

U.S. Trade with China: Can It Grow?

Fall 1977
One Dollar

New China

Wallace Muhammad: A Muslim Visits China

Korean War POW on Life in China **This Commune Grows Electricity!**

China's Vice-Premier Chen Yong-gui Talks with William Hinton



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Friendship
yǒu yì

I'm delighted to have this chance to meet you.

wó hěn xǐ huān yǒu jī huì rèn shì nín.

我很喜欢有机会认识您。

What is your name, sir?

xīān shēng nín guì xìng?

先生，您贵姓？

I like your country.

wó hěn xǐ huān nín de guó jiā.

我很喜欢您的国家。

Do you speak English?

nín shuō yīng yǔ ma?

您说英语吗？

This is my first time here.

zhè shì wǒ dì yī cì dào zhè er lái?

这是我第一次到这儿来。

To your health.

zhù nín jiàn kāng.

祝您健康。

Thank you, I had a wonderful time.

xiè xiè, wǒ wán de hěn yú kuài.

谢谢，我玩得很愉快。

Accommodations

qǐng nǐ zǎo shàng qī diǎn zhōng jiào wǒ.



Please call me at seven in the morning.

qǐng nǐ zǎo shàng qī diǎn zhōng jiào wǒ.

请你早上七点钟叫我。

I want a room for a week.

wǒ yào yī gè fáng jiān zhù yī xīng qī.

我要一个房间住一星期。

Here is my passport.

zhè shì wǒ de hù zhào.

这是我的护照。

Any mail for me?

wǒ yǒu méi yǒu xìn?

我有没有信？

Come in, please.

qǐng jìn lái.

请进来。

Dining

qǐng zài lái yī diǎn er.



A little more please.

qǐng zài lái yī diǎn er.

请再来一点儿。

A table for two please.

wǒ yào liǎng gè zuò wèi.

我要两个座位。

The menu please.

qǐng gěi wǒ yī fèn cài dān.

请给我一份菜单。

Rice, beef, pork, vegetable.

fàn, niú ròu, zhū ròu, qīng cài.

饭，牛肉，猪肉，青菜。

The check please.

qǐng nǐ bǎ zhàng dān gěi wǒ.

请你把帐单给我。

It was very good.

hěn hǎo.

很好。

Shopping

wǒ de měi guó dà xiǎo shì...



My size in America is...

wǒ de měi guó dà xiǎo shì...

我的美国大小是...

I would like to buy this.

wǒ yào mǎi zhè gè.

我要买这个。

I am just looking around.

wǒ zhǐ shì kàn kàn.

我只是看看。

I will take it with me.

wǒ yào dài zhè gè.

我要带这个。

Show me porcelain, please.

qǐng nǐ gěi wǒ kàn kàn cí qì.

请你给我看看瓷器。

Transportation

qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?



Where is the train to Nanking?

qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?

去南京的火车在那儿？

I want to see the Great Wall.

wǒ yào cān guān cháng chéng.

我要参观长城。

Taxi.

jì chéng chē.

计程车。

Take me to the airport, please.

qǐng nǐ sòng wǒ qù fēi jī chǎng.

请你送我去飞机场。

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Once your application for travel has been approved by the Chinese authorities, Swissair hopes this phrase guide will help make your trip more enjoyable.

For details see your travel agent, or Swissair.



Key to pronunciation of the Chinese phonetic alphabet. The Pinyin system, a phonetic alphabet utilizing Western characters, is in use throughout China. Q is pronounced as the ch in cheer/X as the sh in sheer/Zh as the j in judge/A as the a in father/O as the aw in saw/E as the er in her/I as the ee in see/U as the u in rude/C as the ts in hats.

New China

Fall 1977

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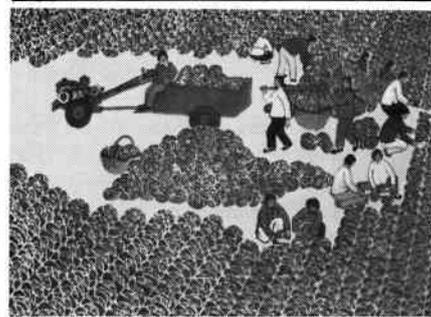
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NewChina

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Correction: In "Law of the Sea," Summer 1977, p. 45, "Delegations from over 150 member-states of the United Nations" should have read "Delegations from over 150 countries and areas."

Note on Spelling of Chinese Words: Chinese proper names in NEW CHINA are generally spelled in *Hanyu pinyin*, the romanization system now used in the People's Republic to render pronunciation in the official common dialect. Since *pinyin* is relatively new to Americans, in most cases the more familiar spellings are given in parenthesis at a word's first appearance in each article. In book titles or direct quotations using other forms of romanization, the *pinyin* follows in square brackets. A few familiar proper nouns are spelled as they usually appear in U.S. publications.

Exhibit Builds Friendship

For three months last winter, the Long Beach (California) Museum of Art shared a common exhibit with Tayi and Peking China - the "Rent Collection Courtyard." Many in this country have seen the book of photographs of the famous life-size sculptures which tell the story of the peasants' oppression in Tayi County before Liberation in 1949. The exhibit enabled 9,000 Americans on the West Coast to see reproductions identical to the originals except for their smaller size.

Along with the sculptures, the exhibit included large papercuts of heroic scenes of the Chinese Revolution. Guest curator Hildegard Duane also produced a 25-minute video tape which aired continuously throughout the exhibit, describing the story of the Rent Collection Courtyard and the role of art and culture in New China. Members of the Long Beach USCPFA took a slide show on the sculptures to local schools, and served as tour guides on weekends. The museum bookstore stocked many issues of NEW CHINA Magazine, as well as books and papercuts from China.

Starting with the opening on December 16, museum attendance records were bettered each week. Many people joined the USCPFA and asked for more information about China. Comments in the Guest Book were overwhelmingly favorable. The question of normalizing relations between the

U.S. and China came up frequently when people asked why there couldn't be more exhibits and exchanges between the two countries.

A group of visitors from a neighboring Chicano community were especially enthusiastic. They themselves were involved in



(Photo: C. Brittin)

a mural-painting project on buildings in their community and had faced controversy over whether the expressions of their own feelings and lives constitute "art." They were gratified to see not only that people in China are encouraged to translate their own lives and ideas into cultural forms, but that these works are considered important educational tools as well.

USCPFA News

NORMALIZATION CAMPAIGN Demonstrations in San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington, D.C. Hundreds signing petitions from Portland, Ore., to Richmond, Va. Significant media coverage in Austin, Boston, a number of cities in New York and New Jersey. A range of speakers that included China scholars, politicians, community and church leaders, and friends of China from many other walks of life.

These were the features of the numerous events and actions held by USCPFA locals, some in coalition with other organizations and groups, on or around February 28 to mark the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Shanghai Communique and to demand that the U.S. government implement the Communique and normalize diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. As part of the USCPFA's ongoing national campaign around Taiwan and normalization of relations, the activities showed the potential for taking the issue to

the American public, and also pointed up the need to get out information still more broadly, creatively, and effectively to build a real movement for normalization.

The San Francisco local took the normalization campaign into the city's neighborhoods by setting up literature tables and displays on the Taiwan question in Chinatown, the Mission District (a largely Latino community), and downtown. The response was excellent, with many signing the national petition urging the U.S. government to normalize relations and thousands more studying the photo panels and taking literature. (The petition had been translated into Spanish and Chinese.) Reactions ranged from "Right on" to "Didn't Nixon do it already?" to "We just can't pull out." But most agreed that the U.S. should not be interfering in the internal affairs of China. On February 28, the Association participated in a spirited demonstration of about 200 at the San Francisco Federal Building to demand normalization. The USCPFA also

held a press conference at which several speakers from different sections of the community called for implementation of the Shanghai Communiqué. Several radio and TV stations carried public service announcements. The local is continuing to take out the displays on Taiwan and to gather signatures on the petition.

Locals in the Northwest took out the national petition to shopping centers and other places. **Portland** collected about 400 signatures and distributed many copies of the Northwest USCPFA subregional leaflet on Taiwan and normalization. **Corvallis** members talked to about 200 people while passing out literature and got into some lively discussions. The **Seattle** USCPFA had a program on normalization February 27.

In **Chicago** on February 28, about 30 people demonstrated at the downtown Federal Building. They carried a banner demanding "Normalize U.S.-China Relations: U.S. Out of Taiwan!" and colorful picket signs promoting full diplomatic relations and friendship with China. About 1,000 leaflets were distributed, along with copies of the local newsletter. The next day a photograph of the demonstration was published in the *Chicago Daily News*. On several weekends prior to the 28th, USCPFA members took leaflets and petitions to the Chinatown, Hyde Park, and Lakeview communities where there had been recent programs on China. Petitions were also circulated among the audience at a USCPFA program at the University of Chicago on February 26, which featured a slide show on Taiwan that stressed its history as a part of China, followed by Paul Lin, Director of the Centre for East Asian Studies at McGill University, speaking on "The Current Situation in China." Nearly all of the 350 attending signed the petition. In all, approximately 750 signatures were collected before the 28th.

A special workshop on normalization was held by the **Detroit** local on February 20. It included a discussion of U.S. policy toward China, "role-playing" on how to talk to the person-in-the-street about normalization, and a presentation on the history of Taiwan.

The **Austin** local sponsored a February 28 talk by Roland Berger, British economist and trade consultant, on "U.S.-China Relations: An Economic View." About 70 attended, many of whom signed the normalization petition. Earlier in the day Berger participated in a panel discussion, "U.S.-China Relations: Past and Future," with Mark Sheldon, Seminars Coordinator for the United Methodist Church, and Robert Blum, former staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This was taped for the Longhorn Radio Network to be aired on about 90 radio stations across the coun-

try. The program was part of a China Week co-sponsored by the USCPFA and the Student Union at the University of Texas. On the following Friday, March 4, S. K. Chao, a former political prisoner in Taiwan, spoke on "The Other Side of Taiwan: A Former Political Prisoner Looks at Taiwan." A slide show about the history of the Kuomintang on Taiwan was also shown. Many signed up on the USCPFA mailing list, took literature, and endorsed the petition. A successful press conference was also held with Berger at the State Capitol, resulting in extensive local radio coverage of the normalization issue and an article in the local newspaper.

Many activities were held in the Eastern Region. The **Boston** local succeeded in getting considerable media coverage of the normalization issue. Three different radio stations carried interviews with USCPFA members, and a brief TV "Speak Out" spot was aired several times by a local station. On March 20 a program on normalization sponsored by a number of groups and individuals attracted an audience of 70.

Hanover devoted much of its February newsletter to normalization, which served the crucial function of educating about 100 members and friends of the Association.

Several members of the **Ithaca** local worked with a local radio collective to produce a 15-minute radio tape which was aired on a popular alternative news program February 28 and several other times during the week. It clearly laid out the history of Taiwan, U.S. political and military involvement and investment, and current barriers to normalization of relations. In addition, the chapter hosted an evening discussion with Owen Lattimore in which he shared some of his experiences in China during the '20s and '30s, after which many of the audience added their names to the normalization petition.

A panel discussion on the various aspects of normalization was the main feature at the first anniversary of the **Westchester** local on February 13. A group of Westchester residents who have been to China wrote a joint letter to President Carter on the issue, and *The New Rochelle Standard Star* carried a front-page interview with two members on February 27.

Nassau County co-sponsored a program with Hofstra University February 27 which drew 200 to hear a panel discussion and keynote address by Dr. C. N. Yang, Nobel Laureate and Albert Einstein Professor of Theoretical Physics at the State University of New York, Stony Brook. David Laven-thol, editor of *Newsday*, spoke about his experiences when he visited China with other newspaper editors in 1975 and pointed out there would be marked improvement in communication between the U.S. and China if American newspapers could have corre-

Association for Asian Studies

The Association is a scholarly, non-political, and non-profit professional association open to all persons interested in Asian studies. The AAS seeks, through publications, meetings, and seminars, to facilitate contact and exchange of information among scholars of Asia and to improve an awareness of Asia by the general public.

Publications of the Association include: **Journal of Asian Studies**, published quarterly.

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 U.S., listed on the inside back cover.

spondents in residence in Peking - something that can only happen if the U.S. has diplomatic relations with China. Professor James S. C. Hsiung, Department of Politics at New York University, and Charles Abrams, chairman of the China Trade Corporation, rounded out the panel. There was good publicity in *Newsday* before and after the program, including an editorial and a complete account of the USCPFA position on normalization.

In New York City a spirited rally and march was held on February 27. About 100 people, chanting "Normalize Relations Right Away - Implement the Shanghai Communique!" marched from the United Nations across town to the Ethical Culture Society where an afternoon program was held. Sponsored by a coalition of the USCPFA and several other groups and individuals, the program drew approximately 200 to hear support statements, participate in workshops on different aspects of the normalization question, and listen to speeches by Professor Paul Lin of McGill University, Cushing Dolbear, head of Americans for Democratic Action (one of the groups co-sponsoring the December 10-11 conference on normalization in Washington, D.C. - see *NEW CHINA*, Summer 1977), and Dr. Vernal Cavé, a founder of

the Medical Committee on Human Rights and surgeon at Harlem Hospital.

Metropolitan New Jersey organized a press conference on February 26 with New Jersey residents who had been to China. One TV news program showed it on the evening news. Lunch-hour leafleting and petitioning was done in downtown Newark the last week of February, and people were encouraged to participate in the New York events. The membership also devoted a chapter meeting to a presentation and discussion of normalization.

Metro New Jersey members also joined with the Raritan Valley Organizing Committee in a trip to Princeton University for an informational picket line organized by the Central New Jersey USCPFA. The picket line was set up outside a program given by students from Taiwan who are touring the country as representatives of the Kuomintang "Republic of China."

Philadelphia had considerable success organizing a coalition of 12 church and civic groups and the USCPFA which hosted a dinner-program on February 27 and a rally-petitioning effort the next day. An estimated 300-350, largely new faces, attended the dinner and heard speeches by Republican City Councilwoman and physician Dr. Ethel Allen, who is well regarded

in the Black community; Maggie Kuhn, National Convener of the Gray Panthers; and Paul Lin. A 15-minute slide show on Taiwan was particularly well received. A record number of China-related books were sold, indicating that for many this was the first contact with the USCPFA and China. The following day a petition table was set up at City Hall from 11 A.M. to 4.30 P.M. with a lively rally beginning at 5. One radio interview and two TV interviews were done during the day, capping the considerable media coverage before, during, and after the events. This included 20-minute interviews on two radio stations; community announcement "blurbs" on others; and the taping of Paul Lin's February 27 speech by two stations for later use. On March 1 members of the USCPFA Normalization Committee appeared on a radio talk show for a two-hour live interview which drew a lot of call-in questions and discussion.

The Richmond Organizing Committee sponsored a program on February 26 at Virginia Commonwealth University featuring one of VCU's associate professors and drew 25 people on short notice. Some 30 signatures were gathered on the petition while publicizing the program.

The Washington, D.C., and Baltimore locals and the National Association of Chin-

ese Americans sponsored a demonstration of about 150 at the State Department and White House February 28. Brightly colored posters and banners publicized demands that the U.S. government "Terminate the 'Mutual Defense Treaty' with the Taiwan Regime," "Withdraw All Armed Forces and Military Installations from the Island," "Cease All Aid to the Taiwan Regime," and "Recognize the PRC as the Sole, Legal Government of China in Fulfillment of the Intent of the Shanghai Communique."

All in all, the national campaign around the issue of Taiwan and normalization of diplomatic relations clearly took a big step forward with the February events.



In addition to normalization activities, locals undertook innovative outreach and fund-raising efforts and major, day-long China events from midwinter through the spring.

Norfolk put on a "Benefit Jazz Jam" in February at Cogan's Instant Art, a local bar with live music. An Association member who works there contacted local musicians who have a following among the patrons, and several groups and individuals volunteered their time and talents. A \$1 cover charge was asked at the door, and the Association set up a booth and table with literature and crafts from China. People thoroughly enjoyed themselves, and also responded enthusiastically to a slide show "narrated" by two songs about new China performed by a Norfolk USCPFA member.

In Southern California, the West Los Angeles USCPFA Health Committee organized a core group of people from several Associations who had a special interest in women's health issues and set up its health care display, with an additional panel - "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" - at three International Women's Day fairs. One was in Boyle Heights in predominantly Chicano East LA where about 300 people came; many visited the USCPFA booth and saw a slide show on women in China. Another was an afternoon fair at the University of Southern California, and the third was at Los Angeles City College, a multinational and largely working class campus. At the latter, the USCPFA had an all-day booth at which they sold T-shirts and literature and got into many lively discussions. Many new people were reached at all three events.

USCPFA events around International Women's Day at USC and Long Beach featured Vicki Garvin, early civil rights activist who lived and worked in China from 1966 to 1970, speaking on "A Black Woman's View of the Liberation of Chinese Women." She was also interviewed by *The Sentinel*, the major Black newspaper in Los Angeles.

Metropolitan New Jersey USCPFA par-

ticipated in a pot-luck supper and fundraiser March 23 for one of its members, Joe Thomasberger, who went to China on a Friendship Study Tour in April. The dinner was organized by a member who works with Joe in Tri-City Citizens Union for Progress, a Newark community organization. Most of the 150 who came were neighborhood friends of Joe's or knew him from his work with other community projects; for many, it was their first opportunity to learn about China - one of the Felix Greene films was shown - and they responded eagerly to

the prospect of hearing about China directly from Joe when he came back. Many work in community groups concerned with health, child care, and housing, and over half the people at the dinner were Black. The event showed the tremendous outreach potential in sending people on USCPFA tours who have deep ties in the community and who are committed to building people-to-people friendship.

