

# New China



**China's  
National  
Minorities**

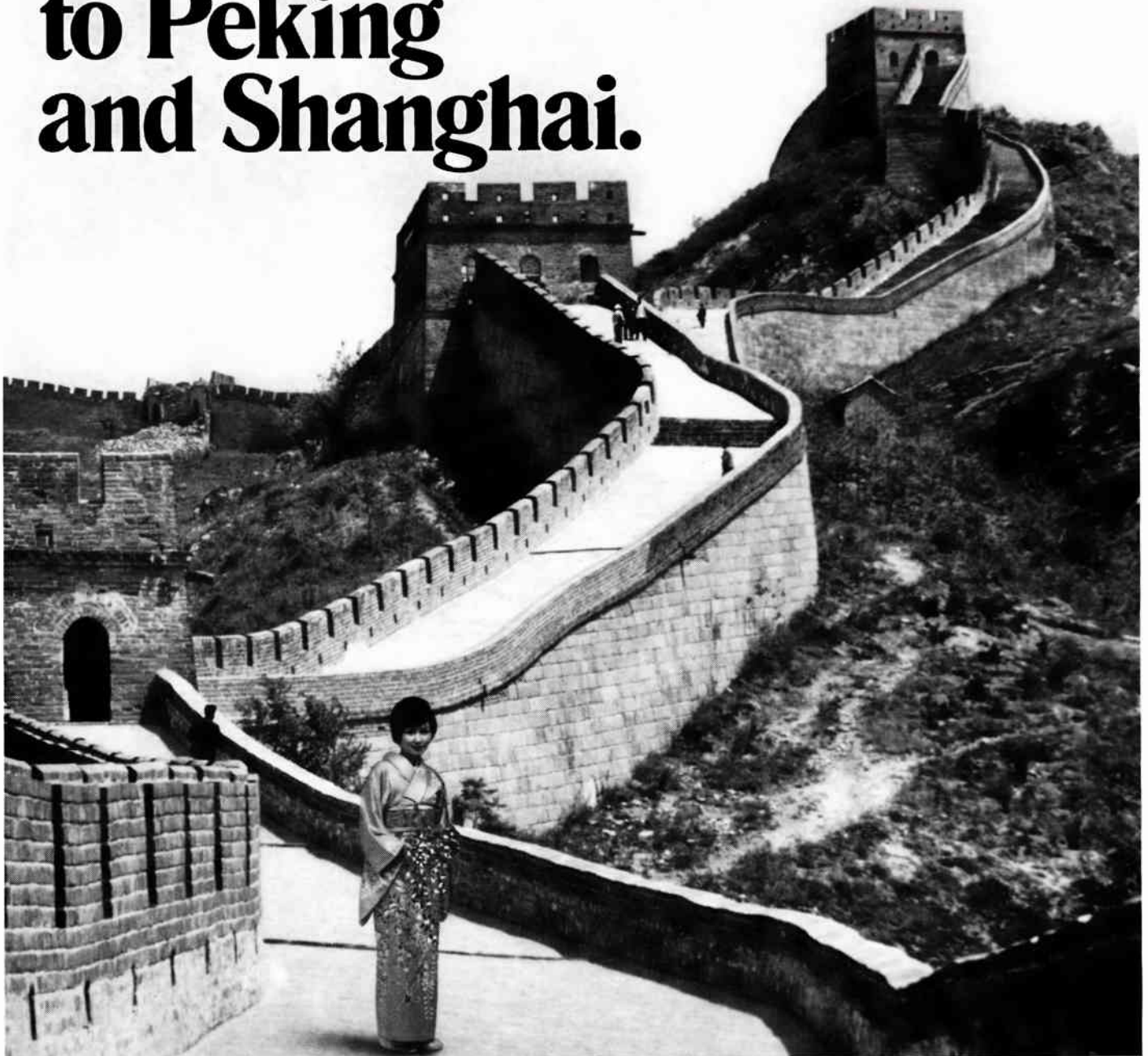
**How China  
Kicked the Drug  
Habit**

**Nobel Physicist  
C.N. Yang on  
Science in  
China**

**Taiwan: Which  
Way Forward?**

**Chou En-lai  
Interview,  
Part 3**

# Now enjoy JAL all the way to Peking and Shanghai.



**Now book your entire flight on Japan Air Lines, from major North American gateways.**

When you're traveling halfway around the world, your flight should be as comfortable, as conveniently scheduled as JAL can make it.

Our warm welcome and sensitive service will make you feel at home right away.

You'll sip fragrant, hot green tea at 30,000 feet. Be pampered with small courtesies like steaming hot towels. Watch first-run movies.

JAL offers convenient departure and arrival times from New York,

San Francisco, Los Angeles or Vancouver to Tokyo. Then on to China.

On Mondays, JAL flies from Tokyo to Osaka, Shanghai and Peking— then nonstop back to Tokyo.

On Thursdays, JAL flies nonstop to Peking, and returns to Tokyo via Shanghai and Osaka.

Regular, twice-weekly DC-8-62 service with traditional JAL hospitality.

Japan Air Lines now flies to 43 cities in 26 countries—the fourth largest IATA carrier in the world today.

	Mon F1785 DC-8-62	Mon F1786 DC-8-62	Thu F1781 DC-8-62	Thu F1782 DC-8-62
TOKYO LV	9:00AM		9:00AM	
OSAKA AR		9:30PM		9:25PM
OSAKA LV	10:05			8:20
SHANGHAI LV	10:55			7:30
SHANGHAI AR	12:15PM			4:20
PEKING LV	1:15			3:20
PEKING AR	3:00PM	4:30PM	12:05PM	1:35PM

For more information, call your travel agent or...

**JAPAN AIR LINES**



**Cover:** Inner Mongolian woman of the Silingol Qu Commune.  
(Photo: A. Topping)

- 4 Friendship, A Common Interest**  
Editorial by the USCPFA National Steering Committee
- 5 USCPFA News**
- 6 Sports**
- 7 Letters**
- 9 Books**  
*Serve the People* by Victor W. Sidel and Ruth Sidel  
*A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* by Jean Daubier
- 11 China's National Minorities**  
*54 peoples stand up*  
Equal—But Not the Same by Sian Snow  
Tibet: Myths and Realities by Tom Grunfeld  
In the Deep Southwest by Joan Robinson  
China and Black Americans by Vicki Garvin
- 24 Kicking the Habit — Nancy Southwell**  
*China liberates itself from drug addiction*
- 27 Inside the Laboratory**  
*An interview with Nobel Prize-winning physicist C. N. Yang*
- 30 Knucklebones and Marbles — Rewi Alley**  
*Peking's kids turn the Summer Palace Lake into the ol' swimmin' hole*
- 33 Little Colt — A Play for Children**  
*A young horse learns to think for himself*
- 34 One China: The Road Ahead — Paul T. K. Lin**  
*Ignoring the Shanghai Communique,  
the United States expands ties with Taiwan*
- 36 Saigon 1975, Shanghai 1949 — Julian Schuman**  
*History repeats itself in this tale of two cities liberated*
- 38 Chou En-lai — William Hinton**  
*Part 3 of an exclusive interview*
- 43 Fire! — Jan Wong**  
*Students save a burning warehouse*
- 44 Friendship Has A History: Agnes Smedley**  
— Jan MacKinnon, Steve MacKinnon, and Paul Lauter
- 46 Suggested Reading**
- 47 USCPFA Statement of Principles; USCPFA Addresses**

© 1975 by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. All rights reserved. Published quarterly. Yearly subscription rates—domestic, \$4; foreign, \$5; institutional, \$8. *New China*, 41 Union Square West, Room 631, New York, N.Y. 10003. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.



**Craftsmanship  
Professionalism  
Imagination**

With us, travel is not all landmarks and landscapes. It is people-to-people friendship and understanding.

In all of our 25 years of organizing journeys for our faithful clientele and traveling ourselves, our own trip to new China was the most uplifting of all.

We have made the arrangements for many visits to the PRC for members of USCPFA and other invited guests, BUT . . . until you are invited, we can only offer you the rest of the world, so contact us for your next trip.

**UNITED STATES TRAVEL  
BUREAU**  
A collective

Brian—Brigitte—Dick—Mischa  
11478 Burbank Blvd., Room 8  
North Hollywood, Calif. 91601  
Phone: 1(213) 877-2623

## FILMS FROM THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

**Titles include:**

- 2100 YEAR OLD TOMB
- HISTORICAL RELICS
- ACUPUNCTURE ANAESTHESIA
- TACHING OIL FIELDS
- CHINA TODAY

**Write for free catalog**

**GROVE PRESS FILM DIVISION**  
53 East 11th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
(212) 677-2400

## Friendship, A Common Interest

The reopening of contact between the United States and China after more than two decades of isolation has created tremendous interest among Americans in learning about the people of China and developing friendship with them. The Chinese people are now pioneering in creating a society in which the majority of people—workers and peasants—for the first time control their own destinies. Through the application of the principles of self-reliance and serving the people, they have transformed their whole society. In so doing they have solved the problems of famine, drug addiction, and unemployment, among others. The progress of history has shown that it is in the interest of Americans to maintain a friendly relationship between our two peoples and our two governments. We feel that increased exchanges will benefit both peoples by fostering social progress and by raising grassroots barriers to conflict between our countries.

When the blockade of information about China was eased in 1971, groups of Americans began to organize local US-China Peoples Friendship Associations (USCPFA) to increase communication and understanding between the two peoples. The first chapters started in San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Within a few years groups also sprang up in smaller cities and a few rural areas. On Labor Day weekend, 1974, 36 local Associations attended a convention which founded the National USCPFA.

Friendship Association membership has broadened to include Americans from all walks of life—workers, students, secretaries, housewives, retirees, artists, and pro-

fessional people. Outreach to minority and other communities must be further developed. We have been pleased to see rapid growth in the South, Southwest, and Plains States, with new Associations starting in Mississippi, New Mexico, Kansas, and Texas. Our outreach program, including films, speakers, slide shows, and *New China* magazine, has aided this growth of the friendship movement by bringing valuable information about China to Americans across the country. At this year's convention over 60 local Associations are represented—the number has doubled within a year!

An important focus of USCPFA work is to provide information about China to combat both historical and current distortions. Over a dozen local Associations publish newsletters. A large pictorial exhibit, developed by the Chicago USCPFA, is now touring museums, libraries, and other institutions in the Midwest. Well-attended conferences have been held throughout the country, featuring speakers on such topics as medical care, economic planning, and the liberation of women in new China. Educational materials on modern China are being developed for use in the public schools.

Direct people-to-people contact has expanded over this year. Local Associations have met with Chinese visitors to the United States, and more than 300 Americans traveled to the People's Republic on USCPFA-sponsored trips. Since the National Association was formed last September, such trips have been more systematically organized, in terms of both preparing groups beforehand and encouraging the returning visitors to share their impressions through

Association programs and outreach to friends and neighbors. And this year for the first time, in response to an invitation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, members of the National Steering Committee will represent the USCPFA at the October 1 celebration in Peking.

The friendship movement goes beyond the organizational boundaries of the USCPFA. Cultural exchanges, such as the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe and the Exhibition of Chinese Archaeological Finds, traveled to many U.S. cities, bringing a deeper appreciation of new China to thousands of Americans. Likewise, exchange visits of athletes, scientists, and agricultural workers strengthened bonds between the two peoples.

While people-to-people friendship is growing, we find a slowness on the part of the U.S. government to work seriously for improving relations with China. In the Shanghai Communiqué, signed by the two governments in 1972, the U.S. recognized that Taiwan is a province of China, promised to withdraw U.S. troops from Taiwan, and agreed to work for full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic. These pledges have not yet been fulfilled. Last April the U.S. State Department cancelled the visit of the Chinese Performing Arts Troupe because its program included a song about the liberation of Taiwan.

The National USCPFA and local Associations throughout the country protested the State Department's action and called on the government to stop delaying the implementation of the Shanghai Communiqué. The Association has launched a nation-wide educational program to inform the American people about our government's intervention in Taiwan, a province of China, and the need for the normalization of relations with the People's Republic. Programs have been held throughout the country; local newsletters and *New China* are publishing articles on Taiwan; a pamphlet is being prepared for national distribution.

We feel certain that the USCPFA and the friendship movement as a whole will continue their amazing growth. Economic, cultural, and scientific exchange, as well as people-to-people contact, is in the interests of both the American and the Chinese peoples. "Friendship is neither abstract nor incorporeal," wrote Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen), Vice-Chairperson of the People's Republic, in a message to the USCPFA. "It is built on the bedrock of an unalterable basic fact, that the interests of the people, the creators and movers of history, are everywhere in common."

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE  
USCPFA

## *New China*

Volume 1, Number 3 Fall 1975

41 Union Square West, Room 631, New York, N.Y. 10003

**Editorial Committee:** Margaret M. Bald, Michael Chinoy, Kate Delano Condax, Vicki Garvin, Chris Gilmartin, Nancy Jarvis, Frank Kehl, Stanley Marcus, Peter Perl, Fred Pincus, Marian Sandmaier, Ronni Sandroff, Fritz Silber, Gerald Tannebaum

**General Manager:** Tom Grunfeld **Copy Editor:** Ruth Misheloff **Designer:** Marvin Hoshino **Book Review Editor:** Adrian Bennett **Art Consultant:** Michael Opper **UN Correspondent:** Susan Warren

**Magazine Committee:** James Aronson, Jack Berk, Kathy Chamberlain (Chairperson), Norman Chance, P. K. Fong, Christine Frank, William Friedheim, Harold Glasser, Mary Heathcote, Mary Hiatt, Harold Leventhal, James Nesi, Ruth Nesi, Elizabeth Hill O'Neill, Jean Pohoryles, Helmut Roth, Jane Uptegrove

**National Publications Committee:** Koji Ariyoshi, Phyllis Homer, Richard Hunter, Clark Kissinger, Helen Rosen

**Acknowledgments:** Antaeus Gallery, Grambs Aronson, Bea Baptiste, Gina Belafonte, Harry Belafonte, Julie Belafonte, David Bellin, Edward Marshall Boehm, Inc., Helen Boehm, Mervin Bronson, Ralph M. Chait Galleries, Jody Chen, China Books & Periodicals, China Native Products, Charles Coe, Rose Coe, Janet Costner, Hugh Deane, East Wind, Anita Ellis, Felice Fedder, Dick Frank, Iris Friedlander, Ron Gans, Esther Gollobin, Alice Grunfeld, Han Suyin, Carma Hinton, William Hinton, Marion Howe, Margaret Hsieh, Irving, Helen Jacobs, Lucy Jarvis, Dorothy Joyce, Dorothy Loo Kehl, George Kendall, Sam Kron, Scott Kuney, Richard Lee, Judy Lerner, Martha Livingston, Carol Lowe, Lucky Enterprises, Inc., Shirley MacLaine, Tim Maher, Ruth Marcus, Diana McConkey, Bob McDermott, Ellen McDermott, Maury Medwick, Sandy Meyers-Chen, Peking Commodities, Edith Peters, Ida Pruitt, Emerson Robertson, Samuel Rosen, Dan Sandberg, Chris Sander, Michael Sandroff, Sylvia Sandroff, Sherry-Lehman Liquors, Joseph Silber, Robert Sistrunk, Lois Wheeler Snow, Paul Stein, Shirley Thau, Audrey Topping, Vera, Hal Whitman, Margaret Whitman

The opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of *New China* or the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. *New China* welcomes ideas for articles. Authors should first submit a one-page outline. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

## USCPFA News

**Hawaii** A special forum entitled "Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: Where Are We Now?" was presented by the USCPFA in April. K. S. Tom, a Chinese scholar, was master of ceremonies. The panelists—Stephen Uhalley, chairperson of the History Department of the University of Hawaii; Tien Ni-fang, professor of electrical engineering; James Chun, former East Asian analyst for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*; and C. K. Huang, a Honolulu businessman—provided an overview of U.S.-China relations and the historical ties of friendship between our two peoples.

**New York City** On May 16, the Friendship Association sponsored a program on "Taiwan and U.S.-China Relations," featuring Paul Lin, chairperson of the East Asian Institute at McGill University, and John W. Powell, former editor of *China Monthly Review*. A high point of the program was the singing of "People of Taiwan, Our Own Brothers." This was the song that the U.S. State Department, through the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, refused to let the Chinese Performing Arts Troupe include in their program. Associations in Nassau County, Albany, Boston, Amherst, and Philadelphia also sponsored similar programs with John Powell as the speaker. These forums have helped to underscore the importance of implementing the Shanghai Communique.

Several Association members showed slides during June to 25 day care centers, most of them in Harlem and East Harlem, as part of the outreach program.

**Chicago** When the tour of the Chinese Performing Arts Troupe was cancelled, the Chicago Association decided to hold a special meeting on the night the Troupe was to have performed in Chicago. The evening began with the reading of the statements issued by the U.S. government concerning the cancellation and the reply of the National USCPFA. Mary Lou Greenberg then gave a brief talk on the history of Taiwan. Since the U.S. government cancelled the tour because of the political content of a song, Joanne Shapiro gave a comprehensive account of the meaning of culture as it relates to politics in China. Katheryn Loos sang and translated the "forbidden" song, "People of Taiwan, Our Own Brothers." Clark Kissinger, the last speaker, talked on the state of U.S.-China relations and on the importance of Taiwan Province to all friendship work. Richard Roof was MC of the event.

**San Francisco** The Exhibition of Archae-

ological Finds from China reached the Asian Art Museum in late June. Representatives from the Liaison Office of the People's Republic and the curators of the exhibit were warmly welcomed at the airport by delegations from the USCPFA and from the Chinese community. The museum set aside the night of August 17 for Friendship Association members to receive a special tour of the exhibit and talk with the curators.

A street fair sponsored by the Association was held in the city's Mission district. It included photo displays, literature tables, helium balloons with "Long live the friendship between the American and Chinese peoples" in Spanish and English, and demonstrations of the *wu shu* and *tai ji chuan* martial arts.

### BRIEFLY NOTED

**Detroit** Maud Russell, editor of the *Far East Reporter*, spoke on "Religion in China" at a cultural evening and dinner held at the Trinity Methodist Church on May 17.

**East Bay** Stanford University Professor Charles Ferguson spoke on linguistic reform and the new methods of teaching language in China. He recently visited China as head of a delegation of American linguists.

**Seattle** "New China Hour," a weekly radio program produced by the Friendship Association, can be heard on KRAB. The program has generated more interest in China and in the Association.

**Baltimore** Ric Pfeffer and Gerald Tannebaum recently appeared on one of Baltimore's most popular radio talk shows. They answered questions about China phoned in by the listening audience.

"No Inflation, No Unemployment in China" was the subject of a public meeting at Essex Community College, located in a working-class suburb of Baltimore. Association members handed out flyers at shopping centers to publicize the event and engaged in some good discussions with shoppers. Gerald Tannebaum was the featured speaker. About 80 people attended.

**Kansas City** This newly formed Association set up a special night for USCPFA members at the Archaeological Exhibition and did a lot of work arranging for USCPFA members from other cities to see the exhibit.

**San Jose** A two-day street fair was held on May 17-18 at which food, literature, and products from China were sold.

**New Orleans** A fund-raising dance, attended by over 100 people, was held by this newly formed Association. It helped to raise money and to broaden the base of the Association.

**Cincinnati** An intensive weekend of activ-

# CANADIAN PACIFIC AIR IS AN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINE YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT.

CP Air not only offers convenient daily service between most major cities in Canada, we also fly to the skies beyond.

To the Orient, for example. We have nonstop 747 flights from Vancouver to Tokyo. And on to Hong Kong. Three times a week.



We also fly 747 nonstops between Toronto and Vancouver. Which means you can enjoy 747 service from Eastern Canada all the way to the Orient.

Or you can come with us nonstop from San Francisco or Los Angeles to Vancouver.

Besides all this, we have some of the most experienced airline personnel in the world. Along with beautiful in-flight service that's earned us quite a reputation.

Ask your travel agent about CP Air.

An international airline worth knowing.

**CP Air**   
Canadian Pacific

ities on "Medical Care in China" was held in April. Dr. Sam Rosen and Helen Rosen were the guest speakers, holding radio, TV, and press interviews and giving talks at the Department of Family Medicine of the Cincinnati General Hospital, the Jewish Community Center, and Merrill Laboratories.

■ *New China* editor Chris Gilmartin and Richard Gordon, both members of a Young Americans Work Group that visited China in April and May 1975, have just completed a speaking tour on behalf of the National USCPFA. They worked with the Tachai Brigade in North China and in a factory on the outskirts of Shanghai. In addition to learning a great deal about China, they were able to establish personal friendships with a number of Chinese. Carma Hinton, author of "Women: The Long March Toward Equality" (*New China*, Spring 1975), accompanied them on the speaking tour.

■ On June 29 *New China* held a fund-

raising party in Larchmont, New York. Harry Belafonte and Anita Ellis were special guests. Hostesses were Audrey Topping and Helen Rosen.

■ In preparation for the USCPFA National Convention, regional conferences were held in Washington, D.C. (June 7-8), Chicago (July 12-13), and San Francisco (July 4-5). The conferences featured workshops on Taiwan and the Shanghai Communique, and on increasing the Association's outreach to new groups.

At the East Coast regional in Washington, USCPFA National Chairperson William Hinton spoke to 130 people about the new movement in China to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Delegates were the guests of the Liaison Office of The People's Republic of China at a reception on June 8.

*Associations are encouraged to send news of their activities for inclusion in "USCPFA News."*

## Sports



A friendly exchange during the U.S.-China track meet in Peking. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

There were "miles and miles of smiles" when 66 U.S. athletes and their coaches went to China under the auspices of the U.S. Amateur Athletic Union, May 16-28, 1975, to participate in the first track and field meets ever held between the two countries. Many of the U.S. athletes risked becoming ineligible for National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championships by missing certain NCAA qualifying events while in China.

The meets, held in Kwangchow, Shanghai, and Peking, attracted enormous and enthusiastic crowds. In the spirit of "friendship first, competition second," fellowship and camaraderie on and off the track replaced the rivalry of flags, national anthems, and team scoring, although most of the events were won by Americans. China's warm welcome drew comment from many of the U.S. athletes. "I think it was one of the greatest, most gracious receptions I've ever experienced in my entire track career," said Fred Newhouse, a 26-year-old 600-yard runner from Texas. "It was sort of like being greeted by your brothers after you've been away from home for years and years."

The U.S. coaches, while criticizing some of the Chinese training techniques, were impressed both with the strength of the women's team and with how quickly the Chinese are moving ahead in athletics. In the 1974 Asian Games, for example, China "came from nowhere" to win a respectable third place. Recently, the People's Republic has renewed its bid for entry into the 1976 Olympic Games, stating that the Taiwan regime illegally occupies its seat on the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Although China is now a member of at least eight international sports federations—three more than required for membership in the IOC—some IOC countries are reluctant to expel Taiwan. The IOC decision has been deferred and may not be made in time for the 1976 games in Montreal. □

# NewChina Bookshop

As a service to our readers we offer the following items on some of the subjects treated in this issue, as well as basic books on China.

