

The absorbance of the control of the

by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars

Figure 1 interview with Chou En-lai



CHOU EN-LAI SPEAKS!

So you can see it will take time to transform society. In recent year, Chairman Mac blassed has paid attention to the fact that it can be said that to Linkel States in now con the vot of a great developed exactly is your take, not ours. We can only tell you about something of our hopes. And this can premote the solution of the normalization and improvement of the relations between the two provement of the relations between China and the United States? What would you say.

rom an exclusive interview Chou En-lai gav the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholar Bantam Books by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars.

CHINA! INSIDE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THE INDOCHINA STORY

CHINA! INSIDE THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC



To the peoples of China and America

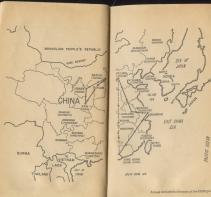
CHINAL DISSES THE PROPERTY REPUBLIC A Busines Book / published March 197 2nd printing Ind printing

The betersion with Circu En-led has appeared to the BALLETE OF THE CONSERVED OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOOLARS, Summer-Lall, 1971, No. 1, No. 2, & 4, Copyright D 1971 by The Committee of Concerned Asian Sections.

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Contents

Years of Bitters	ness	23
The Spirit of Yenan		
The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution		
Cities		
Communes		150
Factories		174
Education		197
Medicine		228
The Arts		247
Women		266
China's Foreign Policy		293
	Interview with Premier Chou En-lai by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars Friendship Delegation to China	331
	Visits with the Embassies of the Revolutionary Govern- ments of Indochina and of the Democratic People's Repub-	373
	lic of Korea	393
Bibliography		403
Glossary		
Index		425

Index

INTRODUCTION

We are Americans. We too have been shut off from China for most of our lives . . . until this summer, 1971, when we walked across a bridge from Hong Kong over the Shumchun river, and entered the People's Republic of

For four weeks we traveled through the People's Republic, witting industrial cities and rural communities, schools, factories, hoopitals, and homes. We were free to wander the streets and we talker mere, children, factory managers, officials, and army men and women. Although translators from the China Administration for Travel and Tourism were provided, many of its speak us speak passably, so we were encouraged to wander off

We are almost all young, in our twenties, and all of us are students or teachers. We had applied for our year as members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS), and called ourselves the "CCAS Friendship Delegation," We represented a new generation of China

Thirty-one days later we walked back across the bridge. What had we need? Even now, we are not quite sure. And not all of us agree with each other. Like most visitors, we were taken to certain cities, certain communes, and there was a great deal we did not sen. But we event Chinese, we mad Did son. But we event Chinese, we mad

we have studied China for many years.

So we think that our observations, honestly presented and with all our questions and hesitations intact, will begin to break through the wall of ignorance which has

Chinal Inside the People's Republic

separated Americans from China. We hope you will reswere uncowed by academic pressures to remain silent; member that we did not see all of China. In a county instead, angered by America's war against the Vietnamese slightly larger than the Heiled States with the county instead, angered by America's war against the Vietnamese slightly larger than the United States, with three and people, we were determined to be heard. In 1968, CCAS half times the population, any generalizations are dan was formed with an antiwar program, opposed to Japagerous. Instead, we have tried to give just the minimum ness expansion and in support of the normalization of re-

The questions we carried with us into China reflected formed in Britain, Austrana, In the struggle to change America's mind about Asia, in our American concerns. Drugs—in 1949, the newborn we've used every weapon we have. We have written four People's Republic faced the worst drug problem in the books: The Indochina Story, a handbook on the history world: today that problem has problem by the books: The Indochina Story, a handbook on the history world: world; today, that problem has been totally eliminated of the Indochina War; Cambodia, the Widening War. How? Cities—would they too have slums, ghettos, rich one part of our response to the invasion of Cambodia; suburbs? Or would everyone be equal—in equally squals then Laot: War and Revolution, to reveal that almost id poverty? Schools—if there were any dissident group in unknown war, now in its ninth year; and most recently, China, surely it would be the students, we reasoned, But America's Aria, an investigation of American images, atwere the students too regimented to express their cried titudes, and policies about Asia. We have chapters or kisms? Disease—for the young people of the United members almost everywhere that students study Asia, and States, the most serious problem after drugs is venerall we give speeches, write articles, publish a quarterly Buldisease, now officially an epidemic. Again, China has letin and a (sometimes) monthly newsletter. If all of this totally brought this disease—which in 1949 affected tens sounds like an invasion of young Asia experts, remember of millions of her people—under control. And again, that we are still, like the Asian studies field itself, fairly

In the course of a month, we discovered that—despite in our meeting this summer, very determined! expected rigid conformity, but we were surprised that

For the overwhelming impression of China is vitality

politicians of the last two decades. We had not endured

background necessary for the reader to understand what lations with China. Soon also and in support of the work we saw formed in Britain, Australia, and New Zealand

ozy which grew up around China during the McCarthy period. Compounded by twenty-two years of ignorance The worst of it was working from books alone, even was never quite convincing enough. Now, finally, we

One advantage our group had was the tremendous range of differences among us. Bound loosely by our dividualistic Americans, with fifteen particular ways of

Rhea and Ray Whitehead have lived in Hong Kone for the last ten years, and their Cantonese is excellent Cantonese is the dialect of Chinese spoken in Hong Kong in the southernmost coastal province of China, and in representative of the World Council of Churches, One of Buffalo, New York, and graduated from Union Theologophy of the Cultural Revolution. Ray and Rhea, both in their mid-thirties, have three children. Rhea, who has taught elementary school, paid close attention to the schools we saw. Kay Ann Johnson grew up in the Midwest outside Chicago, and is now working toward a doctorate in Chinese foreign policy at the University of Wispoint one member of the group to serve as "liaison" man youngest member of our group was Paul Levine, a twenty-

the pickup basketball game we played with the hotel

eraduate student at UCLA and the oldest member of the Canton Deaf-Mute School. There we watched as they time a doctor arrived, she was awake again, but still faint; the doctor advised acupuncture. With some hesitaa tiny silver needle into the skin above her lips under almost nothing. In any event, she was soon up again, and

Ken Levin also took a great interest in medicine in in Chinese literature. In addition to Rhea, there were two other schoolteachers in the group. Ann Kruze grew up in Mississippi, and has lived all over America. She taught elementary school for several years, and at the time plus her desire to see a revolutionary society in action, gave her a strong interest in China, She also shared a steady concern for the condition of women in China with and Hong Kong. Judy's Mandarin was quite good, and she made friends easily with the young women we met. his dissertation on the last two decades of China's foreign

Chinal Inside the Beauty in

policy; at six foot three and bearded, he stood out every-

Poll Pickwister was the prick of our build that it years, they war of playing to Olive build crossed at Yuanzi, they war of playing to Olive build cross at Yuanzi, they war of playing to Olive build with their on Canada and the size of the size o

This was our group. We had began to prepare our application many application many earlier, before the American ping-pong team walked an earlier, before the American ping-pong team walked an earlier walk and anglesic foliance with the ping-pong team walked and prepare to flowed. Get all the ping-pong to flowed for the ping-pong team walked and prepare, interviewed visitors, read in some discussion of the ping-pong team of the ping-pong t

To all of us, and all our friends in the "China field," the news of the ping-pong team's visit was electrifying. Maybe, just possibly, the moment was at hand. Overnight.