A very successful fundraising banquet was held by the Chicago chapter on February 19. 350 members and supporters came

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*To build active and lasting
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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 a major barrier is the U.S. diplomatic recognition of and military presence in Taiwan. As the Joint Communique signed by the governments of the United States and the People's Republic of China states, Taiwan is an inseparable part of China and the resolution of the Taiwan question is the internal affair of China. We recognize that the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China.

Our educational activities include production and distribution of literature, films, and photo exhibits; sponsoring speakers and study classes; speaking out against distortions and misconceptions about the People's Republic of China; publishing newsletters 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.

For information, contact your local Association.

Addresses, inside back cover.

to celebrate the Chinese New Year and enjoy the meal and program, emceed by Chicago WLS-TV broadcaster Fahey Flynn. Building on this success, Chicago went on to plan a series of four "Chinese Provincial Meals" at Chicago restaurants: a Mandarin (Peking-style) dinner in May, a Cantonese "Dim Sum" brunch in June, a Sichuan (Szechuan) dinner in July, and a Hunan-style dinner in August. At each, speakers talked about life in those particular provinces or areas, several of the speakers had lived in these areas before Liberation as well as having visited them in recent years.

A banquet was also held by the Minnesota USCPFA in February at a local restaurant, with Roland Berger, British trade consultant, speaking on the importance of normalized relations between the U.S. and China. (See Berger's article in this issue.)

A day-long seminar, "Today in China," by the Knoxville local on March 12 featured local members and Les and Joy Faulk from Nashville. Joy was raised in China and the Chinese people recently arranged a trip to her old home for her and Les, a professor at Meharry Medical College.

On April 16, Iowa City held an all-day program on China co-sponsored by the University of Iowa School of Social Work Action Studies Program. The event featured daytime workshops on such diverse topics as art and literature, the handicapped and elderly, religion in modern China, "Who Was Mao Tsetung?" "China from U.S. High School Students' Perspective," and an evening showing of the film *Making the Break* on the revolution in education.

Philadelphia's mid-April New China Day also featured workshops and a series of films during the day. Noted artist Chen Chi gave a lecture and demonstration on "Traditional Art Forms in Revolutionary China." Other workshops focused on different aspects of health care, women, and freedom and democracy.

Letters

Having read the article on "China and Angola" in the Spring 1977 issue of *NEW CHINA*, I feel it is essential to set the record straight about foreign intervention and China's attitude toward it.

First, it is irrelevant to argue over which country - South Africa or Cuba - first intervened in Angola's internal affairs. Imperialism has been intervening in Angola since the 15th century. U.S. troops landed in Angola in March 1860, "to protect American lives and property at Kissemba when the natives became troublesome." (History repeats itself.) As a NATO member, Portugal

was able to obtain military aid from Great Britain, France, West Germany, and the United States all during the Angolan war of independence. The CIA sent military aid to Portugal without Congressional approval. And South Africa and Rhodesia had an informal alliance with Portugal dating from the mid-1960s. To argue as if foreign intervention in Angola began with Cuban troops in 1975 is ludicrous.

Second, the claim that China opposed all foreign intervention in Angola is false. Zaire sent more than 10,000 troops into Angola during the 1975 fighting. In addition, Zaire served as a base area for the FNLA, and for CIA-sponsored bands of mercenaries and fascists. But in February 1976, even as Zairian troops were still in retreat from Angola, China's then Foreign Minister gave a banquet for a high-ranking Zairian political leader, at which he stated: "On the question of Angola, the Zairese government has upheld justice and strongly condemned and opposed the aggression and interference of Soviet social-imperialism."

Finally, it is wrong to equate the MPLA, with its revolutionary program of people's power, with the tribalist and opportunist FNLA and UNITA cliques. Real African revolutionaries would not have found themselves on the same side as the South African racists. And the support given to the MPLA by Mozambique's FRELIMO, Guinea-Bissau's PAIGC, and São Tomé's MLSTP — whose revolutionary credentials have long been recognized by China — should prove that the battle for Angola involved more than just a cynical power-play by two imperialist superpowers.

Richard Morrock
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Second, the claim that 10,000 Zairian troops intervened in Angola in 1975 is simply false. On the contrary, Zaire was not an invader, but has now become the victim of invasion. The recent invasion of Zaire by Soviet-backed mercenaries launched from Angola is another indication of the extent of Soviet interference in Angola, with the Russians now using this country as a strategic foothold for their imperialist plans in southern Africa. This mercenary force is made up of former followers of Moise Tshombe who fled to Angola in the mid-1960s after the failure of their attempt to separate what was then called Katanga province from the rest of Zaire. The Portuguese colonial authorities then regrouped them for use as a mercenary force in Angola. After the Portuguese were forced to withdraw from Angola, these Katangan forces fought as mercenaries alongside the MPLA and to this day have been armed, financed, trained, and led by Russian and Cuban military personnel.

Third, as was stated in the article, the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA each made contributions to the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and each represented large sections of the Angolan population. Thus, all three were national liberation movements. The meddling of the two superpowers, particularly the Soviet Union, turned real yet non-antagonistic differences between the three movements into antagonistic contradictions resulting in the civil war.

The common thread running throughout Mr. Morrock's letter is that he does not recognize Soviet-social imperialism as a major enemy of the Angolan people.

Irene Gedalof
Stephen Orlov
Herman Rosenfeld

David Crook's article "Who Goes to College — and Why?" (NEW CHINA, Spring 1977) raises some controversial questions:

1. He seems to be very much in favor of the choice of university students solely based on recommendation by the masses, the standards of which "are anything but academic." Chairman Mao called for students who are red and expert. If no academic qualification whatsoever is required, how can these students be red and expert?

2. Mr. Crook seems to think two years' work on a commune, in a factory, etc., will transform a person to be highly politically conscious and he/she will be fit for anything in his/her future life. The acquisition of right attitudes takes not only two years, it is a lifelong struggle. Two years' good performance doesn't necessarily mean that the person picked will serve the people for the rest of his/her life. Chairman Mao worked with Liu Shao-chi for many years;

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The authors reply:

We would like to take this opportunity to respond to the three main points raised by Richard Morrock.

First, we do not accept Mr. Morrock's claim that we tried "to argue as if foreign intervention in Angola began with Cuban troops in 1975." However, we do feel that it was relevant and necessary for China to point out that Russian and Cuban forces did intervene in Angola before South Africa did, and that their plans to do so had been long in the making. Why? Because the Soviet Union has consistently lied specifically about this point and distorted this fact in an attempt to cover up its imperialist objectives and somehow justify what amounted to an outright invasion of Angola by the USSR and its mercenary forces. This is precisely what the Chinese mean when they say it was "a case of a thief crying thief in order to avoid being caught."



There is no Jade Emperor in heaven.
There is no Dragon King on earth.
I am the Jade Emperor.
I am the Dragon King.
Make way for me
you hills and mountains,
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Peasant Song, 1958

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he handpicked Lin Piao to be his successor; he chose Chiang Ching to be his wife. We all know how traitorous they became.

3. Mr. Crook also seems to favor that college students should be chosen only from among worker, peasant, and soldier families, to the exclusion of "exploiting-class families." He said that the worker-peasant-soldier students' "staunch support for socialism, their moral fiber, and their physical toughness will speed up China's modernization."

We think that at the present stage of development, China should call upon all those people who are willing to help build socialism and not discriminate against people with certain class origins. Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, and quite a number of other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party came from bourgeois or middle-peasant families. We all know well the contributions they have made to the Chinese Revolution.

F. Chan and B. Chan
Toronto, Ont., Canada

The author replies:

I welcome the significant questions raised about my article. My article may well have had some "left" bias, especially in the concluding paragraphs, with their reference to the then Minister of Education and to Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-ping) who, it is now evident, were quoted out of context and framed by the "gang of four" in the latter's campaign against Chou En-lai and other old revolutionary cadres. The piece was written well over a year before its publication in NEW CHINA without knowledge of such actions by the gang, which have been revealed in the last six months.

Regarding the letter's three points:

1. Choice of students was not "solely based on recommendation by the masses." Chinese educational policy, like other policies of the Chinese Communist Party, calls for both mass initiative and Marxist leadership. Candidates for college must not only be recommended by the masses but approved by the leadership at commune, county, or factory level, or by military unit command.

That college entrance exams "are anything but academic" means that candidates who are in the main qualified to go to college will not be kept out by exams weighted in favor of those from a houseful of books but with little experience of life and labor - in other words, sons and daughters of city dwellers, senior Party and government personnel, army officers, etc. While over 80 percent of the population lives in the country, rural schools in China are not academically up to the level of the urban ones. Yet commune members certainly have the intellect to enable them to become expert as

well as red, with the aid of a college education.

2. Two years' work in a commune, a factory, or the PLA will *not*, of course, in itself, transform a person. But it does afford favorable conditions for transformation. In a society which was for over 2,000 years dominated by intellectual snobbery and Confucian contempt for manual labor, two years or more of pre-college integration with the laboring people does help young people to see the significance of bridging the gap between mental and manual labor, which is a prerequisite for building communism. Some make better use of this opportunity for integration than others. This is precisely why so much importance is attached to candidates for college having the recommendation of the people they have worked with.

3. College students should *not* be chosen only from worker-peasant-soldier families to the exclusion of "exploiting-class families." But worker-peasant-soldier families do constitute the overwhelming majority of those in China. To give them a proportionate - or more than proportionate - number of places is a correction of thousands of years of excluding laboring people from education. Nevertheless, some students of formerly exploiting-class families should be and are admitted to college, taking into account a saying popular during the Cultural Revolution: "You can't choose your family but you can choose your path in life."

Chou En-lai and others who made outstanding contributions to the Chinese Revolution came from ruling-class families. But they betrayed their class and threw in their lot with the Revolution long before it was victorious, at the risk of their lives. Today, however, it is necessary to take special steps to ensure that children of Party and government officials and army officers do not receive special privilege by virtue of their family connections.

Limitations of time and space prevent me from going into the questions more fully. I would welcome further opinions from F. Chan and B. Chan and from other NEW CHINA readers.

David Crook

The notice of the death of Koji Ariyoshi in the summer issue was both belated and inadequate.

To cite some of the many tributes: Talitha Gerlach writes from Shanghai, "Special friends of Koji Ariyoshi offer congratulations to the National USCPFA for planning to publish a collection of Koji's writings on China. His passing is indeed a great loss which places all the more responsibility on the living to carry forward the friendship work he cherished and implemented on such sound principles."

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CONTENTS OF JUNE AND JULY ISSUES:

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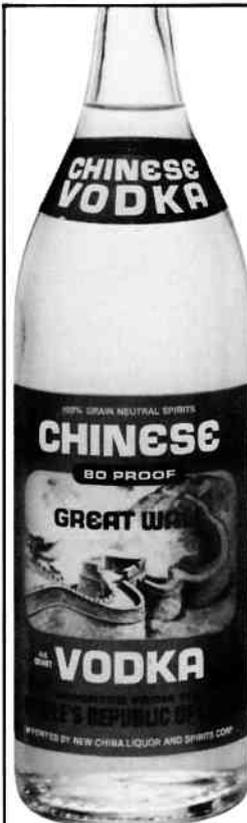
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And in an eloquent comment, Israel Epstein writes from Peking: "You had broad shoulders, Koji, and deep steady-flowing strength. You believed in the plain people of China, of the United States, of the world.

"In Yen-an [Yan'an] you saw, as so many did, the certainty that the age-old hope for victory for the working people could and would become reality.

"In recent years you brought your tireless energy to the great cause of friendship between the peoples of China and the United States. You wrote, spoke, organized, edited, taught, grew and helped others to grow.

"Such a life does not evaporate like a drop of dew but flows down to swell the mighty ocean of all the peoples. Through those whom you impelled to go persistently forward, and those whom they in turn impel, you will always live on as part of the irresistible tide."

Hugh Deane
New York, N.Y.

In a future issue we hope to include additional material about Koji Ariyoshi's contribution to friendship between the Chinese and American people.

I am directed by my committee to thank you for supplying us, free of charge, your excellent magazine *NEW CHINA*.

The Malta/China Friendship Society is a very small organization and would not be able to subscribe on its own to this excellent magazine. Your support in providing us with this informative publication is very much appreciated.

Reno Calleja, MP
Secretary

Malta/China Friendship Society

NEW CHINA has done a lot to dispel the clouds of anti-communism in North America by showing, through the example of China, that socialism is not only good – and necessary – but that its attainment is possible, too. Of course, China's role is the main factor in this. The leading role China plays in the world united front against the two superpowers and China's opening of its doors, for all the world's peoples to see how socialism benefits the people, contribute to this.

Fundamental to maintaining socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Party. An article explaining the role of the Party in China, how a communist party differs from bourgeois parties, what it does, how it works, etc., would be good. It's important to show how the working class must be organized, both before and after seizing state power. We must open China to the world in order to draw lessons from it.

The other aspect which I think should be

drawn out in *NEW CHINA* is the leading role China plays in the world, especially in the struggle against the two superpowers, and the stress it places on self-reliance of countries and non-interference.

Congratulations on producing such a fine magazine and may it continue to develop and enlighten North Americans about China in particular and socialism in general.

S. Kennedy
Toronto, Ont., Canada

I would like to say how much I enjoyed reading your magazine. The presentation is first-class and the articles well-balanced and informative. I am especially interested in the legal and governmental system in China and would welcome any articles on these matters, such as prisons, the use of lawyers, a diagram of how the government operates from Chairman down to worker or peasant and Revolutionary Committees, etc.

I sincerely hope your high standards will continue.

William Say
Rochester, Kent, England

Last September I gave a gift subscription of *NEW CHINA* to each of Levittown's six high school libraries. In keeping with local school board policy, a committee was formed to review the magazine prior to its placement in the libraries.

The minutes of the committee's first meeting show that in investigating *NEW CHINA*'s "appropriateness and overall educational value," the committee concluded that "The materials contained in each issue examined to date are superb as learning tools. The poetry, art work, plays, short stories, and essays contain many excellent insights into, and representative fragments of, life in the People's Republic of China. . . . The committee members are enthusiastic about the periodical as a potential learning tool for our students."

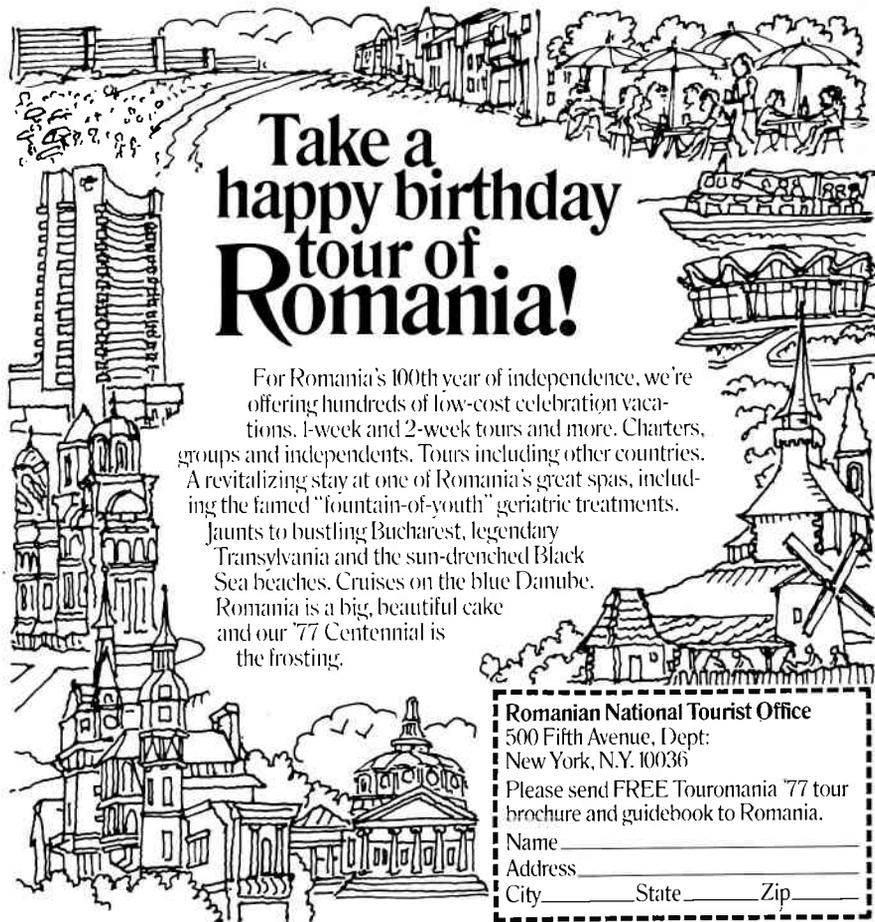
I was glad the magazine received such high praise, and can happily report that at a second meeting the committee recommended acceptance of the *NEW CHINA* gift subscriptions.

Mary Gough
Howard Beach, N.Y.

We are greatly impressed and pleased with both the quality and content of your publication. Our best wishes for continued growth.

As China moves into a leading role in the modern global community, *NEW CHINA* offers us a welcome and timely opportunity to meet and learn from this ancient people's modern socialist government approach to life.