**Tibet Today** A photo album reflecting the great changes in Tibet since Liberation in 1951. 95 splendid pictures of Tibetan landscapes, traditional architecture, and the daily life of the people. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1974. Cloth, \$4.95; paper, \$2.95.

**Some Basic Facts About China** Important information on China's national minorities, women, communes, schools, medical care system, and many other topics. *China Reconstructs* (Peking), 1974. 91 pp. Paper, 50 cents.

**A Death with Dignity** by Lois Wheeler Snow. A moving account of the last few months of Edgar Snow's life. In this very personal memoir, Mrs. Snow tells of the vast difference it made to her husband and family when a group of doctors and nurses from the People's Republic of China came to help him in his final illness. Random House, 1975. 148 pp. Cloth, \$6.95.

**The Morning Deluge: Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution, 1893-1954** by Han Suyin. Based on 15 years of research and interviews with participants in the liberation struggle, this is the most complete and authoritative biography yet to appear. Little, Brown, 1972. 571 pp. Cloth, published at \$12.95, now \$4.95.

**The Long Revolution** by Edgar Snow. Contains interviews with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai

in 1970-71 as well as important articles on China's recent developments. Photos. Vintage, 1973. 269 pp. Paper, \$1.95.

**Turning Point in China** by William Hinton. Penetrating analysis of the two opposing forces in the Cultural Revolution. Monthly Review Press, 1972. 112 pp. Paper, \$1.75.

**A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution** by Jean Daubier. See the review in this issue. Vintage, 1974. 336 pp. Paper, \$2.45.

**China's Voice in the United Nations** by Susan Warren. On major aspects of China's foreign policy, including its positions on detente and the superpowers, Third World unity, the Middle East, nuclear arms and disarmament, raw materials and development, energy and food. World Winds Press, 1975. 146 pp. Paper, \$1.95.

**Chinese Children's Books** Colorful illustrations and brief texts for ages 9 and under. "I Am on Duty Today," "Flowers in Full Bloom," "Little Pals," "In a Rainstorm," "Little Ching and Hu Tzu Guard the Cornfield." Foreign Languages Press (Peking). Set of five. Paper, \$2.20.

**Please list all items being ordered and their prices. Include your name and complete address with zip code. Add 25 cents for postage and handling for each item, plus sales tax if you are a New York State resident. Mail your order prepaid to: New China Bookshop, 41 Union Square West, Rm. 631, New York, N.Y. 10003.**

## Letters

I would like to see better articles about the arts in which attitudes toward the past are discussed. The "Watercolors on the Waterfront" article was naively uncritical. I'd also like to see some contributions from the Chinese people translated and used in the magazine. Also, examples of contemporary prose and poetry would be interesting.

Meg S. Kramer  
San Francisco, Calif.

I greatly enjoyed all the articles and read the whole issue cover to cover. I hope you'll continue to report on activities of the different USCPFAs. This helps our local Association to think of more ways to reach out and inform the community.

Debra Jahn  
Minneapolis, Minn.

I especially liked the Paul Robeson article along with Carma Hinton's piece on women. My daughter, aged 5, loved the panda article. I hope you will continue to write more articles for children.

Chris Chamberlain  
Long Beach, Calif.

The Taiwan chronology in the Summer issue is defective in a number of respects. An important omission is the dates of the two Quemoy-Matsu crises—1955 and 1958. U.S. support of the Kuomintang occupation of these islands in mainland harbors twice led to the brink of a war in which the American military was prepared to use nuclear weapons. Also, in the 1850s Commodore Perry, Townsend Harris, Peter Parker, and other empire-minded Americans sought to make Taiwan an American possession. A chronology prepared for American readers might well have noted the historical precedents for contemporary U.S. policy.

Hugh Deane  
New York, N. Y.

Your "China and Taiwan Island: A Chronology" (Summer 1975), while generally accurate, left out the important fact that the annexation of Taiwan by Japan was part of an *American* strategy. Here's how: The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 did not involve conquest of Taiwan; it was fought in and around Pohai Bay 1000 miles away. Taiwan was ceded to Japan at the insistence of U.S. Secretary of State Foster (the grandfather of John Foster Dulles), as we learn from his memoirs. The documents of annexation were transferred aboard an *American* frigate on the high seas off Taiwan because none of the parties to the

## Subscribe to *New China*

A one-year subscription (4 issues) is \$4.00. Future issues will include the continuation of the Chou En-lai interview and further analysis of the Taiwan question. In addition, there will be articles on China's educational system and on other topics of particular interest to Americans. We will continue to provide our readers with beautiful color photographs and art work.

For an additional 50 cents we will send you our Preview Issue, as long as the supply lasts. This issue features a special message from Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), an interview with Dr. Benjamin Spock, articles by Alice Childress and William Hinton, and a very personal report on the life of Chinese workers by Linda Nelson, the daughter of a West Virginia coal miner.

NEW CHINA makes an excellent gift for friends interested in China. Each person you send a subscription will receive a handsome card with your name on it.

I would like to subscribe for one year beginning with Volume 1, Number 4.

- \$4 for individuals (U.S. and Canada)     \$8 for institutions  
 \$5 for foreign (surface mail)     \$8.50 for foreign (air mail)  
 In addition to subscribing, I have enclosed 50 cents for the Preview Issue.  
 Send me the Preview Issue only. Enclosed is \$1.00. I do not wish to subscribe at this time.

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ gift subscriptions, beginning with the current issue. (Attach list of names and addresses.)

## Become a sustaining subscriber

We think NEW CHINA can reach thousands of Americans, build understanding, and deepen people-to-people friendship. We need help, however, to sustain NEW CHINA. You can support the magazine by becoming a sustaining subscriber at \$25, \$50, or \$100 a year. Contributions are tax deductible.

Here is a special offer. For your sustaining contribution, you will receive an autographed copy of Ruth and Victor Sidel's *SERVE THE PEOPLE: OBSERVATIONS ON MEDICINE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA . . . or . . . Han Suyin's THE MORNING DELUGE: MAO TSETUNG AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION . . . or . . . an autographed copy of William Hinton's classic on the Chinese revolution, FANSHEN.*

I am enclosing a check for \$25\_\_\_\_, \$50\_\_\_\_, \$100\_\_\_\_. Please send me a subscription to NEW CHINA and the following book (check one):

- SERVE THE PEOPLE*     *THE MORNING DELUGE*     *FANSHEN*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

New China Room 631 41 Union Square West New York, N.Y. 10003

Please take a few minutes to answer the following questions so that we can improve future issues of NEW CHINA.

1. Which articles did you particularly like? Why?

2. Which articles did you particularly dislike? Why?

3. Do you have any additional comments, criticisms, or suggestions? Please be as specific as possible.

4. Which of the following publications do you read regularly (i.e., read almost every issue)?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> PEKING REVIEW           | <input type="checkbox"/> FAR EAST REPORTER           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CHINA RECONSTRUCTS      | <input type="checkbox"/> MODERN CHINA                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CHINA PICTORIAL         | <input type="checkbox"/> FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CHINESE LITERATURE      | <input type="checkbox"/> CHINA QUARTERLY             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CHINESE MEDICAL JOURNAL | <input type="checkbox"/> RED FLAG                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> EASTERN HORIZON         | <input type="checkbox"/> THE SEVENTIES               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CCAS BULLETIN           | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY) _____       |

5. We would like a little information about you so that we can have some idea who our readers are.

Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ USCPFA Member Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation (please be specific) \_\_\_\_\_

Please send this questionnaire to NEW CHINA, Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003. See previous page for subscription information.

transaction dared go ashore: the people of Taiwan were in rebellion against the annexation. Subsequently, when the rebels on Taiwan were fighting a Japanese military expedition sent to pacify the island, an *American* frigate blockaded Xiamen (Amoy) harbor on the mainland opposite to prevent those Chinese who opposed the annexation from coming to the aid of the rebels.

The Japanese on their own would not have taken Taiwan at that time. It was the United States that was setting up Japan to be the gendarme of the East.

William Hinton  
Fleetwood, Pa.

I liked the Paul Robeson and the panda articles. The magazine is a little "preachy." Everyone is smiling. Why can't we see some of the problems?

Elizabeth A. Derby  
Los Angeles, Calif.

In the future, I would like to see articles on language, education, and some poetry by Mao Tsetung. I hope this magazine becomes *the* medium for Americans to know and understand new China!

Evan B. Rich  
Natick, Mass.

The Spring issue was fantastic! My background in the history of the Revolution has a lot of gaps, but reading the article on women, the Chou En-lai interview, and the criticism of Confucius gave me a much better idea of the problems being faced and the progress being made in China today. I was also impressed by the article "Growing Old in New China." *Why* can't Americans learn from China and keep the aged from becoming "useless and thrown away"?

Steffie Levick  
Cincinnati, Ohio

In Germany, we have a good impression of your magazine. We would be happy to have an organ of the Friendship Association of a similar quality. In learning from *New China*, we might advance in our work.

Jorg Baumberger  
West Germany

With the arrival of the second issue of *New China*, I've had some time to sit down and think over the impact of the magazine. Revolutionary movements in America are lacking in analytical clarity, unity, and popularity. Perhaps *New China* could lend a hand by pointing out the Chinese approach with practical examples and personal experiences.

For example, you mention "criticism—self-criticism" in theory, but a personal report of a criticism session could generate much more understanding of this process.



Tell it like it is, let the Chinese spirit shine through. This already happens to a certain degree, but stay flexible so that you can reach all audiences. Continue with your bold, clear writing style.

Should there be an exclusive focus on China? I feel that comparison is what mobilizes people to start thinking. An exclusive focus on China would cut you off as a special interest, scholar-type magazine. This would be defeating *New China's* purpose of building mass support for U.S.-China friendship.

Your USCPFA Notes section is very valuable, but every so often why not print a personal report and analysis of your work to stimulate the organizing spirit? How about a report of what it's like doing grassroots USCPFA work? What are the techniques you use to get people involved and asking questions?

People here who have seen the magazine  
*continued on p. 46*

## Books

**Serve the People: Observations on Medicine in the People's Republic of China.** By Victor W. Sidel and Ruth Sidel. Boston: Beacon Press, 1974. 317 pp., photos. Paperback, \$4.50.

For many Americans, confused, frustrated, and angered by their personal difficulties in obtaining good health care, it was the early reports of health services in China that led them to a broader interest in the People's Republic. While the traditional therapies of acupuncture and herbal medicine captured the headlines, the underlying vision of a society that divorces health from individual and institutional profit made the greatest impact.

*Serve the People*, written by a medical doctor specializing in comparative and community medicine and a psychiatric social worker, describes the goals of China's health care system and the social motivations of its health workers. On the basis of their observations during two extensive study visits to China in 1971 and 1972, the Sidels consistently draw our attention to the theory/practice link between the ideology of the Chinese Revolution and its application to the daily problems of personal health care. It becomes evident that health care is an expression of how a political system defines and values its people. The fundamental question is: Who does a health service serve?

By the mid 1960s, the Chinese health care system had made enormous progress since Liberation. Infectious diseases were under control, venereal disease and drug addiction

had been eliminated, and the number of trained workers and treatment facilities were greatly expanded. China had developed a "socially-oriented, preventive-oriented, and reasonably well-rounded" health system. Why, then, in June 1965, did Chairman Mao, in one of his early statements of the Cultural Revolution, denounce the Ministry of Public Health as the "Urban Health Ministry" and the "Lords' Health Ministry"? The way in which China responded to Mao's call to re-revolutionize the health care system is the broad topic of the Sidels' report.

In separate chapters on urban and rural

health care, they point out that the tendency prior to the Cultural Revolution to concentrate health care resources in the cities has been partially reversed. Medical cooperatives have been established in most communes, trained health workers from the cities have been assigned to rural areas, and the number of "barefoot doctors" has increased rapidly.

In the chapter on medical education, the authors describe vividly the closing of all medical schools for several years and the reduction of the medical curriculum to three years. The current emphasis is placed on practical clinical experience rather than

# Have you ever flown the French Way?



**New York-Peking  
Convenient connections via Paris  
7/45 Day Economy Excursion fare:  
\$1114.80**

Leave New York any Sunday or Friday on Air France Flight 070 at 7 p.m. You'll arrive in Paris at 7 a.m., local time, the next morning, and connect with Air France Flight 178, direct to Peking, leaving Paris at 11 a.m. and arriving in Peking at 11:25 a.m., local time, the following day.

Or, you may prefer to stop

over in any two destinations en route.

Certain restrictions apply. For full information, contact your travel agent or Air France at 759-9000.

**Air France **  
makes it easy to get there.

# Films for Rent

## Away With All Pests

An intimate, dramatic, and penetrating insight into life in China today by the famous English physician Dr. Joshua Horn. Dr. Horn worked in China from 1954 to 1969 as a surgeon, and he traveled throughout the country as a member of a mobile medical team. In English—16mm—1 hour—black and white.

## Children of China

This documentary offers a comprehensive view of how children from birth through middle school are cared for and taught to be responsible citizens. Koji Ariyoshi of the Hawaii-China Friendship Association was a consultant in the production of this film. In English—16mm—1 hour—color.

## Han Tomb Finds

A film about recent archeological finds in the People's Republic of China. In Chinese with an English soundtrack on an accompanying tape cassette—16mm—35 minutes—color.

## Red Detachment of Women

A modern revolutionary dance-drama about the way in which young Chinese women were drawn into the armed struggle for Liberation. 16mm—2 hours—color.

## Red Flag Canal

The account of the construction of the Red Flag Canal by the peasants of Lin Hsien County who turned a barren, drought-stricken area into flourishing farmland. In Chinese with English subtitles—16mm—45 minutes—color.

## White-Haired Girl

A modern revolutionary dance-drama about the resistance of the peasants of North China against the Japanese during the struggle for Liberation. 16mm—2 hours—color.

For rental information contact the nearest U S -China Peoples Friendship Association, or Cook Glassgold, c/o the New York USCPFA, or George Lee, c/o the Chicago USCPFA, or Ellen Brotsky, c/o the San Francisco USCPFA.

on the study of basic sciences. The majority of medical students are recruited from the ranks of barefoot and worker doctors.

The development of acupuncture anesthesia is examined in the chapter on the "marriage" between Western and traditional medicine. From the "great treasure house" of traditional medicine the Chinese took moxibustion and herbal medicine to serve as effective low-cost therapies, in spite of the initial objections of Western-trained doctors.

There are also fascinating chapters on mental illness and on the role of the community and the patient. The prevention and treatment of illness is not a private transaction between patient and doctor. The patient's family and community also participate. All medical workers function as a team without hierarchy and without the desire for making a profit.

*Serve the People* contains numerous other examples of how the Chinese are trying to overcome such obstacles to quality health care as elitism, professionalism, individualism, and over-reliance on capital and technology. The continuing revolution in health care has created new organizational techniques, new therapies, and most important, a new set of values that show great promise of success. All Americans, indeed all humanity, have a stake in the outcome of China's efforts.

Michael Munk  
Stony Brook, N.Y.

**A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.** By Jean Daubier. Preface by Han Suyin. New York: Vintage Books, 1974. Paperback, \$2.45.

Must revolutions die? Is there an alternative to that arteriosclerosis of post-revolutionary society which causes the hardening of privilege, the domination of urban wealth and power over rural squalor, the rule of those who work with their minds over the men and women who run the machines and till the fields?

The importance of Jean Daubier's *History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* lies in its ability to link the drama of China's second great revolution with these universal issues. As a teacher and translator in Peking during 1966-68, Daubier was caught in the upheaval. His study, the best-informed eyewitness overview of the period, vividly conveys the twists and turns of this revolution for the creation of a new proletarian culture, for "the remaking of the human spirit."

Why did Mao Tsetung, who had spent half a century building the Communist Party as the bulwark of the Revolution, embark on a course which eventually deci-

mated the Party's highest ranks? "Mao madness," the first wave of American scholars pontificated. "No, personal power struggle," their hard-nosed social scientist colleagues countered. Daubier will have none of this. He clearly poses the alternatives on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. By 1965 a section of the Party bureaucracy had emerged as a new center of privilege and a formidable obstacle to carrying the Revolution forward to full equality under communism. Confronted with the choice between revolutionary ideals and Party privilege, Mao joined forces with rebels striving to carry forward the Revolution. Beginning with activist students and youth, expanding to include the army, the Cultural Revolution eventually swelled into a broad popular movement embracing tens of millions of rural and urban working people.

Like earlier Chinese revolutionary epochs from the May 4th Movement of 1919 to the Great Leap Forward of 1958, the Cultural Revolution followed an arc from the literary and cultural realm to political struggle, eventually penetrating deeply into the very fabric of social life. Just as Confucian values had to be attacked by a new generation in the May 4th era, the cultural rationalizations for "those in authority taking the capitalist road" would be torn aside in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution. Eventually, cultural clash advanced to political clash which produced a new generation of activists and political institutions embodying the ideals of equality, participation, self-reliance, and serving the people which were reasserted in the course of the Cultural Revolution. For example, the Revolutionary Committees which came out of this era linked revolutionary cadres with grassroots activists and administrators to inject new blood and rejuvenate political life.

Daubier's account may be recommended as the single best introduction to the politics of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1965-69. It conveys, as well, a sense of how the Revolution may have been perceived by many Chinese intellectuals who participated in it. "Unite for one purpose," Mao told his colleagues at the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution, "that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office, and school." As the theme of carrying forward the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the politics of leading China forward toward communism, re-emerges in 1975 as the main item on China's domestic political agenda, Daubier's book can be read both as a study of the great Revolution of the 1960s and an introduction to the problem of consolidating socialism in the 1970s.

Mark Selden  
St. Louis, Mo.

# China's National Minorities

Surprisingly enough, China—like the United States—is a land of many different nationalities. Fifty-five, to be exact. When we say “the Chinese,” we are usually thinking of the Hans, the majority nationality which constitutes 94 percent of China’s population. But the Hans inhabit only about half the territory of the People’s Republic. In the other half, mainly vast border areas of grassland, desert, and mountains, live the national minorities: Mongolians, Uighurs, Tibetans, Chuangs, among others. Although these nationalities make up only 6 percent of the population, together they number 35 million people—a larger population than that of most countries.

As in the United States down to the present, relations between the majority and minority peoples in China had been harshly unequal before Liberation. The Han majority frequently tyrannized the minorities—through land-grabbing, exploitation of their labor, unfair trading, and suppression of their national cultures and languages. Deals were made between Han officials and minority landlords to cheat and manipulate the minority farmers, herders, and craftspeople. Like the exploited members of the Han majority itself, the minority people rose up against their oppressors on many occasions; the nineteenth-century Hui and Miao rebellions are two instances usually mentioned in Western history books.

The oppressed minorities in fact shared the same needs and aspirations as the exploited people of the Han majority. In the long course of the Chinese Revolution, with Mao and the Communist Party pointing out their common interests, minority and majority working people united to overthrow the old society and to transform the old unequal and exploitative relations between them. This transformation since 1949 is just as important as the transformation of sick and starving people into robust and healthy ones, foot-bound and hobbling women into liberated workers in field and factory.

What has happened to the once dwindling populations of the national minorities? What kind of special pol-

icies had to be adopted in implementing land reform and other changes in minority areas? How has the People’s Republic solved the problem of “Great Han chauvinism” and local nationalism? Has the incorporation of the minority peoples into the Revolution meant the destruction of their distinctive cultures? What do the people of the national minorities themselves think of Liberation?

To answer these and other questions, *New China* has gathered several articles on Chinese nationalities: Sian Snow gives an overview of the government’s national minorities policy and illustrates it with examples drawn from conversations with Mongolian herders in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Tom Grunfeld analyzes the history of Tibet and corrects some wild misconceptions about the flight of the Dalai Lama and the democratic reforms. Joan Robinson turns up surprising aspects of how minority culture is preserved among the Thais in three tropical counties straddling the Mekong River at the point where China borders on Burma and Laos.

With 55 nationalities to take account of, the Mongolians, Tibetans, and Thais can’t be called “typical.” But these articles do give some sense of the widely varying lifestyles and environments of China’s minorities, the problems the people faced, and how they are overcoming them.

The section concludes with an article by Vicki Garvin, a Black American who taught in China during the 1960s. She movingly describes a Shanghai demonstration in support of the struggle of Black Americans. This act of solidarity indicates that China’s policy toward its own minorities is rooted in an internationalist view of the world which stresses the equality of all nations and national minorities, large and small. The People’s Republic supports all oppressed nationalities in their struggles for equality and liberation. Our own experience—for example, Wounded Knee and Watts—makes the story of China’s minority peoples especially relevant to us Americans.

# Equal — But Not the Same

How does revolution affect minority cultures?

Sian Snow

The story of minorities in pre-Liberation China is sadly familiar to Americans—too readily comparable to the plight of the Native Americans. Most of the minorities were looked down upon by the Han (ethnic Chinese) majority as racially inferior. Hostility was mutual and intermingling rare. Conditions often forced minority people to lead isolated, nomadic lives. Crowded out of fertile valleys by the Han people and backed up into the mountains, they had to move continually to eke out an inadequate diet from the barren lands on which they barely managed to keep themselves alive.

When the Red Army crossed the Dadu River in Szechuan Province during the Long March, with Chiang Kai-shek's troops in pursuit, a landmark event occurred for China's minorities. The Red Army had to cross a region inhabited by the fiercely independent Lolo people. Their hatred of the Chinese was traditional, and no Chinese armies had ever crossed their territory without suffering severe losses.

The Red Army, however, wanted neither assimilation nor extermination, but sought friendship and mutual respect. Envoys who knew something of Lolo history and language were sent ahead to negotiate. The Communists pointed out what both peoples had in common: hatred of the warlords and the Kuomintang, belief in autonomy for all national minorities, opposition to the oppressor class. "The Lolos listened interestedly. Slyly they asked for arms and bullets to guard their independence and help the Red Chinese fight the Whites [Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang armies]. To their astonishment, the Reds gave them both" (Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*).

The Lolos and the Chinese Communists swore a blood brotherhood and jointly crossed the Dadu River, taking the unsuspecting Kuomintang troops utterly by surprise. This attitude of respect toward and unity with the minorities carried the Red Army safely through many more minority

regions where their ranks swelled with minority volunteers.

Soon after Liberation, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "All nationalities within China are equal. They should unite to fight imperialism and all common enemies. Regional autonomy and self-defense are to be observed in all areas. Religious beliefs, customs, habits, and national cultures must be respected, so that all of China will become a big family in which peoples of all nationalities live in fraternal cooperation." A definition of nationality had to be adopted, and it followed these precepts: a common lan-

guage and culture, common customs, common territory, and common economic organization.

Since then, the People's Republic has revived minority cultures. Nearly everyone has learned to read and write. Medical care is universally available. Communes have brought economic security to villages and families. The countryside has been irrigated and reclaimed. My five companions and I were able to see these dramatic changes at first hand during a recent two-month visit to Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, and other minority areas.