. . . .

our basic assumption—that we would never see firsthand what we might spend our lives studying—seemed to be overturned. Our application was almost ready, after months of the method of the property was resided to complete it.

Finally, we were ready, and Ray, Sasan, Kim, and Kay took the application down to the Kowloon office of the China Travel Service which represents the People's Republic in visa and travel matters. The clerk, a young woman with a serious face, looked at it with interest and turned away. We watched it disappear into her files. Then

It was close to the end of the scademic year, and for many of us our stay in Hong Kong was finished. Our funds had run out, our leasts were up, and the Garavents had even bought charter tickets back to the United States for June 1. Still, we hung on, those without housing doubling up, moving in with frested and living out of a suitease because everyfuling with subject bome. However, the subject was the subject bome. However, the subject bome. However, the subject was the subject to the subject with the subject with the subject with the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject with the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject with the subject with the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject was the subject with the subject wi

sure how long it might be for.

The next week, at on off-leng Kong called citrally to discuss the Hong Kong press, we were told—pick up your wins at China Travel Service in two days, prepare to leave in two weeks! That Monday, the seventh, we review do are folial invitation. We would be the guests of the China Ford Service in two days, prepare to leave in two weeks! That Monday, the seventh, we review do or official invitation. We would be the guests of the Chinese povernment, beginning June 22, "To tout warms places in China for one mouth." We had exactly support the chinese powerment, beginning June 23, "To tout warms places in China for one mouth." We had exactly

Preparation for us was largely a matter of equippi

ourselves with the requisite number of cameras, tape recorders, and notebooks. For in some ways the most recent years of our lives shad all been a preparation for this day. We had been trained to study China's history, authropology, policial science, literature, and economics at some of the best universities in America. But our greatert task would be to untrain ourselves, to try to abandon

The weeks before we left were also spent trying to ensure that Frank and Dorothy Kehl would be able to come with us. Their applications had gone in separately, and they were now living in Macao. But we had worked closely together on CCAS projects and on the drafting of the applications and wanted very much for them to be a part of our delegation. By the night before any department.

By the time we bounded the train for Custon that Mondousy sensiting, were Berkelly designed with camera, Mondousy sensiting, were Berkelly designed with camera, Mondousy sensiting, we were Berkelly designed. Note that the Mondousy and the Popular Regulation and the and the P

or has New Territories.

But this time we did not get off at Sheung Shul. Instead we posed once more for the friends riding with stead we been off the rain. By this time there were only at few when off the rain. By this time there were only at few when off the rain was the result of the rain o

for the border formalities. Our impatience mounted until we could all fed the traumentous exclusioners in the car. Then under a continue of the continue of the country of

At the Chinese border station, a soldier of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) greated us and took our passports. He opened the first one and noticed the official injunction-"not valid for travel in China." We looked at him anxiously, but he simply looked up and said to us. "This was issued by your government, not by you.

We without the Astronomy Policy Competer building, three met and a women one forward to pract to. They into me and a women one forward to pract to. They into St. Leo II, and Xiao Li, they would serve us on the control of the contro

Standing on the open platform as we arrived were a small group of men and women, part of the Canton staff

Since no itinerary had been set before we left Hong Kong, we spent the rest of the afternoon discussing with the staff of CATT what we wanted to see in China,

There had been no customs inspection at the border, and now we asked under what conditions we would be where and we were free to take all of our undeveloped

We also asked if the Kehls would be joining us and

The four friends who had met us at the border-Xi.

of the China Administration for Travel and Tourism Sai, and "big" Li and "little" Li-would travel with us ple. Whenever we wanted to, we were free to go off

pattern. We would arrive, chat for a few minutes, and

Chino! Inside the People's Republic

Finally, a short now short the presentation of cape in the company of the company

IN CHINESE, THE SOUND	25 PRONOUNCED LIKE ENGLISH	IN THE ENGLISH WORL
e lu sl c	o yo ss ts ds	among (close to "uh" yo-yo hix hats ads
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x th* sheet (tongue touches
xh top of treth)
xhock (tongue touches
bottom of reaches

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 jaunt (no y sounc) purse lips)

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 chunk (no y sound) purse lips)

 q
 ch*
 chew (y sound after chew (y

or sh)

ma approx. 1/6 acre
yuan approx. 40¢ U.S.

Itinera

Wednesday, June 23, 1971. Shumchun, Canton Morning: Traveled by Kowloon-Canton Railway from Kowloon to border. Walked across border to town of Shunchun in the People's Republic of

Chinal

Afternoon: Train to Canton after lunch.

Arrived in Canton, went immediately to Dongfang (East) Hotel.

Spent rest of afternoon discussing itinerary in China.

ning: Guests of honor at banquet held by member

[&]quot;These sounds are different in Chinese but are represented

Canton Municipal Revolutionary Committee, CATT, and CPAFFC (China Administration

Thursday, June 24. Canton Morning: Full day's visit to the Huadong People's Com-

After-dinner discussions with Chinese friends Later, were joined by Dorothy and Frank Kehl

Friday, June 25, Canton, Shanehall Morning: Sat in on classes at Canton City Deaf-Mute

Afternoon: Rode and walked around the midtown area of Took a three-and-a-half-hour flight to Shanghai,

Saturday, June 26, Shanghai

Morning: Spent first full day in Shanghai on the Hongaian Afternoon: Shared lunch made from produce of the com-

Invitation to special showing of three film

Sunday, June 27, Shanehai

Afternoon: Attended forum on the nature of the Great

Afternoon: Visited the East Wind People's Hospital, Dis-

Morning: Toured the Shanghal Industrial Exhibition, Saw

Chinal Inside the People's Republic
in modern society with member of the medical
staff. Walked through the words, which can
accommodate two hundred was the concommodate two hundred as cultural performance put on by
local schoolchildren.