Michael Maki
Hoquian, Wash.



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China's Minority Nationalities

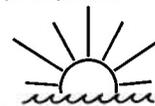
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Wallace Muhammad: To China in Search of Knowledge

by Vicki Garvin and Trev Sue-a-quan

*An interview with the Chief Imam of the World
Community of Islam in the West*

"As a child I had been fascinated with China's ancient civilization and culture," recalled Wallace D. Muhammad, Imam of the World Community of Islam in the West. "Later I remembered the saying of Prophet Muhammad I had heard in school: 'Go even as far as China in search of knowledge.' I am a Muslim and have no interest in communism as a system or ideology, but I do defend socialist programs to improve the lives of the people. I had quietly admired

Russia for its achievements. When I heard things about what the Chinese were doing – working hard not just to develop theories but to improve human lives – my interest was aroused, particularly when problems started existing in the relationship between Russia and China."

Mr. Muhammad had a chance to pursue his interest in China in the fall of 1976, when he was part of a Leaders of Organizations Tour sponsored by the USCPFA. "I liked the idea of going along with a U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Tour because of the kind of people that were brought together." The tour also included other religious groups and educational, political, cultural, and social organizations. "The trip protected me. If I had just gone on my own I think people might have had lots of wild

thoughts about why I made the trip. So I thought it was a blessing from God that this tour had room for me."

NEW CHINA asked Mr. Muhammad, as he sat behind his large, neat desk with an atlas near him, if there was a difference between what he expected and what he actually saw on his tour of China. "Yes, there was," he smiled. "Before I went I had the impression that the Chinese people were busy improving their society, but I pictured them as much more mechanical than they really were. When I got there I found them to be warm and human. Another thing I didn't expect to see was their great interest in rural beauty, trees and flowers. This made me feel a real blood kinship with the Chinese people."

The 43-year-old Imam was also impressed

VICKI GARVIN, an associate of Malcolm X during his 1964 visit to Ghana, worked at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute and the Foreign Languages Press in Peking, 1964-70. She lives in Chicago. TREV SUE-A-QUAN, a chemical engineer, is the coordinator of the Midwest USCPFA. He went to China on the same tour as Wallace Muhammad.

by the way older people were involved in Chinese life. "To tell you the truth, I never saw any old people in the pictures and photos from communist countries. This made me think of people there as all physically fit, like in ancient Sparta where I think the weak were killed off. I thought a communist country had only physically strong people; when they got too old they were just eliminated because of the harshness and severity of life. But when I got to China we went into communities and communes and met plenty of old people, many more than in an average Chicago neighborhood. People older than 60 or 70 years were very active too and that's something I appreciated. In China the elders were active in the community, helping children and enjoying their lives, playing games in their spare time, including card games. Some engaged in physical exercise. I saw an old lady who seemed to be at least 75 playing basketball with her daughter and granddaughter - three generations there. She leaped off the ground like a young person and shot the ball into the basket. I think the serious social consequences of ignoring the elders haven't yet struck us as they have the Chinese people. I've talked with Americans who express deep sentiments for older people, but there's something about this crowded society in which people are occupied so much with individual survival that they forget about old people."

Mr. Muhammad's quiet, informal manner gave us confidence to pursue different aspects of his visit. At first the NEW CHINA interviewer was concerned that as a female she might not be allowed to address Mr. Muhammad directly because of Muslim protocol. This uneasiness was soon put to rest by Wallace Muhammad's soft, friendly tones and informality.

When asked to comment on the status of women in China today, he smiled and replied, "I had some problems when I heard about the equality of the sexes. I thought I would find over there women who were becoming 'men' but instead I saw women who were given equal opportunities and no contradiction with them being women. That's what we're trying to do over here in the World Community of Islam. We want women to have equal opportunities with men."

"Did you notice any aspects of regimentation in personal and social life?" we in-

quired. He answered, "I think it's discipline rather than regimentation, a mental and psychological discipline. In my own Muslim society we have long been in the habit of insisting that we consciously discipline ourselves. If you notice members of the masjid [mosque], you can identify us just by the way we carry ourselves. I noticed in China that the people walk as if they are going somewhere. In societies that believe in self-discipline you can see more control and organization in the person when he or she walks. I don't call it regimentation. The little child near the ground is wobbly, but gets more organization as it grows older. I think this is sophistication. I hope that my community never laughs at discipline."

Since China is at an early stage of mechanization, visitors see people performing a lot of physical labor. We asked Mr. Muhammad why he thought the workers and peasants had a sense of dignity and respect for their work, even when it was hard and demanding. "They have what we have lost. The people who built up America, the pioneers, knew the value of work. Work was respected, it was a healthy idea in life. Sure, it was hard, to give up a lot of energy, sacrifice time, and get a few blisters on one's hands. But if you know that what you're doing will pay off in dividends to improve human life, to make things better for those who don't have a chance, then work becomes respected, even revered. I believe that's what is missing in our society. The majority of people look at work as punishment. Slavery in our lives has made many of us feel this way; we have great problems in our social revolution."

Although expressing some criticisms of American society during the interview, Mr. Muhammad recalled that when he spoke to the Chinese people he tried to tell the positive along with the negative things about America. "When you go out and talk to Americans, especially Bilalians, so-called Black persons, they say 'Well, it's bad, it's rough. Life is always bad and hard on the people.' I think we express all the negative things among ourselves because we want something done about them. But when we talk to outsiders we don't like to give them all the negatives. So I kept that in mind in China, and things that to me were private or too embarrassing to tell outsiders I didn't tell. When I spoke to the Chinese people I tried to keep a view on the achieve-

ments in America. I told them we are doing many things ourselves in our community and I find the American people are now realizing we have to make some drastic changes. I think the Chinese people may be better informed than I am about what's going on in America, but I think they appreciated hearing from an American, especially someone of my background and thinking."

While in Peking Mr. Muhammad visited a mosque to pray. He found the other participants were mainly people from outside of China - Egyptians, Indians, Pakistanis, and others. "It wasn't representative of the religious people in China. They were mostly people who were there from outside the country and their jobs were political in nature. But I talked to the Chinese guides and saw no real problems. I'll put it this way: I know religion is not given any boost or sendoff in China. But when it comes to carrying out the divine dictates I don't think we are in a position to brag any more than the Chinese people. I might be criticized for saying this."

We had read an important article on the death of Mao Tsetung in the *Bilalian News*, the newspaper published by the World Community of Islam, and asked Mr. Muhammad if the article reflected his own point of view. "I have always admired and had a serious, clean respect for Chairman Mao and his movement, his revolution," Mr. Muhammad replied. "I think most Muslims under the late leader Elijah Muhammad had that same kind of feeling for the late Chairman Mao because he was the leader of people who were oppressed and denied the right to life, education, and respect. We see people working to improve the life of their people who had no hope before they came into power; we see them giving the people more and better clothing and housing; we see them assuring that people who are poor and rejected will have meals and the same chance for an education as everyone else. They are using the wealth of the country to benefit all the people. All of us would just outright lie if we said we weren't affected by those achievements of China under Chairman Mao."

The series of articles Mr. Muhammad is publishing about his trip to China has, he said, brought a great response in the Muslim community. A strong curiosity about the everyday life of the Chinese people - cooking, family life - was expressed by his fol-



The Hon. Wallace D. Muhammad (tan suit) and his personal assistant, Abdul Hakim Shakir, show a copy of the *Bilalian News* featuring a lead article on Mao Tsetung to the Chief Imam of the Peking Mosque. (Photo: T. Sue-a-quan)

lowers when Mr. Muhammad told them of his visits to Chinese homes. There was also interest in how the Chinese repented to Mr. Muhammad as a person and a Muslim. He reported that the Chinese were overly courteous and considerate about providing a pork-free menu. On two or three occasions the tour met with members of national minorities, and saw different cultural dress and performances at the Institute for National Minorities. Wallace Muhammad happened to celebrate his birthday in China: "The whole trip was so exciting and rich with cultural presentations and real human experiences, I felt as if it was a birthday gift to me. I went on the trip just to see and study but it turned out to be a holiday treat."

NEW CHINA's final questions in the hour-long interview centered on the politics of the Third World and normalization of relations between the United States and China. Mr. Muhammad laid out his views quite sharply. "I never attach much importance to the concept of the Third World. If you mean the developing countries, I've been to a number of them, and everywhere I've been there has been a lot of admiration for the Chinese leadership. In a physical sense China resembles Egypt or Turkey. But I saw other things, the invisible things, the ideas, the aspirations of the Chinese people, the programs. If you look at that, as I see it, China is a very, very advanced society. It's just a matter of bringing the material environment up to par with their aspirations. In the developing countries I've visited, the sympathies toward China are very strong. I can understand that. China is definitely the leader of the developing countries because China has achieved its successes mainly by itself. The developing countries don't see any hope for themselves unless they are in control of their destiny."

As our parting question we asked Mr. Muhammad whether he thought there should be normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. "There is no reason for me as an American not to desire normalization of relations with China," he stated. "I see no problems for me as a Muslim, no problems for Christians, no problems for Jews. I don't see any problems for me as a person who is pledged to the Constitution of the United States. I see no problems. I'm all for it." ●

More U.S. Trade with China?

by Roland Berger

Normalizing diplomatic relations is the key

When Britain and the People's Republic of China established full diplomatic relations in 1971, the effects on trade were clear and unmistakable. The whole process of modern trade – particularly in advanced equipment and technology where prolonged exchanges between the two sides are essential – can't possibly take place without good diplomatic relations.

In March 1972, following the exchange of ambassadors between Britain and China, I visited Peking to discuss trade strategy for the future. The Chinese can produce their own general-purpose machinery, so our plan focused on advanced equipment. A year later, members of our group participated in a massive industrial presentation in Peking, the British Industries Technology Exhibition.

Every major industrial country except the United States has mounted such an exhibition to display its latest advances. Britain and other nations are constantly going into China with technological exchanges to show and explain new, sophisticated areas of technology. And Britain and other nations bring delegations of Chinese specialists to visit our factories, discuss their problems with our experts, and get to know each other. All of this is important backing for effective trading.

In the case of the United States, these

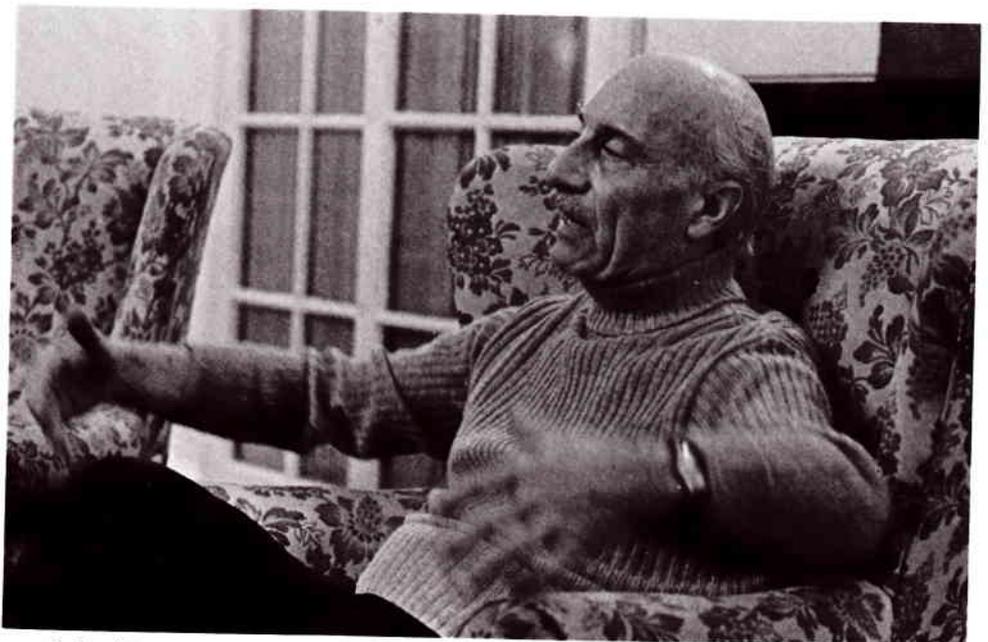
things will just not happen, or will happen only on a very restricted basis, until there is some change in the diplomatic picture. The key to that change is clearly Taiwan. Essentially this involves withdrawing the U.S. military presence, canceling the security agreement, and putting an American embassy in Peking. Then American industrialists and traders can begin to talk in depth about trade.

What has been happening in the People's Republic trade picture?

When I first went to China in 1953, I

asked an old Chinese friend. "How many thousand tractors would you like to buy?" He replied, "My dear Roland, if we could give every peasant a metal hoe, that would be a revolution." That was the status of agriculture at that time.

As the economy has developed and grown, the diversity of goods for export and the need for increased imports have also expanded. Self-reliance, a cardinal principle of Chinese economic policies, was never meant to exclude foreign trade. Quite the reverse. As Yao Yi-ling, Vice-minister of



Roland Berger. (Photo: M. Jahr)

ROLAND BERGER is a British economist and consultant to 75 British companies that trade with the People's Republic. He has been to China 30 times since 1953.



At a modern dock facility, a made-in-China crane loads a Chinese car onto a made-in-China ship. (Photo: J. Polumbaum)

Foreign Trade, told me in 1974, it meant more foreign trade, not less. Through self-reliance, he said, China will produce more food, more light industrial goods. That means the pace of economic growth in all sectors, including heavy industry, will be faster, and that will both provide the basis for increased exports and generate a demand for technological equipment from abroad.

The pattern of China's exports has changed since 1953. Where Britain used to get raw materials, we now get more manufactured goods. For example, last year we

began buying Chinese machine tools; we expect to bring about \$1.7 million worth into Britain this year.

It makes no sense to me that two great countries like the United States and China don't have complete diplomatic relations. U.S. businessmen are at a considerable disadvantage because of this abnormal situation. Today there are few things that China can't purchase from Japan, West Germany, or elsewhere. It is not obliged to come to the United States for them.

When President Nixon signed the Shang-

hai Communique in February 1972, the Chinese thought it meant what it said and that the two countries would move on to full state relations. In earnest of this, they placed orders for eight Pullman-Kellogg fertilizer plants, 12 Boeing aircraft, and two RCA satellite stations. These have been delivered. From 1975, however, in the face of U.S. foot-dragging on implementing the communique, there have been hardly any big contracts.

The result is that the flow of American exports to China has declined precisely

The Saga of Great Wall Vodka

by Charles Abrams

In 1972, on a visit to the People's Republic of China, I discovered a most exciting product—vodka, distilled in Qingdao (Tsingtao), Shandong Province. After tasting it, I believed it to be the best vodka in the world, and began to make plans to import it and the other spirits and wines produced in distilleries and wineries throughout China.

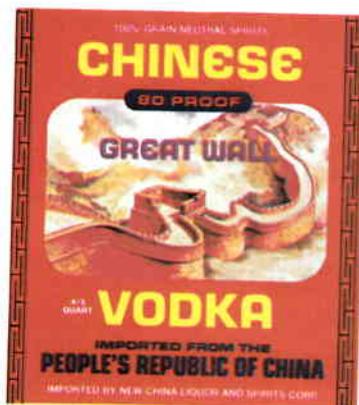
Market research—sampling the drinking tastes of college students, housewives, and executives—led us to believe that white spirits like vodka would outsell the whiskeys and brandies in the U.S. by the late 1970s. The Chinese vodka was so good I was convinced it would be the premium vodka in America. But I couldn't persuade any major distiller or distributor to join with me in setting up a company to import it. Everyone I talked to agreed that the Chinese vodka was of superior quality, but they felt the price was too high and, furthermore, "Who would believe that China makes the best vodka in the world?" I did, and started the New China Liquor and Spirits Corporation to market Chinese liquors in the U.S.

I wanted the Chinese identity of the vodka emphasized, and chose the name Great Wall Chinese Vodka as being totally synonymous with China. Even with the little education Americans have about the New China, there is no one who does not know that the Great Wall is in China. When the bottles bearing our red and yellow labels appeared in bars and stores, people were curious—"China makes vodka?" they asked—and I felt that curiosity might attract them to the vodka and its quality keep them. Our friends, the top officials in China National Cereals, Oils, and Foodstuffs Import and Export Corporation, accepted the labels we had designed, and 120,000 were printed and shipped to the People's Republic in 1974.

Since we couldn't distribute Chinese vodka through companies here, our advertising campaign had to be directed to the consumer. We decided to offer a "limited edition" of the vodka to the public, by giving them an opportunity to reserve a case of the first shipment of Chinese vodka to the U.S. We sent out 50,000 letters to a select group of people—businessmen, pro-

fessionals, heads of communications industries, public officials, etc.—offering to register a case of Chinese vodka in their name, which would be delivered from the inaugural shipment.

In the spring of 1976, we went to China with the first direct-mail campaign ever conducted between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China. We carried 32 cartons of letters, envelopes, reservation cards, lists, and brochures to the Guangzhou (Canton) Trade Fair. We planned to mail the letters from China, each with four different Chinese stamps, including one of the Great



Wall. When we explained our concept to our friends in the National Cereals Corporation, they studied it for a few days and came back, willing to cooperate but uncertain as to how to do so. The officials explained they were pleased with our efforts over four years to introduce their product to the U.S. in a manner befitting the quality of the vodka, and they wanted to help in the direct-mail campaign. But the demands of the trade fair had left them short-staffed, and there were not enough people who could take the time to complete the mailing. I knew that even with 800 million pairs of hands in the People's Republic, each pair has designated duties to perform, and none of those duties included hand-addressing, pasting stamps, stuffing and mailing envelopes. Yet, through mutual cooperation, we arranged that the Chinese students who were learning English at the Language Institute would help with addressing, and the students who were managing the post office at the trade fair would assist in stamping

and mailing. The customs official read the letter we planned to mail, and bypassed all regulations because he felt the letter was "the bridge of friendship," a most unusual way to introduce Chinese products into the U.S.