Our plane landed in Inner Mongolia on a clear day in early October. As we traveled from the airport, cultivated fields interspersed with pastures of wild grasses and low bushes extended as far as the eye could see. Outlining them were rows and rows of newly planted trees. On the opposite side of the road, an imposing mountain range met the sky with its angular, bluish contours. Ahead of us was the capital city of Huhhot, which translated means "Azure City." The former name, Gui Sui, meant literally "city



Two Inner Mongolian schoolboys practicing the grassland's most popular sport—wrestling. The object is to unbalance and down your opponent, not pin him. (Photo: A. Topping)

*Sian Snow, a student at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, traveled in China during the fall and winter of 1973. She is the daughter of Lois Wheeler Snow and the late Edgar Snow.*



Three generations of herdspeople beside their home, the portable domed yurt typical of the grasslands. (Photo: Sian Snow)

of assimilation and conversion of remote people," reflecting the old policies toward minority peoples.

When Liberation came to Huhhot, the city was infested with poverty, rats, and disease. Landlords hoarded grain while the people starved. Health care was nonexistent and 90 percent of the people were illiterate. The population seemed doomed to extinction.

Driving into Huhhot today, one sees a very different sight. New buildings line the wide, clean streets. A university built in 1957 accommodates 1,500 students, 36 percent of them Mongolian although only 6 percent of the total urban population is Mongolian.

A two-and-a-half-hour jeep ride carried us over the blue-green mountains and onto the vast grasslands which extend like a carpet all the way to the Gobi Desert. Sparsely populated, mainly by Mongolians, these grasslands are indeed remote. Swift wild goats run untamed across the green and brown landscape. But tranquil villages nestle near lakes and streams where prosperous farmers have turned the once barren land into acres of wheat and vegetable crops lined with young saplings. Clusters of colorful yurts (domed, portable Mongolian tents)

speckle the farthest horizon, while nearby, large herds of goats and sheep are guided by camel- and horseback-riding herdsmen and herdswomen dressed in their national costumes.

In a bright red yurt we talked with Bao Ma, a cracked-faced, 74-year-old herds-woman. "I lived many long years before Liberation," she told us. "Life was bitter. I never had enough to eat. I tried to herd sheep for the landowners, but was always chased away. By the time I was 20, the only family I had left was a three-year-old son. I traveled with him on my back seeking work. But everywhere I went conditions were worse. I worked harder than a draft animal, sleeping in broken-down shacks.

"When my son was eight, I sent him to a Buddhist temple to work for the senior lamas. I hoped that there he would at least have food and shelter. I lived nearby to take care of him, only to find they treated him worse than a slave. As soon as Liberation came, my son left the temple. He came back home and became a worker."

Before Liberation there were only 180,000 Mongolians in Inner Mongolia and the number was steadily decreasing. Today there are more than 420,000. The infant

mortality rate has dropped and birth control is not actively encouraged here or in other minority areas because of the genocidal treatment in the past. But it is available on request to all nationalities.

Most Mongolians live in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. National policy declares that autonomous regions such as Inner Mongolia are guaranteed "special consideration for their unique culture" as well as the right to use their own language and "establish different laws from the national laws as long as they are nationally ratified."

In Huhhot we asked Mongolians whether national Han chauvinism still played a role in their lives. "Since the Revolution," one man answered, "I can say that there is unity and cooperation between the different nationalities. It is still possible to find some rare manifestations of left-over chauvinist feelings, but they are immediately pointed out and openly criticized and most are rapidly dispelled by discussion and thoughtful criticism. At the beginning of the Revolution, the question of minority-Han relations was acute. We used to think all Hans were inherently oppressors of all Mongolians and that the conflict was basically racial. But we



Inner Mongolian woman of the Silingol Qu Commune. (Photo: A. Topping)

learned that this attitude is a mere cover-up for the reality of class differences. Hard work was necessary to explain to people that their enemy and oppressor was not another race, but another class."

In a small, now prosperous village in southern Yunnan, the Thai people, another nationality, told us of their initial terror on coming into contact with the Liberation Army. They had known nothing but brutal treatment from previous armies, so the Communists had their work cut out to demonstrate their desire to construct rather than destroy.

One Thai man told us, "We gave the People's Liberation Army a hard time at first. But they would do the most menial tasks in our village to show us their good will. They would feed the pigs, collect the wood, and when we were out they filled our barrels with fresh water. They treated our

ills with medicine where we used to rely on religious incantations. When we saw how much more effective their medicine was, we began to ask them for treatment.

"They studied our language and in the evenings sang and danced to show us their revolutionary ideas. They helped plow our land. They refused to take anything from us without paying for it. This kind of treatment we never had known before. When they left, they made sure no one had forgotten to replace borrowed things or mend anything that had been broken. We came to feel that these were truly sons and daughters of the people."

Reform policies were not imposed. Rather, alternatives were demonstrated and the people were encouraged to choose for themselves. This sometimes meant frustrating delays in achieving change, but it was an effective way of assuring the people's in-



No longer at the mercy of unscrupulous traders, Inner Mongolian herders can now shop inexpensively at well-stocked general stores in the commune center. (Photo: A. Topping)



Tractors and combines are now used to harvest grain in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Grain and fodder production are now part of the diversifying economy in this and other grasslands areas which were once limited to herding. (Photo: A. Topping)



Women workers use labor-saving technology in the commune center to wash and card wool—one of the region's main products. (Photo: A. Topping)

volvement and enthusiasm. Religion, for example, was never banned, but the number of people practicing Buddhism and other teachings declined rapidly as the benefits of Liberation became apparent.

Similarly, minority women were not told what they should do to become emancipated. Communist women simply demonstrated it by going into the fields (it had been taboo for a woman to plow the land) and participating equally in community and political affairs. And the men became less ashamed of doing jobs traditionally reserved for women.

The Institutes of National Minorities are a major achievement of Liberation. These universities bring extensive educational opportunities to peoples who were particularly oppressed in the past. The goal is to train, politically and academically, large numbers of minority cadres in order to safeguard self-determination and independence. Administered by minority representatives, they help preserve and protect the cultural characteristics of the various nationalities. Studies include minority and Han languages, art and culture, science and politics. Students acquire top-level skills in such fields as medicine, agriculture, industry, engineering, education, and government. The state pays the tuition. One official at the Yunnan Institute in Kunming said, "From



Young Inner Mongolian schoolgirl takes education seriously. Formerly, schooling, for boys only, took place in the monasteries and was limited to a few years. Now most children can expect an education through junior middle school, roughly our ninth grade. Instruction is in both Mongolian and the Han "common language," following the nation-wide policy of preserving and developing the languages and cultures of national minorities while strengthening overall national unity. (Photo: A. Topping)



Herder of the Bayanor "camel" Brigade of the Silingol Qu Commune. Herds are now owned collectively. With the aid of the central government, scientific stock-breeding and veterinary care have been introduced to eliminate the herder's nightmare: flocks and herds devastated by disease. (Photo: A. Topping)

1951 to the eve of the Cultural Revolution we trained over 11,000 cadres here from all nationalities. The great majority went back to their hometowns to share their knowledge with their people."

In Kunming, we spoke with members of the Gu Zong minority. Small-boned, dark-complexioned, and handsome, the Gu Zong people had never developed a written language. None of the older people we spoke with had gone to school and they used a method of tying knots in ropes to count. A 49-year-old man told us, "We are the 'minority' of the national minorities and we used to keep to the deep, primitive parts of the mountains. We lived in simple shelters made of branches and tree leaves, and our clothes were made of bark. We had a little corn which we grew, but it was not enough to live on, so we also collected wild plants. We had no salt.

"In 1950, the Communists liberated our people. They immediately sent relief materials such as mosquito nets, bedcovers,



clothes, cooking utensils, building material, and medical supplies. We received hoes, ploughs, and oxen. In the past, only landlords among us dared to live down in the villages. The rest of us were scattered throughout the mountains. After Liberation, we moved down to the more fertile and sunny valleys and learned agriculture, living side by side with the Hans."

This particular group became self-sufficient in 1967 and now has surplus production. All their children go to schools.

Through irrigation and terracing they have reclaimed acres of wasteland. They have their own small industries and have built a small electric power station which supplies electricity to every home.

It is clear that the minorities of The People's Republic of China are today free of oppression, deprivation, and discrimination. They have restored their cultures and are finally their own masters. This is a historical development of great significance to minority people elsewhere in the world. □

## Tibet: Myths and Realities

Tom Grunfeld

Mention Tibet to a group of Westerners and their responses will usually fall into one of three categories. Some will recall James Hilton's *Lost Horizon* and envision holy men dispensing secrets of immortality to a carefree populace. Others, who trust newspapers more than novels, will refer to press accounts of Chinese "imperialism" and "genocide." Many will merge these extremes into a confused picture of Chinese "barbarians" rampaging through Hilton's Shangri-La.

This limited knowledge of Tibet is not surprising. A treeless, windswept plateau averaging 16,000 feet above sea level, possessing the world's highest mountains and least hospitable climate, Tibet has always been a formidable challenge to even the hardiest and most determined visitors. Besides being physically inaccessible, its official policy was to forbid entrance to outsiders. Tibet's isolation is best shown by the fact that in its 12 centuries of recorded history, fewer than 100 non-Asian individuals, five small religious missions, and one invading army (Anglo-Indian) have managed to penetrate beyond its border areas. While Tibet's remoteness has fostered a continuing interest and curiosity, it has also encouraged misunderstandings and myths about the land and its culture.

### Before Liberation

Tibet's geographic isolation, harsh climate, and oppressive system of serfdom made living conditions prior to Liberation extremely difficult for the majority of its people.

*Tom Grunfeld, a student of Chinese and Tibetan history, is currently on the staff of New China.*

Eighty percent of its population—peasants and nomadic herdsmen—were ruled by the clergy, the nobility, and bureaucratic functionaries. Until 1950, supreme power was in the hands of kings and of the Dalai Lamas, who claimed their authority as the reincarnations of the patron deity Chenresik. History shows, however, that the line of Dalai Lamas actually began in the thirteenth century when the Mongol emperor of China, Kublai Khan, appointed his favorite priest as the political and religious leader of Tibet. The Dalai Lamas, far from being spiritual masters detached from material concerns, were the source of state and economic authority in Tibet. Their history is filled with stories of palace intrigues, assassinations, and political maneuverings.

The most influential segment of society were the monks, or lamas, for everything a Tibetan did was in some way connected with religion. While they claimed to be a moral influence on the people, they were very much a part of the system of serfdom. For example, one of the largest institutions of monks, the Drepung Monastery in Lhasa, controlled 185 manors, 25,000 serfs, 300 pastures, and 16,000 herdsmen. A quarter of its income was derived from interest paid on the money it loaned to the peasantry. In addition, it had a sizable income from the more than 80 religious taxes levied on the people.

Within the monastery, a class system existed, with "Living Buddhas" or "high incarnations" at the top of the social ladder. Order in the monastery was kept by a group of lamas called "Iron Bars," a name derived from the instruments they carried. Each family, no matter what its socio-economic status, was expected to give one

male child to a monastery at an early age to be trained as a lama. Since this was considered an honor, few objected openly. However, the practice created a huge clergy, by some estimates as high as 15 percent of the people. The size of the celibate clergy, as well as widespread disease (especially venereal disease) and polyandry (multiple husbands), led to the problem of a diminishing population.

Although all land was technically owned by the state, the nobility and the monasteries controlled the land and the serfs who lived on it. The peasants, or serfs, were tied to the land by their obligation to the landholder, who decided when that obligation was fulfilled. They worked 16 to 18 hours a day to pay taxes with their produce or their labor. Religious practice compelled them to pay for an officiating lama at every function—birth, death, marriage, planting, harvesting—a harsh burden on the desperately poor. If they were unable to meet their commitments, they had to borrow from the landholder at usurious rates, and their debts were passed on from generation to generation.

Although cruel punishments were supposedly outlawed by the Lhasa officials, mutilations, floggings, eye-gouging, and nose and tongue amputations were common. Victims were permitted to travel to Lhasa and appeal to the Dalai Lama only if they could get the consent of the landholder (who was probably responsible for the atrocity) and if they could pay for the trip and support their families while they were away. There were few appeals. The serfs also were forced to do obligatory service (*ulag*) whenever or wherever they were needed, without compensation. In addition, they were expected to provide food, lodging, and transportation for any government guests.

Another oppressed segment of the population was the nomads in Eastern Tibet, who were forced into a pastoral existence by their efforts to avoid permanent settlement under Central Tibetan control. Their poverty led them to resort to banditry against other Tibetans, as well as against traveling Han people (the majority nationality of China), and their history of intertribal feuding made their lives even more precarious.

The nobility hardly worked at all. They were expected to fill government posts, but servants would usually perform the necessary duties of the office. An old Tibet hand, Sir Charles Bell, wrote of a close friend who held a high government post and worked for one hour each day at his official duties. The remainder of the time he gambled, ate, read, and partied. Officials received no salary but accepted "perquisites" or favors

which came to them in place of salary. The lack of any effective controls over the officials allowed them to exploit the population.

Throughout Tibet's history, education and health care were nonexistent for most of the population. The nobility sent their children to British schools in northern India or hired private tutors. Sometimes children of serfs were permitted to attend the tutor's lesson—if they could pay. In the monasteries education was restricted to the upper-class monks. The only doctors were a few witch doctors or lamas trained in herbal medicine. In all of Tibet, there were only two medical centers, both reserved for the ruling class.

There was one brief moment of hope for the Tibetan people in the final days of the Manchu Dynasty (1908–1911). At that time, China regained Tibet from the British and, in an attempt to win broad mass support, began to modernize. Corruption and “monastic idleness” were attacked, the government was secularized, schools were opened, and agriculture was improved. Sir Charles Bell, previously critical of China, was forced to admit: “The Chinese officials of the modern school who came in now, lessened bribes taken by Tibetan officials from the poorer classes . . . gave straighter justice than that dealt out by the Tibetan majesty [magistracy]. There is no doubt some foundation for the Amban's [Chinese representative in Lhasa] claim that the poorer classes



This former serf of Drepung Monastery was blinded and mutilated for stealing two sheep from his monastic lords. The monastery's Grand Lamas were also landowners, controlling 185 manors with 25,000 serfs. (Photo: S. Gelder)

were in favor of China.” But the fall of Imperial China ended all reform, and the Chinese government left Tibet in 1913.

The present Dalai Lama (the fourteenth), now in India, looking back on the history of his land, has admitted there was room for reform. But he attempts to justify the system of serfdom by pointing out that the poor of Tibet never rose in revolt against the authorities. Indeed no revolt was ever documented by those writing the histories. These writers on Tibet stress the role of Buddhism in the life of the people. It taught that one's position in life is due to one's

actions in a previous life. To improve one's lot in the next life, the present must be accepted without complaint. As the Dalai Lama has said, “Desire brings discontent; happiness springs from a peaceful mind. For many Tibetans material life was hard, but they were not victims of desire.” It is hardly surprising that the Tibetan elite and foreign historians would portray the ordinary people as devout and docile accepters of their “fate.”

### Tibet Is a Part of China

The Tibetan people and culture differ from the Han people and culture, but the two peoples have had extremely close links for over 12 centuries. Although legend places the first Sino-Tibetan contacts in the year 220 B.C., the written history of their relations began in the seventh century A.D., when Srongsten Gampo united Tibet for the first time and assured peace with his neighbors by marrying both a Nepalese and a Chinese princess. In the ninth century the first treaty between China and Tibet, called “The Monument of the Unity of Uncle and Nephew,” was signed. From this time, trade and cultural ties persisted without interruption, and political and military ties were severed for only short periods, notably the 37 years from 1913 to 1950 when China was in a state of chaos due to the lack of a strong central government and the effects of Western and Japanese imperialism. In addition, for several hundred years the Dalai Lamas acted as religious advisers to many emperors of China. The consistency and character of Tibetan-Han relations over more than a millennium have made Tibet an integral part of China.

In 1913, with China at one of the weakest points in its history, Britain attempted to drive a wedge between China and Tibet and forced the holding of a conference in Simla, India, to discuss trade and to determine borders. The British, who were secretly surveying the Indo-Tibetan border area while the conference was going on, were the only ones who had the technical information on which to base the border discussions. During the conference they kept supplying maps which gradually moved the eastern Indo-Tibetan border further north into Chinese territory. This border became known as the MacMahon Line, after the British delegate. The Chinese delegate refused to sign the final agreement and China did not even see the treaty until it was published several years ago. The MacMahon Line, which gives to India an area of 35,000 square miles containing an ethnic Tibetan population, is now claimed by India as its rightful boundary.

The most persistent myths about Tibet have to do with its so-called independence.

## Atrocity Myths Dispelled

Despite the rapid advances made by the people of Tibet since Liberation in 1950, a myth persists in the West about Chinese anti-religious “genocide” and “atrocities.” These charges were disseminated in two reports written by a group called the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

Organized in 1952, the ICJ was an outgrowth of the Investigating Committee of Free Jurists, an anti-Communist organization funded by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency from 1949 to the 1960s to provide information and recruit agents for the CIA and for West German intelligence. From 1958 to 1964 (the period when the reports on Tibet were being written), the ICJ received over \$650,000 from the CIA. This was hardly an impartial panel.

The ICJ reports of “atrocities” were based on statements by the Dalai Lama, who because of his position had always been totally isolated from the Tibetan people, and by 66 Tibetans who followed him into exile in 1959. No supporting evidence was ever provided. The graphic accounts of “religious genocide” were dispelled four years later when two British journalists, Stuart and Roma Gelder, visited Tibet and failed to find any evidence of religious persecution. What they did find was that people were relieved not to have to submit any longer to the will of the clergy, and that thousands of lamas who had been forced into the priesthood at an early age were glad to be allowed to leave it. Unfortunately, there seems to have been some destruction of religious artifacts and some defacement of religious buildings in Tibet, as in other parts of China, owing to excesses at the height of the Cultural Revolution, but even the Dalai Lama has been forced to acknowledge that extensive restoration has been going on for the last several years.

Peking's attitude toward Tibetan Buddhism was best summed up several years ago by the former Foreign Minister, the late Chen Yi: “. . . we couldn't eradicate it if we tried and we don't propose to try. We are concerned with man's material condition. His soul is his own personal affair. . . . The trouble in Tibet was that religion was more materialistic than our materialism.”

When the Tibetan people were liberated from the rule of the Dalai Lama in 1950 by the Chinese People's Liberation Army with the help of progressive Tibetans, there were no words of protest from other nations. Rather, India and Nepal officially recognized Tibet as a part of China. In fact, in 1950, when the Dalai Lama government asked to have the question of Tibetan independence brought before the United Nations, the only country that supported its request was El Salvador. All the members of the Security Council, including the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, India, and the Chiang group in Taiwan, voted against it.

When the Dalai Lama failed in his attempt to maintain his rule by establishing "independence," he and other members of the ruling class at first fled toward the Himalayan country of Sikkim, sending several hundred mule-loads of gold bars ahead to secure their comfort in exile. Before reaching their destination, they decided to return, saying they wanted to become a part of the new Tibet. In fact, it is now clear that they returned in hopes of regaining social control again. Although the liberation forces almost immediately began to institute reforms, the Dalai Lama and most of the ruling class worked against these reforms. The problems of change were further complicated by the lack of trained Tibetans outside the ruling class, leading to an overdependence on Han people in important administrative posts. Because of these difficulties, it was decided in the mid-1950s to postpone major reforms until conditions were more favorable. That opportunity came in 1959. By then, thousands of Tibetans had been educated and trained and were able to lead their people to a better life, and the Dalai Lama and the ruling-class elite had fled to India after an abortive revolt.

That 1959 revolt was no simple internal affair. By that time, several of those who had voted in the UN against the Dalai Lama on the question of Tibet's "independence" were now actively pursuing an anti-China policy wherever possible. This was certainly the case with the United States. As long as China was ruled by Chiang Kai-shek, the United States took the position that Tibet was a part of China. But when China became the People's Republic, U.S. policy was directed toward trying to divide Tibet from China. Anti-Communist Tibetans were trained in counter-revolutionary warfare in Camp Hale, Colorado, and U.S. planes made spy flights over Tibet. Unmarked planes airlifted arms and equipment to anti-Chinese Tibetans who had earlier exiled themselves in Nepal.

The 1959 revolt failed because the Ti-



After the signing of the 17 Point Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) entered Lhasa in October 1951. Here PLA leaders explain the central government's policies in the region. (Photo: courtesy of Camera Press, Ltd.)



Thrift turned into savings at the bank. In old Tibetan society, ordinary people like these were saddled with inherited debts owed to lamas, lords, and government officials. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

betan masses did not support it. However, efforts to foment rebellion have continued since then. In 1962 it was reported that India, increasingly antagonistic to China over border questions and other matters, was training Tibetan rebels with the help of American guerrilla-warfare experts, while the Chiang forces in Taiwan were training and supplying the Nepal-based exiles. In May 1974, the government of Bhutan broke

up a plot by Tibetan exiles to overthrow it and use Bhutan as a staging base for attacks on Tibet. In July 1974, the Nepalese Foreign Minister charged that "powerful countries had helped Tibetan refugees mount raids on their... homeland from Nepal."

While there still remain scattered bands which, with the help of nations hostile to China, continually try to sabotage progres-

sive developments in Tibet, they appear to be more of a nuisance than a serious threat to the Tibetan people, who clearly do not want to return to the old system after having tasted the fruits of the new.

#### After Liberation

It has been 25 years since the "17 Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" signified the emergence of Tibet from serfdom, and 16 years since the democratic reforms were initiated. Today Tibet is an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China and the changes in Tibetan life have been overwhelming.

Where the majority of the population was once illiterate, Tibet now has 3,000 primary, middle, and secondary schools which teach the Tibetan language and culture. There are now books, magazines, newspapers, and a radio network in the Tibetan language. A Tibetan typewriter has been developed, and 100,000 new phrases and words have been added to the language. For the people's entertainment there are dozens of touring opera, dramatic, and cultural troupes, as well as films dubbed in Tibetan.

The population, rather than diminishing, has increased by 200,000 since 1950 because of China's policy of encouraging population growth among its minorities and the widespread availability of modern health care. There is now a hospital in every county, and there are hundreds of clinics, health stations, and Tibetan "barefoot doctors."

Perhaps the most colossal feat has been the building of roads and industry in a land where neither was even dreamed of 25 years ago. One has only to look at a relief map of Tibet to see what a major achievement road-building was. With the roads averaging 12,000 feet above sea level, and with temperatures of 20° to 30° below zero in winter, the workers and engineers had no easy task. Now 91 highways connect most of the towns and 99 percent of the counties directly to Lhasa as well as to neighboring provinces in China. With the building of the roads, modern commerce and industry have developed. Today there are over 200 factories producing, among other things, woolens, textiles, chemicals, cement, farm machinery, and building materials.

With over three-quarters of the population tied to the soil, land reform had to be, and was, one of the major concerns. It began in earnest after 1959. As in the rest of China a decade earlier, mutual aid teams were formed, then agricultural cooperatives, and finally, in 1965-66, people's communes. Mechanization has begun and experimental agricultural stations have developed more resilient, higher-yield grains, as well as strains of tobacco, tea, sugar

beets, and a dozen vegetables which can grow readily in the climate of the "Roof of the World." Innovations such as insecticides, chemical fertilizers, irrigation, and veterinary medicine have been introduced into a land that hardly even knew of their existence. Every production brigade has built small hydroelectric power stations, and electricity has been brought to all commune residents.