Wednenday, June 30, Socchow

Morning: Met with Fang Xishi, leader of the Soochow Grain Store no. 57, and several other workers in the store.

Afternoon: Toured the Tiger Hill Pagoda and the West Garden which contains a Ching dynasty Budthist measurery and five hundred carried Buddher.

Evening: Direct with members of the Soochow Revolutionary Committee.

Morning: Traveled to Nanking, arriving at noon.
Afternoon: Rode to site of Yangtze River Bridge, one of
the major engineering feast of New China.
Evening:
Attended performance of the modern ballet
Red Detachment of Women put on by the
Artitude Ensemble of Lingua Province to con-

memorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Chinese
Communist party's founding.

Friday, July 2, Nanking
Friday July 2, Nanking
We sat in on classes, nourd workshown

Afternoon: Toured the Nanking Film Projector Factory.

Evening: Attended a banquet hossed by the Jiangua Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Afterward we enjoyed an arissic performance by a group of Little Red Soldiers and then participated.

Morning: Drove to countryside to observe ground maneu-

Your desiran

vers of a unit of the Nanking People's Militia.

Later, traveled to East Wind Park.

Afternoon: Walked around the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum.

On return to hotel stopped for a swim with

Merning: Met with staff of the Nanking Astronomical Observatory.

Afternoon: Continued our discussion with the scientists at

Morning: Arrived in Peking. Ambled around Tinanamen. Square and toward extensively through the grounds of the Summer Palace.

Evening: Were dinner guests of the CATT and CPAFFC at the Peking Rosat Duck Restaurant. Later,

Tuesday, July 6. Peking

Morning: Extensive visit at Peking University.

Afternoon: Toured the libraries and dormitories. Had lunch in the student cafeteria.

Evening: Began overnight train trip to Tachai Commune

Wednesday, July 7, Tachai Commi : Arrived Tachai Production Brigade of Tac Commune. Were greeted by Chen Yong well-known kader of Tachai, and a monbret the Central Committee of the Communist pa of China. After a preliminary deceasion took us for a long walk through the terra-

Afternoon: Traveled to nearby Houjuang Production Brigade of Tachai Commune.

Evening: Returned to Tachai Production Brigade. Saw a

Chinal Inside the People's Republic
film about the history of Tachai called Fi

Thursday, July 8. Tachai Commun Morning: Visited the Xigubi Brigade of nearby Jied

People's Commune.

Afternoon: Had long discussion with Chen Yonggui at Tachai.

ig: Broke into small groups to have supper in homes of the local peasants.
Afterward, boarded a train for overnight tris

Afterward, boarded a train for overn to Taiyuan, capital of Shanxi Province.

Morning: Arrived in Taiyuan, Attended a surprise morning banquet. Had fast tour of the Taiyuan

ten thousand workers produce mining excavaten thousand workers produce mining excavators, beavy cranes, and steel rolling machines.

Afternoon: Flew to Sian on an Inyushin 14. Visited the
five-thousand-year-old archaeological site PangoVillage—a neolithic village which has been
excavated and made into a national museous.

Evening: Saw a production of the ballet White-haired

Provincial Ballet Trou

Morning: Toured the Textile Mill of Northwest China no. 1 and met another woman member of the Central Committee, Wu Kuixian. Afternoon: Visited the school for the Sian Municipal Red

Evening: Banquet, Watched a performance which included a puppet show, comedy routines, and

Sunday, July

Morning: Arrived in Yenan by air.

Afternoon: Saw Fenghuangshan (Phoenix Hill), the first
Yenan home of Mao Tse-tung. At a memorial
hell of the city we were given an account of the

Evening: Watched a Yenan cultural troupe perform folk dances, as well as some dramatic sketches first put on in the guerrilla base area in the late

Monday, July 12. Yen

ag: The group visited Mao Tse-tung's second Yenan home at Yangjialing. Walked by Venan home sat Yangjialing. Walked by Venan home the cares where members of the Central Committee had lived. Went to the historic Anti-Japanese Imperialism University (Kangda), an inspirational model from the War of Resistance Against Japan for present-day educational ex-

Afternoon: Visited Mao Tao-tung's cave dwellings at both Caoyuan (Date Garden) and Wangjiaping and caves formerly occupied by Premier Chou Enlai and Vice-Chairman Lin Pino. Met two old nessants who told us stories about the old days

vening: The Yenan District Revolutionary Committee

Twesday, July 13. Yenan, Peking Visited Liulin People's Commune to talk with

intellectual youth from Peking who had come to settle down in the countryside where the labor force was still too small.

Afternoon: Flew back to Peking and spent the afternoon.

Wednesday, July 14. Peking Morning: Wandered through the Jinoyang Vegetable sional Revolutionary Government of the Re-

Thursday, July 15. Peking Activities related to people's diplomacy were continued when the CCAS group met for sew other representatives of the Cambodian proplet

Evening:

Friday, July 16. Peking

Morning: Witnessed four operations at Hospital no.

Afternoon: Some members of the group visited the old Peking home of Lu Hsun, one of the greatest literary figures of twentieth-century China

Long session held at embassy of the Democratic

Saturday, July 17, Peking Morning: Spent day at a May 7 cadre school located in

The group was hosted by members of the

Full day visit to the February 7 Rolling Stock

Afternoon: Listened to Hang Baohua, a retired worker,

Gave three seminars at the hotel for the benefit

Were told during lunch not to leave the hotel

After supper we were told to get ready for a

Tuesday, July 20, Peking Made the long trip through the mountains north

Afternoon: On the way back to Peking we stopped for a

Morning:

Some of us went to see a Japanese film, Yama-

Wednesday, July 21, Peking Morning: A six-member subcommittee held a lengthy

meeting with representatives of the CATT and the Chinese People's Association for Friends, with Foreign Countries. During the meeting we were presented with three films made in China-Red Detachment of Women, Red Flog Catand Nanking Yangize River Bridge.

Other members of the group visited a mosone

a tour of the Great Hall of the People.

Afternoon: Visited Tsinghua University at the request of

Evening: A ferrowell party held in our honor at the Inter-

Thursday, July 22. Peking forning: Typhoon in the Canton area. Scheduled departure postponed for one day. Visited the Peking subway. We went out during the day in groups

of two and three to walk the back streets.