We brought the cartons to the lobby of the Dong Fang Hotel, and took the cases, one by one, to the fair, where addressing and stamping were being done. The staff members of the New China Liquor and Spirits Corporation worked on 2,000 letters themselves. When I went to the post office, I asked the manager for 2,000 of this stamp, 2,000 of that stamp—8,000 stamps in all. He looked at me bewilderedly and said, "My goodness, you must have a lot of relatives in America." I explained to him what we were doing, and he was able, in one day's time, to assemble volunteers to help us. It was a revelation to us to see the Chinese become enthusiastic and give us all the assistance we needed.

Thousands of letters were mailed daily from the trade fair, and by the time we returned to the U.S. reservations for the vodka were pouring in to our New York office, including reservations from major wholesalers and distributors. We now have distribution in 30 states and by September all of America will be able to buy Chinese wines and spirits.

In the fall of 1976, the first shipment of Chinese vodka arrived by steamer in New York City. The Commissioner of Ports and Harbors hosted the arrival, and many other officials came to Pier 16 to greet the first boat to signify the importance of trade with China. After the reception, we held a party at one of the Chinese restaurants that will feature Great Wall Chinese Vodka. One of the highlights of the day was the 30-foot plastic bottle of vodka that floated over Pier 16 as the ship sailed into the dock. We took it to the party, and stood it on the corner of 65th Street and Third Avenue, where it stopped traffic. People were going into stores asking to purchase Great Wall Vodka. So far, it's selling well.

The importation and distribution of Great Wall Chinese Vodka has just started. It has been done against all odds, all advice, and all recommendations. But with the help of the Chinese we have overcome all the obstacles.

CHARLES ABRAMS is president of the China Trade Corporation, a New York firm that imports a variety of products from the People's Republic of China.



An American fabric designer negotiates a trade agreement with Chinese representatives over cups of tea. (Photo: courtesy of J. Cohen)



The Trade Fair Building at Guangzhou (Canton), where hundreds of overseas businessmen gather every year to place orders for Chinese merchandise. (Photo: C. Abrams)

during the years when China was importing substantially from other nations. From a high of \$820 million in 1974, the value of U.S. exports to China was down to \$134 million in the first 11 months of 1976. Imports of Chinese goods to America have begun to rise but are still inhibited by the absence of a most-favored-nation clause, which means heavy import duties and thus higher prices for Chinese products in the U.S.

If the U.S. recognized China tomorrow and started to negotiate large transactions, they still wouldn't come to fruition for quite a while. With nothing going into the pipeline in the way of complete factories, nothing can come out for at least four or five years. So one can see that what began with great promise for U.S.-China trade has become a rather gloomy picture.

Some American business people are apprehensive about the effects of trading with the People's Republic of China on their commercial relations with Taiwan. This involves two questions - trade and investment. Recognition of the People's Republic doesn't cut off trade of individual companies with Taiwan. Japan recognized China, and its trade with Taiwan thrives. British trade with Taiwan has increased since 1971, when we withdrew our diplomatic representation from Taipei.

Concern for U.S. investments in Taiwan is another matter. One could argue that diplomatic relations with the PRC would hasten the integration of Taiwan into the socialist economy of the mainland. But international investors are active in Hong Kong where, according to an 1898 unequal treaty with Britain, Hong Kong's New Territories go back to China at the end of this century. In the short run, U.S. investments in Taiwan would probably be unaffected by normalization of relations with China. There is nothing to suggest that normal relations between Washington and Peking would be seen as the signal for the Chinese to dash into Taiwan to sequester American, Japanese, or other investments there. In other words, the reunification of Taiwan is a separate question, which the Chinese will deal with in their own time.

When we arrived in China last fall, we stepped into an extraordinary situation - the widespread rejoicing at the fall of the "gang of four." The feeling of relief, the sense that a burden had been lifted off people's backs, was reflected in the response to our exhibition. With 108 representatives of 33 British companies, including 29 technical experts, we put on a highly sophisticated show of broadcasting equipment, radar, and advanced instrumentation. The 35,000 Chinese, mostly technicians, who came to see our exhibits were a physical manifestation that the ideas of the "gang

China's Foreign Trade Principles: Equality and Mutual Benefit

Unlike the Eight Principles of Economic Aid, China's principles of foreign trade have not been formally enumerated. They are summed up here in excerpts from 1974 statements by Li Chiang, then, as now, Minister of Foreign Trade (China's Foreign Trade, 1974, No. 1), and Wang Yao-ting, who continues as Chairman, Council for the Promotion of International Trade (Peking Review, 1974, No. 41).

"China's foreign trade achievements are the results of the policy of building the country independently, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence, and thrift. It is our consistent view that a country's political independence is inseparable from its economic independence. After achieving political independence, a nation must strive hard to win economic independence, otherwise the political independence is insecure and incomplete. . . .

"China's adherence to the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, and relying on our own efforts in construction in no way means pursuing a policy of self-seclusion; nor does it exclude efforts to develop trade with other countries and supply each other's requirements on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

"On the eve of the founding of New China, Chairman Mao pointed out: 'The Chinese people wish to have friendly cooperation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity.' The volume of New China's imports and exports has been increasing. . . . Total volume in 1973 was 2.5 times that of 1965, the year before the start of the Cultural Revolution. . . ." — *Wang Yao-ting*

"Over the last two decades . . . China has opened up trade with other countries of the world in a planned way, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, to learn from other countries' merits and obtain necessary materials, equipment, and techniques through exchange.

"This is an implementation of the principle of making foreign things serve China, and combining learning with inventing in order to add to our ability to build socialism. Facts prove that foreign trade is necessary to the development of our national economy. At the same time, through foreign trade, we can increase mutual support and cooperation in the economic sphere with fraternal socialist countries and friendly countries of the Third World, thus benefiting each other's economic construction and reinforcing economic independence. Through foreign trade, we are able to increase economic and technical interchange with more and more countries and peoples on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, so as to promote the relationships between China and the other nations of the world and enhance the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of other countries. . . .

"China has always held that countries, big or small, are equal. When it comes to trade we firmly adhere to the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and helping to meet each other's needs. . . . In trade, we should respect each other's sovereignty and wishes whilst paying attention to providing for each other's requirements and abilities, so as to facilitate mutual economic development. We resolutely oppose the policy of plundering the natural resources of other countries, dominating their national economies, and interfering in their internal affairs, [in other words] the policy pursued by the two superpowers under the guise of 'trade' and 'aid'. . . .

"China will never try to attract foreign capital or exploit domestic or foreign natural resources in conjunction with other countries. She will never go in for joint-management with foreign countries, still less grovel for foreign loans. China welcomes technical interchange with other countries and imports essential equipment on a planned and selective basis according to the needs of socialist construction. Methods of payment are arranged through negotiation by the two business parties in the light of common international trade practice." — *Li Chiang*

"Foreign trade is a powerful weapon of the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, an important means for China and other countries to supply each other's needs on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and a major channel for promoting understanding and friendship and exchanging experiences between the Chinese people and the people of other countries." — *Wang Yao-ting*

of four" about keeping foreign technology at bay had been rejected. The commercial result was \$3.5 million in contracts, with more to come.

Before the fall of the "four" there was considerable tension and the future of China was unclear. Today the country is unified as firmly as at anytime since Liberation and the leadership has the support of the people. Our discussions with the Chinese in Peking during October and November pointed to a short period of readjustment.



Women dockworkers at Dalian (Darien).

By the end of this year, we can foresee a new leap in the Chinese economy. The atmosphere is now such that the Chinese are again disposed to consider buying complete installations. This was confirmed in a discussion with Li Chiaŋ, Minister of Foreign Trade, last November. Certainly we and, I'm sure, the Japanese, Germans, and French are using this period to get close to the Chinese and explain what we can offer in the fields of modern technology. American companies will find roadblocks to get-

ting that close while state relations remain abnormal.

Mao Tsetung made it clear that revolution and production should not be set against each other, even though the terms implied a contradiction. But this is exactly what the "four" did. They went further. With their xenophobic attitude toward foreign trade, they argued that buying products from abroad was a violation of self-reliance, and selling oil and coal was putting China in a colonial position.

It is significant that the new leadership, as one of its first acts, published Mao's 1956 speech "On the Ten Major Relationships." This is a document that any intelligent businessman wishing to trade with China should read. It shows that China will follow a course of balanced development - really a continuation of the policies enunciated earlier by Mao and Chou En-lai.

The People's Republic is trading with about 160 countries. Although its balance of trade for the years 1973, 1974, and 1975 showed a deficit, the balance had been positive for the 17 years before. The deficit is not likely to be a cause for worry, as sizable remittances from overseas Chinese are going into China and it has been both buying and mining gold. The biggest deficit year, 1974, showed a negative balance of about \$1 billion, which previous accumulations would certainly take care of. In 1976 China had a small positive balance.

It's interesting that some Western geographers used to aver that China could never become a major power because its natural resources were so limited. In fact, China not only has most of the raw material resources it needs, but has many of them well-distributed across the country. Over the last decade, the development of coal and petroleum industries has been dramatic, and the latest reports speak of opening ten more oilfields of the Taching-type in the coming years.

I must re-emphasize the point made earlier - to trade with China, we had to *learn* about China. Apart from going around the country to observe economic conditions, negotiating business, and discussing technology with the Chinese, we found it necessary to understand the human, social, and political developments that were taking place.

To the Chinese, development is a question of mobilizing people. If there is a technical problem, they will involve anyone who can make a contribution, however small, and will certainly find a way to crack that particular nut.

We were surprised when we first went to China in 1953 by the total absence of corruption. Today, traders who deal with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries often find they have to offer bribes - bales of cloth or even motor cars - to their trading partners. In China you can't even offer a tip for getting a haircut. In doing business there is never the slightest hint of anything other than the most correct commercial relationship. The thought of graft never enters one's mind.

There is much to learn about China, and much trade to be developed. The United States will have to start, as the rest of us discovered, by recognizing the PRC as a full partner in the real world. ●



(Photo: D. Cox)

IN MEMORIAM

Mao T

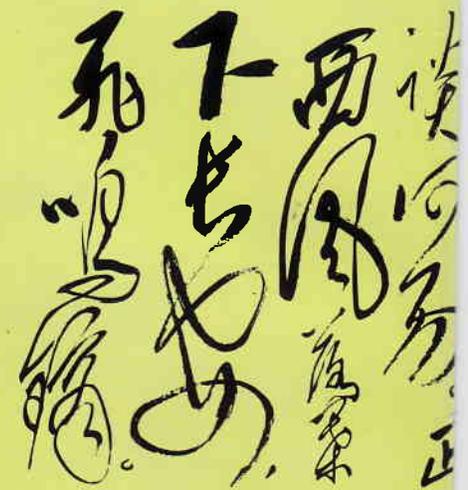
September 9, 1977, is the first anniversary of Mao Tsetung's death. This poem expresses Mao's disdain of the enemy—"pests"—and his faith in the people of China and of the world; his reliance on their power and enthusiasm to transform heaven and earth; his optimism: "Our force is irresistible."

Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo

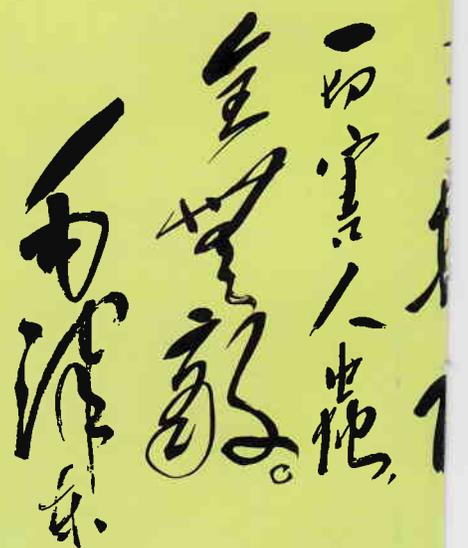
On this tiny globe
A few flies dash themselves
 against the wall,
Humming without cease,
Sometimes shrilling,
Sometimes moaning.
Ants on the locust tree assume
 a great-nation swagger
And mayflies lightly plot
 to topple the giant tree.
The west wind scatters leaves
 over Changan,
And the arrows are flying, twanging.

So many deeds cry out to be done,
And always urgently;
The world rolls on,
Time presses.
Ten thousand years are too long,
Seize the day, seize the hour!
The Four Seas are rising,
 clouds and waters raging,
The Five Continents are rocking,
 wind and thunder roaring.
Our force is irresistible,
Away with all pests!

Mao Tsetung
January 9, 1963



Handwritten Chinese calligraphy in cursive script, corresponding to the first part of the poem. The characters are arranged in vertical columns, reading from right to left. The ink is black on a light background.



Handwritten Chinese calligraphy in cursive script, corresponding to the second part of the poem. The characters are arranged in vertical columns, reading from right to left. The ink is black on a light background.

Kuo Mo-jo [Guo Mo-ro], born 1892, is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and currently President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. He is well known in China as a poet, playwright, historian, and archeologist. Mao was responding to a poem of his lauding the successes of the Chinese people's revolution—"Six hundred million people strong, united ... can keep heaven from falling, can lift up a shattered earth...."

setung

DECEMBER 26, 1893 - SEPTEMBER 9, 1976

小寰球，
有几十个
苦战硬碰。
响之叫
策之考
清厲之
都之抽泣。
塔之緣
樓之南
性之浮
板之板

多少事，
從之走
急天地轉，
光陰過。
二之
太之
新之
看之
雲水如，
平之
用之
要之

Mao's own calligraphy

Taking the Lead in Building Socialism

by William Hinton

Part II of an interview with Dazhai's Chen Yong-gui

Chen Yong-gui (Chen Yung-kuei) enjoys meeting people, particularly if they are interested in the Chinese countryside. He has so much to say. It rolls out in a flood of stories, self-criticisms, exclamations, philosophical musings. He acts out each part. His hands move, bracketing ideas. His face changes expression swiftly and completely. It is a rough-hewn face, rough as the rock on Tiger Head Mountain, yet entirely mobile. It reminds one of Fernandel, the great

WILLIAM HINTON has published several important books on China, including *Fanshen*, and a series of interviews with the late Premier Chou En-lai. His conversations with Dazhai's leader Chen Yong-gui took place in 1971.

Part I of this series "Two Ways to Read the Red Book," Summer 1977, traced Chen Yong-gui's life as the son of a landless laborer, his imprisonment by the Japanese during their occupation of Dazhai in World War II, and the village's liberation. When land reform took place, Chen at first joined a mutual aid team of able-bodied men who had tools and draft animals. But, recalling the wartime sacrifices of those families who did not have able-bodied men left to till the soil, Chen left the Stalwarts' Team and organized a team of old people and children, only to be ridiculed for such unprofitable foolishness.

French comedian, so serious, even tragic, at one moment, creased with laughter the next. On his head he always used to wear a white hand-towel tied behind in typical Taihang Mountain fashion. He wore this towel even in Peking, even while attending the National People's Congress. When Chen went to the city the countryside took over the city. There was no doubt about that.

Chen's voice is deep and gravelly, as if his vocal chords were stained with nicotine like his fingers, from smoking too many cigarettes and lighting one from the other: as if he had been calling too much to the people breaking rock in the next ravine. His accent is pure Xiyang (Hsiyang) County, Shanxi (Shansi) people don't speak in the tones of Peking. And his vocabulary - it is as rich as any vocabulary I ever heard, not only rich in words, but rich in images, in colloquialisms, in imitative sounds: a knock on the door - *ka tsa, ka tsa*; depression - *hui liu liu di*; dismay - *ai ya, ai ya*; empty-handed - like a gaoliang stalk, nothing but pith inside; glory - the whiskers of Jiang-fei (legendary hero) all over our faces; pride - a tail in the sky that nobody dares touch; a plot - the weasel says happy new year to the chicken.

The English translation here is but a pale reflection of a living conversation with Chen Yong-gui.

*

Hinton: Once your Old-Young Mutual Aid Team began to do well, did the attacks continue?

Chen: In 1946, right after the landlords were overthrown, we thought there wouldn't be any more class struggle. For a while they didn't dare attack us openly, but then they started in again. In 1957 a landlord tried to slander me. He said that I wanted the brigade to sell more grain to the state so that I could get something out of it for myself. He said that I wanted to eat white flour [the refined food supplied to delegates at area-wide or higher level meetings], that I wanted to please the state in order to win favor. And that was only the beginning. So we have to realize that just because a landlord has no more land is no reason to think he won't struggle. He is still thinking, "Why have I lost my land? Why am I not rich anymore?" The more he thinks about this the more he attacks.

In the years between 1953 and 1956, landlords, rich peasants, and some ordinary peasants thought they would get rich fast by doing something other than working the

land. To do that they had to go into trade and try their hand at speculation [*tou chi dao ba*]. A person could buy cotton in Hebei (Hopei) Province and sell it in Shanxi Province, then buy other things in Shanxi and sell them in Hebei. The rich peasants led the way in this, the rich peasants and the landlords. They had done a lot of trading before the land reform. They didn't like working hard in the fields. They were always pushing for a chance to go out and do a little trading instead. Some Party members supported them in this. At that time, though I didn't think it was a very good idea, I didn't resist it as I should have.