The training of Tibetans for administrative and cadre positions has always been considered an important task of the Chinese government. Today Tibetans make up 90 percent of the cadres at the district level and nearly all the cadres at the commune level

and below. A Tibetan, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, is a state leader in Peking.

In short, the lot of the Tibetan people has improved immeasurably. That is not to imply that Tibetans lead a carefree existence, for their life remains difficult and harsh. Tibet is still a poor, emerging, relatively underdeveloped part of the world. But dramatic changes have taken place, and conditions have improved considerably over those of 25 years ago. What is guaranteed now is that Tibet will continue to improve itself alongside the rest of China while taking increasing responsibility for its own affairs and those of China as a whole. □

On May 27, 1975, nine Chinese mountain climbers reached the summit of the world's highest peak, Mount Jolma Lungma (Mount Everest) in the Himalayas, after a ten-day ascent of the hazardous north slope. Eight of the climbers, including one woman, are from Tibet.

The woman, Phanthog, one of the few in the world ever to reach the summit of Jolma Lungma, is a 37-year-old mother of three who served as both women's coach and deputy leader of the Chinese Mountaineering Expedition. The total expedition consisted of 36 women and 35 men—People's Liberation Army fighters, workers, commune members, and students—of Tibetan, Hui, Owenki, and Han nationality. Phanthog and the other women had struggled against male supremacist attitudes in order to be able to participate in the assaults on the peak, which is not only the world's highest but, because of sudden changes in weather conditions, the hardest to climb.

In preparation for the final ascent, members of the whole expedition made four acclimatization climbs, during which they carried out tasks of reconnaissance, road-building, camp construction, and scientific observation and surveying. The expedition's scientific achievements include discoveries of 500-million-year-old fossils and the telemetric monitoring of the climbers' respiratory, cardiovascular, and brain functions.



Phanthog (third from right) is congratulated by other women of the mountain climbing team after she returned from the peak of Mount Jolma Lungma. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

# In the Deep Southwest

The Thai people of Yunnan before and after Liberation

Joan Robinson

There are many things one learns in China which seem quite natural at the time, yet sound like fairy tales when one repeats them at home. A case in point is the policy of the Chinese Communist Party toward national minorities as it is applied to the 20 and more peoples scattered about in small groups in the province of Yunnan. The story of Tibet or of Sinkiang is more dramatic and more important, but the very fact that these groups in Yunnan were small, poor, divided, weak, and helpless makes it all the more striking that they should have been brought into the swim of economic development without being robbed, bullied, or exploited, without being made to feel inferior, and without any pressure to give up the language and customs of their forefathers. The only kind of political importance that could be claimed for them is that they inhabit a border region, and this might have very well worked against them.

When the People's Liberation Army (PLA) came into southwest Yunnan in the last weeks of 1949 (after the Republic had already been inaugurated on October 1), they found a mosaic of small communities, often at war with each other, in a great variety of social formations—some in primitive communes, some holding slaves, some paying extortionate rents to landlords, some in an elaborate, ancient type of manorial feudalism. It required several years of investigation to get them identified and to understand their various ways of life.

In the meantime, more groups were being discovered. Once, when the PLA was carrying out maneuvers in the mountains, smoke was seen billowing up from the virgin forest, and there was found a community of hunters, dressed in skins, with a language of their own but no known history. To this day these people have not been able to explain who they are. There might be some values in the wild mountain life, however

*Joan Robinson is an English economist who has been to China numerous times. She is the author of Economic Management in China (1975) and other works on economic subjects.*

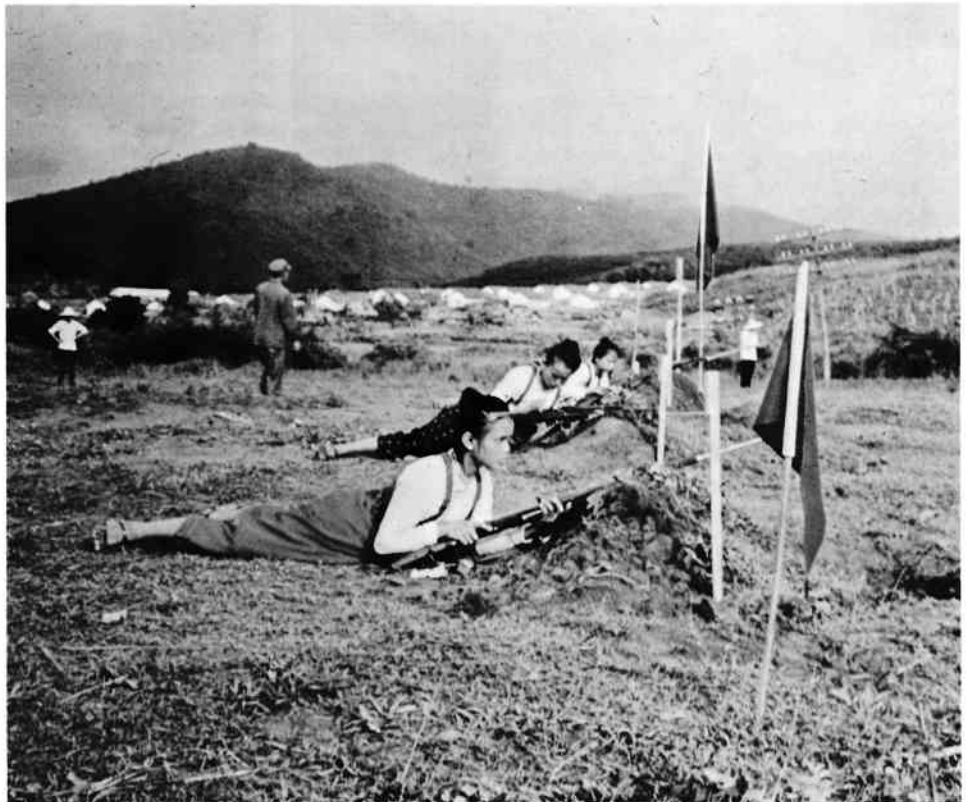
precarious, that are lost in civilization, even socialist civilization (though this is not a question that any Chinese would ask), but for the one-time serfs in the lowland it is clear enough that they had nothing to lose and everything to gain.

With some English friends and Chinese hosts I was able to make an all-too-brief visit to Shi Shuang Banna and get acquainted with the Thai community there. The villagers like to describe the old days, so as to savor the change. In the past, shifting cultivation, without weeding or manuring, gave low yields for hard work. More than 70 percent of what little they got was taken from them by the feudal lords and village chiefs, as well as by a degenerate, parasitical religion. No one had rights to the land; a man was allotted a patch to cultivate only as long as he could carry out the required service to the lord of the manor, service which fell on his children

as he grew old. Each village was assigned particular services—some to work the lord's domain, some to breed horses, some to build boats, some to provide house servants. What they tell most bitterly, an extra humiliation, is how some had to carry a spare pair of boots for the lord and hold up the train of the lady when they walked out.

A Thai house, neat and spacious, is built of wood and bamboo, standing on timber piles, with a brown-tiled, gabled roof. Formerly, the lords would not let the villagers use tiles—the roofs were thatched with grass—and they would not let them put a stone foundation under the piles. Now the village is a team in an agricultural commune; neighbors help each other to build a house when required. The former temple, a larger and grander version of the same architecture, is used as a grain store. (The monks, after the land reform, took off their robes and went to work with their families.) The output of grain in the area as a whole is three times or more what it was. Electrification and mechanization are reducing the hard toil required to get the grain, over half the land is irrigated, experiments are being carried out with new seeds and new methods of cultivation, and cash crops—rubber, for instance—are bringing more money into the villages and more pride in contributing to the national economy and to the building of socialism.

The changeover to the now well-tested form of agricultural organization in teams,



Thai women practice marksmanship as part of their militia training in Yunnan Province. (Photo: J. Robinson)

brigades, and communes was made more gradually in the minority areas than in "the interior," as the border people call the rest of China. In the interior, land reform was completed by 1952. It was carried out by rousing the peasants in each village to confront their own landlords, and some of these landlords were roughly treated. In Shi Shuang Banna, land reform was not carried out until 1956, after years of preparatory investigations. Sharp confrontations were avoided. Accusations by the serfs against their oppressors were made "back to back, not face to face." By then, cadres had been recruited and Party members admitted from among the minority peoples and they helped their Han colleagues in explaining the principle of the reform to the lords and chiefs as well as to the peasants. Since power was clearly in the hands of the people and their representatives, the lords had to accept the situation. When the land was distributed among the serfs and landless workers, the former aristocrats received the same share as everyone else; many to this day are working along with their neighbors.

Some peoples who had been living under "primitive communism" were encouraged to form cooperatives straightaway without passing through the stage of land reform, but it turned out that they had been more contaminated by individualism and the market economy than was at first realized. There had to be a good deal more educa-

tion before the cooperatives were working properly. In the areas now freed from feudalism, cooperatives became general soon after the land had been distributed. This movement was too hasty. When the "evil wind of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line" was blowing from the interior, individualism broke out and many cooperatives were dissolved into small peasant holdings. Then a fresh educational campaign was launched. Indignation was raised against Liu for saying that the minority people were too ignorant and backward to run cooperatives. The cooperatives were gradually restored and developed.

In 1969, when the wind of the Cultural Revolution was blowing, they were transformed into communes. It was ten years since communes had become general in the interior and much experience had been gained. Learning from this and from their own former mistakes, the cadres, now largely minority people themselves, were successful in getting the idea of communes accepted and put into practice. The beginnings of mechanization, as well as water control, put a ratchet behind collectivization of farming by giving it obvious technical advantages; with every year that passes the temptations of individualism grow weaker. In China the moral appeal of building socialism is extremely powerful, but, at the same time, it is not in conflict with material advantage.

In all this, the development of cadres at

every level from among the nationalities was of the utmost importance. The institutions of an autonomous prefecture for Shi Shuang Banna had been set up in 1953, making the minority peoples "masters of their own house" and this gradually took on more meaning as their own leaders came to the fore. Chairman Mao has insisted again and again that Han people must combat the tendency to "big nation chauvinism." This does not mean merely crude expressions of racial superiority but also paternalism—doing things for people and trying to improve them instead of letting them find out how to improve themselves. In the early stages, an experienced Han cadre would train a minority cadre and, when he or she had learned the ropes, the Han cadre would exchange positions with the "student" and serve under him or her. Over a period of 20 years, leaders have come up from the once oppressed peoples as clear-minded and articulate and with as firm a grasp of political principles as can be found anywhere in the Republic.

Both minority and Han cadre help people to get rid of cruel superstitions. One community believed that twins were children of the devil and must be thrown out. This practice was forbidden but legal sanctions alone could not stamp it out. So whenever it was learned that twins had been born, someone would rush to the spot and rescue the babies. They were cared for and brought up in order to prove to the people



A Thai blacksmith working with his child on his back, Yunnan Province. He and his wife, who works in another shop, take turns looking after the child. (Photo: J. Robinson)



A Thai woman welder in a county factory that produces hand tractors and other agricultural machinery, Yunnan Province. Prior to Liberation, all manufactured products were imported into the area by merchants who charged exorbitant prices. (Photo: J. Robinson)

that they were perfectly normal children. One pair, we were told, is now ten years old.

Obviously, education in socialism is necessarily education in *Chinese* socialism, and this cannot help having a certain homogenizing effect. The Han people, however, encourage the minorities to resist cultural homogeneity. The women wear their various costumes (equally when working in the

fields or practicing rifle shooting with the militia); the old festivals are kept up, and the old folk tunes are given new words. Even silver is allocated by the government for making the traditional jewelry.

China's national minorities are treated with respect and dignity by the Han majority. In new China, this seems perfectly natural, but perhaps some readers will think I have just made it all up. □

## China and Black Americans

A demonstration in Shanghai connects the Chinese people with the Black liberation struggle in the United States

Vicki Garvin

It was early in the morning of April 18, 1968, not long after the assassination of Martin Luther King and the wave of uprisings that followed. Li Rui-hua, my young interpreter and former student, was calling to tell me that Chairman Mao, on behalf of the Chinese people, had released a statement "In Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression." There was to be a giant rally in People's Square, she said excitedly, and people were gathering in workplaces, schools, and neighborhoods all over the city. The students and staff at the Shanghai Institute of Foreign Languages where I taught English would be assembling for a pre-rally meeting in a couple of hours—would I be interested in saying a few words there?

Far more excited than she, I jotted down her translation of Chairman Mao's statement, prepared some notes, and hurried to join the overflow crowd in the auditorium. Soon it was my turn to speak. Midway through my remarks I was so overwhelmed by the significance of the occasion that I was unable to continue. As the tears rolled down my cheeks, Li, by my side at the lectern translating into Chinese, slipped me a handkerchief and squeezed my hand reassuringly.

When the meeting ended, our group lined up and marched spiritedly through the

*Vicki Garvin has long been active in trade union and Black liberation struggles. She is currently on the Executive and Steering Committees of the New York City USCPFA. She taught English in Shanghai from 1966 to 1970.*

streets in a heavy rain, our huge red banners and smaller red-paper signs brilliant against the gray sky. Hundreds of thousands of people were in the Square or marching toward it, and the city rang with shouts of solidarity: "Oppressed nations and peoples of the world, unite! . . . Down with the reactionaries of all countries! . . . Support our Black brothers and sisters!" This great outpouring continued until late into the night as a steady stream of people came from their work-shifts to replenish the ranks of the demonstration.

In Shanghai alone, one million people turned out to express their unity with the embattled Black Americans. This inspiring scene was duplicated in the major cities of the provinces and autonomous regions, including Tibet, involving many millions of people in all.

This was not, of course, the first time that the People's Republic had voiced its support for our struggle. On August 8, 1963, while Americans were mobilizing for a mass March on Washington in the initial phase of the 1960s Black movement, Mao Tsetung issued his first statement, "Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism"—the only leader of a foreign country to speak out forthrightly on our behalf.

Now, in 1968, at another crucial moment, and despite the fact that China was immersed in problems of its own growth and direction during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao published another strong statement. In it he described our struggle as being waged not only for

Black people but in the interest of all the exploited and oppressed people in the United States.

"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

Often during the days that followed the rally in Shanghai, I thought about the meaning of these words and the experience of the Chinese people that lay behind them. One of the guiding principles of the Chinese Revolution, I knew, was the interdependence and equality of all nationalities. It was not just a slogan. The Chinese Communist Party had led all the nationalities of China to recognize their common enemies, foreign and domestic, and had fostered the unity that was needed to liberate the country. In the course of the concrete day-to-day struggle, ruling-class Han chauvinism was combated and mutual trust developed among China's nationalities, leading to victories for everyone.

Everywhere I traveled in China there were signs of cooperation and harmony among the different ethnic groups. But the Chinese themselves stress that backward thinking and attitudes inherited from the past are not wiped out overnight, even under the most favorable conditions. The Cultural Revolution and later social movements show that the Chinese are determined to face their remaining problems through education, criticism, and struggle.

Mao Tsetung's statement and the Chinese people's huge outpouring of support in 1968 had a tremendous impact on me. China's history differs in many respects from our own, of course. But as a participant in the centuries-old fight for complete emancipation in the multinational United States, I believe that China's experience is a valuable resource for exploited and oppressed peoples everywhere who have so much in common. □

# KICKING THE HABIT

## How China cured its drug addicts

Nancy Southwell

Once there was a popular saying in China: "There are more houses selling opium than those selling rice." But times have changed and opium sellers no longer lurk in the lanes of Peking, Shanghai, or Canton. No longer are there warlords in Szechuan and Yunnan forcing peasants to grow poppies for them instead of food for themselves. East Nanking Road—at one time Shanghai's infamous center of opium dens, gambling houses, and brothels—has been transformed into a center of production. In China today the only opium grown is a small amount for medical use. Rewi Alley, a New Zealander who has spent more than 50 years working, traveling, and writing in China, reported to us in Peking that "opium went like magic when the people of China stood up." How did it happen?

Not by magic, actually, but by a collective effort to build a new society. Harnessing the determination of the people themselves, the Chinese Communist Party set out to eliminate the blight left over from the bitter past. "Revolutionary measures were needed," said an American-born physician whose long-time work in China involved massive public health campaigns in the 1950s. "You could not work slowly and wait 30 to 50 years to end it. It never would have ended."

Rehabilitation of drug victims was a many-sided effort, involving not only groups of addicts who underwent the cure and discussed the evils of opium together, but their families who were encouraged to take in the "fallen" outcasts, the state which provided jobs for the ex-addicts, and the Party cadres who taught the people where the roots of the problem lay—in China's oppression by exploiters, both foreign and domestic, who trafficked in the poppy and profited from its effects.

The link between opium and imperialism was of key importance in the campaign to eliminate addiction. As Gu Guan-xian, vice-chairperson of the Canton Municipal Committee for the Suppression of Opium and Narcotics, said in 1952: "The suppression of opium and narcotics must be correctly recognized as a political struggle against the imperialists, native bandits, and special agents who engage in the traffic for the injury of our people."

Except for medicinal purposes, the Chinese had never really used opium before the Portuguese and Dutch introduced it in the seventeenth century. The drug did not become a serious problem until the early nineteenth century when Britain began selling huge quantities of it to China to offset its unfavorable trade balance

with the Chinese. When China attempted to halt the opium flood, Britain waged a war—the first Opium War, in 1840—to enforce its "right" to keep selling the drug. And Japan a century later made opium one of its main sources of revenue in Manchuria from 1937 to 1945.

Foreign traders and invaders weren't the only ones who had an interest in the drug trade. Chiang Kai-shek's government periodically "cracked down," with no success, for the Nationalists had too many close connections with opium dealers. In particular, Du Yue-sheng, head of the Shanghai Green Gang, the port's protection racket, was both China's biggest drug dealer and a key backer of Chiang Kai-shek; without him, Chiang could not have come to power. When the Nationalists did "crack down," it was often only a means of accumulating more drugs for themselves—to resell. Ex-addicts in Shanghai told us that the Nationalist government's Anti-Opium Suppression Bureau had been one of the best places to secure opium. One woman described the old local police headquarters as "a restaurant and hotel for drug peddlers." There was even a short time in 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek legalized opium because of his need for revenue.

After Liberation in 1949, however, China had a government dedicated to serving the people, not to profiting from them. The anti-opium campaign became one of its highest priorities. The Government Administrative Council's order banning opium and narcotics was signed by Premier Chou En-lai on February 24, 1950: "No trafficking, manufacture, or sale of opium and narcotics shall be permitted, and all offenders shall be subject to stern punishment." All levels of the government were instructed to "publicize prescriptions for breaking the habit." Cities like Shanghai, where one out of every 20 people smoked opium and where 10,000 opium dens flourished, established special addiction clinics. Although the new law required addicts to register and gave them from three to six months to break their habits, the addicts were not the enemy in the anti-opium campaign. As long as they accepted the challenge of changing their lives, they were not penalized in any way for their past.

The Communist Party launched an intensive educational effort. Working largely through neighborhood and rural committees, which played a vital role, the Party organized anti-opium rallies where former addicts testified about their drug-ruined lives, opium pipes were broken, drugs were burned, and pushers were publicly denounced. Party leaders also spent several hours a week discussing the harmful effects of addiction with neighborhood groups and enlisting families to help their own addicts. Suspected opium speculators were challenged and brought before the people's

*Nancy Southwell teaches Asian history at the Brearley School in New York City and is a coordinator of the School Resources Committee of the New York USCPFA. She visited China in 1975.*





An etching portrays opium addicts languishing in a turn-of-the-century opium den. (Photo: courtesy M. Ropa)



Etching of an addict heating up a ball of opium in his pipe. (From *Opium: Historical Notes* by J. Edkins, 1898)

courts. Since families with bitter knowledge of the drug's effects were determined to carry out the government's anti-opium policy, it was extremely difficult for users and sellers to continue their practices undetected.

In Canton, an Opium Suppression Day was proclaimed on June 3, 1951—the anniversary of the day when Commissioner Lin Ze-xu first stood up to the British and confiscated and burned 20,000 chests of their opium in Canton harbor in 1840. But now, instead of one lone official, there were 4,000 former opium addicts, 2,000 members of their families, and 5,000 representatives of various committees who stood up against the evils of opium and showed their hatred of the opium traffickers.

Not every addict and dealer immediately obeyed the 1950 decree, however. Secret peddling and drug use continued sporadically, prompting an all-out campaign throughout China in 1952 to eliminate drug abuse forever. Everywhere people were mobilized to “expose and accuse the diehards.” Cities and districts set up Drug Abuse Prohibition Committees which worked with former addicts to publicize the evils of the drug. Former addict Zai Yongmei, a gaunt-faced woman of 56, told us how she helped in the 1952 movement.

“I was on a neighborhood work-team and we did three things: encouraged families of addicts to help their members abstain, exposed those who were running against the movement, and publicized the government's policy. We let people know they would be leniently treated if they confessed their former faults, but if they did not, they would be seriously punished. To persuade people to give up the drug, I would also talk about my own past addiction, and how my son and my husband died from being addicts.”

By the end of 1952, the anti-opium drive was over. Whether drug use was totally wiped out at that point or whether (as Communist Party member Chen Hui-zhen and some others told us) it took another couple of years to fully solve the problem, there is no disputing the fact that today drug abuse no longer exists in China.

While the basic cure for China's opium problem was social, what about the physical cure each addict had to go through? What methods were used? No one in the Shanghai lane we visited could remember any addicts who had taken advantage of the specially



Neighborhood-run factories, including this bicycle assembly shop, have replaced the opium dens of East Nanking Road in Shanghai. (Photo: N. Woronov)

set-up clinics and hospitals; most addicts chose to break their habits at home. The experience of Mrs. Zai, who had been in and out of hospitals prior to 1949, seemed typical:

"When I recalled how my husband and son had died, I made up my mind to quit or I would meet the same end. I didn't go to the hospital but stayed at home and did not eat or drink for three days and nights. Lying on my bed with every joint aching was very painful. I had no strength to sit up; I could only open my eyes and look at the ceiling. Tears came from my eyes and mucus from my nose. Then, after three days, I began to feel better and I ate some thin porridge. I never smoked again."

Another type of cure was described by 70-year-old former addict Wu Yong-zhi:

"It was hard to break the habit, but after the Party told me about the harmfulness of opium and that there would be no more supplies, I wanted to lead a new life. So I took the remaining opium from my pipe and cooked it with water to make a tea. For two days I took tiny sips, adding a little more water each day. Then it was gone and I took no more opium ever."

According to Dr. Ma Hai-teh (George Hatem), one-third of the addicts he knew about in Peking broke their habits by such "cold turkey" methods. The rest went to clinics where they were given smaller and smaller doses of the drug and intramuscular injections of a 25 percent magnesium sulfate solution to relieve muscle spasms and tensions. Heroin addiction, more severe than an opium habit (but fortunately not as common), was also treated in the same way. "After a short time," Dr. Ma reported, "the clinics closed down because they weren't needed anymore." A Canton hospital reported that, on the average, cures were effected in 12 days, although physically weak addicts—possibly heroin victims who also suffered from malnutrition—needed a longer period, perhaps a month. At the Canton hospital, 500 patients lived a group life, meeting both mornings and afternoons to discuss the evils of the habit they were trying to break. Following their treatment,

**East Nanking Road Today** Could these whitewashed lanes, now filled with the hum of sewing machines and sounds of laughing children, really have housed some of the busiest brothels and opium dens in Shanghai just 25 years ago? My mind tried to bring back the "foul atmosphere of the bitter past" described by Mrs. Yu Wei-qing, the leading member of the East Nanking Road Neighborhood Committee, Whangpoo District. She was picturing the narrow lanes that used to come alive at night when the brothels turned on their neon lights. But today, those lights, as well as the stale odor of opium, are gone.