Were taken to a Mongolian restaurant by an

American resident of Peking.

Friday, July 23, Canton
Flow from Peking to Canton during the

Afternoon: Held a summing-up meeting with the Chinese friends who had been with us for the duration

Evening: Enjoyed a Cantonese banquet.

Saturday, July 24. Canton, Shumchun

Morning: Rode the bus for the last time through Canton.

Boarded the train for Shumchun.

Walked across the border bridge to Hong Kong.

1. YEARS OF BITTERNESS

One day as we wandered through the streets of Venan, we noticed a cluster of children stating at a billbown, their small faces sober and and. On the board, there was a englay of photographs—China, part and present. But it was the place of the street of t

This is China's generation gap. Chinese children have never had to face the hardships their parents knew. The have never experienced the misery of years of warfare, or the natural calamities, or the agony of being driven from their homes by landfords, nor have they wandered aimtheir homes by landfords, nor have they wandered aim-

Today in China this gulf is bridged by teaching children the "bitter remembrances." Visually, verbally, and through reenactment of their experiences, China's old people become living museums for the young.

A "meal of bitter remembrances" is one way in which the old people keep these memories alive. On certain days of the year, the leaves and bark of trees and the bitter herbs that many Chinnes were forced to eat during times of famine are cooked and served while a grandmother or grandfather, father or mother tells tales of the past. A young girl in Tachai, red-checked and obviously well fold us. "I am saddest when I recall that my perents had

things, it was always with a solemnity which made us sense the depth of their feelings,

Peasants and old people even visit schools and studyclasses in the residential areas. They show the young people the tattered rags which were their only clothes in pre-Liberation days and tell of brothers and sisters who had to be sold into slavery or who died from starvation. In Shanehal, when we visited Chozyang Xincun, as

workers' residential area, one old woman told us just usels as a story. We had been invited to go inside the apartment house and talk to the residents. Inside her apartment, sitting on the bed, the woman told us how she had been treaxed by the people to whom her parents sold her. "The animals of the household got heir choice of the leftower food before I did," she said. "Illness was no excuse for the contract of the said. As the recounted ther story, the contract of the said." The said of the story that the said of the said of the story that the said of the said of the said.

Even in art, the young people of China are confrosed with the part. One exemple is the Rent Collection Constitution of the Collection Constitution of the Collection Constitution of the Collection Constitution Cons

that the natural disasters and private tragedies which plagued them were intensified by the social organization

Whenever Chimese talk about the past, five topics they agreed that the past of the three couring pattern of natural disasters; the foreign invasions which dominated much of intestenth- and twentide-to-entury Chimese life; the semifendal raral landlords; the especialty severe oppression of women; and finality be Kouonintagn rule under Chimag Kai-thek—for them, the symbol of all that was backward, corrupt, and reactionary in Chimese was a backward, corrupt, and reactionary in Chimese beat one in the minds of the people, for all five combined to make their lives in the off Chima Ives of misers.

The Natural Disasters

ences reflect such an awareness.

Before 1949, drought and flood, one frequently on the hock of the other, were the most common forms of natural disaster in China. The massive families which followed, in this period of general economic collapse, lift the pesial works that the contract of the contract of the contract of the works that fallen into total disrepair under "wardrod" and then Kommittage rule. Not only did the social system full to provide relief or assistance during these perspental disasters but it allowed the few privileged members of notators and the contract of the contract of the contract late more land. In Red Sur over China, Edgar Store widely described the effects of natural dissisters in our

I saw fresh corpuse on the streets of Sarasia, and in the visingas I saw shallow graves where the victims of familes and diesen were laid by the dozens. But these were not the most shocking things after all. The shocking thing was that in smary of these towns there were still rich men, rice-boarders, when-choarders, more-phosingers, and indetons, with arming of these towns there were still rich men, rice-boarders, men-phosingers, more phosings, and inclosed, while arming the still result of the still rich men, to the colors of the still result of the still result in the profilerer of enormously. The shocking thing was that in the colors — there was grain and food, and had been for

China! Inside the People's Republic

thousands of tous of wheat and miller, collected (mostly pointFibilities from abroad) by the Famine Commission, but which could not be shipped to the starving.... While this famine regard the Commission decided to which the commission will be considered to the contract of the lands baked by drought. The officials gave them every cooperation—and promptly began to buy for a few cents an area all the lands to be irrigated. A Boek of vultures descended on this beginnighted constray, and

This was hardly an isolated instance. In 1927–28, famine neguled the provinces of Henna, Anhul, Shenzi, Gansu, Sechuan, and Guijou. In some places up to 75 percent of the population starved to death. In 1941–43 over one million people died in a famine which hit north China. A firsthand account by an American reporter gives a picture of the extent of human degradation in the

Women exchanged their babies, saying, "You eat mine, I'll eat yours." When a man was going to die, he dug a pit and sat inside and asked neighbors to fill in the earth when he was dead. Afterward, however, no one could be found to fill in the pits for all were either dead or too weak to shovel earth. Men sold their children first, then

The natural disasters rulned crops, while unimpeded erosion destroyed the soil. The peasants were left without food, housing, and work. Physically weak, they were unable to undertake the massive collective work on dikes and irrigation systems necessary to guard against natural calamities. As they streamed into the cities, the urban situation steadily deteriorated.

'(New York: Grove Press, 1961)

"Jack Belden, China Shinkes the World (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

Foreign Domination

For nearly two centuries foreign troops, businessmen, and measurement of their rights to do as they pleased on Chinese features, businessmen related to get it on what per bettered to be a limited schizes market and an endess supply of cheep industrial labor. This feature and endies supply of cheep industrial labor. This feature of the control of the

On the military frost, China Sopial continguists from the contractive representative contractive representative representative

But the most bratt of all foreign starcks on Chin Issue in 1931, when the Tajumous leveled Membraire. Design 1931, when the Tajumous leveled Membraire. Design 1931, when the Tajumous carront the Issue of the Issue of the Tajumous carront the Issue of the Tajumous Carron Issue Ostan Iss

The Landlords

Frogonity on the brink of destination and others on such and of starvation, and repeated were largely to own a fine of starvation, and a reason are report a family had to rest fand first a starvation of the sta

If the peasant were not broken by rents, he might be by

the never-ending taxation. In the last years of Kuominrang rule, taxes covered nearly every possible good, service, or movement across the land, Edgar Snow related o story told him by one missionary who followed a pie from the seller to the buyer-all this within a few miles' taxes being paid. In many cases the local tax collector was a landlord. Since the government required only a lump sum from him, he was free to souceze as much as possible from the families in his jurisdiction. At times, in fact, he would invent his own taxes, for there was no one to question him, Expectably, landlord households paid little or nothing. The rest had to come from the empty confiscation. Appeals to higher authorities fell on deaf cars, for the local magistrate was probably of the same mind, if not of the same family, as the tax collector, Moreover, he would receive his own share of taxes col-

As Snow's description of famine-time profiteering makes clear, the less scrupulous landlerd benefited even more from calamitous times than he did from just plain but times. There is no question that at the time of Libertation in 1949 the greatest amount of bitterness was directed against the landlords, because the wast majority of the people had suffered under their domination for as long as their families gould remember.