Who Is Leading Whom?

One of the rich peasants from Dazhai (Tachai) set up a trading station in Xingtai County, Hebei. He collected merchandise there, then brought it into Shanxi by donkey. When he had collected enough material for a shipment he would call up the village and we would send men and donkeys to haul it back. Once we sent six men and 12 donkeys. The poor peasant Jia Jiu-shen and I were in charge. In the morning when we arrived in Xingtai, the sun was already well up. But the rich peasant was still fast asleep in the local inn. We had traveled all night and now the sun was high in the sky, but this rich peasant was still snoring away.

Jia knocked on the door, *ka tsa, ka tsa*, over and over again. And he called out, "*San ye ye, san ye ye.*" [They shared the same family name so the poor peasant called him "Third Grandfather"—a very respectful term.] He called and knocked for more than ten minutes before that bastard woke up and opened the door.

I felt terrible. Here landlords and rich peasants sleep while poor peasants stand outside calling "*San ye ye.*" This is the way it was before Liberation. How come such a thing is happening now?

The rich peasant finally opened the door and we went in. What a sight! There he was sleeping under a silk quilt on a heavy felt mat. And the room was very fancy indeed. When we saw this we really felt angry. We were disgusted. Here he was, even more comfortable than before Liberation, and we had walked the rough road all night. I thought to myself, "Who, after all, is leading whom?"

We loaded the donkeys and hauled the cotton back to Shanxi. We hauled it back to the trading co-op in our village. Each donkey could carry 20 catties [26.6 pounds], so all together we brought back about 1,500 catties of cotton [1,995 pounds]. No sooner did we pile the cotton in the co-op yard than a group of members began to blow water on it to make it heavier. The next day some 40 people went out to peddle it from door to door. Lots of people went in for this. Each

family had its own scale. They went down the mountain to sell cotton. They exchanged the cotton for melon seeds, then took the melon seeds down to Hebei to sell. The idea was to get the proper amount of melon seeds first, and put them in your pocket, then hand over the cotton and leave. The buyer squeezes the cotton and finds water in it. He yells but it is too late. You're already gone. He yells, "There's water in the cotton, there's water in the cotton" — but you are already long gone.

I thought "Why should all this be going on now?"

I didn't know any theory that said peasants neglecting farming and going in for trade was the wrong line. But I thought, "We are farmers, we work on the land. Why go in for all this? Are we peasants, or workers, or merchants? What are we, after all, that we do all this?"

In those years there were four famous things in these parts: (1) Jingshibo's drama group, (2) Wujiaping's village quarrels, (3) Liuzhuang's big Buddhist temple, and (4) Dazhai's trading, otherwise known as "production."

I'm talking about the years from 1952 to 1956.

As for Jingshibo's drama group, it brought all the old empresses onto the stage. A girl who played *lao tan* [female] roles was famous throughout the region for the way she portrayed the old lady empress. She still lives in the village. Everyone came from miles around to see those old plays.

As for Wujiaping's quarrels, this was a village with three clans — the Guo clan, the Li clan, and the Wu clan. They never stopped quarrelling.

At the big temple in Liuzhuang, ceremonies were held every day. People went there to light incense. A group of monks was always on hand. It was a thriving temple.

That leaves Dazhai. After land reform, the dispossessed landlords and rich peasants all went in for trading. They were getting along fine. They were getting richer all the time and Dazhai was becoming famous as the center of their buying and selling. What was going on was a real *fupi* [restoration]. The wind of restoration was blowing hard from all sides. Ex-landlords and rich peas-



Chen Yong-gui with Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng inspecting an agricultural machinery repair plant during the first National Conference on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture, 1975. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

ants in Dazhai began to buy land with their profits while poor peasants began to sell. Jia Rui-shen had to sell his land in 1952.

Neglecting agriculture, Dazhai tried to establish a coal mine. In the end we got two empty pits. The holes are still there – nine meters deep and two meters square.

The Weasel and the Chicken

By 1956 we began to be conscious of the fact that all these ambitious side occupations, all this trading and black-marketeering was wrong. We decided to settle accounts for all this. The ex-landlords and rich peasants were wearing fancy clothes, celebrating festivals, inviting cadres to come and eat and sending them presents. We saw all this going on and we woke up. We sent ten militiamen through Henan (Hunan) and Hebei to collect the ex-landlords and bring them back to the village. We said, "Look what you've been doing, mixing us up all these years." But once we called them back, they started trying to buy off the cadres. They sent presents to everyone. Some of the cadres didn't dare take presents. Some dared take a little, but not a lot. And some reported to the Party branch. So in the branch we made a decision. Everyone was instructed to accept all the gifts that were offered. The ex-landlords and rich peasants sent gift after gift, until they finally got tired of it and then they didn't send us any more gifts.

As soon as they stopped sending gifts we started our counteroffensive. We took all the gifts to a mass meeting. At the meeting we exposed what was happening. We said they were like a weasel saying happy new year to a chicken – these people giving away all these things! The masses were very angry. Class struggle started then and there. How could the masses let such things continue? We didn't have to do anything more. The people were aroused. They praised us for what we had done. They said, "Our cadres are not corrupted by sugar-coated bullets fired by class enemies. They don't dance to any outside baton."

After this big repudiation we kept all these people in the village. We let them work and reform themselves through manual labor. We didn't let them run free anymore. From that day unto this we haven't let a single one go out of the village to live. We made them behave themselves. Their buying-off methods didn't work. When they saw that soft methods were no use they started getting out their knives. One said to me, "You say I am a big landlord, but you are the biggest landlord. You took everything away from us. You are the biggest landlord of them all." And he threatened me with his knife.

From 1950 to 1957 we struggled with the *di, fu, fan, huai* [ex-landlords, rich peasants,



At first light, Dazhai young people head cheerfully for the fields.
(Photo: R. Pendleton)

counter-revolutionaries, and bad elements]. It was continuous struggle, from top to bottom, from the elementary co-ops to the advanced co-ops, inside the Party and outside it, down among the rank and file, and up top among the leaders. The lessons we learned were very deep. They raised people's consciousness of class struggle and line struggle. Our Party branch committee took responsibility for all these problems. In this complicated situation one could see clearly what was right and what was wrong only by letting the people say what was on their minds.

Land Shares versus Labor Shares

Hinton: How was Dazhai built up as a cooperative and what was the most difficult step?

Chen: The struggle was very sharp when we moved to the advanced co-op stage. Going from mutual aid to cooperation was a struggle but this was not so tense as when we moved to the higher co-op.*

We organized our first cooperative in 1953. At this stage of elementary cooperation people got an income based in part on how much land and other property they had pooled. Say they put in 20 mu [3.3

* In an elementary co-op, land, though worked in common, is held as capital shares and a proportion of the crop is divided on the basis of the land shares held by each member. Draft animals and implements are privately owned and are rented out by the day to the collectives. In an advanced co-op, land, animals, and implements are both used and held in common and the only source of income is a share of the crop based on the number and value of the labor-days worked.

acres] of land, how much could it produce? We had to estimate not only the amount but the quality of the land and decide what their land share of the crop should be. And the same went for other property such as tools and animals. We recorded how many days their animals were used. We figured out the depreciation on the tools. After all these costs were deducted and paid out, the balance of the crop was divided on the basis of work done. Sometimes there wasn't much left for work-points.

So the poor and lower-middle peasants had complaints. They said, "We were exploited before and now we are still exploited." It was mainly those poor families who had put in less land and loaned out few animals or tools who felt exploited. Those who put in a lot of land and still owned means of production were getting rich. Those families who put in less got most of their income from work-points, but those who put in more got half or more of their income from property payments. This was indeed a form of exploitation. Those who were exploited complained that they worked all year in the co-op only to end up with nothing. "We are like a stalk of gaoliang," they said. "Peel off the hard outer layer and there's nothing but pith inside." They worried all the time. In contrast, those with large land shares and other productive property had an iron rice bowl that could not be broken. They had a guaranteed income.

When we first formed the elementary co-op we tried to have every family report on the productivity of their land. Most people exaggerated the figures so that they could receive more as their property share. All these false reports of what the land could produce added up to a lot more than any



At his grandfather's knee, a Dazhai youngster listens to the older generation reminisce about village traditions. (Photo: R. Pendleton)



A tractor designed for work on terraces is part of the effort to develop agriculture through mechanization and self-reliance at Dazhai. (Photo: B. Stein)

crop that could be harvested. People reported 400 to 500 catties per mu on land that produced 200. Years later, with the high yields that our advanced co-op produced, such land rarely yielded 400 catties.

So what could we do? We held democratic discussion. We asked, "Why is your real production so low? Is it because you exaggerated the figures?" In these meetings each person said what their land would produce. Then everyone discussed the figure. If it seemed out of line, the estimate was lowered. Land shares were supposed to be determined by what the people decided. But some people would not agree to this. They insisted on their own figures.

In order to solve this problem we asked Party members and cadres to take the lead in giving honest estimates. Did Party members ever exaggerate their estimates? Yes. Some did to a certain extent. But those who thought collectively, and had concern for other people, reported things as they really were.

With them we went further and asked that they cut down the figures even more so that we could increase the amount of grain distributed as work-points and decrease the amount distributed on the basis of land shares.

We had a struggle inside the Party over cutting the land shares down. I fought over it with Jia Chen-rong, our accountant. In the course of the argument I slapped the table more than once. In my mutual aid team they all knew how much my land would produce - 32 dan [110 pounds]. The children and the old men in the team came up with this figure and it was down in the account book. My land was good for 32 dan - this was not one bit false. But in order to lead I wanted to cut it even lower. I wanted to cut it to 18 dan. Jia Chen-rong wouldn't agree. He said the original figure was accurate. It was reported by others. So I said, "Give me the writing brush and I'll change it myself." He said no individual can change the accounts by himself. "If you do this you will be making a big mistake."

I told him, "This is not a matter of making a mistake. I'm not adding to the figure, I'm cutting it back. The only reason you don't want me to lower mine is because you are afraid you will be forced to lower yours!" So I took the brush and changed the account book to read 18 dan. Then Jia Chen-rong cut his yield figure back too. Many other Party members did the same.

But there were some slick ones who wouldn't do it. If the Party members can't take the lead, how can the masses be expected to cut their land shares back? One person who really harvested only 20 dan insisted that his land could produce 45. With such an estimate for the land and with his earnings from animals and tools added

in, he got so much grain at the end of the year that his jars were all full, his kang [sleeping platform] was covered, and there was grain all over the floor. He said he got about 4,000 catties. This was more grain than he ever got when he was farming alone and he didn't have to work very hard either.

On the other hand, Jia Zhang-yuan, a poor peasant, worked hard but in the end didn't get enough from his labor to feed his family of five. Jia Zhang-yuan was dissatisfied. But so was this other man. Why? Because, he said, he had no freedom. As a member of the co-op he didn't feel free to do what he pleased. He said his land was good and all that grain came from his land. He thought if he hadn't joined the co-op he might have reaped even more of a harvest.

So both families were dissatisfied. Which one was right? Of course the poor peasant was right. He worked all day every day and never missed a day all year. He was exploited by the middle peasant who had more land and draft animals. When this poor peasant complained that he was getting very little after working so hard all year long, we cadres agreed with him. We felt the same way. Those of us who had cut back our property share worked hard every day like he did but couldn't get much at the end of the year either. It was hard for us to survive.

So we discussed what to do about this problem. We decided to move into an advanced co-op where income comes only from the labor contributed. We decided to get rid of income derived from property and go to *an lao fen pei* [division based on labor]. Having decided this, the land question was easy to solve because we had already pooled all the land. But the animals had to be bought from their owners and so did the implements and tools. And so another struggle arose.

With These Communists, You Never Can Tell

We had quite a battle over the price that our collective should pay for the draft animals. A directive from higher level leaders about how to form a higher stage co-op said that draft animals should not be appraised at below market price and the same went for tools. As for tools, only those that were needed should be bought. Full payment was to be made within three to five years. We formed a committee to decide on the prices. The committee called an appraiser from the county market to come and help set standards. Once the prices were fixed, some people began to waver. It wasn't the ex-landlords and rich peasants. They didn't have any animals left after land reform. It was the upper-middle peasants who had draft animals. They thought the prices were too low. They went to the collective yard

and took their animals home. All our price-setting went for nothing.

There was no end to the quarreling. One upper-middle peasant had a donkey appraised at 50 yuan. He refused that price, took the donkey to market, and sold it. When people asked him how much he sold the donkey for, he said 60 yuan.

Since our co-op was left without any animals, we had to go out and buy some. I went to market and bought the best donkey in three counties for 90 yuan. That donkey is still here. We've gotten rid of all the other donkeys that we used at that time, but this one we save. She's too old to work and she can't talk. If she could, she'd tell you about the important role she played in class struggle.

We showed this donkey to the upper-middle peasant and asked him to compare. "That donkey of yours, why a man could carry two like him on one carrying pole! How can you say that the price we set was not fair?"

But a rumor spread that I had paid 150 yuan for this fine donkey. People said I had put in 60 yuan of my own money just to make a point. When I showed them the tax receipt with 90 yuan stamped on it, they said it was a false receipt.

What were these animal owners really worried about? It was the three- to five-year payment schedule. They wondered if they ever would get paid. Those who worried the most tried to sell their animals on the market but found they couldn't get any better price than the co-op offered. We also did a lot of ideological work among them. We tried to convince them to keep their animals in. In the meantime we worked really hard at production. We got a lot of side occupations going and the income was not bad. Right after the fall harvest we were able to pay in full for all the animals and all the tools the co-op had bought.

So then this upper-middle peasant was completely exposed. He admitted that he had really sold the donkey for 25 yuan and lied about it to wreck our plans. That was because he was afraid he would never get 50 from the co-op. Twenty-five yuan in his pocket looked better than 50 in promises. "I thought I was more able than all of you," he said. "I thought by selling my donkey I would be better off. But in the end I lost out." He admitted that it was he who spread the rumor that Chen Yong-gui had paid 150 yuan for the good donkey. Why? Because if that donkey could be bought for 90 yuan, his donkey could not possibly have brought 60. He complained about himself. He didn't say he had bourgeois thinking. He just said he was selfish.

"You believed in the collective, you gained," he said. "I was selfish. I lost out! Nowadays, with these communists in power,

you can never figure out what is going to happen!"

Taking the Lead with a Sow

When we moved to the higher co-op, some peasants turned against me. Why? It was not because I asked too much for my animals but because I asked too little. I priced my animals below the figure set by the committee. Some hated me because it was hard for them to get a high price for their animals when I sold mine for so little.

I had a sow. In order to consolidate the co-op, I turned the sow over to it. This sow was bred and about to farrow. The appraised price was 120 yuan. I asked only 60. Three days after the appraisal was made, the sow farrowed. She gave birth to 12 pigs. Two died, leaving ten. They were worth 10 yuan apiece, or another 100 yuan. But I stuck to my original offer. Many people said I was crazy. The appraised price was set through consultation according to the system we all agreed upon. Why should I cut it way down? "Don't you care for money at all?" they asked me.

But I felt a responsibility toward the co-op. Somebody had to take the lead. If no one took the lead, then nothing could be done. All this bickering made me angry. I thought, "Even if I get nothing at all for the things I contribute to the co-op, I'm still much better off than before." This had to do with my history. Before Liberation I had nothing to my name except my two hands and my mouth. I had no land, no animals, no tools. The only *di* [land] that I had was *xie di* [the soles of my shoes]. So I didn't feel that I was losing out. Even if I didn't get a cent I was still much better off than before. I made up my mind to support collective thinking.

As you can see, moving to the stage of advanced cooperation was a much sharper struggle than going from mutual aid to elementary cooperation. Step by step we advanced. Later I saw the fight for the advanced co-op as a fight to wage revolution against capitalist thinking. We had to cut the umbilical cord of bourgeois thought. The upper-middle peasants said, "Before, we depended on land ownership to eat. Now this rice bowl is smashed and we have to depend on our labor alone. We leaned on our land shares, on the earnings of our draft animals. We fought over the returns from both and glared at each other. Depending on labor as we do now is the only thing that is really secure."

This showed that the upper-middle peasants had a dual character. They tended to take the capitalist road but they could be led forward on the socialist road. And through these struggles we learned what the capitalist road was and what the socialist road was. ●

On the Courts of Peking

by David S. Zweig

A Canadian student plays on the Peking U. five

What is the most popular sport in China today? . . . No, it's *not* ping-pong. It's basketball!

All over the country, in all factories, schools, communes, and hotels, one invariably finds basketball being played. If there is no room for a court, a backboard and net go up. On our various trips around the country, some of us foreign students would forego our noon nap and join in a game with the local hotel workers. I have played basketball in Yan'an (Yenan), Luoyang, Datong, and Taiyuan. Also from the fall of 1975 till the summer of 1976 I was a member of the Peking University (Beida) basketball team. I just walked into the gym one day and asked to try out for the team, and they took me on.