As our group wandered through the once-filthy courtyards of East Nanking Road, the smell was of lunch being cooked for the kindergarten. We watched some young girls dressed in the bright pink and yellow national costumes of Inner Mongolia dance and sing "Riding a Horse to Peking." How many of their grandparents had been opium addicts, we wondered, spending their days languishing in these very rooms? These courtyards, once the center of vice in Shanghai, now contained a kindergarten, six nurseries, and eight dining rooms which freed parents to work in local factories or in the 61 workshops and 15 repair shops run by the Neighborhood Committee.

In one shop, former housewives from the lane were sewing green and pink brocade quilts for the Number 1 Department Store. The assembly shop was putting together the "Forever Brand" bicycle that can be seen zipping along the Shanghai streets. Times have changed on East Nanking Road. Production is now the order of the day.



Ex-addict Zai Yong-mei, 56 years old, became an activist in the anti-opium drive in the 1950s by relating her own bitter experiences. (Photo: N. Southwell)

former addicts were given jobs in state-run factories or neighborhood workshops and played an active role in the anti-opium campaign. Their involvement with building the new society and the total absence of drugs prevented backsliding into misery.

What happened to the former dealers in drugs? Whereas addicts received help, treatment, and education, drug dealers were punished according to the severity of their crimes and their attitude toward re-education. Many, realizing the government was serious about eliminating opium abuse, fled to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Yu Wei-qing, leading member of the East Nanking Road Neighborhood Committee, told us the fate of two typical opium speculators. One, who refused to confess, was sent to jail for life. The other not only confessed but also exposed other opium sellers and was sentenced to five years in prison. Following a jail term which remolded his outlook, he was released under mass supervision—in his case, the local Neighborhood Committee—and now earns his living as a street cleaner in Shanghai.

"Some small criminals who were determined to turn over a new leaf were released after only a few months in jail," Mrs. Yu reported to us. Prior to Liberation, she said, 21 individuals from 17 families (out of the 1,700 in her lane) were directly engaged in opium selling. Three of these were sentenced to prison and died there, two are still serving life sentences, three underwent six months of re-education in prison, and eight who had a good attitude received re-education without serving prison terms. One dealer escaped to Hong Kong, and four others were convicted of high crimes but were placed under local supervision after they repented. Mrs. Yu knew of no executions in her area but said there had been a few on the city level. There were certainly no mass executions such as those reported by the Western press.

Mrs. Zai compared the fate of drug pushers in new China to their treatment in the past. "In pre-Revolution days, opium dealers had a saying that 'the police are our brothers.' They were taken into the police station by the front door, but immediately went out the back. Now the whole social system has changed and there are no longer opium smokers or dealers."

China's experience in solving its opium abuse problem suggests that if the people have power and if their will to solve a problem is strong enough, the solution is not far behind. In China's socialist society, where there are productive, meaningful jobs for all, and where poverty, hunger, and profit-making corruption have been eliminated, millions of former addicts like Mrs. Zai "stopped being ghosts and became human beings. Before Liberation we had been turned into opium devils. Now we've come back to ourselves." □

# Inside the Laboratory

Nobel Prize-winning physicist C. N. Yang discusses science, scientists, and his conversations with Chairman Mao

*Would you tell us about your discussions of science with Chairman Mao?*

In 1973, when I was visiting China, I had asked to see Chairman Mao without much hope that he would receive me. I was surprised and greatly honored when told one afternoon that Chairman Mao would like to see me. Our conversation was a very relaxed and meandering one, and the Chairman had a very good way of putting me at ease.

He asked me what we were doing in our research in physics and when I told him that we were studying the structure of elementary particles, he was intensely interested. To my surprise, he had clearly

*Yang Chen-ning is the Albert Einstein Distinguished Professor of Physics and the Director of the Institute of Theoretical Physics at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1957 for the discovery of "parity non-conservation" (a basic asymmetry between right and left in nuclear physics). Born in China, he came to the United States in 1945 and taught at the University of Chicago and Princeton before coming to Stony Brook in 1966. Dr. Yang has visited the People's Republic five times since 1971.*

*This interview was edited by Michael Munk.*

been following some of the developments in contemporary high-energy physics. He asked me about the current status of the debate over whether or not elementary particles are divisible, and I told him that it was still being hotly debated without an explicit resolution thus far.

To me, Chairman Mao's interest in physics was truly remarkable. My speculation is that his philosophical interests had something to do with his knowledge and curiosity about what we are trying to learn in the laboratory.

Chairman Mao is one of the few truly great men of the twentieth century. He is both the great political leader of the Chinese people and a great intellectual leader not only in China but also in many other parts of the world. In my conversation with him, I thought I caught glimpses of both his intellectual prowess and his quality as a leader of men and women.

*What else was the Chairman interested in?*

We covered many topics. For example, he told me that ancient Chinese philosophers had also speculated on the structure of matter, and he quoted from some of the classics, about which I was glad to learn because I had not known about them.

At one point he asked me: "What is the usage in your field of the word 'theory' and of the word 'thought'?" Now, that's a difference that hadn't occurred to me so I had to think about it and, after some debate with

myself, I gave a complicated answer. Then we got into a discussion of the meaning of these two words in ordinary Chinese and English, as contrasted to their meaning in academic physics. The differences are subtle and the discussion didn't lead to any specific conclusion, but it left a profound impression on me. Chairman Mao debates conceptual questions at various levels and is very careful in wanting to make each term he uses precise.

*We understand that you also talked with Premier Chou En-lai about science.*

Premier Chou and Zhou Pei-yuan, Vice-President of Peking University, were there when I met Chairman Mao. The conversation was between the four of us in a very relaxed atmosphere. As I said before, Chairman Mao had a way of putting people at ease. I have seen the Premier quite a few other times and he has inquired about many things, including scientific developments of various kinds.

My first visit with him in 1971, however, was exclusively devoted to his asking me many questions about the United States. My impression was that he knew a lot about the United States but wanted to verify his information with me. He asked a wide range of questions—what are the wages of carpenters, professors, and government officials?—what is the student unrest on campus really all about?—who in my opinion really controls the United States? They were very

complicated questions and I didn't know all the answers, but I did the best I could.

*What do you think will be China's contribution to the world of science during the last quarter of this century?*

It's clear that up to now the Chinese contribution to modern science has not been as large as it should have been. During all of my trips to China in the last few years, I saw slogans everywhere saying that China should make greater contributions to mankind. The progress that has been made is really miraculous when I compare modern China to the China of 30 years ago when I was a student. I think this momentum will continue and I haven't the faintest doubt that China will play an extremely important role on every frontier of science and technology in the future.

If there is one area where China will most certainly make rapid progress, I would single out the field of medicine and health care because of China's well-focused and extremely farsighted emphasis on public health and other matters that are of immediate relevance to human welfare. This doesn't mean that other fields are not also making great progress. I've been asked whether abstract fields which have no immediate relevance to the general well-being of individuals are being neglected. My own field of high-energy physics is a good example of abstract science, by the way. My own observation is that Chinese policy toward this type of science is very sophisticated. They regard abstract or theoretical development as an essential component of overall scientific development, and there is a tremendous amount of work going on in my field and in other academic fields. But it is my general impression that, where there is a conflict, China does give first priority to areas directly related to the welfare of people.

*On this relationship between relatively pure science and applied science, what difference did you find between China and the United States?*

In the United States there are a number of areas which are not considered "proper" fields for investigation in a university, which is supposed to devote its resources to academic research. In China, universities and research institutes are concerned with the abstract aspects of research, but they also engage in the very practical aspects. For example, American universities would not be involved in developing cryogenic [low-temperature] technical equipment because there are large-scale industrial lab-

oratories to do this. When I visited the Institute of Physics in Peking, however, I found a sizable effort to develop this type of equipment, and the fruits of this research would be used in industries all over China to develop assembly-line production of cryogenic equipment that might, for example, reduce energy loss in the long-distance transmission of electric power.

*Do you find similar integration between theoretical and experimental science?*

Yes, that is another point of emphasis in scientific development in China. It is, of course, particularly important in a society where traditionally, under Confucian culture, to experiment, to use one's hands, was for a gentleman to degrade himself. However, I don't think the emphasis on experimental work is interpreted to mean that everyone must be able to do experiments. I saw absolutely no signs of that. There are a number of people whom I've seen repeatedly in the last few years who are pure theorists, and none of them said he or she was about to do any experiments. On the whole, however, experimental science is more important than theoretical science in China.

*Since the Cultural Revolution, have there been any changes in how Chinese scientists establish their research priorities and how they receive their funding?*

Research institutes now operate according to the principle of "double leadership." They must justify their research priorities to the Academy of Sciences which gives them their budget, and to the local government. Before the Cultural Revolution a factory in Peking could ask the Institute of Physics for help in solving a problem if the factory personnel judged it to be somewhat more academic than they could handle. However, since the Institute was only responsible to the Academy of Sciences, there was a tendency to pay only lip service to such a request. With the double leadership system, the Institute must pay more attention to the needs of the city's industry since its budget must also be approved by the Peking city government.

*How is science worked into the curriculum of the schools?*

When I visited my old high school in Peking, I found a tremendous emphasis on students learning useful and productive work with their hands. They go into the countryside at the proper time to help farmers plant seed or harvest rice. In the schools themselves, there are shops in which students do various kinds of manual work. Let

me emphasize that the spirit of this is a much greater revolutionary change than Americans may realize. In the old China, not only were there no facilities for students to get close to any workshops or farms, but it was regarded as beneath the dignity of educated people to even want to do so. Because of this strong and extremely unhealthy tradition, the high school students used to have contempt for people who work with their hands. I think the new spirit in China has directly confronted this and I found an amazing change in this respect. The whole concept of the ultimate mean-



Yang Chen-ning with Mao Tsetung in the summer of 1973.

ing of human life has changed. This is of profound importance for modern science.

*Some Americans have said that the campaign to send not only high school students but also senior scientists to the countryside would reduce the quality of advanced education and scientific progress. Has this happened?*

I didn't find it so because China does not interpret this principle in such a rigid way to make it detrimental to real progress. For example, I asked a group of mathematicians and physicists at Fudan University when they would all go to the countryside. They said that although many of them would volunteer, only a small number of them would be selected to go. The countryside does not need that many people and it is recognized that scientists have important work to do and that not everybody can im-

mediately stop his or her work to pick up and go. I found that only one or two of the eight people with whom I worked last summer had gone to the countryside in the past few years.

The really important thing is that the scientists' attitudes have completely changed. They regard working in the countryside as an important process of education for themselves and there is a genuine feeling among the highly trained research people that society is built on the labor of workers. This is a totally new attitude that was absent in old China and is not to be



(Photo: courtesy of Yang Chen-ning)

found in the United States where the elitist idea that people who use their brains are better than those who use their hands still prevails. Chinese scientists would all like to have the chance to go to the countryside and work, and those who do so are very enthusiastic. The impressive thing is that the personal aspirations of the scientists I met in China are very much, in fact amazingly, identical with the national aspirations.

*Do the Chinese attach the same importance to scientific genius that we do? How would an Einstein fare in China?*

I think "genius" is a dirty word in China. This does not mean, however, that China does not recognize the contribution of a particular individual. For example, the late Professor Li Si-guang, whose efforts eventually opened the Taching oil fields for China, is recognized as having made a great con-

tribution to China's self-sufficiency in oil production. They do not believe that this was due to Li's "genius," but rather to his understanding of what was an important problem and his daring to go against the "experts'" view that China had no significant oil reserves to exploit.

China has set very high, idealistic goals and wants to make rapid progress. That requires of each citizen much more selfless efforts for the benefit of the whole society. Einstein would be appreciated for his profound contributions to the field of physics. I find no reason to believe that Einstein's research would not prosper in China as it did in Europe and America in his lifetime.

*How rapidly is China's science developing?*

The fastest way to catch up in modern science and impress visitors from abroad is to establish a super-laboratory, buy all the equipment from abroad, and then quickly train graduate students and research workers to do the problems which are currently being done elsewhere. China rejects this method because it would be a showcase unrelated to the general development of the country.

This was brought home to me one morning in 1973 when I visited a laser laboratory at a university in Hong Kong. It was in an air-conditioned room; there was an enormous imported laser tube, very smooth, very nicely made, and very nicely packaged. They were doing some quite advanced research and I was impressed.

That same afternoon, after I had crossed the border into China, I was ushered into the optics laboratory of Zhong Shang University. I saw room after room of laser equipment—wires sticking out here and there, glass tubes going in all directions, everything was messy. The contrast was amazing. The tubes weren't nicely smooth, there was no chrome anywhere, and there were all kinds of problems. It was clear to me that in this organic environment, there will develop a group of laser scientists who know everything about the whole field, who know the real reason for the existence of the problems that are investigated abroad. I think this philosophy will generate long-range benefits to Chinese science and technological developments.

*What can overseas Chinese students in the sciences and technology do for China and for the countries in which they are studying?*

I'm not an authority on that but I think that for those students who are still living

in a dream—and there are, unfortunately, quite a few of them—it is highly important for them to wake up! It is too bad that some people have been sold a bill of goods which has nothing to do with reality. They believe, for example, what is written in the Taiwan newspapers.

I would advise them immediately to try to understand in an unbiased way what is going on in the world today. They owe it to themselves. Beyond that, I think that a person of Chinese ethnic background would find it particularly educational, as I did, to reflect on *how* progress has been made in China and its fundamental long-range meaning for the rest of the world. I myself found such reflections extremely educational. Of course, it's very important for a person to try to visit China and have a first-hand look at the enormous changes which can be observed everywhere one goes.

I would also say that the world faces enormous problems in the future, and unless there is better understanding among the peoples of the world, the future will be gloomy indeed. So it is extremely important that more effort be devoted to promoting such understanding. I think *New China* magazine, for example, is a worthwhile project because it does promote this goal; and Chinese students here, because of their historical and ethnic backgrounds, could probably participate in such efforts especially effectively.

*The Chinese have a phrase, gai gun lun ding, "final comments on nailing a coffin." Could you comment on Chiang Kai-shek's death and on the prospects for the reunification of China?*

I don't think my opinion of him is of any importance, but it is important to know how the 800 million Chinese people view him in history. There is no doubt that they look at Chiang with contempt, and that is the overwhelmingly important thing for historical judgment.

As for the unification of China and the return of Taiwan to the fold, I believe that the Shanghai Communique is extremely important because it defines the fundamental principles. I don't know how unification will be achieved, but I don't believe the situation of the past four years can maintain itself for any great length of time, as some people would like to believe. If you add up the total developments of diplomacy and the international power balance of that period, you will find the momentum is rapid and that unification is not far in the future. □

# KNUCKLEBONES AND MARBLES

Rewi Alley



"You take a picture of me and I'll take a picture of you"—Guangdong Province. (Photo: D. Louie)

If you want to make friends with children in China, you'd better have your wits about you. Not long ago, while taking photographs in Peking, I encountered a group of small girls sliding down a battered old stone ramp in a neighborhood park. No sooner had I aimed my camera in their direction than they deluged me with friendly, curious questions. Who was I? What did I do? Why did I want to take pictures of children?

In return, I asked them a bit about themselves and what they wanted to do when they grew up. I met, among others, a future cotton mill worker, technician, and airplane pilot. One serious child of about nine confided that she planned "to investigate insects." Another looked me in the eye and declared, "The organization will decide where I can best be of use," before scampering off down the hillside shouting to her friends to catch her if they could.

In another photo session the same day, I encountered the same kind of exuberance and forthrightness from the youngsters I met. As I aimed my camera at a group of boys playing near a well under some park trees, one approached me with an engaging grin. No sooner did I focus my camera on him than two others marched up and demanded teasingly, "Why do you want to take an ugly one like that? Why don't you want to take a picture of this one?" pointing to a small, immaculately dressed child with a face like a carved Buddha. When I turned to snap a three-year-old climbing up a chestnut tree instead, they all groaned in disgust and ran off to continue their game.

Virtually any contact with Chinese children quickly destroys any stereotyped notion of them as uniformly docile, somber little creatures programmed to do as they are told and to keep as low a profile as possible. On the contrary, one is continually delighted and amazed by their lively independence and curiosity about the world. Although respectful of their elders, Chinese youngsters are not in the least intimidated by the adult world. Few hesitate to ask almost any question that occurs to them. "How does the camera work?" they want to know. "What will you do with the pictures?" Whenever something interesting is going on—a meeting, a street incident, a wedding, a big crane at work—they gravitate to it, never feeling that an event is "out of bounds" because of their youth.

In great part, the self-confidence and in-

*Rewi Alley is a New Zealander long resident in China. He helped to found the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (INDUSCO) during World War II, and has written prolifically about old and new China. His most recent book is Travels in China.*



Uninhibited kids enjoying the surf in Northeast China. (Photo: R. Alley)

dependence of Chinese children stems from the secure knowledge that even at their young age, they are important contributors to the development of their society. No chore is seen as small or insignificant; rather, children learn that every task they perform is part of a great collective effort to achieve a better life for all Chinese. In addition, the Chinese do not condescend to their children by sheltering them from the realities of the world they live in. From the earliest grades, schoolchildren learn about current political problems, the economic needs of the country, and China's relationship to the rest of the world. It would be difficult to find anywhere in China a boy or girl who has not seen all the outstanding movies, or who has not devoured the best-

known children's picture books describing the struggles of the Chinese people to build their society.

But Chinese children are as good at playing as they are at learning—and enjoy it just as thoroughly. As city youngsters leave school each afternoon, they march toward their neighborhood park demurely enough, walking in twos with the flag-bearers in the lead. But the moment they enter the park, it is as though a mainspring has been released—they charge forward and dash in all directions. Other children can be found after school in the back streets, kicking shuttlecocks with their heels, whirring and tossing their diabolos (wooden spools on strings tied to two sticks), beating tops with a whip, skipping, playing "knucklebones"

## Pen Pals

An American who speaks a little Chinese saw some children on a street in Peking and stopped to talk to them. A friendly, laughing exchange developed, she trying out her words and phrases, they correcting and encouraging her to speak and write a character or two.

When it was time to go, the American took out a felt-tip pen and attempted to present it as a small gift to the children. They were reluctant to accept.

"Take it, take it," she urged. "Here, look, it

writes in Chinese!" She wrote *pengyou*, "friend." Before they could protest further, she set off for her hotel.

The next day there was a knock at her door. One small boy from yesterday's group stood in the doorway, in his hand a ball-point pen, made in Shanghai.

"A gift from your friends," he said, carefully printing out the word "friend." "Look, it writes in American!"

Kate Delano Condax



"Let's see if you can top my ace of hearts"—Guangdong Province. (Photo: D. Louie)



Onlookers chant *jia you, jia you*, "pull harder, harder!" (literally: "Add oil!"), while youngsters tug away—Hangchow. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

and shooting marbles. They rarely seem bored or aimless, for there is always an old game to be played or a new one to be invented.

The canals and streams around Peking are popular places for city youngsters to splash and fish. One of the best places to swim is at the back of the old Imperial Fishing Pond, where a canal rushes down from the hills. Children jump in and are carried down for a mile by the swift waters, their happy shouts ringing above the tree-lined banks. Another popular "swimming hole" is the wide lake at the Summer Palace in Peking. The favorite residence of the Empress Dowager of the later Manchu Dynasty period, the palace grounds have been converted into one of Peking's most popular parks. In balmy weather, it is jammed with children swimming, boating, catching insects and sucking on frosty ice-cream popsicles.

Although city life provides an enormous range of opportunities and pleasures for children, life is good to country youngsters as well. In the summer, children swim, play among the wild fruit and nut trees, search for cicadas, and in the evenings, watch movies or opera shows put on by traveling performers. Country children are very un-Confucian and practical when it comes to clothing—when it's warm outside, they simply don't bother. When I lived in West Kansu, the farmers used to say it was unhealthy to clothe growing children, because clothing would keep them from building up resistance to illness and make them into sickly and weak adults. I can't attest to the scientific validity of this statement, but the little ones of West Kansu certainly glowed with health, rarely falling ill even in icy winter weather.

Although children throughout China are adequately fed, country children generally get more to eat than youngsters in the more carefully rationed cities. In the countryside, households have their own plots and chickens and usually benefit from a grain surplus, so food is usually plentiful. And when children are hungry for a between-meal treat, they can always pluck a snack from the wild date, apricot, walnut, and chestnut trees. When a city child of a friend recently visited his country relations in Shansi, he returned full of stories of the quantities of food he consumed. "Everytime I opened my mouth someone stuffed something into it," he recalled in amazement.

Chinese children are very aware that their many opportunities for enjoying life carry with them a responsibility to contribute to society in return. But one is struck by how little Chinese youngsters seem to differentiate between work and play. Since much work is done collectively and has as its goal the betterment of the entire society,



its value is obvious to both young and old in China and doesn't have the negative connotations ascribed to it in many societies. Children seem to get real enjoyment out of their collective chores, whether it's cleaning up parks and gardens in their neighborhood, caring for the younger chil-

dren in the family, or helping out with the farmwork.

Whether at work or play, children in China are fascinating to watch and to know. They are truly part of nature, at one with the movement and color and warmth around them, and full of exuberant curios-

ity about their world. For Chinese children, all their activities—learning, working, playing, discussing, sharing, questioning—are part of a larger effort to experience life and understand the world as fully as possible. If they are their country's future, China has much to be hopeful about. □

# Little Colt

*Little Colt is an instructional play for children that is performed at the Peking Kindergarten Number 4. Adapted from an old fable, the play teaches children how to think independently.*

## Scene 1. On the Way to the Grinding Shop

MOTHER HORSE: Little Colt, hurry up.

LITTLE COLT: Mommy, how come you don't wait for me?

MOTHER HORSE: Little Colt, Mommy wants to deliver this bag of wheat to the grinding shop. Be good and hurry up.

LITTLE COLT: All right, Mommy. . . . Look, Mommy, the grass is so green and tender! It must be very tasty!

MOTHER HORSE: No, there isn't time. Let's taste it on our way home.

LITTLE COLT: All right. . . . Look, Mommy, the flowers are so lovely! Please pick one for me.

MOTHER HORSE: My Little Colt, you are still so childish. All you know is galloping around and playing around.

LITTLE COLT: No, Mommy, I'm getting big. I'm no longer a child.

MOTHER HORSE: Then can you do some work for Mommy?

LITTLE COLT: Of course, Mommy. I can help you work.

MOTHER HORSE: Good. Can you take this bag of wheat to the grinding shop?

LITTLE COLT: Yes! Yes!

MOTHER HORSE: Mommy will meet you later on the big road.

LITTLE COLT: Don't worry, Mommy. Goodbye!