Yet direct oppossion by the landlord and his friends was not the only theore contributing to the misery of the Clinese peasant. He lived also with the knowledge that his powerty was self-perpetuning, Advancement for his children was nearly impossible, and became more so every year. In the early twentieth country peasant youths had been able to travel to the city, work in factories for more peasant or accountly, and bring home enough peasant or accountly, and bring home enough peasant peasant peasant peasant peasant peasant playment in the cities soon closed that alternative. Williags schools existed, but only for the soun of the risk. The

ployment in the cities soon closed that alternative. Village schools existed, but only for the sons of the rich. The poor peasants could not have spared their children from hidwork even had education been free. Western medicine was unheard of in the villages, and traditional doctors charged so much that, after a serious illness in the family, even a rich peasant might find himself back on the boxrich in the cities, who had leisure time in which to learn by the Kuomintang, people kept more and more to began to die out. Mao Tse-tung's description of China's

These tragedies struck everyone who was poor in for large numbers of women did not live to experience ers, who were valued as harder workers for the fields. Women were the first to be sold into slavery, the last to ing conditions made the position of women particularly

Tradition taught that women were by nature inferior to men. Arranged marriages prevailed, and stories of young girls committing suicide the night before the wedding were common. But those who took the path of suicide home, and women who dared to do so invited public censure. Yet without a man, the Chinese widow was

faced with an even more desperate condition, vulnerable and unable to make her way

Mon sometimes indirectly suffered the effects of the oppression of women too, for there were not enough women to go around, and at times the poorer peasant men could not afford marriage partners. Some resorted to the expedient system of "little daughters-in-law," in which the parents of a boy would arrange with another poor family to take in their daughter while she was still a child, and to marry the two when they reached adoget its money's worth out of the girl, and she occupied a Some women were fortunate enough to have parents

who looked carefully before choosing a bushand for them. to apply their own experiences to the best advantage, If the mother or the older sister had had an unhappy marriage with a husband of about the same age, the mother might press the next time to choose a much older man for a girl of marriageable age. Or the parents might choose a man whose mother was dead, thinking to avoid the problem of the mother-in-law, and end up instead subjecting the girl to a marriage where she had to cope with a vicious father-in-law. Moreover, marriages generally were arranged between people from different vilsides, and not bothering to do justice to the truth. Women were of course expected to do all the adjusting in the marriage, and their happiness was not a matter of im-

portance. than men. When the Kuomintang or Japanese armies garrisoned in a village, the prettiest women were rounded up from their homes and taken off to entertain the visiting troops. When famine hit or the taxes went up, a daughter or wife was sold into slavery, to the highest hidder, who might easily just be another peasant who would work the son for use. A lucky woman might even advance to the position of concubine, although here she would have not only in-laws but also senior wives to cope with.

The difficult position of Chinese women was not a memodate and recept as a famine in which millionmental and the control of the control of the control with the control of the control of the control of the which the control of the control of the control of the which the control of the control of the control of the a modeled or a nat collector confinests. It was much a modeled or a nat collector confinests, It was much a modeled or a nat collector confinests. It was much a modeled or a national control of the collector of the men in all those them, and still give a model of the from beth to death, they had to all offer or secondary control of the collector of the doubty would not take, and still give only used words to collector of the collecto

Kuomintang Rule

Ching Ki-indri. Kumintarg male no serious as trapt to solve any of these problems. Usually they simply the supply the sun

Pessants especially hated the Kuomintang revival of the old baoig system, in which one man was made; guarantor of the good behavior of a number of families under him. In practice, the Kuomintang baoigh shead was usually a local landlord, and he could rid himself of any usually a local landlord, and he could rid himself of any usually as local landlord, and he could rid himself of any usually as local landlord, and he could rid himself of any usually as local landlord, and he could rid himself of any usually as local landlord, and he could rid himself of head of the could be a local member of the could be and makers," the bao head employed heacheme was could green the peasants, and peasants who had follow of inceptants to their sugains a follow valleger could receive the peasants to fine valleger could receive in attempt and the peasants of the peasants of the manufacture in the valleger under Kommissen control. In superior of faur and suspicion in vallage society. The colspaces of faur and suspicion in vallage society. The colspaces of faur and suspicion in vallage society. The colmic received in the collection of the proper in the colposition of the proper in the collection of the proper in the collection was the last stress for million of possible that colpositions of power thous most likely to take advantage of the provent, the faulth of the proper in the colpositions of power thous most likely to take advantage of the property the faulth of the property of the colter power, the faulth of the property of the coltrol power, the faulth of the property of the coltrol power, the faulth of the property of the property of the property of the faulth of the property the faulth of the property of the property

urban Chinice base of power was the comprasfor class, who had the most to gain from increased foreign presence in China. Chiang's treatment of the worker rebillion in Sanaphan in 1927 gives eloquent estimation of the side. The Sanaphan workers had armed themselves and carried out a rebellion in the city, which resulted in their baff estimate of power in order to prepare for the arrival of the Knoomingan Army, Chilago, hoth resulted in their dot the Knoomingan Army, Chilago, hother lesstant of the carried out to the control of the control of

In the war with Japan, the Kuomintang armies were thoroughly defeated in the campaigns of the first few years. While some of Chiang's soldlers fought well, most were demoralized early in the war, and once Chiang withdrew to the isolated city of Chungking, there were only scattered attempts to engage the Japanese, leaving the Communit repertils forces to do most of the fighting.