Sports in China are different from sports in North America. High school and college sports don't lead to careers as professionals. There are no sports scholarships to Arts and Science universities. Good players are picked out and trained in special schools like the Institute of Physical Culture in Peking. The people on university teams play for enjoyment and to represent their schools, not for any future employment. Also a serious attempt is made to "put politics in command," to make friendship and the improvement of one's health the major goals

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Written on the blackboard is the theme of David Zweig's talk to his teammates: "We learned from the Peking Industrial Institute Male Basketball Team."
(Photo: courtesy of D. Zweig)

of sports. Winning should be secondary, and thus people should not get upset if they lose.

This, however, is not always the case. Liberation was only 28 years ago, and a peoples' attitude toward competition can't be transformed in one generation. Nevertheless, I was deeply impressed by the fine attitude exhibited by the players and the coach of the Peking University team.

For example, in fall 1975 we lost a squeaker to Qinghua (Tsinghua) University by only one point in overtime. Coach Zhao had exhibited a very good attitude during the game. He felt that the referee called a foul against Qinghua after time had clearly expired. Though we trailed at that time by only one point, he felt that we didn't deserve the two foul shots. The Qinghua coach, a

fine man himself, and the two referees persuaded Coach Zhao to let Xu Hai-jian take the shots. When he sank only one of the two shots, sending the game into ten minutes of overtime, Coach Zhao congratulated him. In the overtime period, with no time left on the clock, my 35-footer rattled around the rim and then popped out. We were still beaten.

But on our bike ride home along the dark wooded road that runs between Qinghua and Beida, one would have been hard-

pressed to guess that this troop of bicycle riders was a defeated team which had lost to their arch rival and as a result finished third in a tournament rather than first. I was crushed, particularly since I had missed an easy layup earlier in the game as well as the long shot at the end. But their normal banter that night showed that they knew they'd played their best, and the loss was not a demoralizing experience. This, according to one friend, is the real meaning of "friendship first, competition second."



The team poses in front of the new university library (Zweig is second from left, front row). (Photo: courtesy of D. Zweig)



Wu Xiao-ping drives for the basket; the Philosophy Department building is in the background. (Photo: D. Zweig)

In the spring when we got together to prepare for the summer tournament, I told my teammates how I had felt the night we lost to Qinghua. "I wanted to smash things," I said. "Back home, a loss like that would have driven us nuts. But you guys seemed so calm." Several of the players admitted that they would have liked to have won and that they didn't like to lose. But losing one's temper and smashing things wouldn't have changed the fact that we'd lost.

They also took it upon themselves to teach me to have a better attitude toward the game. Once when I got bounced onto my rear, I lost my cool and refused the helping hand of the smiling player who I felt had run into me intentionally. When I went to rest on the bench, all the fellows on the team, including Coach Zhao, laughed, ribbing me about the fact that I had lost my temper. Another time, to take part in a fast break, I had jumped over an opponent who had fallen in front of me. At half-time, Li Bing, a People's Liberation Army soldier and a Party member I often played with on the Philosophy Department team, came up to me and politely but firmly criticized me for my action. I should have helped the player up, not jumped over him. I reminded myself of an incident at the Railway Science Research Institute a week before. One of the factory workers from the Peking Uni-



Coach Zhao - who led his players in practicing "friendship first, competition second." (Photo: D. Zweig)



Peking U. basketball team (Beida) in action at the Communications Institute. (Photo: D. Zweig)

versity workers' team had fallen down, and a really superb basketball player on the other team gave up a fast break himself to help his fallen opponent back onto his feet.

But of course, as I mentioned earlier, foreigners like myself are not the only ones who need to improve their attitude. One school exemplified the wrong attitude toward sports. The shenanigans of their players, fans, and coach are worth relating as a negative example. Next to us and one other team, they were the best team in our division, and if they should win this particular game against us, they would make the playoffs. In our preparation for this game, politics clearly took command. In addition to discussing attitudes in general, our coach stressed that our playing style was crucial for teaching the other team something about sportsmanship. Unlike that team, which a week earlier had walked off the court to protest a bad call while trailing by five points, we were to accept the referee's calls, no matter what. We were to play politely and, regardless of the physical thrashing they might give us, under no circumstances were we to retaliate. It was Coach Zhao's feeling that clean play on our behalf would be an effective method to criticize them.

All games were scheduled outdoors to avoid giving unfair advantage to the few

schools that have gymnasiums. It rained the day of our game, however, turning their court into a sea of mud. Our coach telephoned theirs to suggest an alternate site, but their coach preferred to postpone the game for a few weeks so that we would still play on their home court. Our coach agreed.

Their court was full of pot holes, making it difficult to dribble. Their baskets were of different heights. One rim was also stiffer than the other, so shots that would go in at one end of the court would not go in at the other. Their fans booed and swore at us during the game. When our center, Jia Chun-huai, was loudly smacked by an opponent, their fans cheered. At another point, when the referee failed to call a foul, their guard tried to start a fight with Xu Hai-jian. All the stories about this team proved true, but our preparations paid off. We controlled our tempers, stuck to basketball, and beat them by 30 points. The correct attitude certainly won out.

Even when the refereeing was bad, Coach Zhao insisted that we obey the decisions to the letter. The women's team always played before us, which gave us a chance to size up the caliber of the refereeing. It was not always that good, a fact which caused disputes, particularly when the fans criticized the referees. But few players complain-

ed; no matter how bad the calls were, we had been taught never to protest.

In one game, however, I did complain. I am not quite as quick as the Chinese, so sometimes when I slapped at the ball I got an arm instead. Yet in this particular game the referee refused to call a foul on me. I attributed this to my being a foreigner. The second time that I hit the fellow, the referee was standing right there. I looked at him expectantly. Again no whistle. "Chiu ba!" I yelled at him. ("Blow the whistle, please!") The fans on the sidelines roared with approval. After that he no longer treated me any differently from the other players.

Generally, though, once the game began, my opponents seemed to forget that I was a *wai bing*, a foreign guest, particularly one Uighur from the Minorities Institute who sent me flying head first toward a post. As I went in for the layup I heard him come up from behind, so I was ready for the foul and took the blow on my chest. But when I groaned and fell to the ground, both benches emptied to help this foreigner to his feet.

Historically it has never been easy for foreigners to integrate themselves into Chinese society, but for myself and other friends who joined teams, sports offered the best method to become a part of Chinese

life. As a team member I visited many educational institutes around Peking and got to know some of their players. Also I became friends with several factory workers on the Beida workers' team, all of whom worked in Beida's pharmaceutical factory. Our team often practiced with them or scrimmaged against them; and Xu Hai-jian and Cai Yin-hua, our second guard, and I often went in the evenings to see them play.

The Beida women's team trained at the same time as we did, and I got to know some of the women on the team. Though the men on our team never talked with the women, I was a bit of an oddity so it was easier for me to strike up conversations with people I had not been introduced to. Moreover, the women always gave me positive support for my occasional over-exuberance on the court. When the women played before us, I often spent the wait talking to the fans, who wanted to know who I was and where I came from. Also, since most of the service workers on campus went to the evening games at Beida, they and many other people around campus got to know me and to feel comfortable with me and therefore people were not so hesitant to come up and chat.

Other than these social aspects, the most important part of playing was being part of a team, being part of a unit which had a common aim and a common goal. This gave us a strong sense of unity.

Given China's still developing system of transport, trucks are far more utilitarian than buses, since they can carry both produce and people. I had often seen groups of people packed into the backs of trucks and always wondered where they were going and how it felt to ride that way. As a member of the Beida team I became one of those people riding in the back of a truck. Though Peking University had buses, it was felt that as a model revolutionary institute we should set an example of simplicity in life style. Not a few Chinese walking along the street were surprised to see a mustachioed face among the many Chinese peering out of the back of a truck.

Whenever we arrived at a school to play, we climbed down from the truck and formed a double line. Sun Zuo, our team captain, gave the command and we marched as a team through the gates of the school. Ten minutes before the start of any game, both teams lined up in front of their respective benches. When the referee blew the whistle, we filed onto the court, raised our hands, and shouted, "We will learn from our opponents at — institute" (*Xiang . . . daxue, xuexi!*). Both teams then ran forward, shook hands at center court, and then backed up once again to our pre-game warmup.

For the summer tournament we practiced

five days a week from 6:30 to 7 in the morning and 4 to 6 in the afternoon. The morning training was optional, as some students preferred to run in the morning with their classmates. Afternoon attendance was good; generally it was only when students were away at "open-door schooling" or had previously asked permission that they missed practice. As the tournament drew closer, even those students, including myself, who were in a factory or commune or in a job site — uniting classroom theory with social practice through open-door schooling — were brought back to train together.

As a team we ate lunch and supper together five days a week. It is a national regulation in China that all university students who play on a school team get meat or fish for supper to supplement their diet rather than the regular fare of vegetables. So all the members of the various school teams ate together in the workers' and teachers' dining hall where they had set up a special window from which they dispensed our food. While standing in line, with bowl and spoon in hand, I also got to know some of the players on the volleyball, swimming, and soccer teams.

Before a scheduled game, we often held meetings where Coach Zhao carefully outlined the other team's strategy as well as each player's typical style. His research was always well done and his analysis right on the mark, so that our pre-game preparation often paid off. Sometimes at these meetings we sat around and discussed our feelings about the game. Once we read an article from *Hongqi* (Red Flag) criticizing the revisionist line in sports. Another time I gave a long talk about sports in North America. Coach Zhao knew the names of many of the basketball stars and even hockey stars in the West like Bobby Hull and Bobby Orr.

The players on our team took their work as students very seriously. Most were in their mid-twenties and therefore rather mature. Cai Yin-hua, who has since graduated from the Russian Language Department, worked hard every afternoon translating articles. Wu Xiao-p'ing, who is studying Burmese, spoke the best English on the team; he learned it on his own by listening to English lessons on the radio. All four fellows who were studying the hard sciences took English classes three times a week. One of them always carried a little pocket notebook with English expressions which he would try out on me. After a hot and dusty Saturday afternoon game, our team's center, Jia Chun-huai, who learned to play basketball in the army, invited me to his room. After washing off the dust, I gave him about an hour's lesson in English. I also often helped Xu Hai-jian,

who had been a phys ed teacher in a middle school (hence his superior ability in basketball); now he is studying geomechanics and looking forward to helping China increase its supply of oil. Needless to say, all the players on the team, including Coach Zhao, took the time to help me improve my Chinese.

For those who are interested I should outline some aspects of the game in China. The pace of the game is much faster in China than here; more running and fast breaking; more man-to-man and less zone. We played according to international rules: two 20-minute halves; stop time; five fouls and you were out of the game. Free throws were awarded only if you were fouled in the act of shooting and missed the shot. Other fouls still counted against you but the ball was thrown in from the sidelines. Within each half every foul after the tenth would lead to a one-and-one situation where, if you made the first foul shot, then you got to shoot a second.

I think you could take at least a half step more there before dribbling than here, for now in the United States I get called for traveling for the same move that scored baskets in Peking. Annoyingly, blocking or "stuffing" an opponent's shot almost always was called a foul, and one could never get away with blocking a shot from the rear without also getting a foul.

Our defense was a standard 2-1-2 zone but sometimes, if the other team had an outstanding player, we played a four-man box and put one man on him full-time. Our offense was a 2-1-2. We had two or three set plays which we often ran and which worked well against a man-to-man defense. We also often practiced a full-court press, which at times was successful and at other times led to our getting burned.

In our last game we had a rematch against the Phys Ed Department of Peking Teachers College. As we stood on the sidelines preparing to go on the court for the second half, I looked around and realized that this was it — my last half for Beida, my last half in China, and my last half with these players. We all knew that it was our last half together, so we played all out. Both sides played clean and tough, but we played just a bit better. The fans cheered throughout the whole game.

And so it was over — a season come and gone, leaving memories sweet and alive. I had come a long way in my own play, but, more important, we had come a long way as a team, as people, and as friends. In a society where foreigners are generally kept out, I was let in. I saw Chinese as they are, acting naturally, just as they felt. I became a part of that society through the team and in turn that society and that team became a part of me that I will never lose. ●

This Commune Grows Electricity!

by C. Clark Kissinger

Grasping revolution, promoting production in the hill country

Largely unnoticed outside of China, a sweeping transformation is taking place in China's countryside where three-quarters of China's people live. Unlike many Third World countries where a few glittering cities built on foreign investment stand in sharp contrast to widespread rural poverty, China has consistently followed the path of modernizing agriculture as the basis for all-round economic development. The current program in China seeks nothing less than the mechanization of basic agricultural functions by 1980, the modernization of China's entire economy by the end of the century, and the gradual elimination of the remaining social and economic inequalities. At the heart of this process lies Mao Tsetung's concept of the relationship between revolution and production in the building of socialism.

The meaning of Mao's famous call to "Grasp revolution, promote production" was brought alive by a visit to the Liang Kou People's Commune in late 1975. Liang Kou was a three-hour bus ride through the countryside from Guangzhou (Canton). And from first appearances it didn't look as though one could learn much from a visit there: a couple of small whitewashed buildings, a crowd of smiling, waving people in a mountain ravine. In a jam-packed little meeting room, everyone with

a hot cup of tea in hand, an earnest young woman with a map and pointer began to lay out the story of Liang Kou.

Located in a mountainous area, with abundant tropical downpours, the 26,000 members of the Liang Kou Commune have less than 4,000 acres of rice paddies and other fields but over 8,000 acres of rocky hills and gullies. The problem facing the people of Liang Kou was one of both social transformation and economic development. How could they overcome a seemingly unfavorable situation and, relying mainly on their own efforts, achieve the levels of agricultural productivity called for in the national plan? How could the backward ideas and social relations left over from peasant life in the old society be finally eliminated? If these problems could not be solved politically and technologically in Liang Kou and hundreds of other similar communes, the temptation might become great to abandon the countryside and migrate to the cities in search of jobs – a pattern all too familiar in other parts of the world.

The solution adopted by the people of Liang Kou was to follow the road of Dazhai (Tachai), the national model in socialist agricultural development. Through their own physical efforts they began to transform the conditions of their existence. Damming up even the smallest creeks, creating catch basins in the hills, laying standpipes down the sides of mountains, and utilizing the flowing currents of rivers

without large dams, they set up hydroelectric stations all over the commune. By the end of 1975 the commune as a whole owned and operated 52 power stations, and most of the commune's subdivisions also operated additional hydroelectric plants. The commune's weakness had been turned into strength.

By the standards of industrialized nations these hydroelectric stations are not very impressive. Some generate as little as 2.8 kilowatts (enough to power 28 100-watt bulbs). But their effect on a mass scale in China's countryside is stupendous. In Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province alone, by 1972 there were 5,000 such mini-stations generating 100,000 kilowatts – all with little or no state capital investment.

Liang Kou's own electrification program has brought electricity to 94 percent of the homes. It has expanded irrigation by powering 16 water-pumping stations. It has provided the basis for industrial expansion in the form of a paper mill, a sawmill, and a farm machinery factory. It has provided income through the sale of electricity to the state to purchase capital equipment (the commune in 1975 had nearly 200 tractors) and to expand social services. And on the basis of this all-round development Liang Kou has achieved a grain yield of about 5,280 pounds per acre, equaling the target set by the National Programme for Agricultural Development for areas of southern China.

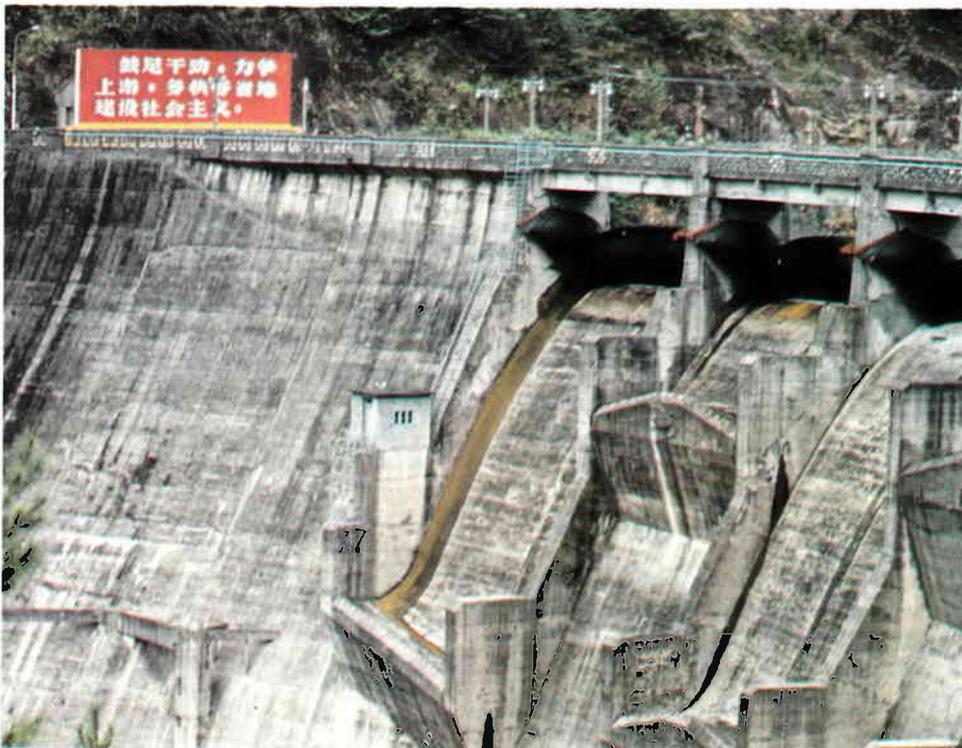
The briefing over, the questions answered

C. CLARK KISSINGER – no relation to Henry – is an electrician in a Chicago factory. The visit he describes took place in fall 1975.