MOTHER HORSE: Oh, don't run so fast! (*To herself.*) It's time for Little Colt to learn to work.

## Scene 2. At the River Bank

LITTLE COLT: A river! Can I cross it? Is the water deep? — Oh, Mommy! Mommy! I need you! (*No answer.*)—Uncle Bull is grazing over there. Let me ask him. Uncle Bull!

BULL: Yes! Where are you going, Little Colt?

LITTLE COLT: I'm on my way to the grinding shop, Uncle Bull. Would you please tell me if I can cross the river?

BULL: Listen, Little Colt, the water is very shallow. It only comes up to my ankles. I'm sure you can cross. Little Colt, you can help your mother work now. That's good.

LITTLE COLT: I am getting big. I'm no longer a child. Goodbye, Uncle Bull.

BULL: Goodbye.

LITTLE COLT: Mommy is not here to help, but I can cross the river just the same.

SQUIRREL: Little Colt, don't go in, don't go in!

LITTLE COLT: Oh, tell me quickly, Little Squirrel, is the river very deep?

SQUIRREL: Very—very—very deep!

LITTLE COLT: Really?

SQUIRREL: Really. One of my little friends fell into the river and drowned.

LITTLE COLT: How scary! Thank you for telling me. I can't cross the river now. What should I do? I'll go home and ask Mommy what to do.

## Scene 3. On the Way Home

LITTLE COLT: Hello, Mommy! How come you're here?

MOTHER HORSE: I came to get you. My goodness, you still have the bag of wheat!

LITTLE COLT: The river is very deep. I couldn't cross it.

MOTHER HORSE: This river is not that deep. Your little uncle crossed it back and forth several times and the water only came up to his waist.

LITTLE COLT: Uncle Bull also said it is shallow and the water only comes up to his ankles. But Little Squirrel said it is very deep and his little friend drowned in it. Mommy, is it deep or is it shallow?

MOTHER HORSE: Have you thought about what they said?

LITTLE COLT: Not yet.

MOTHER HORSE: My dear child, you can't just listen to what others say. How can you cross the river if you don't think it over and try it out for yourself? Now put on your thinking cap and think. How big is Uncle Bull? What size is Little Squirrel? And what are you like next to Little Squirrel? Can you cross the river?

LITTLE COLT: Oh, now I know. Let me try again, Mommy.

MOTHER HORSE: All right.

BULL: Mother Horse, your Little Colt is growing up and can help you work.

LITTLE COLT: Uncle Bull, I still need a lot of training.

MOTHER HORSE: Uncle Bull, please help teach Little Colt.

## Scene 4. Back at the River Bank

SQUIRREL: Are you crossing the river? Don't you want to live?

LITTLE COLT: Little Squirrel, please let me try.

SQUIRREL: Little Colt, you will be *drowned!*

LITTLE COLT: Little Squirrel, don't worry. You are very kind-hearted, but don't you see how big my body is and how small yours is? (*Goes into the water.*)

SQUIRREL: Oh!

LITTLE COLT: Uncle Bull, the water is not as shallow as you said, and it is not as deep as Little Squirrel said. But I *can* cross. Goodbye.

BULL, SQUIRREL, AND MOTHER HORSE: Goodbye, Little Colt!

*Translated by Itty Chan (Chan Ching-hua)*

# The Road Ahead **A call**

**M**ore than three years have elapsed since Premier Chou En-lai and former President Richard Nixon signed the historic U.S.–China Joint Communique in Shanghai in 1972. Since then, significant progress has been made in people-to-people contacts and in trade. But both the American and Chinese public are still waiting for the fulfillment of the Shanghai Communique's promise of a complete normalization of relations between the two countries. Indeed, few other foreign policy goals in current U.S. electoral politics potentially enlist such a high degree of support among Americans. This is because only diplomatic relations can fully develop mutually beneficial contacts. Thus many questions have been raised as to why more rapid progress toward normalization has not been made during the past few years.

The crux of the problem lies in the Taiwan issue, as it has for a quarter-century since the United States dispatched troops to the Chinese island in mid-1950 to block China's consummation of its civil war.

In the Shanghai Communique, the United States recognized that "all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position," and affirmed the "ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan." The tacit but unavoidable implication was that, since the Communique was now signed with the People's Republic of China, the United States would move toward recognizing it as *the* one China, of which Taiwan is a part.

In signing, the U.S. in effect reverted to the unequivocal position it took on the status of Taiwan in early 1950. At that time, the State Department declared its official acknowledgment that Taiwan, "stolen from the Chinese" by Japan—in the words of the 1943 Cairo Declaration—had been restored to China and had again become a Chinese province. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, under instructions from President Truman, even took pains to state on January 5 of that year that the U.S. position was not a question of legal quibbles, but had to do with "maintaining in the world the belief that when the U.S. takes a position it sticks to that position and does not change by reason of transitory expediency or advantage on its part." Six months later, however, the U.S. government abandoned its professed hands-off policy toward the Chinese civil war (still being waged even after the October 1, 1949, founding of the People's Republic) and proclaimed the corrupt, overthrown Chiang regime as the "free world's" champion in Asia.

After the signing of the 1972 Shanghai Communique, it was widely expected that the United States would steadily disengage itself from Taiwan and move toward full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic. But three years later, it has made only one token gesture in this direction—a small withdrawal of troops in June 1975.

*Paul T. K. Lin, a Canadian, is the director of the Centre for East Asian Studies at McGill University, Montreal. He has visited China for extended stays several times in the recent past.*

In every other respect, far from curtailing and terminating its intervention in Taiwan, American military, economic, and diplomatic ties with the island have actually been expanded.

- Since 1973, through the use of long-term, low-interest credits, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan have nearly doubled, going from \$45.2 million two years ago to \$80 million for this fiscal year. Taiwan has also purchased several American submarines, destroyers, and fleet support ships.

- The American government has also authorized a \$200 million military credit arrangement for the Northrop Corporation to build 100 F5-E jet fighters on Taiwan by 1978. These single-seat jets are designed to face the military aircraft of the People's Republic. The withdrawal of the few American F5-E's which were until recently stationed on Taiwan has been more than offset by this move.

- American trade with Taiwan has increased from \$1.5 billion in 1971, shortly before Nixon's China visit, to \$3.7 billion last year. In contrast, trade between the United States and the People's Republic last year reached a little over \$900 million.

- American investment on Taiwan has expanded, with major new projects by such corporations as Ford Motor and Union Carbide. The Export-Import Bank recently gave the island a loan for the construction of two nuclear power plants, and several American companies are exploring for oil in the Taiwan Straits.

- A number of American banks have opened new branches on Taiwan.

- Since the signing of the Shanghai Communique, the United States has also allowed the Chiang regime to set up five new consulates in Atlanta, Portland, Kansas City, Guam, and American Samoa.

**F**or what purposes have these consulates been added and the American presence on Taiwan increased?

Has Washington embarked on another attempt to set up a "two Chinas" or a "one China, one Taiwan" situation?

Is the U.S. "stake" in Taiwan being hastily built up to insure the survival of the Chiang regime and justify further U.S. intervention?

Does the U.S. government in fact regard the Shanghai Communique, with its provisions for an American disengagement from Taiwan, as just another piece of paper?

Today, the situation in Asia has changed dramatically with the U.S. withdrawal from Indochina—a withdrawal militarily made necessary by the successful resistance of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, and politically made possible by the China–U.S. normalization talks. The Chiang regime, however, is still desperately seeking to manipulate U.S. policy along dangerously anti-China lines which no longer have any bearing on America's misread historical interests, let alone her current interests in East Asia.

How much can the United States conceivably gain even in the short run by continuing to sustain the interests of an "ally" which was originally created two decades ago to serve the separate, selfish advantage of each?

To gain a sharper perspective on U.S. policy choices, let us take a closer look at Taiwan's immediate and long-range prospects.

## for a farsighted U.S. policy toward China

Paul T. K. Lin

In the short run, Taiwan's future under the tottering Chiang regime seems bleak. The island's highly touted "showcase" economic growth is cracking under the impact of the crisis now affecting the capitalist world. As a semi-colonial area devoted to the low-cost processing of export goods, Taiwan has been, up to now, a phenomenal bonanza for some U.S. corporations, owing to unscrupulous exploitation of brutally policed cheap labor, and to the Chiang regime's tax concessions and foreign exchange favors that allow them to take their profits out of the country. The wealth extracted by foreign corporations has at the same time fattened a small stratum of Taiwan's population which acts as the agents of these companies, while giving a surface glitter to Taiwan's slum- and brothel-ridden cities.

**B**ut now, the international inflation-recession, particularly in the United States and Japan, threatens the markets, investments, foreign credits, raw materials, and food sources on which the Taiwan economy—60 percent of which is export-oriented—depends. As in the treaty ports of pre-Liberation China, in Taiwan today the cost is being borne by Chinese workers and farmers, grossly underpaid and increasingly burdened by spiraling unemployment, prices, taxes, rent, and interest. The burden is also being carried by the taxpayers of the United States, who pay for Washington's generous subsidies to these lucrative U.S.-Chiang transactions.

The overall result is the familiar syndrome of all client regimes run by mercenary dictators. In the Chiang police state, as formerly in the American-backed dictatorships of Lon Nol in Cambodia and Nguyen Van Thieu in South Vietnam, repression and exploitation at home and the selling-out of national interests abroad have provoked popular opposition. What happens as time runs out for such regimes is clearly illustrated in the case of Taiwan.

Taiwan's business scene, for example, everywhere reveals the obsessive scramble to make the last makeable dollar. The rich send their funds and families abroad to safety, while others seek either a government sinecure for a last chance to enrich themselves or a job with an American firm that might lead to a U.S. passport. Despite the continuing make-believe propaganda about "recovering the mainland," Taiwan's tired, tense officialdom is at heart well aware that the Chiang regime has journeyed to the end of borrowed time. Dusk is falling, and there are no roads ahead in the gathering gloom.

Whatever last-ditch schemes the Chiang regime may try in the coming months, the ultimate destiny of Taiwan is clear. For Taiwan is a part of China, not only in a territorial sense, but also in terms of socio-political history. The growing struggle for the emancipation of Taiwan's masses is, in fact, the unfinished last chapter of the Chinese democratic revolution.

The question now is: will Washington make the kind of half-hearted, grudging retreat to reality in which there can be neither advantage nor honor, face nor grace? Or will the honorable course opened by the Shanghai Communique be followed in the resolute spirit of forthright statesmanship?

As he prepares to visit Peking, President Ford must decide what course to take. Nearly all known recommendations boil down to unworkable schemes for finding some sort of face-saving device on the Taiwan issue. Why not, some advisers suggest, ask the Chinese first to declare their intention to liberate Taiwan peacefully, whereupon the United States could then graciously and approvingly take note of the declaration and proceed to annul the 1954 U.S.-Chiang Mutual Defense Treaty, paving the way for U.S.-PRC normalization?

Such proposals lack logic, realism, and principle. Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan, recognized in the Shanghai Communique, rules out the imposition of any American preconditions on an eventual solution. Furthermore, U.S. advice that Peking should seek a "peaceful settlement" is totally uncalled for and deceptive. The peaceful liberation of Taiwan has been the preferred policy of the People's Republic for some 20 years. But the experience of the Chinese civil war shows that any attempt at peaceful negotiations with the Kuomintang accomplishes nothing unless the option of armed liberation is simultaneously kept open.

The choice is clearly up to the Chiang regime. To this day it has been intransigent on this question. The Kuomintang relies precisely on the Mutual Defense Treaty and the presence of U.S. forces on the island to hold out against a peaceful settlement. To reverse cause and effect by calling on Peking for "peaceful" approaches as a prerequisite to U.S. withdrawal is hardly an honest and realistic basis of negotiation. Such tactics would be justifiably rejected by China, and informed world opinion would view them as another crude and cynical maneuver to reduce the chances of settlement.

**I**t should not be forgotten that the only truly international aspect of the tension that has existed in the Taiwan area for 25 years has been caused by the presence of U.S. armed forces. To eliminate this tension requires more than the recent token withdrawal. *Fu di chou xin*, the Chinese saying goes—to stop the pot from boiling, one must pull the firewood out from under.

There are in addition those who believe that China might not be so eager to see the United States pull out of the area, since this would leave a "power vacuum" which the Soviet Union might be tempted to fill. But how can such geopolitical analyses have any relevance to the case except, indeed, to underscore the urgency of Taiwan Province rejoining its powerful motherland? Besides, the recent victories of peoples fighting for their independence have shown that "power vacuums" resulting from the retreat of imperialist power are likely to be filled quickly and effectively by *people's* power. In this way, the countries and areas concerned cease being pawns in the superpower game and achieve a genuine stability allowing for progressive change.

The ultimate reality to be faced is this: to normalize relations with Peking, there can be no possible alternative to ending diplomatic recognition of Taiwan and withdrawing all U.S. interventionist forces. The more cleanly and resolutely this is done, the more the United States will regain in international prestige, and the firmer will be the basis of future Sino-American relations. □

# SAIGON 1975, SHANGHAI 1949

## An eyewitness recalls the liberation of Shanghai

Julian Schuman

History, it is said, never repeats itself. However, to someone who witnessed the liberation of China's biggest city 26 years ago, there are striking similarities between that event and the liberation of Saigon in 1975.

By mid-May 1949 it was plain that Shanghai's days were numbered, despite the heavy flow of U.S. aid and military supplies and advisers to Chiang's forces. U.S. naval vessels had finally left the port; MAG (the U.S. Military Advisory Group) had departed. Most high officials and dignitaries were gone, taking their gold and prized possessions with them.

Yet a last show of resistance was being made, at least in words. At a morning press conference on May 24, the Secretary-General of the Political Council of the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow Garrison Headquarters told foreign correspondents that "Shanghai will be defended like Stalingrad." Late in the afternoon, this same official, accompanied by Shanghai's ranking general,

*Julian Schuman is a Brooklyn-born freelance journalist and author whose articles on the contemporary Chinese scene have appeared in a number of American newspapers. He has been living in Peking for some years.*

Tang En-po, boarded a plane headed for the temporary safety of Canton.

The city went to bed that night with the knowledge that it might be the last under Kuomintang (KMT) rule. A curfew was in effect and was being rigidly enforced. At first it had been from midnight to six in the morning. But with the KMT's fall recognized as inevitable, the curfew was extended and now lasted from six P.M. to six A.M. For several weeks KMT officials had been cleaning out their bank accounts and safe deposit boxes and shipping bullion, securities, and foreign currency out of the city. For this delicate operation, it was best to keep people off the streets.

At three in the morning on May 25 the telephone awakened me. A Chinese newspaper acquaintance said that Chiang Kai-shek's troops were quietly evacuating. Advance units of the Communist Army were beginning to enter Shanghai from the west. By dawn, the first columns could be seen marching down Avenue Edward II (soon to be renamed Yen-an Road) toward the Bund. When they came to street fortifications, they deployed and took them over matter-of-factly. The streets were all theirs. Shanghai's customary traffic snarl had completely disappeared. But before long

people began pouring out of their homes and crowding the sidewalks. White flags were flying from government buildings, police stations, pill boxes, and sandbag emplacements all over town. Soldiers and police were getting rid of their uniforms. The liberation of Shanghai was all but complete.

People began pulling down Kuomintang street banners and putting up new ones recounting their recent hardships and welcoming the new army. Though a delaying action was being fought just across Soochow Creek, which runs through the city, as far as Shanghai was concerned the war was over.

During the first days of the changeover there was a general feeling of relief at the absence of any disorder. The boarded-up homes, shops, and office buildings made it evident that many people were afraid of looting and rioting. The widespread looting by Chiang's departing troops expected by everyone had not materialized, though there had been some. The final collapse had been quiet and speedy and the Communist troops had come in hard on the fleeing Kuomintang's heels.

The remarkable self-discipline and good conduct of the People's Liberation Army was widely noted at the time. An Associated Press dispatch from Shanghai dated May 26 said: "The behavior of the Communist troops makes it clear why they are winning the war." The report contrasted this with the customary looting and general brutality of Chiang's soldiers.

For weeks a holiday air pervaded the city. There were daily parades, mass meetings, street dancing, and singing. Everywhere crowds listened to speeches, watched skits telling of the victories that had been won, and learned new revolutionary songs from radio loudspeakers mounted on the streets. Solid rows of houses displayed red banners, and posters hailed the new era. Some of these posters were addressed to foreigners with such messages in English as "Foreigners in China Should Immediately Correct the Wrong Conception of Despising the Chinese People" and "The Liberation Army Completely Protects Lives and Property of All Foreigners."

Shanghai's victory celebrations were ini-



Wednesday, June 11, 1975: Saigon students and workers celebrate the liberation of the city. The banner quotes Ho Chi Minh: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)



Sunday, June 12, 1949: Shanghai students marching along the waterfront to celebrate the liberation of the city and to protest black marketeering. Slogans on sticks read, "Do away with the dollar speculators." In the background is the Bank of China, once run by Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law. The photographer described the atmosphere of the parade as one of "great gaiety," but "underneath, a feeling of release, and the touching gravity of youth with its hopes for a new world." (Photo: H. Cartier-Bresson, Magnum)

tiated by the new authorities and led by the city's radical student movement and factory workers who had been doing underground political work. But the majority of the populace went along happily. To an outsider during the Cold War period, it might have seemed strange that people would celebrate a Communist victory. But for anyone who had lived among Shanghai's millions under the Kuomintang regime, as I had, it was no surprise.

Despite the build-up of Chiang Kai-shek as the symbol of a "free China," before 1950 many Western observers, including firmly anti-Communist Americans, had plainly identified him as a feudal despot whose government was corrupt, inefficient, and heavy-handed. Documentary evidence in the U.S. State Department White Paper released in August 1949 showed that the greater part of the billions in U.S. economic aid since 1945 had been embezzled, and another billion in military supplies furnished to Chiang's generals had been sold or surrendered by them to the Communists.

In a 1947 report, General Wedemeyer of the U.S., an avowed anti-Communist, had pointed to the "corruption among govern-

ment officials, high and low, and also throughout the economic life of the country. . . . Nepotism is rife." He also reported many instances of "abuse in meting out punishment to offenders, political and otherwise. . . . People disappear. Students are thrown into jail. No trials and no sentences." Everyone, said Wedemeyer, "lives with a feeling of fear and loses confidence in the government."

Though Shanghai was taken with a minimum of fighting, the last few weeks of Kuomintang rule were a bloodbath. The people's lives and property were completely at the mercy of Chiang's military. Students, political prisoners, and those suspected of political activity were rounded up and shot daily. On the day before they fled the city, Kuomintang troops executed more than 300 political prisoners in a park. Nine students imprisoned at the Foochow Road police station were shot on the orders of the police commissioner, and their bodies lay virtually under the windows of the American Club next door.

Following in the wake of the retreating troops, even a casual onlooker could gauge the vast amount of U.S.-supplied military

equipment lost by Chiang. On the road to the naval base at Woosung, I saw long lines of military vehicles loaded with army goods, many of them wrecked and left standing in the road.

Despite the destruction, large quantities of matériel were captured by the incoming army. It was difficult to reconcile that mass of equipment with the cries raised in some quarters at home that China had been "lost" because of failure to supply Chiang adequately. Having seen the liberation of Shanghai and heard the accounts of those who had witnessed the surrender of Peking four months earlier, one could appreciate the quip current in Shanghai that enough military goods had been shipped to the Kuomintang to arm both sides.

Naturally there were those in Shanghai who feared the Communists. But given Chiang's rule and his close connections with foreign interests, it was small wonder that the great mass of people welcomed the arrival of a new government. Many may have been uncertain as to what they were going to get, but they knew what they were rid of and considered their liberation cause for rejoicing. □

# China's Premier unravels some of the tangled threads of the Cultural

# CHOU

**Great Leap Forward**  
A movement launched in 1958 to realize the full potential of China's new socialist economy by involving the whole people in iron- and steel-making, water conservancy projects, land reclamation, and industrial construction.

**Hai Jui Dismissed from Office**  
A play by the Vice-Mayor of Peking, Wu Han, that implicitly criticized Mao Tsetung for the removal of Defense Minister Peng Te-huai in 1959. Shanghai journalist Yao Wen-yuan's criticism of this play began the great debate that led to the Cultural Revolution.

**May 16th Circular**  
Key document of the Cultural Revolution issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1966. Probably written by Mao himself, it sets forth the basic orientation of the Cultural Revolution and calls for an end to the stifling of political debate. Not to be confused with the May 16th Group, which adopted this name for the prestige it would lend them.

*In the first part of this series of interviews with Premier Chou En-lai in 1971, the Premier explained the turbulence of Chinese politics in terms of class struggle, described both left-over and newly emerging reactionary forces as targets of the Revolution, and asked in conclusion: "If we didn't admit class struggle how could we direct our work? What would be our guiding principles?"*

*In Part Two, Chou En-lai made a critical analysis of the absolutist thinking typical of the old feudal society but often appearing today cloaked in revolutionary rhetoric. As the guiding principle for China's socialist upsurge he rejected the slogan "all public, no self" in favor of "public first, self second." Warning against the mechanical application of any slogan or policy, he said, "You can travel 10,000 li looking for a magic method but you will never find it."*

*In this third installment of the series, I have brought together Premier Chou's remarks on the Cultural Revolution. He traced its origins to the sharp controversy over the Great Leap Forward of 1958, the two-line struggle in the Socialist Education Movement of 1963-1966, and the movement to reform classical Peking opera which began in that period. He described how cadres at all levels were personally tested by rebellion from below and how he himself became a target of certain ultra-left youth temporarily misled by reactionary individuals in high positions. In order to minimize such tendencies in the future, he said, "We must use history, the history of the Communist Party, the history of two-line struggle, and struggle over policy to educate people."*

## The Start of the Cultural Revolution

*Hinton: How did the Cultural Revolution begin?*

The beginnings of the Cultural Revolution, the first

---

*William Hinton is chairman of the National USCPFA and the author of many books and articles about China.*

signs of the conditions that led up to it, were already evident in 1962. The report of the Tenth Session of the Eighth Party Congress (September 1962) was actually a repudiation of Liu Shao-chi, though not by name. In 1963 this was followed by Mao Tsetung's Ten Points for carrying through the Socialist Education Movement. When Liu Shao-chi substituted ten points of his own, Chairman Mao issued a Twenty-three Point Directive in 1965. At about this time Comrade Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) advocated the revolutionizing of the classical opera and began work on the modern operas of today. In the winter of 1965 Yao Wen-yuan's critical article on the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* was published. Then in May 1966 an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau put out the May 16th Circular. This began the Cultural Revolution in earnest.

All of these steps were a part of the struggle against the revisionist line supported by Liu Shao-chi. This struggle between Marxism and revisionism has been protracted and serious during the entire socialist period in China. Intense struggle dates from the summer of 1966 when Mao Tsetung issued his call to "Bombard the Headquarters" and mobilized millions of people in the battle against revisionism. This battle continues to this day.