The American entry into the war against Japan brought Chiang huge amounts of military aid. Much of it never found its way into battle, being siphoned off by Kuomintang officials along the way. What did go into battle before 1945 went into battle not against the Japanese hut against the Communist, who were at the time

the only force willing to organize national resistance, But his way not just war against a Communist army, It was a war on the Chinese people, for in the areas not underesistance or Japanese control, the Kuomintang sonked the urban workers and peasant farmers for money to pay the army. Even after the Japaneses surrender, Chinag waable to get millions in American aid by pointing to the most weight and the control of the control of the control and this solone keet below only

And Now?

When Mac Tu-tung proclaimed the entablishment of the Proplets Republic of Clania in Politics in 1949, the Proplets Republic of Clania in Politics in 1949, the Proplets Republic of Clania in Politics in 1949, the Proplets of the Proplets o

2 THE SPIRIT OF YENAN

A trip to Yenan is a visit to China's Valley Forge, Boston, and Yorktown—all wrapped into one city. We arrived there in summer, when Yenan is hot and dry, and fine yellow loose dust blows in from the arid surrounding balls, Yet the City is very neat, iddy, like a museum with the wax figures replaced by live people and all the exhibits still in use.

We wandered through the hall, now reconstructed, where Mao had delivered his famous talk in 1942 during the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, Small clusters of people strolled about, examining the exhibits and reading the signs. A short distance away was Mao's cave house. The windows were covered with olded white paper as they had been thirty years ago, but now the paper is stretched over wooden lattices, and some of the furniture is newly made

It was Yenan, a remote provincial town, that Mao and his comrades made their capital in 1936. For the next sen years of struggle against the Japanese and the Kuomintang, Yenan served as their base. Here Mao and the other guerrillas shaped the Communist party of China, and in their fishit to free China, moded the basic principles of

their leadership.

Today part of the city is a museum, but it also is the source of a vital living tradition. Everywhere, the people we met talked of Yeans. Why does this better, wind-blown city hold such an important place in the everyday leves of millions of Chuselt. What arrived in orthwest the contract of the con

east destroyed, 130,000 men and women had begun the trek. Now, 370 days later, in October 1935, they numbered only 20,000. On the Long March they had trekked through eleven of China's provinces, in a vast loop wes and then north, passing through swamps and snowcapped mountains and hauling with them guns, a printing press, and other couloment.

But they were not yet secure. Chiang Kal-shek's armse had also pushed north into the rare—more committed to defeating the Communities than defeating the Japanese. Because of this, a number of the other Komintang-ellide commanders in the region grew increasingly critical or Chiang; and in December 1936, on a wist to the city of Chiang; and in December 1936, on a wist to the city of Chiang, the comment 1936, and the totops of Chiang Hardenburg and the state of the comment of the present of the chianger release, and after yeared specific or negotiations, a new united front was formed in Jamasy 1937 between the Kominitang and the Communities or

Although that united front only lasted a few years, and often appeared to be more a matter of fiction than fact, it did allow the Communists a respite in which they could turn their full attention to the Japanese. Mos and the term of the first first the state of th

semining flow best to successfully lead the revolution.

The result of the second of the same. For the war was used to be seen they had to depend entirely on the support of the people they had to depend entirely on the support of the people they had to depend entirely on the support of the people they had to understand the people to get the seen to the seen the seen that the se

ness, and where were they too weak, where should they withdraw into the hills, or prepare traps in the villages? All of these questions—vital questions on which the sursival not only of the party, but of the people, depended were answered in practice, slowly and over time, at Yenan.

needs of the people and help them to achieve them. The second of the people was the people with a to be the good to be provided by the people was the people with they discovered that the local party organizers had concentrated their efforts in the area around Sian, but were having difficulties perusasing the people of the area to provide the people, while they were very sympaticies to the social and economic reforms the party proposed, were simply affal. With strong Reconstitute, proord, were simply affal. With strong Reconstitute, and provided the properties of the properties of the shelly of the Communities to protect them against reprisals from the perrisons. And in fact the Communities

By moving north to Yenan, the party established a base area they could protect, and the liberated zone begin to grow. During these years the population of the zone grow, too, for thousands of Chinese youths, especially above of the large cities, streamed to Yenan to join the resistance against Japan and to see the new government resistance against Japan and to see the new government resistance against Japan and to see the new government from Shanghai, a determined woman named Chang Ch'ing, who later married Mao.

As young intellectuals, they must have found life there have affects for Communities instituted that they should not be a burden on the people. The base area supplied all food, no better clothing, even implied reverse for the people of the people they were fighting with. Here students of Kangda, the "Anti-Japanese Imperfallant University," lived to probe in cave dominitories, studying part of the time but Probe the people of the pe

sneed out in sharp contrast with that of the Kiomitiangian Throughous Contragillo to Committee were to the Contragillo to Committee were to the Contragillo to Committee with the Contragillo to timate were in the way the amine of both sides behaved and here on he day by Committee do not excludy of its both of formal flighting divisions and small general groups in the Mills, that my followed the three main rate orders in all actions, to take not even a single seedle or coders in all actions, to take not even a single seedle or proceed of thread them to peasant, and to turn in composed of the contragillo the contragillo the contragillo (b); (2) Pro fairly for what you bey; (3) Return events (4) Pro fairly for what you bey; (3) Return events (4) Pro fairly for what you bey; (3) Return events

crops; (7) Don't take liberties with women; and (8)

For contrate, the Chiese peasant regarded all unries as form of standard denset that descended on a reason as a form of standard denset that descended on a reason to the contract of the cont

The cadres were the backbone of the party, the local workers who had either left their village, been trained in Yenan and returned, or who had come from training at Yenan and returned to the training at the second second training at the second training

organize the people, maintain communications with the guerrilla units, and promote reforms. The army, too, had eadres who helped to teach the soldiers about the history of the struggle, what the present situation was, and how

If was in the armise that flashy of their young pressure done is a group of soldiers or pessants helping a transport unit marched along, each would have a pôce of paper or cloth pinned on his back with a Chlasice through a proper or cloth pinned on his back with a Chlasice through which are the contract of the con-

It was in this spartan, struggling but successful period that Mao and his comrades worked together at Yenan. And in these years, Mao produced most of his famous writing.