Live-line electrical workers help bring "power to the people." (Photo: D. Cox)

and the tea finished, the next step was to inspect the Five Finger Mountain Power Station. Built between October 1970 and July 1972, the station consists of three generating units with outputs of 400, 600, and 920 kilowatts. It begins with a reservoir high upon the mountain and ends with a long pipe running down a sheer face to the last turbines at the bottom. The Five Finger Mountain station is one of six commune stations selling power directly to the state. At about 2.25 cents per kilowatt-hour, these power sales bring Liang Kou approximately \$120,000 annually, a substantial percentage of the commune's total income of about \$450,000.



Commune members at Liang Kou built this dam to take advantage of the natural water flow in order to generate electricity. The sign at the top reads: "Go all out, aim high, to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." (Photo: C. Kissinger)



Like all communes at the present time, Liang Kou is not state-owned but collectively owned by the people who live and work there. It must pay a tax on income as its contribution to the national welfare. (There are no personal taxes in China). For income derived from agricultural sales, this tax is less than 6 percent, but for the special category of electric power sales the tax is 20 percent. This still leaves Liang Kou with an "after tax" income of about \$95,000. This income exceeds the costs of production (for example, wages paid to the power station workers) by about 12 percent.

From Five Finger Mountain it was a short

bus ride to the Youth Power Station, built in 1971-72 by the young people of Liang Kou. This station is on a small river whose current directly turns small generators through the use of a small dam producing 630 kilowatts.

Wang Guan-yong, vice-chairman of the commune Revolutionary Committee, was on hand to greet the visitors and tell the story of this station. His white shirt, sleeves rolled up, was crisp despite the heat. It set off an eager, sun-baked face that constantly turned toward each of us, to be sure we had the facts straight and had gotten the point. That we were excited about what he was telling us seemed to excite him in turn.

During the construction of the Youth Power Station, village production teams of several hundred members each from all over the commune "donated" young people to work on the project, equaling approximately 10 percent of the work force of each team. These people were paid in work-points from their home teams even though the home teams stood to get no immediate return on this investment. It was, rather, an example of the growing spirit of cooperation and joint struggle among the commune members, a sharp departure from the dog-eat-dog existence of the old society. The young people of the commune were also joined by "educated youth" from urban



Women electrical workers test power lines in the countryside. The seemingly balletic pose allows the electricity to flow harmlessly from one rod to the other without danger to the women. (Photo: D. Cox)

areas who had come to live and work in the countryside.

Some 22 of these young people from Guangzhou were on hand as Wang gave his animated explanation. Both women and men, they all wore white shirts and dark pants. As the translation went on, they nodded at us with a unique combination of modesty and pride: they were embarrassed because Wang was praising them for having left the city and settled in the countryside; they were proud of having completed the power station ahead of schedule.

This story of the development of the Liang Kou Commune demonstrates the important relationship between revolution and production in China's countryside, summed up in that call by Mao to "grasp revolution, promote production." It was the liberation of China in 1949 which brought to an end the feudal system of land tenure with its usurious rents and grinding poverty for the peasants. Freed for the first time to take history into their own hands, China's peasants divided the land, and real advances in the standard of living were achieved. Yet individual farming with primitive methods could neither produce rapid advance nor prevent the re-emergence of inequality. The way out could lie only in cooperation and mechanization. Led by the Communist Party of China, the peasants again revolutionized the social relations in the countryside, merging their small individual holdings and ultimately forming the people's communes during the Great Leap Forward (1958). The communes made possible the great water conservancy and land reclamation projects of the 60s.

At each step, the revolution in social relations released the productive abilities of the people, while the increases in production set the stage for yet further revolutionary changes. And each step was accomplished only through sharp political struggles over whether and how the changes should be made - struggles reflecting the conflicting viewpoints of different class forces in Chinese society.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-69) was a clear example. Tremendous advances had been made during the first 20 years of People's China, but there were still conservative winds blowing which in effect restrained the productive capacities of the masses and held back revolutionary changes. In the field of hydroelectric power, for example, the ideas of Liu Shao-chi placed first importance on the development of great hydroelectric projects using high technology and heavy state investment. For Liu that was the way to modernize China. Little rural generators were backward, inefficient, and something of an embarrassment! Of course big generators have an important place. One state-

owned 42,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant near Liang Kou provides some of the power for nearby Guangzhou. But if China as a whole were to move ahead, there had to be a unified development of industry and agriculture. The foundation of China's advance had to be the development of the countryside, and industry had to gear itself to play a leading role in this transformation. The alternative policy, "milking" the peasants to feed industrial growth, could only lead to increased disparity between city and countryside and increased disunity between workers and peasants.

The political victory of the people in the Cultural Revolution made it possible to use industry to turn out the thousands of small generators, motors, and other equipment needed by the masses in the countryside to carry out their own revolutionary electrification program. And the advances in production made possible by the political victory in the Cultural Revolution have in turn opened the door to yet further revolutionary changes in the countryside. In Liang Kou, as in most communes in China, ownership of the land and of most capital equipment is still vested in the lowest subdivision of the commune, the village production team. The prosperity of different teams in the same commune can vary significantly according to the physical conditions and the level of development of the land and equipment they work with. For the most part the production team is the level at which income is pooled - the basic accounting unit. The team markets its produce through the commune to the state and divides its income among its members according to the amount of work each member has contributed.

Within the commune structure, groups of adjoining teams are organized in production brigades. In Liang Kou, one production brigade (out of 22 in the commune) has become the basic accounting unit. That is, its production teams have cast their lot together, pooling their holdings and incomes into a higher level of collective ownership and social relations. But this was made possible only by an increased political consciousness and higher levels of material production, especially by raising the productivity of less-well-off teams. Liang Kou's increased production through its electrification program is making possible both the gradual expansion of the basic accounting unit and an increase in the percentage of commune assets which are owned directly by the people of the commune as a whole rather than by the people of the teams or brigades. At present about 20 percent of Liang Kou's assets are owned at the commune level, a far higher percentage of ownership at this level than when the communes were first formed in 1958, and a

concrete step toward eventual ownership of agriculture by all of China's people, as is already the case in major industrial enterprises.

Yet another subtle but revolutionary change is taking place in Liang Kou as a result of electrification. The vast majority of China's homes and institutions purchase electric power like any other necessary commodity. In 1975 Mao Tsetung spoke of the continued existence of commodity production (production of goods for sale in a market rather than for direct use) as a remaining basis for capitalism within socialist society. Yet in many of Liang Kou's teams which own their own power stations and in the one brigade with brigade-level accounting, they've eliminated the watt-hour meters and electricity is now free. When one of us observed that this represented a kind of "first spark of communism," Wang Guan-yong, agreeing, said, "Electricity is no longer a commodity but a social benefit."

This is an example of what are called in China "socialist new things," harbingers of the new society which the Chinese people are bringing into being. Here in the developing social relations of China's countryside we see the seeds of the most revolutionary change of all, the elimination of commodity production itself.

In this mountain village of South China, Wang Guan-yong spoke eloquently of unfolding events which he clearly understood were changing the world for all of us. The labor-power released from manual drudgery by mechanization would be used in deep plowing, more power station construction, more industry, and all-round development. These changes would gradually reduce the "three great differences" between those who work with their brains and those who work with their hands, between industrial workers paid according to the nationwide standard and agricultural workers paid according to the level of production of their team, and between the relatively more advanced cities and the backward countryside. The percentage of ownership by the commune would increase, the basis of ownership would gradually be transformed to ownership by all the people, and eventually the ultimate goal of eliminating social classes would be realized in China and the world.

The people of the commune that grows electricity - minus the meters - have put their understanding of the relation between revolution and production into practice. They like to recite a poem that reflects how they feel: "Mao Tsetung Thought shines brightly/ The clear water runs down from the mountain/ The machines in the hydro-power stations sound loudly/ And in every house electricity shines brightly." ●

DEEP ROOTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES

by Jim Veneris

An American tells of his life, work, and family in China

I've been asked all sorts of questions about China in the time I've been back in the U.S. And some that seem real simple I have to think about a while before I answer because they're about things I've taken for granted so long. Such as, "What's it like to work in a Chinese factory?" And the *strangest* questions! Like this newspaper fellow, he wanted to know if the Chinese had any sense of humor, if they ever told jokes. I looked at him, I just couldn't believe my ears. What did he think the Chinese were? *Human beings* have a sense of humor, and the Chinese are real human. I said, "Hell, yes, we joke and kid around all the time,"

American-born JIM VENERIS has lived in China for over 23 years. Part I of this interview, in the Summer 1977 NEW CHINA, told of his experiences as a POW during the Korean War, his growing interest in socialist China, and his decision to see for himself what was happening in the People's Republic. The interviews were taped during Jim's 1976 trip to the U.S.



Jim on his first visit to the U.S. after almost a quarter of a century in China. (Photo: New China)

and I tried to give him some examples. But most the jokes I could think of offhand turned out to be a little bit too, uh, earthy for his newspaper, so his story ended up not saying anything about Chinese humor!

I guess one of the things I'm asked most often is, did I have a lot of trouble adjusting to life in China, was I treated any different because I'm an American. It kind of took me by surprise, though maybe it shouldn't have, because the truth is that outside of the language I never did have any trouble adjusting, and nobody ever treated me badly because I was an American. When I first came to China in 1953 it was as one of 21 ex-prisoners of war, and if any bad feelings were going to show up, they'd have shown up then. But everyone seemed to understand that it wasn't us, the ordinary soldiers, who were the enemy. They seemed happy that we were interested in China and what they were doing there.

One of the first things the Chinese did was send us on a tour - like a vacation - all

over the country. They showed us this and that, all the historical places. But – and you’ve got to remember this was only a few years after Liberation – we also saw a lot of the destruction left behind by the years of Japanese occupation and the civil war. And the poverty and suffering and backward conditions caused by even more years of

I didn’t have a lot of problems with the language. And didn’t I get teased! But it was all a humorous teasing, between friends, not the hurtful kind. And when my Chinese got better, did I get my own back! As for the written language, oh, oh, oh, I can remember tossing books across the room in total disgust, thinking I’d never master it. But

and set aside, and when enough has collected, workers from the factory who want to buy it can get it cheap. But we really try to keep quality up, because exports are so important in building the economy.

People have asked me to compare working in a Chinese factory with working in an American factory. I guess I don’t have to say it’s very, very different. A couple of Americans who’ve visited Chinese factories have told me that they sensed right off that the whole atmosphere was different. And that’s true. Like, we’ll work our tails off when something really important comes up. And not because someone’s making us, but because we know it has to be done. But when things aren’t so busy we’ll, you know, take a tea break when we think it’s needed, and sit around talking about the work, or about some political struggle, or just kid around and relax for a while. Because we know what has to be done, and how much time there is. And we take the responsibility.

Responsibility – who decides things, how problems get solved – I guess I don’t have to say that everybody from the Revolutionary Committee on down who has a position of responsibility is somebody the workers trust. Somebody whose working style has been watched and evaluated by fellow workers. Because that’s how they got to be in “responsible positions.” That’s one aspect of it. Another aspect is that many, many things are settled at the “grassroots” and kind of informally.

Say, for instance, that a worker was always coming in late. I don’t mean just every once in a while, but all the time. The first thing, probably, would be that one of his close friends would try to find out if there was some special problem nobody knew about. Sickness in the family, something like that. If he couldn’t find anything, maybe a few of the worker’s friends would sit down with him, try to find out what the problem was. Then if that didn’t work, maybe his whole work group would talk to him, remind him that he has a part to play in socialist construction, help him to see that he’s letting everybody down. If *that* didn’t work, they might ask a Party cadre to call a special criticism meeting where everybody would struggle with him. But that would be very, very rare. Usually the problem would be worked out long before that stage.

In the same way, each shop or department has a routine production meeting once a week, to talk about production goals and generally see how things are going. But if they need to, they’ll meet more often. Or sometimes whole sections or even the whole factory will meet to discuss things like goals for the whole year. The same thing goes for political meetings. When there’s nothing special going on they’re usually held once a month. But when there’s a big campaign,



A 1962 picture of Jim and a long-time friend. Jim: “Like everybody in China, we were pretty skinny then. Three years of natural disasters had cut food supplies, and at the same time the Soviet government suddenly withdrew all economic and technical aid because the Chinese wouldn’t stand for Soviet interference in Chinese internal affairs. So we pulled in our belts, and everyone went hungry but nobody starved. We learned a lesson in self-reliance – and about how much Soviet promises could be trusted.” (Photo: J. Veneris)

exploitation by foreign imperialists and the Chinese ruling classes. But everywhere people were working hard to build things up.

When we got back to Peking, they asked us what we wanted to do. They gave us three choices. We could go to work in a factory, or on a farm in the countryside, or we could go to college. Actually there was a fourth choice. If we didn’t want to do anything, nobody would make us. We were their guests. But with everyone working so hard all around us, there was just no way we’d just sit around and loaf. For me the choice wasn’t hard at all. I’d always been working class. Factories were what I knew best. So I asked to be assigned to a factory, and they sent me to the State Paper Mill in Jinan (Tsinan), which is right on the Yellow River in Shandong Province. Which is pretty much where I’ve been ever since.

My first job was learning how to run a lathe. I had a real good teacher, so I didn’t have any trouble learning the job. And let me say again there was never any trouble with my fellow workers because I happened to be an American. I guess we recognized right off that we were all basically working class, with the same working class attitudes, and that made all the difference. Not that

how else could I read newspapers and books, and find out what was going on? I couldn’t just depend on my friends to translate every time. So I finally mastered it.

I worked at the lathe for years, but then I asked for a transfer. Basically I’m the kind of guy who likes to move around a lot, and really use my muscles, instead of sitting in one place all day. And the department I’m in now, I think people here would really be interested in – I hear there’s a lot of talk in the U.S. now about recycling things so as not to waste resources. Well, my factory has been recycling since right after Liberation. You know the cloth shoes that people wear all over China? We collect the shoes, when they get really worn out, from all over the countryside, and store ‘em in a warehouse and kind of let them molder for awhile. Then we haul them out and dump them on conveyor belts. As they’re carried along they get chopped, mashed, watered, pulped, and finally rolled flat.

What comes out at the end is toilet paper. Our best grade is real fine, soft stuff for export. It goes out under the brand name Double Happiness, and it’s very popular in Hongkong, Singapore – all over. We’re very careful about quality, what isn’t up to standard gets rejected. Rejects are bundled up



Jim and his wife and kids (all wearing Mao buttons) pose proudly for a family portrait. (Photo: J. Veneris)

an important struggle, then there are meetings going on all the time.

One of the things discussed in meetings like this is which workers should be recommended for college. That happened to me about 1960. The people in my factory asked me if I wanted to apply, because they thought I'd be a good candidate. By that time my Chinese was good enough to handle the work, and I'd always been interested in ideas and theory. So for the next three years I studied philosophy and politics at Peking University, wrote my thesis, and graduated. Incidentally, I got my full salary from the factory all the time I was a student.

Those college years were pretty exciting for me. I'd always tried to study this and that work of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, but when you're working and have other responsibilities you don't always have a lot of time. Even though you try to make time for it. I have the feeling not many Americans really understand what Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is, or how important it is to all of us in China. It's a philosophy, a *scientific* philosophy – not just a bunch of abstract ideas. It sums up all the ways people relate to the physical world and to one another, and how things change. It's a weapon in the hands of the working class – a weapon they can use to understand everything, analyze everything, and *change* everything.

And we need that weapon. Why? The Chinese working class people won a great victory in 1949 when the People's Republic was established, but that didn't mean the end of the struggle – which, Mao Tsetung pointed out, is bound to last all through the period of socialism. There are always going to be some forces working to turn the clock back to the old, bitter days of exploitation. We've seen it happen in the Soviet Union. And it isn't always so easy to tell right off who has a correct line, who has an incorrect line, who'll lead us forward along the socialist path, and who'll lead us backward.

Lin Piao, for instance. Did he say, I'm a revisionist, and I'm only interested in grabbing power for myself? No, no, no. He said, oh, oh, oh, what a good Communist I am, I really support Chairman Mao, everybody should listen to me. As Premier Chou En-lai said, Lin Piao waved the red flag to defeat the red flag! And you know what happened. We saw through him.

Let me tell you a story from way back then; I think at that time even Liu Shao-chi was still around. I wanted to get copies of the complete works of Mao Tsetung. They were real scarce; hardly anyone had copies. I found I had to go to a lot of trouble, get written permission – which I did – and then go to the warehouse myself to pick them up. When I got there I saw the warehouse was

just packed with thousands and thousands of copies of Chairman Mao's works. And from the dust, they'd been there a long, long time. So I said to the guy in charge, "What goes on here? People I know are just begging for these books! The Chinese people aren't good enough to read what Mao Tsetung wrote?" And he said, "Sh, sh! Someone might hear you." It was all part of the political struggle. There were good people working to build socialism – the books had been published. But there were people in authority who just didn't want those works in the hands of the masses. That's all changed now, everybody's got copies. After a long, long struggle.

So there are big, national struggles, but there are smaller struggles going on all the time, everywhere. Not physical struggles, but people studying, discussing things, arguing, testing. The entire leadership of my city Jinan, for instance, has changed completely three times in the last four or five years.