*Hinton: What was the issue in 1962?*

For those who don't admit the continued existence of classes and class struggle, the alternative can only be the "theory of the productive forces." Liu Shao-chi said that the problem of the relations of production had been solved but that the productive forces lagged behind. That is, we have advanced relations of production [system of ownership, system of management, and system of distribution] but backward forces of production [capital equipment, technology, and working skills]. But this violates Marxism. Marx teaches that the productive forces may be held back by 1) the relations of production, and 2) the superstructure of society—the way people think and the rules they live under, their institutions and their culture.

## Revolution and recalls the demand for his own overthrow

# EN·LAI

William Hinton

Liu Shao-chi stated his theory of advanced relations and backward forces at the Eighth Party Congress. According to his view, China's social relations were already very advanced. The productive forces had already been liberated. Hence there was no further change in relations of production that could unleash a Great Leap. Since he didn't believe in any leap, he opposed and undermined the Great Leap. He carried out a line "left" in form but right in essence that was characterized by extreme "left" slogans, slogans that could not be realized in practice. This was actually an attempt to wreck the Great Leap.

Liu also opposed the Great Leap by protecting the existing superstructure. He did not want to transform the superstructure which was blocking the forces of production. Later, people such as Chen Po-ta [Central Committee member and leader of the Central Cultural Revolution Group until 1969] joined with Liu Shao-chi in opposition to Mao Tsetung's Ten Points for the consolidation of socialism in the countryside. Surely you have read the Ten Points.

*Hinton: No, I am not familiar with them.*

### Socialist Education Movement

As I said a few moments ago, in 1963 Mao Tsetung issued Ten Points to guide the Socialist Education Movement. Liu Shao-chi countered with a second ten points—complicated and full of meaningless detail, an exercise in scholasticism. Liu opposed coming to grips with capitalist roaders as directed by Mao. He proposed instead to differentiate between being clean-in-four-ways and being unclean-in-four-ways [economics, politics, organization, and ideology]. Everyone, holding a big job or a small job, inside the Communist Party or outside it, could be knocked out of office if he or she was unclean in any of the four spheres.

With such a program, the scope of attack could not help being greatly enlarged. Among the cadres in the countryside petty selfishness does exist—such things as taking a little collective property for private use. If

such acts as this make them bad elements, then almost all the cadres in the countryside, with only a few exceptions, must be overthrown. For instance, suppose something is left in the field [a basket, a sack, or a length of rope]. A cadre takes it home for his own use. Is he a grafter or not? If all this is called serious corruption the consequences are hard to estimate. It would be *bude liao* [an awful mess]!

Such acts can only be placed in the same category as *xiao tou, xiao mo* [petty theft—a term that does not imply misuse of power as does graft]. Cadres in factories are not free from such things. Take, for instance, the person who uses some plant stationery for writing a personal letter. Society hasn't developed to the stage of communism yet. People don't all clearly distinguish between public interest and self-interest. Even under communism there will be various forms of struggle. So it cannot be a question of clean-in-four-ways or unclean-in-four-ways but of which road you are taking.

Mao Tsetung's Twenty-three Points repudiated Liu's ten points. But Liu Shao-chi's wife, Wang Guang-mei, had already gone to the Peach Garden Brigade for grassroots experience, had fully carried out Liu's points and had then gone all over the country making speeches without the permission of the Central Committee and the Chairman.

*Hinton: How can one learn more about this?*

Before you go to Long Bow Village you ought to go to some other places in order to make comparisons. Don't you want to go to the Peach Garden Brigade? I haven't been there myself but if I had the opportunity I would like to have a look at this place where Liu Shao-chi and Wang Guang-mei worked.

Based on his wife's experience there, Liu Shao-chi said in a public meeting that Mao Tsetung's theory of investigation can't be used today because it is out of date. Thus he wildly promoted himself.

I chaired that meeting. I personally heard him talk this nonsense. Afterward I went to Peng Chen [mayor of Peking, a Liu supporter removed from office in 1966]

### Mao's Ten Points

*The basic charter for the Socialist Education Movement. This document emphasized the continued existence of class struggle and called on peasants to supervise all aspects of cadres' work and on all cadres to take part in productive labor.*

### Socialist Education Movement

*Aimed at consolidating and developing cooperative agriculture in the face of various individualistic, capitalist trends previously promoted by Liu Shao-chi and some other members of the Chinese Communist Party.*

### Mao's Twenty-three Point Directive

*Challenged Liu Shao-chi's attempt to twist the original Ten Points and clearly stated that the purpose of the movement was to fight against "those Party members in leading posts who take the capitalist road" and not to attack lesser or non-Party cadre for petty misdeeds and poor work-style.*

### Struggle-Criticism-Transformation Movement

After revolutionary committees took control of an organization or an institution in the Cultural Revolution, they led the people to criticize and transform everything that was not in accord with socialist values and procedures.

### Party Rectification Movement

After Party members were overthrown, they were examined by their peers and delegates of the people. A few were expelled, some resigned, while the vast majority were reinstated as active members of the Party once they had corrected their mistakes.

### Democratic Centralism

The organizational method by which the Communist Party and organs of state are run. The people and lower organizational levels must elect, supervise, and follow higher levels, and higher levels must both consult and lead lower levels and the people.

and said, "Such words cannot be propagated among the people. They must be cut from his speech." Peng Chen and another comrade agreed to cut this out, so in the end a revised version was made public.

But Wang Guang-mei's unrevised speeches were disseminated everywhere. They were taped and broadcast all over the country. I never heard the tapes. I don't know the exact words she spoke, but I do know something about them. That Peach Garden experience is now being repudiated. The whole approach was subjective, not based on an examination of the evidence or on investigation.

### Confusing the Target

Liu Shao-chi looked on Communist Party and government cadres as no good, as all rotten. He attacked many, many. When he or his group went to a village to "squat" [to make an intensive investigation and solve problems], they did secret work—"Put down roots and make contact," they called it. After 15 years of state power they still did secret work? How could this come to any good?

"Put down roots, make contact, carry out secret investigations"—all this departs completely from the mass line.

Liu Shao-chi never implemented the Socialist Education Movement as a two-line struggle. He turned it into a clean-in-four-ways, unclean-in-four-ways contradiction among the cadres. Did they graft or didn't they graft? Or into the intertwining of the contradictions inside the Communist Party and outside the Communist Party [Mao had emphasized capitalist roaders *inside* the Communist Party], or into a struggle between "good" people and "bad" people. Outwardly he applied no class line at all. To treat the Socialist Education Movement in this way was completely out of step with the theory of class struggle—of two roads, two lines.

With this method of Liu's, one removes great groups of cadres and brings new groups into power. One turns the Socialist Education Movement into an unprincipled struggle over who is to be in power. This opens the road to capitalist restoration. It is very dangerous.

*An American resident in China: Working under Liu's line everything was done according to whether one liked or disliked others. As soon as one person got into power the other person sent gifts and invited him to a feast!*

Originally when Mao Tsetung started the Socialist Education Movement it was in order to carry on the class struggle in depth, to develop the socialist revolution, and to prepare the way for the Cultural Revolution. But Liu Shao-chi put his hand in, changed the form of the movement, and thus opened the road for capitalist restoration.

If you go to Peach Garden to investigate you should stay there for a period and get it all clear. Tachai, Long Bow, and Peach Garden—these three villages are three points for concentration. Tachai is taking the socialist

road pointed out by Mao Tsetung. Under Liu Shao-chi and Wang Guang-mei, Peach Garden took the capitalist road. What the condition is in Long Bow today I do not know. Long Bow went down a zig-zag road. In your book *Fanshen* you reflected some setbacks there. I know Long Bow still has problems but the main direction is correct. You can make a comparison.

### Brigade Leader's Story

*Hinton: In the Cultural Revolution, the main direction was to expose the capitalist road?*

Yes. The village of Sandstone Hollow [Shashi Yu] may serve as an example. Originally it was a wasteland, nothing but rock. All the soil they work there now was carried in from other places. I have been there myself two or three times. During the six years of the Cultural Revolution Sandstone Hollow has changed a great deal. The former Secretary of the Communist Party there is of peasant origin, a former beggar who came to the hollow as a refugee. He led people into the hills to reclaim and create land. From the period of the land reform, through socialist cooperation, to the construction of communes, he led each stage of the struggle, and production in Sandstone Hollow developed greatly.

Although this man was in the leadership of the brigade from the beginning, as success came his ideology changed and his thinking was corrupted to a certain extent. Prior to the Cultural Revolution in 1966, in the whole history of Sandstone Hollow only two children had ever been chosen to go to college. They were his children. This was special treatment and these children acted as if they were special. When the Cultural Revolution began, one of them was about to graduate. She joined a Red Guard unit and came home to defend her father, the man in power. This made the people very unhappy. The rank-and-file members of the brigade rebelled against his leadership, and we supported this revolutionary action of theirs.

They had another grievance. When it came time to build houses in the village, two sections were built for each family. But the brigade leader, who already owned two sections, added two more to his house. In May 1966 when I went there with Shehu of Albania [Mehmet Shehu, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers], I discovered this. I wondered how it was that the brigade leader had twice as big a house as anyone else. During the upheaval that followed the people exposed this and charged that their brigade leader had cut village trees to add rooms to his house.

These two charges were quite serious. The people removed him from office and they removed him as Party Secretary. This was right. The people went further and wanted to expel him from the Communist Party, but this had to go to the Zonghua County Party Committee. In the winter of 66-67 I went to Zonghua County for a second visit and was told that they had not decided on his Party membership. All the time that his case was under consideration he worked as a rank-and-file member of the brigade, doing whatever labor



was needed. Then during the Struggle-Criticism-Transformation Movement and during the Party Rectification Movement they decided to keep him in the Communist Party. Recently I heard that the people decided he should also recover his position as Secretary of their Party branch.

Because he had cut village trees to build houses for his family—that is, he had misused public property for private gain—those four sections of housing had been turned over to the community for public use. I don't know whether this problem has been resolved or not.

If you go to such a place you should stay for several days and try to understand the whole process. In the Cultural Revolution events like this were commonplace. Even in places where the land revolution and the socialist revolution had originally been well led and much work had been well done, the leadership still sometimes went wrong. From this we can see that at a certain point and under certain circumstances, if democratic centralism is not handled well, if the people do not adequately supervise their leaders, if there is no real mass line, special privileges can arise and a Communist Party Secretary may become a king or a despot. He may cheat the public out of self-interest. He may become a bureaucrat and at the very least become a capitalist-road "sprout." Thus the Cultural Revolution was entirely necessary, it had to be carried through. Furthermore, it can't be carried through only once. Perhaps our generation will see this only once, but these young people here [he indicated young Carma Hinton and Fred Engst] will probably see it again. And they will have the right to join in.

#### Leaders Tested

In the period of capitalist encirclement, with China so large, such problems cannot be solved in one movement. Recently Albanian comrades recognized this. They said, "Albania is surrounded by capitalist states and is in danger of capitalist restoration." They recognize that class struggle continues throughout the socialist period. People who accept this idea are growing in number. In China several hundred million people understand this thesis. But time is needed. Education is needed, and practice.

*Hinton: People have to be tested in practice?*

Yes, everyone must be tested.

Take the case of Lu Yu-lan of the Ting Lou Ravine Brigade in South Hopei. At 15 she became secretary of the Brigade Youth Corps. At 18 she joined the Communist Party and became Party Secretary of her brigade. At 20 she was chosen as a labor hero. But in the Cultural Revolution there were Red Guard units who didn't believe in labor heroes and thought that for the most part they were fraudulent. With their schools closed temporarily, a lot of Red Guards went to her brigade to stir things up. They put up posters: "Down with Yu-lan."

At that time we let them move freely. They messed around to their hearts' content and it had its good side.

It was good because it exposed people with bad motives. It exposed May 16th elements. Of course, at that time we didn't know that there was a May 16th counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

Hard-core May 16th elements were not numerous, but they did become leaders—bad elements became bad leaders. The young people didn't know whom they were following. So students from the city and local youths staged many repudiation meetings against Lu Yu-lan. She went through everything. But she stood firm and later the people chose her once again as their Party Secretary. She went to the Ninth Party Congress as a representative and was chosen to join the Central Committee. Now the Hopei Provincial Communist Party Congress has chosen her as Vice-Secretary. She is only 28 years old.

Another member of our Central Committee, alternate member Chi Teng-kuei, was Party Secretary of Honan Province. In the Cultural Revolution the rebels struggled against him more than 100 times. They beat him and made him do the "aeroplane" [bend over at the waist, bow his head, and raise his arms over his back in a gesture of submission]. But he withstood it. He was not a capitalist roader. He was a supporter of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line. So at the Party Congress he was chosen as an alternate member of the Central Committee. He is one of the younger members. Younger still is Yao Wen-yuan who wrote the critical article on the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*.

No, it would never do for a leading cadre *not* to go through such attacks and such tests.

Take Chiao Kuan-hua [now China's Foreign Minister]. Wasn't he seized by the June 16th Group and taken to the Foreign Language School as their captive? And Tang Ming-chao [Chinese member of the UN Secretariat], wasn't he set aside? And Chang Wen-ching, former ambassador to Pakistan [now ambassador to Canada], wasn't he immersed in struggle as soon as he stepped down from the plane that brought him home? His wife, Chang Ying, of the Association of Playwrights, was also attacked by ultra-left forces. Only Huang Hua [now China's ambassador to the United Nations] returned home too late to be overthrown. He alone did not go through the wind and the waves. But he was tested abroad!

Our translator Chi Tsao-chu worked in the Foreign Ministry. He organized a revolutionary unit called "Climb the Dangerous Peak," after a phrase in Mao Tsetung's poem "Lushan Mountain." This group opposed the ultra-left. Other people rose up in turn and "Climb the Dangerous Peak" was itself dispersed.

*An American: Why did the ultra-left pay so much attention to foreign affairs? Was it to get at you?*

My overthrow was also demanded. The counter-revolutionary May 16th Group was set up to oppose Mao and wreck the Cultural Revolution. Mao Tsetung added a phrase to Wao Wen-yuan's thesis on Tao Chu: "May 16th is a counter-revolutionary plotting clique."

#### May 16th Group

*A secret counter-revolutionary conspiracy linked at the top to Chen Po-ta and presumably Lin Piao. Those involved tried to wreck the Cultural Revolution from the "left" by the use of extreme slogans and sectarian policies.*

#### June 16th Group

*An open ultra-left faction of the First Foreign Language School's Rebel Regiment, not to be confused with May 16th, which was secret.*

#### Tao Chu

*A Party leader from South China who rose to national prominence in the Cultural Revolution. He attempted to confuse the issues by calling for the overthrow of everyone except Mao Tsetung and Lin Piao and was exposed as an ally of Liu Shao-chi.*

Those words are Mao's own.

But on the surface May 16th was to oppose me and several other Central Government leaders. I was their target number one. "Strike down target number one!" They wrote great quantities of material against me.

Truly, in the Cultural Revolution, it would never do for one to remain untested.

#### In the Great Hall

*Hinton: How were you attacked?*

One of the few buildings the Red Guards never entered was the Great Hall of the People. Of course we often invited them to come in and take part in meetings here. What I mean is they never forced their way in.

On August 11, 1967, we held a meeting to repudiate Chen Yi [then Foreign Minister]. I was at the meeting. It is said that some people meant to seize me that day. I don't really believe that.

Song Yuan-li, head of the First Foreign Language School's Rebel Regiment, chaired the meeting. It has now been proven that he was a May 16th element. I sat to his right. To his left sat Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih. Separated from me by one place was Liu Ling-kai, head of the June 16th Group. He had called for Chen's overthrow. I had agreed to be present at this meeting [thus lending it legitimacy] with the understanding that there would be only criticism of Chen Yi, not calls for his overthrow. Since Liu Ling-kai was publicly committed to overthrowing Chen he was not supposed to have an opportunity to speak or even to attend the meeting.

So when I saw Ling-kai there I asked Song who let him in and why he was on the platform.

"It's better to have him here on the platform," Song said. "That way he won't dare make any trouble."

But these students broke their word. No sooner had the meeting begun than a huge banner unrolled from the second balcony with the words "Overthrow Chen Yi." To challenge this act in front of that huge crowd would have put a damper on the whole proceedings, so I chose not to say anything.

Just then they informed me that Liu Ling-kai wanted to speak. I said to Song, "If you let him speak I'll have to leave the meeting." Hearing that, he promised that Liu would not speak. But he broke his word on this too. At a certain point I went out for a rest. Then Liu took the platform and spoke anyway.

Vice-Chairman Hsieh Fu-chih, who was still on the platform, got upset. He came to find me. With both of us out of the hall certain militants immediately jumped onto the stage to attack Chen Yi. But the members of our service staff all have a high level of political consciousness. As soon as the students jumped on the stage to beat Chen Yi, the service personnel closed ranks to protect him. The students cursed but Chen's defenders said, "You can't take Chen Yi away. Mao Tsetung has called for his protection."

No one dared seize him.

*Hinton: Was Chen Yi's case ever settled?*

This year [1971] on May 1 when Chen Yi came to the top of Tian An Men the CIA and other American intelligence sources were greatly surprised. Chen Yi was sick. He came to Tian An Men straight from the hospital. He was a newly elected Central Committee member and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission. Not only was the CIA not up to date, but Chiang Kai-shek's intelligence service was not up to date either. They had not been clicking so well. When Chiang Kai-shek learned that Chen Yi had been on the gate he cursed his intelligence service for their stupidity.

*Hinton: What happened to you that day in the Great Hall of the People?*

It is said that the Rebel Regiment militants wanted to seize me—but I didn't really believe it. If they didn't dare grab Chen Yi, how could they dare grab me? It could have been a lot of boasting and random talk. In such a public place at such a time they would not dare to show their hand. After dark, when nobody was around, that's the kind of time they chose for their evil schemes. In the Foreign Languages Press publishing house such bad incidents occurred. Several good comrades were murdered. All this was only discovered and exposed last year.

#### Study History

In those days many of our good comrades were misled. They couldn't distinguish good from bad. Bad people used the most revolutionary slogans. Since they wanted to overthrow me they couldn't say that I followed Mao Tsetung's ideas. They had to say that I opposed Mao Tsetung. They edited my remarks and speeches at random and chose sentences and paragraphs that proved their point. For example, they seized on what I once said about Chiang Kai-shek when he was head of Whampoa Military Academy in 1924 and I was head of its Political Department. How could I avoid saying some good words about him in that situation? But they wanted me to have cursed him to his face! We had a united front with Chiang Kai-shek at that time.

Another example: During the Resistance War against Japan we were in Chungking editing our paper, the *New China Daily*. Chiao Kuan-hua wrote: "We support Chiang Kai-shek in carrying the Resistance War through to the end."

Take that one sentence today and it looks terrible to the young Red Guards. "How could it be right to support Chiang Kai-shek?" they ask.

From 1945 until now—26 short years. But our youth, because they don't understand history, can sometimes be fooled and misled. So we must use history, the history of the Communist Party, the history of two-line struggle, and struggle over policy to educate people. As Mao Tsetung says: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained repeatedly. We must talk about it each year, each month, each day. It won't do to explain these things to a few people only. They must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." □

**Whampoa  
Military Academy**  
*The military training school  
set up by the Kuomintang  
and the Communists  
during their first united  
front to train officers for the  
Northern Expedition of  
1924.*

# Fire!

Jan Wong

On a winter evening in Peking—one of those rare evenings when the day's snowfall had not melted away—Soren Clausen, a friend who was studying at the nearby Language Institute, had cycled over to see me at Peking University for help with some of his work. We had been discussing it for just a few minutes when a glint of flickering light outdoors—perhaps a large bonfire?—caught our attention. Soren had worked as a fireman in Denmark and quickly recognized it as an uncontrolled fire. We seized our coats and ran.

My first thought was to see some excitement. But hundreds of students armed with pails, washbasins, and shovels were already rushing across the campus, and I realized they were hurrying to help, not just to watch.

Cutting across winter wheat fields, we came to a burning warehouse which was being used to store ice from Kunming Lake, at the Summer Palace. The flames had already consumed the tarred roofing, and the bamboo framework was like a fierce fireball. The fire appeared to be out of control, threatening neighboring houses; I felt there was nothing to do but wait for the fire trucks to arrive. To fight such a blaze with pails and washbasins struck me as hopeless.

A spontaneous fire-fighting organization began to form among the hundreds of people around me. Young men quickly scaled the ten-foot wall around the warehouse and established human lines to remove the big bamboo poles piled in the yard, while others set up lines outside to receive the 15-foot poles and move them away from the flames. Roger Howard, a six-foot Canadian, offered a slightly uncoordinated picture carrying poles with the short Chinese women, but the work went smoothly. When problems arose, someone called out an order, everyone obeyed, and the poles came unsnagged. I was caught up in the helpful, collective spirit of these people, amazed by their teamwork and efficiency.

Within the enclosure, I saw men take incredible risks to save part of the public property, some perched on the flimsy bamboo

framework engulfed in dense smoke, others struggling close to the flames to remove the poles. Once, in their haste, some men tossed out a burning pole which threatened to spread the fire outside. A Chinese girl lightly beat out the flames with her hands without a moment's hesitation.

In the midst of this inferno, the thought occurred to me that this sort of thing was not apt to happen in Canada. How many people at home would risk their lives to save something not their own, or even get their clothes dirty? And wouldn't the practical ones say, "After all, it's insured"? Yet here hundreds of people had appeared out of nowhere and were fighting the fire calmly and efficiently.

The fire trucks had arrived much earlier on the other side of the warehouse, where the blaze was fiercest. When they arrived on our side, people immediately moved to help the firemen set up the hoses. One hose, not properly attached, spurted water in all directions; three young women rushed to fix it, disregarding the freezing temperature, and got soaked in the process. While the hoses were being brought into play, people used their pails and washbasins to scoop up water from puddles and throw it on the flames.

Within a few minutes the hoses were doing their work and the fire was under control in our sector. As quickly as they had gathered, the people began returning home with their pails and basins.

Muddy and tired, we got back to our dormitory to greet our Chinese roommates, who had been at a political meeting and knew nothing of the fire. They keenly regretted having missed the chance to help and insisted on washing our clothes for us—because we had "protected the Chinese people's property and made a contribution to socialist reconstruction."

Our friend Soren returned a bit later, caked with mud; he had worked inside the wall, close to the flames. Sipping a mug of tea, he told us that in Denmark most people went to fires to watch a spectacle, not to help. My roommate, Zhou Su-fen, was so impressed with what Soren had done to help fight the fire that she sat down as soon as he had gone and drafted a letter to the Peking Language Institute commending this young Danish man's bravery and his "internationalist spirit of endangering himself to help the Chinese people." □

*Jan Wong is a Canadian-Chinese. She is currently a freshman in the History Department at Peking University participating in Canada's student exchange program with China.*

# Friendship Has A History: Agnes Smedley

Jan MacKinnon,  
Steve MacKinnon, and  
Paul Lauter



With her friends Mao Tsetung and General Chu Teh in the Yen-an guerrilla base, 1937. Her biography of Chu Teh, *The Great Road*, was published in 1956, six years after her death. (Photo: Helen Foster Snow, Magnum)

In 1929 Agnes Smedley arrived in China as a reporter for the newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Although she lost her job shortly thereafter when Hitler's fascism overtook Germany, she decided to remain in China. In the two decades which followed, Agnes Smedley played an important role in interpreting the Chinese Revolution to Americans, and as a partisan fighter in China's revolutionary struggle.