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains

Their was as old may who lived in northers. Often go and was known in the coloids of land of North Ing. 200 and the coloid of the color of North Ing. 200 and 200 and

This is an ancient Chinese fable, quoted by Mao Tse. as examples of the great determination and patience re-

is one of the three old favorite articles, selections from whose ideas are constantly referred to. Each, though sim-

At the Xigubi Production Brigade, the people are rebling river (see chan. 5, "Communes"). When they underthought the effort was uscless. For centuries the river had

Now, although it will take them another year of hard

comping water to a small reservoir above the proposed the river; by this method they were able to cut the channel in a few months, and the removed earth had been deposited in the old riverhed, beloing to prepare it for

The scientists of the Nanking Observatory were also cept of the "Liu Shao-ch'i line" to us. Before the Cultural Western development in science-so closely that scienpart of a project on solar explosions. This attitude was After the vounger scientists protested, this policy was changed, and the observatory is now doing its own research. Self-reliance means not only not waiting for the

"The Foolish Old Man" is an Acsop's fable about the necessity of hard work and struggle. One old farmer we met at Housuang said that Mao's teachings, and this struggle against selfishness in our minds. We cannot asto socialist construction is no peaceful lourney, but one

It was already late afternoon near the Date Garden outside Yenan and the mountain air was beginning to be crisp and chill as three of us walked down a narrow dirt road. We came out on to a grassy field with a small platspeeches are given here for large groups, but its importance stems from another period when Mao delivered a memorial speech for a common worker accidentally killed at his job in 1944, Entitled "Serve the People," this cles, and in a sense it commemorates all those who gave their lives in service to the people. As we walked back across the field one of the Chinese walking with us mentioned that many people who come

"We don't have a version of it with us, in English, or we could read it out for the group," said Ray, But of course Ray and others had been speaking in Chinese, so our companion said, "You understand Chinese, Fil read it for you," and he pulled a well-worn book from his

So, as Rny, Ken, and Susan walked slowly along with him, he read the words:

... All men must die, but death can vary in its signifi-

"Though death befalls ill men alike, it may be heavier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather". . . Comrade Chang Szutch died for the people, and his death is indeed heavier than Mount Tai.

If we have shortcoming was a root of soil to have

indeed heavier than Mount Tal.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have
them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the
people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he

In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, we must see the bright future and must paths they our occurage. The Chinese people are suffering plack up our occurage. The Chinese people are suffering in struggle. Wherever there is straggle there is ourself in the common occurrence. But we have the interests of the prople and the unfirtings of the great and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the prople and the unfirtings of the great majority as heart, and when we die for the people it is a world unnecessary scriction. On the condition of the proplet is a series of the proplet in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each.

Mao concluded this speech by suggesting that each time a person died, his or her village hold a memorial meeting to discuss the ways in which that person contributed to the village. The message of this was both about equality, that everyone who contributes should be homered, and and forgottem—and about service to society. To serve the che measure of in individual's worth. In judging one's follow villagers, the old indicators of "worth"—money, position, and physical possessions—are no longer meaningful symbols. For everyone's abare of money is likely assume type and quantity, and "official" notificious, such as une type and quantity, and "official" notificious, such as une type and quantity, and "official" notificious, such as

brigade leader of treasurer, are held by persons elected by the village. The idea that in serving the people you are serving your family and your village, as well as all China, is now clear to almost everyone. Having seen the results of coportation and hard work, the people of China tend to return the contract of self-resiluence and review in solving the contract themselved of the contract in solving mentioned the contract of self-resiluence and review in solving mentioned the contract of self-resiluence and review in self-resiluence and review in the contract of self-resiluence and review in se

During dimer it Tachal, Judy asked her hostens box being dimer in Tachal, Judy asked her hostens box in the search of the property of the property was as with a slow unite and a quiet frace—thought for a with a slow unite and a quiet frace—thought for a clearly. Then, nodified her bend, the said of the Caralyst is the cold man down there," pointing in the dicataging the said, the said of the said and the hore mass a bet of valking up and down hills and lund here made as bet of valking up and down hills and lund here assess a bet of valking up and down hills and lund here assess a bet of valking up and down hills and lund here assess a bet of valking up and down hills and lund they disease, he decided he wammed to do correcting. So he gathered wasts wood and bis of ment, and finalmost her and the said of the said of the said of the said of the partition of the said of the said of the said of the down of the said of the said of the said of the said of the down of the said of the said of the said of the said of the down of the said of the said of the said of the said of the down of the said of

Serving the people is thus seen as a way to fulfillment as an individual in China. It means to work hard, not for personal gain but for the advancement of everyone in your village or factory.

The most extreme case is to die for the poople. Caryongsi told us of one ha person at Trachis, the musicess of the case of the case of the case of the case of the cases after the rains of 1900, to demunds on the uscases that the rains of 1900, to demunds on the ustage of the case of the unsuly each cast fook two drivers to handle is. Online to the case of in the villax, to the case of the ca

It was not coincidence that Jou talked of Bethune, or that Chen mentioned this incident to us; for the third of the three old favorite articles was written as a memorial for Bethune in December 1939:

Every Communist must learn from Jim. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, pre-ferring the light and shirking the heavy, passing the cost of the property of the light and shirking the heavy, passing the cost for themselves on to othern and denoising the easy tendence of the light and the light property of the light property

When Bethune came to China, he had the opportunity to be a one-man wonder, to perform complicated operations and save individual lives. Instead, he set up field hospituls, trained doctors and nurses, and designed battle-field transfusion equipment, always as patterns which

other units could study and emulate, and always with the

Thus today the Chinese say that doctors who go out to he rural areas should not complain because conditions are not good, or feel like celebrities because they are needed. They should seek to ensure that after they leave their loss will be felt as little as possible. To do this they will have to pay close attention to the local conditions, the needs of the peasantry, and redesign their ideas of medical care so they can contribute effectively.

This is the other side of the coin of self-reliance. For it he Chinese people want to become self-reliant, but the skilled technicians of her society don't want to share their skills and don't listen to the people, then progress will be difficult and class distinctions will persist.

The Chinese recomize that even the most devoted

Index will often begin to define the "meth of the propell" as to see them, and will begin to that of himself at a list one them, and will begin to that of himself at a list one them. And will be given the control of the second of the second

Chairman Mao

The barren hills of Shanxi, where people lived powerytricken in loss caves, sold their children in order to survive, and eked out a miserable existence as hired laborers, have been transformed into innumerable terraces of green corn, orchards, vegetable plots, and rows of solid granite-block houses.