And sometimes the struggle is inside your own head, and you have to sit down and figure out just what class attitude your ideas really reflect. But that's why we need Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought – because it teaches us how to struggle, and who to struggle with, and where the struggle is leading.

When I finished college, and some of my teachers asked me what I wanted to do

next, I had to think about my own part in the struggle. It wasn't hard to decide; I said I wanted to go right back to my factory, that's where I could be most useful. And that's what I did.

The next important thing that happened to me was that I got married. I should say, got married for the second time. The first time was a few years after I got to China. My first wife had a terrible life in the old society. When Liberation came, she was begging in the streets, wearing rags, just half-starved. When I met her she was working in my factory. Like many people in the old society, she had contracted TB. When we got married, we thought she had licked it. But a few years later it came back again, and in spite of everything the doctors could do, she passed away. We didn't have any children.

Much later, when I'd finished college and been back at the factory a while, I went to a friend of mine who was a cadre at the factory and one of my old teachers. And I said, "Look, I've got no wife. None of the women I know seem right. But as long as a man's alive he's going to be thinking about a woman – and a woman about a man. So if you'd look around at all the women you and your wife know, and you found someone who seemed right, maybe you could introduce us . . .?"

A couple of months passed, and one afternoon my old teacher came to invite me to dinner. There was this woman. . . . Well, I'd almost forgotten my request, and I had something else I wanted to do that night. And then he told me she was a widow with *four kids*. Oh, boy. But he coaxed me until I said yes, and along I went. And then I saw her, and she was so . . . she was just about everything I could ever dream about in a woman. Then I was really scared that she wouldn't have any interest in *me*. So we ate dinner, and talked, and after dinner my friends left us alone for a few minutes. So I got up my courage and asked her, as delicately as I could, if she might possibly be interested in seeing me again. She wouldn't look at me, she looked down, and after a minute she gave a little nod. And then she blushed. Did she get *red*! And oh, boy, was I happy.

For about six months we went courting. We'd go walking for miles, all around the lake near my factory. We talked and talked, about politics and just about everything else. So each of us could see what kind of ideas the other one had. My wife says I did most of the talking.

When we finally decided to get married, one of the first things we did was see about getting her a job transfer. At that time she was working in another factory, miles way, and we thought it would be easier if she transferred to my factory. As it happened,

a woman at my factory was looking for family reasons to transfer to the factory where my wife worked, and the switch was arranged pretty quickly. So we settled down with our four kids – and now there are two more. Our big girl, our oldest, has been a Red Guard and spent two years working in the countryside. Now she's back living with us and working as a bus conductor. She's studying to be a mechanic. Our second, a boy, has graduated from middle school, and I got a letter from my wife a while ago announcing that he's taken a job in a factory in Jinan. He'd started smoking which my wife doesn't approve at all, but what can you do when they get that big? The third and fourth are still in school, and the fifth, our littlest girl, is just starting first grade. And our youngest boy will be starting kindergarten next year. Meanwhile, because our big girl is on the night shift now, she takes care of him while we're working.

For those Americans who have wondered if the two littlest ones might be experiencing some prejudice because their father's an American, I should say that if anything they're getting a little spoiled. Everyone knows them for miles around, and when dinner time comes around, half the time I discover they're off eating dinner at someone else's house! And you wouldn't believe the mischief they get into, especially the youngest. But even if it's me saying so, they're good kids. Beautiful kids. All my kids are.

Our lives are very full, and time passes quickly. My wife is terrific at any kind of sewing, and the women around us are always running in and out asking her help. I've been conducting English classes for some of my friends (we've found that old copies of *National Geographic* make excellent study materials). When there's any kind of political activity going on, I'm out of the house in the morning pretty quickly – I can hardly wait to find out what's going on down at the factory, and to get my two cents in. After work I often get together with friends from the factory. We'll go to someone's house, have a little wine, some food, some cigarettes, and a lot of talk. About work, politics, whatever. As all of my friends know, I really love to talk. And when I get back home after this trip I'm really going to have my chance, because they're all going to want to know everything about my visit to the U.S.!

But before I stop talking to my American friends, there are a couple more things I'd like to say. One is about this idea some Americans have that Chairman Mao was a dictator. Now that's nonsense. He was a great teacher, a great leader. But there *is* a dictator in China, and it's composed of over 800 million people who have put down and now rule over the small handful of people

who were exploiters in the past or who would exploit others now if they were given a chance. That's what's meant by the phrase *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Chairman Mao said that over 95 percent of the Chinese people support socialism, and I believe it. People remember the bitter past, and know how sweet the present is.

And people know that they can lose what they have gained if they don't stay alert. We've watched the Soviet Union go from a socialist country to a fascist dictatorship controlled by a new ruling class. We've watched the Soviet Union become an imperialist power eager to compete with the U.S., the other superpower, so that there seems more and more danger of war all the time – little wars, and maybe a big war.

Now I can't speak for the Chinese government or the Chinese people, just for myself. And what the Soviet Union has been doing reminds me of nothing so much as that old movie about the Frankenstein monster, with the monster rampaging about the countryside, interfering in people's lives and causing all sorts of damage. And I've got to admit that what the U.S. government has been doing right along isn't much different – even if they're a little more on the defensive right now.

So both monsters are dangerous, and people all over the world have got to unite against that danger. You remember how that old movie ended? The villagers banded together, with torches and pitchforks and every weapon they could lay hands on, and they rose up and destroyed the monster. And that's what's going to happen to the imperialist monsters we have today. I have great faith in the American people, and in the Soviet people. Eventually they're going to rise up and overthrow both monsters. That's what I believe.

I love people. They've given me strength and hope, all the people I've known, and lived with, and worked with. In China and the U.S. Because I've got deep roots in both countries. When I die, I've told my family and friends I want to be cremated, and my ashes scattered over the Yellow River. Why? For one thing it's so rich in Chinese history. Over thousands of years the Chinese people lived and suffered and died along its banks. Second, the Yellow River flows into the Pacific, just as the Mississippi flows into the Gulf of Mexico. And all the waters of the earth eventually mix and mingle. So, if it's not too fanciful, I like to think that someday those ashes, all that's left of me, will stretch all the way from China to the U.S. But there's a deeper meaning. I believe that just as all the waters of the earth eventually are one, all the people, the working people, of the earth will some day unite as one. And my ashes in the water are a kind of personal sign and symbol of that belief. ●

Friendship Has A History

Anna Louise Strong

by Mark J. Scher

Anna Louise Strong journeyed to China six times in her lifetime, each time at an important juncture in the development of the Chinese Revolution. Each time she brought news of the Chinese people's struggle to their friends throughout the world. Known for her tough-minded journalism, she nonetheless wrote with sensitivity and understanding in reporting the events in China. The body of her published work on China spans the years from 1927 to 1970, the year of her death, and encompasses over half a dozen volumes and countless articles. For nearly 50 years, Anna Louise Strong's life, more than any other American's, or any other foreigner's for that matter, reflected the historical development of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

She was born on November 24, 1885, in the small frontier town of Friend, Nebraska. Her father, a Congregationalist minister, had a strong interest in social reform; her mother, who was university-educated, also held strong convictions about civil rights and racial equality which she passed on to her daughter. Strong graduated from Oberlin College, received a doctorate in social work from the University of Chicago in 1908, and began to pursue a career in that field. She became the leading organizer in cities throughout the country of Child Welfare Exhibits which exposed the deficiencies of local school systems and health and welfare programs. The purpose of these exhibits, she said, was "to create new laws and institutions through popular demand." At the conclusion of her third exhibit, in Kansas City – the first in which she was the top administrator – she was faced with the task of firing all the people who had worked on the exhibit, in the face of already high unemployment. "It worried

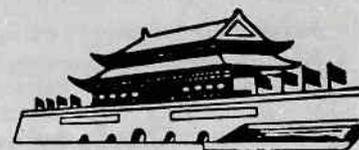
MARK J. SCHER writes articles on Chinese film, and culture. He was editor of *China Report* in the 1960s. He traveled extensively in China at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Letter from China by Anna Louise Strong

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In January 1937, Anna Louise Strong arrives in the U.S. from Moscow for her annual lecture tour. (Photos: courtesy of M. Scher)

me . . . I decided that there was no way to correct this under our capitalist system and that therefore the system was 'all wrong.' The only proper system would put all jobs, and therefore all work and enter-

prises, under public ownership. This, I knew, was called socialism. . . ."

At just under 30 years of age, she accepted a post in the U.S. Children's Bureau in Washington and, as she said, "seemed fixed in a federal civil service job for life." But the next year, 1915, after finding Washington and bureaucratic life stultifying, she left government work and joined her father in Seattle where he had moved after the death of her mother. Anna Louise took an active role in progressive social activities and was elected to the Seattle School Board as the "progressive candidate." She was later removed because of her stand opposing America's entrance into World War I, which she felt was inconsistent with the will of the American people.

She continued her anti-war activities, writing for a small socialist newspaper, *The Seattle Daily Call*, which survived for nine months before its presses were smashed. She then worked as features editor of a larger trade-union daily, *The Seattle Union Record*, and served as a delegate from its newswriters' union to the Seattle Central Labor Council. The *Union Record* was the first American newspaper to support the Russian Revolution and later became the newspaper of the Seattle General Strike in 1919, one of America's greatest working class struggles.

The ultimate return of the Seattle Labor Council to business trade unionism contrasted sharply with the optimistic news about Moscow and other uprisings

around the world which Strong had heard in Labor Council meetings. In 1921, because of enthusiastic reports about Lenin and the October Revolution, she left for the Soviet Union. Taking a leave from the *Union Record*, she made this first visit as a representative of the American Friends Service Committee, and later, in 1922, went as an observer from the Seattle Labor Council to the Red Trade International Council. Working also with the American Friends Service Committee in 1922, she was responsible for bringing the first railway cars of foreign relief food to the Volga famine areas.

In 1930, Strong founded and edited the English-language *Moscow News* (not the *Moscow News* of today), in which she reported from every corner of the Soviet Union. For nearly 30 years, between her frequent trips, she made Moscow her resi-

dence. She married a Russian Communist who was to die in the Urals in World War II. During this time, she visited the United States every year or two to lecture, stopping off en route in major areas of struggle throughout the world. She became a world renowned reporter of revolutionary developments, producing more than 30 books. Most of them were on the Soviet Union, but others dealt with China, Spain, Poland, and there was even one on the New Deal in the United States.

Strong first went to China in 1925. In Guangzhou (Canton), she reported on the democratic revolution led by Sun Yat-sen and the anti-imperialist struggle of the famous Guangzhou-Hongkong strike. Thanks to her acquaintance with Madame Sun Yat-sen and to her friend Fanny Borodin, the wife of Mikhail Borodin, the Soviet adviser to Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang,



Strong returns to the U.S. in April 1949, after being expelled from the Soviet Union.

she was the only reporter allowed by the Strike Committee to land. "There are 140 unions taking part," she reported being told by Su Chao Chen, the head of the Strike Committee. "This is not a racial fight; it is not a Chinese-British fight. Tell the workers of the West from us: we are part of the world revolution."

In 1927, she went deep into the rural areas of Hunan where she witnessed the revolutionary struggle then being led by Mao Tsetung. In her book *China's Millions*, which was based on her 1925 and 1927 visits, she wrote, "In Hunan, famous at that time as the spot where the peasants' revolution had been 'reddest' and where now reaction was the bloodiest . . . I felt a hope for the future of China. . . . In less than six months, these peasants, ignorant, superstitious, still children of the feudal ages, were dealing shrewdly, fearlessly, and democratically with food control, local government, justice, and education."

When the "left" Kuomintang government in Hankou collapsed, Strong was among those who fled to avoid Chiang's troops. Traveling in a car caravan with Borodin and others, she drove through North China, Mongolia, the Gobi Desert, and on to Moscow, a 3,000-kilometer trip which took seven weeks.

It was ten years later that Anna Louise Strong returned to China, this time during the Chinese people's War of Resistance against Japanese aggression. In late 1937, she was able to travel to Shaanxi (Shansi) to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, which was carrying on guerilla warfare behind enemy lines. There she met Chu Teh, its commander-in-chief, as well as other military leaders. Her book on this period, *One-Fifth of Mankind*, reflected the optimism of the then united front with the Kuomintang.

In late 1940, finding that all routes from Moscow to America were blocked by Hitler, Strong flew from Central Asia to Chongqing (Chungking), the capital where Chiang had

Shirley Graham DuBois 1907 - 1977

"The Chinese people have lost a close friend, and the people of the United States, Africa, and the Third World have lost a heroic fighter. We are fully confident that the cause of emancipation of the oppressed people and the oppressed nations for which she fought all her life will eventually triumph."

This was part of the tribute paid to Shirley Graham DuBois at a memorial meeting in her honor at the auditorium of the Babaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionary Martyrs after her death in Peking March 27 from cancer. Officials of the Chinese government, diplomatic officials and envoys of Tanzania, Zambia, Ghana, and Guinea, representatives from other circles, and Chinese and foreign friends and family attended, and Premiere Hua Kuo-feng and other officials sent wreaths. The memorial speech was delivered by Wang Ping-nan, head of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

Widow of the internationally renowned freedom fighter and Black scholar Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Shirley Graham achieved fame as a biographer, playwright, composer, and stage director. She was the great-granddaughter of a freed slave whose farm was used as a station on the underground railway by Blacks who fled the slave South before the Civil War. Her father was a Methodist minister.

Both Dr. and Mrs. DuBois were active in many progressive causes, and took a firm stand against U.S. aggression in Korea and the use of Black troops there. For this and their other stands, they, along with many others, were severely persecuted by the U.S. government in the 1950s. But they would not stop speaking out despite government efforts to destroy their reputation and influence.

They first visited China in the late 50s, then traveled to Ghana in 1961, where they lived and worked. On a return visit to China in 1962, they met and talked with Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tsetung. After her husband's death in 1963, Mrs. DuBois spent a number of years in Egypt and later became a Tanzanian citizen, continuing to work and speak on behalf of oppressed people around the world.

While on a return visit to New York last year, Shirley Graham DuBois was a principal speaker at a memorial tribute in Chinatown to China's late Prime Minister Chou En-lai. She also spoke several times for the USCPFA. As Wang Ping-nan said at the memorial meeting for her, she "did a lot of work in enhancing the friendship and understanding between the Chinese people and the people of the U.S. and the Third World. . . . Such friendship for the Chinese people and her staunchness will be engraved in our hearts."



October 1, 1966, with Mao Tsetung atop Tian An Men, awaiting the fireworks celebrating the seventeenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China.



Chou En-lai found time in his busy schedule to attend the get-together in Shanghai in honor of Strong's seventy-seventh birthday.

retreated. She was the first foreign journalist permitted by the Soviets to travel that route. In Chongqing she interviewed Chiang, who "smiled primly and said: 'yes, yes,' which meant nothing." She also met Chou En-lai who told her about the two years of unreported attacks on Communist troops by Chiang's generals. Chou requested that the information not be published until he gave the okay. "We do not wish to increase friction and Chiang does not want his American backers to know that any disunity exists in China," Chou told her. "But if the armed clashes

increase, we want the information to be ready to release abroad." With Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of the rearguard of the New Fourth Army in South Anhui, Strong, by then in New York, was informed: "Publish what you know." She thus brought to light the full story of Chiang's massacres of the Communists in the rear areas and his sabotage of their efforts to build a united front.

In 1946, Strong made her fifth trip through China, touring the liberated areas and ending up at Yan'an (Yenan), the headquarters of the Revolution. She spent

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the winter there and wrote of the period: "Never have I felt so close to the human power that builds the world as in that isolated beleaguered Yan'an." It was there in her historic interview with Chairman Mao, that he expounded his thesis: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." This interview, plus many valuable documents and reports given to her by Chou En-lai, were important in bringing to the American people the truth about the increasing U.S. assistance to Chiang Kai-shek in the Chinese civil war. Her book, *The Chinese Conquer China*, recorded her experiences in Yan'an and the other liberated areas during the final phases of China's war of liberation.

In 1949, hoping to return again to China from her work in Moscow, she was suddenly arrested and expelled from the Soviet Union for being a spy. Although the Soviet Union never explained its action, Strong conjectured that it might have had something to do with her attempts for six months to get back to China.

Although she harbored no anti-Soviet feelings, on returning to the United States she found herself shunned by many people on the left. No Communist party member anywhere in the world would speak to her, according to her own account. She was slandered by many of the people to whom she had contributed so much over the years. Undaunted, she went on to speak to even larger and more varied audiences than before, tirelessly speaking at one engagement after another. She spoke about the Chinese people's struggle for liberation and warned her audiences against Washington's increased intervention in China and the impending war in Asia.

In 1955, Moscow exonerated her, stating the charges had been groundless. When she tried to regain her passport, however, the U.S. State Department refused, saying she was a Communist. It took a three-year fight for her to regain it; in August 1958 she finally went to Peking. She was 72 years old.

Not about to retire, Strong continued to travel and write. During her first year back in China, she wrote *The Rise of the People's Communes*. The next year, she traveled to Tibet and wrote *When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet*. Her *Letters from China* started out in 1962 as a few carbon copies distributed to her friends and ended up as a publication that circulated in tens of thousands of copies in six languages, until her death in Peking at the age of 84.

For the last eight years of her life, Strong continued building friendship between the people of China, the U.S., and the rest of the world. "I found the type of work for which I had come . . . to write about China's Revolution for my fellow Americans."

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