Post

Mike McAlary, the Anna Quindlen of this illustrious gazette, re-creates from his richly propagandized noodle Ronald Reagan, the overwhelming choice of the electorate in two presidential races:

To most Americans, Ronald Reagan's beliefs were scary and damaging to the fabric of American society. He produced a peace for our world, but a rage in our cities. Ronald Reagan made it safe to hate again. Hate the poor. Hate the cities. Hate minorities. Hate all around. . . .

The last time anyone saw the old coot, he was ducking flying glass and scaring us back to a terrible Washington, D.C. sidewalk scene where a gun was firing and men were falling.

[August 18, 1992]

Windsong Messenger (Boulder, Colorado)

Numerologist Patricia L. Taylor proffers a trenchant analysis of the greatest American since Henry Ford, by way of her science—a science that the United States government is sadly deficient in funding but that many faculty members of the Harvard Law School swear by:

What are the driving forces of this man who has stirred the adrenalin of hope and promise in the hearts of Americans? Who is this man who dares to kick the political system's butt and rattle the bones of bureaucracy? As a Numerologist I am compelled to find out. . . .

What do the later days hold for Mr. Perot? His personal number, or Reality vibration, is 9. It came into influence around age 50. It would appear that Mr. Perot was bound and determined to fulfill the promise of the 9's in his chart, a happy marriage between working for the good of mankind and for personal material satisfaction. I do not pretend that Ross Perot walks on water. As a Numerologist, I know that we humans swing on the pendulum of the positive and negative. Herein lies one of our greatest gifts as humans: learning compassion and understanding through our very humanity.

So who is H. Ross Perot? I see him as a human being who takes large bites of life and spits out what he feels is an untruth or an injustice. He has tripped and fallen and has had to swallow bitter medicine. Even at that he embraced those periods with an inner zeal and dignity. He has learned that his emotions can be a strength as well as a weakness, and has a strong belief in putting your money where your mouth is. He will make himself available, give of his energy, but only if we ask.

Ross Perot can bluntly tell it as it is. If we decide to jump in with him, we had better be prepared to pull our own weight. He will not wipe our noses for us.

[Summer 1992]

Kalamazoo College Quarterly

The graduating kids of Kal Col get a swell excursus into American slang from the swank Johnnetta B. Cole, member of the Jimmy Carter Rat Pack:

Take racism and sexism. No matter how pervasive they are, you know, they ain't genetic! We learn those systems of inequality. Well, if we learn them, then we can unlearn them—or better yet, we can just stop ever teaching that stuff.

[Summer 1992]

Image

In the *San Francisco Examiner's* Sunday magazine, Alice Walker, the celebrated authoress, displays the infantile solemnities that have made her a major *illustrata* among the Republic's shanty intelligentsia:

In the aftermath of the L.A. riot, Dan Quayle and other conservatives asserted that the country's basic problem was the breakdown in family values. Do you see any truth in that?

Well, the putative leadership of the country represents such a level of ignorance and backwardness that I really can't comment on it. All I can think of is that we should all be thinking of an entirely new form of leadership. For the presidency I propose a triad of three grandmothers: a Native American, an African American and a European American. And I recommend three women whom I think would be wonderful: Wilma Mankiller, who is the head of the Cherokee Nation, Maxine Waters, who is in the Congress, and Gloria Steinem. I think if we had those three women, with maybe Bernice Reagan, who is with [the singing group] Sweet Honey in the Rock, as adviser, we would have a presidency that could take us out of this dreary backward-looking, unhealthy and dangerous place we are in. I also think that we should have a council of war and peace made up only of women who bear children