What led this American woman all the way to China in 1929? The answer starts at the beginning of her life, chronicled in her autobiographical novel *Daughter of Earth*. Born of desperately poor working-class parents, she grew up in the Southwest. When she was 16, she tells us, "My mother lay down and died from hard labor, undernourishment, and a disease which she had no money to cure." At this point, Smedley rejected the traditional woman's role: "It seemed to me that men could go anywhere, do anything, discover new worlds, but that women could only trail behind or sit at home having babies." She uprooted herself and set out to be independent and self-supporting, working as a stenographer, waitress, and eventually as a reporter.

Arriving in New York City in 1917, when she was in her early twenties, Smedley earned her living as a secretary. But the rest of her time she spent educating herself and working for social and political causes. She was active with Margaret Sanger in the early days of the birth control movement, and participated in the movement to free India from British colonial rule, for which she spent several months in the Tombs prison in 1918, mostly in solitary confinement. So by the time Agnes Smedley arrived in China, she readily identified with the Chinese workers and peasants and their struggle for liberation.

Smedley made her first contributions to the Chinese cause by writing for the *Zeitung* and for American magazines such as *The*

*New Republic*, *The Nation*, and *New Masses*. Soon she became an activist as well. In Shanghai, she helped organize the China League against Imperialism led by Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) and wrote for a local journal, *China Forum*. And together with non-revolutionary intellectuals like Hu Shih, Lin Yutang and Tsai Yuan-pei, she helped form the League of Civil Rights, which publicized to the world the lack of civil liberties under Chiang Kai-shek.

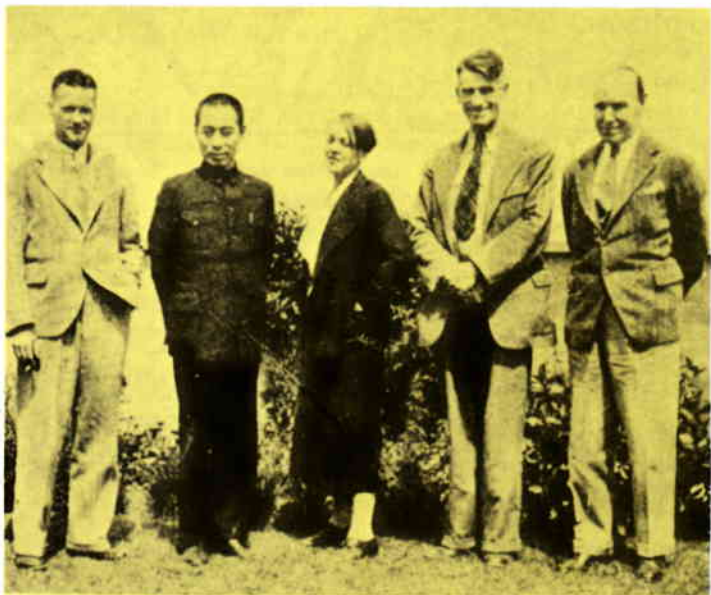
At the same time, her first books on China started to appear in America. Meanwhile Smedley was continually harassed by both British Secret Service and the Kuomintang police, and was arrested once in Canton. By 1933, in poor health, she returned to the United States for a rest. During that "rest" she wrote the first book in a Western language about the Kiangsi soviet, *China's Red Army Marches*. She also edited one of the first collections in English of stories by young revolutionary Chinese writers.

By the fall of 1934 Smedley was back in Shanghai, again combining activist revolutionary work with writing. She collaborated with the great Chinese writer Lu Hsun on a book of Käthe Kollwitz's anti-Nazi drawings. In 1936 she left Shanghai for Sian, where she reported on the famous kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek. There, for the first time, she met part of the Red Army. They made a deep impression on her: "They were from the Szechuan Red Army, all poor peasants between the ages of 15 and 50. . . . Their eyes were inflamed, many had no shoes at all, and their huge peasant feet, scarred and bloody, had callouses an inch thick," she wrote.

From Sian Smedley moved with the Red Army north of Yen-an where she developed close personal relationships with revolutionary leaders like Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and Chu Teh, whose biography she later wrote. Her articles and her book *China Fights Back* helped to break the news blockade imposed in 1937 by Chiang against the Communists. Smedley was instrumental in getting international correspondents to come to Yen-an to see the Red Army for themselves.

By the late 1930s Agnes Smedley was a well-respected writer in both the United States and China. Never content just to write, however, she began to organize medical care for the Red Army.

*Jan and Steve MacKinnon live in Tempe, Arizona, and are writing a biography of Agnes Smedley. Steve MacKinnon visited China in 1972 with a delegation from the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS). Paul Lauter, who teaches at the State University of New York at Old Westbury, wrote the afterword to the 1973 reprint of Daughter of Earth. He went to China in summer 1974.*



With (from left) Major Frank Dorn, General Chou En-lai (representing the Chinese Communists in the Chinese government), Lt. Colonel Evans F. Carlson, and Robert Jarvis (an American consular official) in 1938—Hankow. (Photo: Arizona State University Archives)

Medical care for the sick and wounded was seriously inadequate or nonexistent. After full-scale war with Japan broke out, conditions became desperate. With some notable exceptions, most Chinese doctors remained in the cities; moreover, the International Red Cross could not deliver supplies and services to military personnel.

Recognizing the severity of the crisis, Smedley worked to relieve the conditions of the wounded. Her appeals brought much international aid for medical supplies, especially for the beleaguered Eighth Route and New Fourth armies. Her letters to America, along with Chairman Mao's, brought Norman Bethune, George Hatem (Ma Hai-teh), and other Western doctors to China. A personal appeal to Nehru gained medical supplies and doctors from India. She also played a key role in founding the Chinese Red Cross.

After the fall of Hankow in 1938, Smedley joined the New Fourth Army in Central China as a journalist, sharing the men's and women's incredible hardships. She also helped set up Red Cross stations, and herself gave first aid to the wounded.

In 1940, increased danger from the Japanese, together with her own ill-health, caused Agnes Smedley to return to America. She left China reluctantly, urged by Li Hsien-nien, Chu Teh, and others to go home and continue her influential writing. Throughout the 1940s she remained in the United States, lecturing extensively about the Chinese Revolution, raising funds for medical supplies, debating Chiang's lobbyists on the radio, and writing some of her most important books about China.

Smedley's China books are vivid descriptions of what she saw in China. In all her books, her concern for the situation of women comes through. The oppression of Chinese women under the old society affected her deeply, as did the courage of the peasant and Communist women she met. Stories and vignettes from her first China book, *Chinese Destinies*, and chapters in her later books reflect her continuing personal connection to the goal of equality for women.

This productive and relatively peaceful period of Smedley's life ended abruptly on February 10, 1949, when the U.S. Army released a report produced by General MacArthur's staff accusing her of having been a member of a Soviet spy ring since the 1930s. Smedley



Smedley (fourth from right) with the Women's Committee in the Fifth War Zone, Laoheguo, Hubei Province, December 1939. Women's Committees established adult literacy classes, set up small factories for war refugees, trained local women as cadre, and interceded in feudal family relations by such actions as rescuing child brides. (Photo: Arizona State University Archives)



Agnes Smedley with writers and intellectuals in Shanghai in 1933. From left, Smedley in a Chinese long gown, George Bernard Shaw, Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), Tsai Yuan-pei (Rector of Peking University), and revolutionary writer and critic Lu Hsun. (Photo: *Collected Works of Lu Hsun*, Peking, 1957)

went immediately to court, forcing the Army to retract its charges in public. But the political atmosphere was charged with anti-Communism: the FBI watched her, people she had regarded as friends apparently reported on her activities, she could barely get work to support herself. Her nerves frayed. When the news of victory in China came, she was ecstatic and decided to return. But while in London en route to China, she was taken ill and died suddenly on May 6, 1950.

Today, although many Americans have never heard of Agnes Smedley, many Chinese know and revere her. Her ashes are buried in the Cemetery for Revolutionaries outside Peking. Her grave in its quiet corner in the martyr's cemetery is well maintained, and trees have now grown high around it. She was, as Chu Teh phrased her epitaph, a "revolutionary writer and friend of the Chinese people" who had stood up for China and paid for it with her life. To Americans she ought to mean much more. A daughter of toil and pain, a largely self-taught writer who plunged into the struggles she chronicled, she remains for those who know of her an image of strength, conviction, and friendship between the people of China and of the United States. □

## Special Tours for Special People

We'll have a lot of special plans for your winter holiday—the problem is, *New China's* advertising deadline comes too soon for exact dates, destinations, and prices. But what we've got in mind is . . .

**PORTUGAL**—We'll be offering one-, two- and four-week programs from October to April for as little as \$429. Our tours give you a personalized and comprehensive look at all aspects of Portuguese life. Write for our brochure.

**GREECE**—As charming (though not as cheap) as ever. There are Inclusive Tour Charters for as little as \$660 all-inclusive, two weeks deluxe.

**MEXICO**—There's no more fascinating country anywhere, and we are experts. You can have two weeks, nicely, for a little over \$500 per person. If you're a beach-lover there's a new charter program to Cancun (Yucatan) for \$369, all-inclusive, one week, going to \$419 after Dec. 14. Write.

**CHINA**—We make arrangements for many USCPFA tours, but we don't decide who goes.

**MORE?** Let us know what you have in mind. We do everything, from the mundane ticket to Keokuk to deluxe tours 'round-the-world (there are very few of those!). Write or call:



250 West 57th St.  
Room 1517  
New York, N.Y. 10019

Marianne and Norval Welch  
Phone: (212) 586-6577

## Letters continued from page 9

are amazed that such a young organization could put out such a spiffy magazine. My feeling is that the articles are well written, self-assured, and sound. Yet the magazine as a whole hasn't mastered that people-to-people approach. Keep in touch with the grassroots! That's where the magazine is needed most.

Tina Dickey  
Keene, Calif.

I have just finished reading an almost perfectly delightful Summer issue of *New China*. As I read with interest, I was planning a list of people to whom I wanted to pass the issue.

Well, friends, then I read with horror your article on religion and wondered who in "heaven's" name decided to put that insensitive thing into a magazine that is attempting to open up doors between the American and Chinese people. On the basis of that article, I know I cannot pass on a fine magazine.

Mao stresses knowing who you are writing for. In my view, the article reads like the cold war propaganda the nuns fed me in Catholic school.

Annette Zavaree  
Montgomery, W. Va.

*Letters to New China have been excerpted for publication.*

## Suggested Reading

### Tibet: Myths and Realities

*Great Changes in Tibet*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973. 35 cents.

"Last Tangle in Tibet" by Steve Wiesmann, in *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram*, July-August, 1973.

*The Timely Rain: Travels in New Tibet* by Stewart and Roma Gelder. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964. (Out of print)

### China and Black Americans

*In Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression* by Mao Tsetung. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1968. 10 cents.

### Knucklebones and Marbles

*Chinese Children* by Rewi Alley. New Zealand: Caxton Press, 1972. \$4.50.

### Inside the Laboratory

*China: Science Walks on Two Legs* by Science for the People. New York: Avon Books, 1974. \$1.75.

### Kicking the Habit

*The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* by Arthur Waley. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972. \$2.95.

*The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* by Alfred McCoy. New York: Harper and Row, 1972. \$2.95.

### Friendship Has A History

"Agnes Smedley: A Working Introduction" by Jan and Steve MacKinnon, in the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, January-March 1975. \$2.00.

*Daughter of Earth* by Agnes Smedley. New York: Feminist Press, 1973. \$3.50.

*The Great Road: The Life and Times of Chu Teh* by Agnes Smedley. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956. \$3.95.

The in-print books can be purchased through the New China Bookshop. See page 6.

## Classified Ads

The classified rate is 50 cents a word. There is a 15-word minimum and a 60-word maximum. The advertiser's address counts as two words. Deadline for the Winter issue, published in November, is September 29. Send classifieds—prepaid—to *New China*, 41 Union Square West, Rm. 631, New York, NY 10003.

*Education in the People's Republic of China* by Fred Pincus. Analysis of all levels of the educational system. Bibliography. 32 pp. Send 65c plus 15c postage to Research Group One, c/o Pincus, 215 W. 92 St., Apt. 10 F, N.Y., N.Y. 10025.

*The Real Spirit of Tachai* by Gerald Tannebaum. Historical record of the struggles which enabled Tachai to become the pacesetter in Chinese agriculture. 36 pp. Send \$1.20 plus 20c postage to Box TR, *New China*, 41 Union Square West, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

UNITE THE MANY, DEFEAT THE FEW—*China's Revolutionary Line in Foreign Affairs*. Pamphlet published by *Guardian* newsweekly provides answers to urgent questions about China's struggle against Soviet revisionism and its call for a united front against the superpowers. Send 65c to *Guardian*, Dept. NC, 33 West 17 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.

CHINESE EMPORIUM, 154 West 57 Street, New York City, next to Carnegie Hall, carries many products from China. You'll find Panda pencil sharpeners, acupuncture dolls, Peking dates, Shanghai sandalwood soap, beautiful hand-painted umbrellas, and exquisite Peking jewelry. Our apparel line includes the Worker's Jacket and lovely silk robes. Excellent gift selections. Hours: 11 a.m.—8 p.m. Telephone: 757-8555. Mail orders and trade inquiries welcome.

We do mail order service on Chinese food, books, arts and crafts. Write for free list. East Wind, 2801 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10025.

Comprehensive literature packets on: health-care—\$7; literature and art—\$6; women—\$5; and education—\$5.50. Also, Friendship Kit for kindergarten through grade 3—\$7. Includes maps, stamps, a game, papercuts, etc. Send orders and inquiries to USCPFA—New York, Rm. 1228, 41 Union Square West, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

How the people of China cope with health care, education, the role and status of women, work, and religion are discussed by leading China watchers in *China: People—Questions*, \$1.75. Published by Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10027.

A complete line of Chinese products. Arts and crafts, porcelain, silk, canned food, tea, medicines, kitchen utensils, books and periodicals. Plus made to order brocade and antique dresses, jackets, martial arts outfits. Mail orders. China Center, 161 W. 4th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10014. (212) 243-2598.

Used books about China. Send SASE for list. We also buy. High Country Books, 119½ Ivinson, Laramie, Wyo. 82070.

# The US-China Peoples Friendship Association

## USCPFA Statement of Principles (adopted at Founding Convention, September 1974)

Goal: To build active and lasting friendship based on mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of China.

Toward that end we urge the establishment of full diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between the two governments according to the principles agreed upon in the joint U.S.-China communique of February 28, 1972, and that U.S. foreign policy with respect to China be guided by these same principles: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

We call for the removal of all barriers to the growing friendship and exchange between our two peoples. We recognize that two major barriers are the presence of U.S. armed forces in Taiwan, a province of China, and in Indo-China in violation of the Paris agreements for ending the war.

Our educational activities include producing and distributing literature, films and photo exhibits; sponsoring speakers and study classes; speaking out against distortions and misconceptions about the People's Republic of China; publishing newspapers and pamphlets; promoting the exchange of visitors as well as technical, cultural and social experiences.

It is our intention in each activity to pay special attention to those subjects of particular interest to the people of the United States.

Everyone is invited to participate in our activities and anyone who agrees with our goal is welcome to join.

National Office: 2700 W. 3 St., Rm. 102, Los Angeles, Calif.  
90057. (213) 388-9569

### West Coast

West Coast Region: 50 Oak St., Rm. 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102. (415) 863-0537  
Albuquerque: 515 Fruit Ave. N.W., Albuquerque, N.M. 87102  
Corvallis: 502 N.W. 5 St., Corvallis, Ore. 97330  
East Bay: P.O. Box 9317, Berkeley, Calif. 94709  
Eugene: P.O. Box 3272, Eugene, Ore. 97403  
Fresno: 5524 N. Vagades, Fresno, Calif. 93705  
Hawaii: 410 Nahua St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96815  
Los Angeles: 619 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057  
Mid-Peninsula: 424 Lytton, Palo Alto, Calif. 94301  
Olympia: 5104 Brassfield Rd. S.E., Olympia, Wash. 98501  
Orange County: P.O. Box 986, Anaheim, Calif. 92803  
Portland: P.O. Box 10595, Portland, Ore. 97210  
San Diego: 1971 Chatsworth, San Diego, Calif. 92107  
San Francisco: 50 Oak St., Rm. 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102  
Santa Barbara: P.O. Box 6273, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93111  
Seattle: Box 201, Rm. 300, Hub FK-10, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98195  
South Bay: 60 E. San Fernando St., San Jose, Calif. 95113  
Tacoma: 706 N. Pine, Tacoma, Wash. 98406  
Tucson: P.O. Box 4081, Tucson, Ariz. 85719  
West Los Angeles/UCLA: P.O. Box 24480, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

### Midwest

Midwest Region: 407 S. Dearborn, Suite 1085, Chicago, Ill. 60605. (312) 922-3414  
Ames: 217 S. Hyland, Ames, Iowa 50010  
Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 523, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104  
Champaign-Urbana: P.O. Box 2889, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820  
Chicago: 407 S. Dearborn, Suite 1085, Chicago, Ill. 60605  
Cincinnati: P.O. Box 23091, Cincinnati, Ohio 45223  
Cleveland: Box 10299, Cleveland, Ohio 44110  
Columbus: 155 East Northwood Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201

Detroit: P.O. Box 793, Detroit, Mich. 48232  
Greater Lansing: c/o Joseleyne Tien, 248 Bessey Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48821  
Iowa City: P.O. Box 1625, Iowa City, Iowa 52240  
Madison: 1127 University Ave., Madison, Wisc. 53715  
Milwaukee: 712 E. Meinecke, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53212  
Minnesota: P.O. Box 350037, Minneapolis, Minn. 55435  
Mt. Pleasant: P.O. Box 151, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858  
Yellow Springs: Antioch College Mailroom, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

### East Coast

East Coast Region: 1717 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103. (215) KI 5-3556  
Albany: 395 Hamilton St., Albany, N.Y. 12210  
Amherst: c/o Diane Stetson, Box 1134, Hampshire College, Amherst, Mass. 01002  
Atlanta: P.O. Box 54664, Atlanta, Ga. 30308  
Baltimore: P.O. Box 7142, Baltimore, Md. 21218  
Binghamton: USCPFA, SUNY Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901  
Birmingham: P.O. Box 73006, Birmingham, Ala. 35223  
Boston: P.O. Box 63, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. 02112  
Central New Jersey: 20 Nassau St., Princeton, N.J. 08540  
Connecticut Valley: 17 Haynes St., Apt. 118, Hartford, Conn. 06103  
Gainesville: P.O. Box 169, Gainesville, Fla. 32602  
Ithaca: 211 Delaware, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850  
Nashville: c/o Peggy Wilkerson, Rte. 2, Hunting Camp Rd., Fairview, Tenn. 37062  
Nassau County: Box 337, Glen Head, N.Y. 11545  
New Haven: P.O. Box 2035, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520  
New Orleans: P.O. Box 15735, New Orleans, La. 70115  
New York City: 41 Union Square West, Rm. 1228, New York, N.Y. 10003  
Norfolk: P.O. Box 11101, Norfolk, Va. 23517  
Philadelphia: 1717 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103  
Stony Brook: Box 707, Stony Brook, N.Y. 11790  
Storrs: P.O. Box 381, Storrs, Conn. 06268  
Tallahassee: c/o Carl Van Ness, 2060 Hillsborough St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304  
Washington, D.C.: Box 40503, Washington, D.C. 20016

**China Books and Periodicals**  
National U.S. Distributor and  
Subscription Agency for Periodicals from  
the People's Republic of China

**Chinese Periodicals  
in English**

**China Pictorial** features spectacular photographs and short feature articles on China's new society, her communes, her factories, her geography, her culture, and much more. Monthly, \$4/year.

**China Reconstructs** explores different aspects of life in new China with full-length articles and many color photos. Recent issues have focused on women, education, youths in the countryside, etc. Monthly, \$3/year airmail.

**Peking Review** brings you the latest information from China on official government policies and statements. Weekly, \$4.50/year airmail.

**Chinese Literature** portrays the Chinese people at work and in struggle through stories, poetry, and graphics. Monthly, \$4/year.

**China's Foreign Trade** focuses on China's exports and includes lively articles of general interest on China's economy. Quarterly, \$3/year.

**Chinese Medical Journal** describes the latest breakthroughs in Chinese medical science as well as the general features of China's health care system. Bi-monthly, \$9.60/year.

**Please place subscriptions  
through your US-China Peoples  
Friendship Association**

**China Books & Periodicals, Inc.**

2929 24th St., San Francisco,  
Calif. 94110; (415) 282-2994

125 Fifth Ave., New York,  
N.Y. 10003; (212) 677-2650

210 W. Madison St., Chicago,  
Ill. 60606; (312) 782-6004

*Write for our complete  
catalog of books, magazines, posters,  
papercuts, fine art prints, stamps,  
scrolls, etc., from China.*

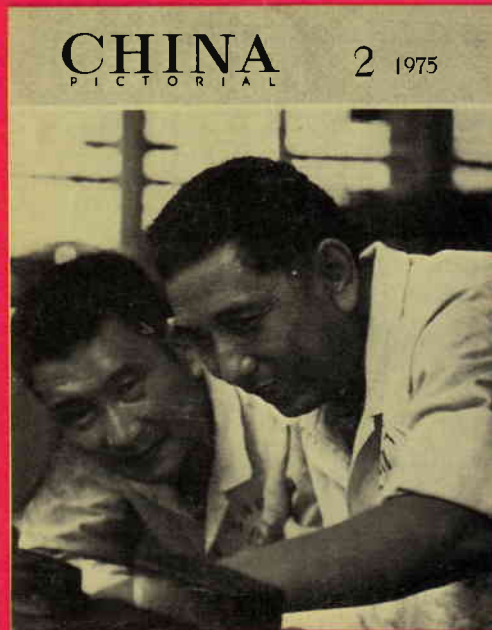
**PEKING  
REVIEW** 24  
June 12, 1975

北  
京  
周  
報

Chairman Mao Meets President  
And Madame Marcos

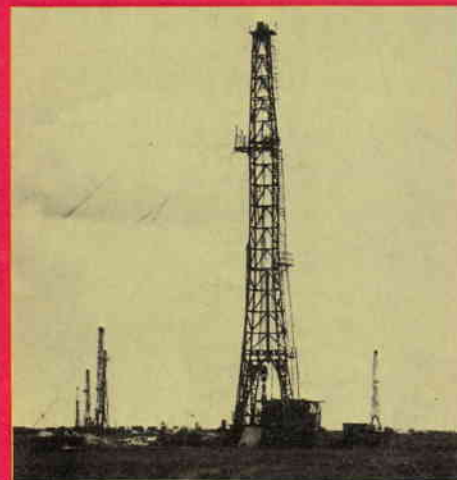
Far-Reaching Significance of  
May 7 Cadre Schools

"Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty":  
A Scrap of Paper



中华医学杂志  
英文版

March 1975



China's Foreign Trade 1  
1975

China  
Breaking Down  
Male Supremacy  
Reconstructs



CHINESE  
LITERATURE



4  
1975