"This hancend because of Chairman Mao's leadership" and Cene Youngs to so the atternous we arround the lift show Plantile. Charitam Mos has prestige all over China. The people, all of m. has prestige all over China. The people, all of m. has marriand by foriginers. We will never from the arrounding to the property of the street community by the Japanese imperialists here. The latest community of the property of the property

Life has changed tremendously for the people of China, and it is not surprising that they love and respect the mar who led them then and leads them today. They read his writings, and put pictures of him on their walls, identifying with him as the one who best symbolizes the new

During the Cultural Revolution, there was a sense. Adous increase in the amount of attention paid to Mais, the years since the Great Leap Forward, pictures of last had been on the walls and much had been done in the man, but his actual writings and even some of his more man, but his actual writings and even some of his more man, but his actual writings and even some of his more man, but his actual writings and even some of his more lateral Revolution revived study of his review. The Cultural Revolution revived study of his review. The Cultural Revolution revived study of his review and the party and the most review of the first some party had most of the butter of innovation and reorganization which began then were the result of their going back to the idean of self-tellinone, serving the

policies, and the sperie of the "Foolsto Old Man."

Intelligence of the special of the surrous o

gening in China. Some of the pictures and statues of Mao are coming down, and these cultist excesses of the Cultural Revolution are being reversed. Rather than the accompishment of a genius, no matter how well motivated, the Chinese today stress in articles and posters: "The people, and only the people, are the motive force in world

a Packet Guide to Revolution

The three old favorite articles are constantly quoted and referred to, but they are not as ubiquitoes as the world-famous little red book. That phenoeneon is one of the most difficult for us, as Westerners living outside China, to understand, even after studying China for years. This summer was our opportunity to see how these small, red-fatisf-covered books was actually used.

The books are actually entitled Questitions of Chalisman May Tax-time, since that is what the Chinese call them. They are not original works. Rather, their purpose is to the last fifty years in China. There are sections on women, on the role of the party, on all kinds of topics, and each section contains a number of quotes from Mao's writings, made only one or two sentences long. It is a kind of pocket is a contained to the contained on the con

The Quotations have also served another purpose, serpeically for the many old people in China who can now East, but still find it difficult and time-consuming on top I long hours in the fields. How can these basis ideas be specially to the control of the conlow a common political culture which all of China has lead and heard about, and which encourages the people he po on and read more.

Mao himself has warned against taking these books, any set of ideas, as a dogma. They should be a way judging situations and deciding how to act in a gener lense. The Chinese are no less pragmatic than any oth People, and they have found that the Outstainer has a practical usefulness for the solution of all kinds of problems.

This is what the Chinese mean when they say "this

This is what the Chinese mean when they say "fall happeend because of Chinirana Mo." or "I was able Impended because of Chinirana Mo." or "I was able Impended because of Chinirana Mo." or "that "really did happen because the person statistic Chinirana Mo." or "that," who not because the person statistic Chinirana Mo. is a good dector, or garage mechanic, or impigation expert—only because Mos talked about self-reliance when the people were discouraged about serving the people when face of failure made them that copperation impossible. Because in Chinira direkts of the company of the co

Who Leads, Who Follows?

In China, a leader is said to be a man or woman who comes from and is completely in the service of the Chinese scones from and is completely in the service of the Chinese people. The American govern the American forms of government, and the propelle, for the practice, the Chinese and American forms of government share little if anything in common. What are the differences? How does government work in China? What are their leaders really like?

What makes Chen Yonggui, for example, a "model" cadre? Why is he, a brigade leader of Tachai, so respected everywhere in China? What is it about Chen that is ad-

We enjoyed his easyscing style, his pleased grins displaying newly acquired acted, but we were quite user that this honesy appearance was not the basis of his grief blands of the properties of the properties of the style Shanghal and in the factories of the nontrobuest provinces is his relationship with the people of Tachai. He is talked about at an example of contenting which is now commonly of the properties of the pro is the quickest route to becoming insensitive, self-seeking,

micro. His We feed the continue of Siary testle mit, is a member of the party Central Committee—and the We, be lowe very much like everyone clea around him. He is not not to be inselheder and the continue to the continue t

In addition to Chen, Wu, Yang Pujen, Premier Chou In addition to Chen, Wu, Yang Pujen, Premier Chou En-lai, and Chang Ch'un-ch'ino and Yao Wen-yuan of the Political Bureau, we talked to several members of provincial and municipal revolutionary committees and a

Our overwhelming impression was that in China political cal power is not a transferable commonly. Everyone has all power is not a transferable commonly. Everyone has it, and everyone is supposed to be involved in using it, in constant discussions and meetings and projects. Political Power is not simply handed over to an official, with the Power is not simply handed over to an official, with the object of the power is not simply handed over to one of the power is not simply handed over to an official with the power is not simply hand the power is not simply and the power is not a power in the power in the power in the power in the power is not an interest to the power in th

Very few leaders ever leave their communities, except perhaps to journey into a nearby town or city to meet with representatives of the next-higher organization such as a County repulsioners. committee If the communities of the county of th

commune, brigade, factory, or school-is going to be self-reliant, then a leader is not primarily a perotiated with the state government or some outside agency. He is

someone who can help organize the people within his community to achieve more within their own limits a things happen. Obviously, he is not going to be able to do this unless he knows the community well and is closely in the revolution in a Chinese village, we had read of a proverb which was invented to describe this situations "Under the Kuomintang, a plague of taxes; under the This situation seems to generate a feeling of common

effort to meet common goals, rather than a "managerworker" relationship where the leader can tell the other members of the commune or factory what to do or how still a poor country-must set certain national plans for its economy and thus give quotas to lower economic units. In this way, the leader is never responsible alone for tellwhich he and the workers discuss and then respond to, or it is a project generated within the community, like the Xigubi river-diversion scheme or the subsidiary factories at the rolling-stock plant, and has therefore been agreed again, everyone participates. The leader has been chosen

What is a leader, though? Is he a representative in government? Or a factory manager? Or a school director? Or an organizer of spare-time study groups? In China, he about the structure of China's government-there is no ship structures are essentially the same for factories. hospitals, communes, schools, government offices, and

perolutionary Committees and Party Committees

local organizations, an average of one daily. They inetuded factories, rural communes, hospitals, schools, local, povernments, housing settlements, retail stores, and research units. In each case, we were invited to observe the organization in some detail, and we were given an exsended verbal presentation with plenty of time for ques-

Some of our questions stemmed from that of "Who leads, who follows." We were interested in the actual structures of these administrative and governing organizations. Everywhere, there are two basic committees: the party committee and the revolutionary committee Why are there so many committees in China? How are group decisions made? Can a factory really be run like a commune, a hospital like an army unit? The answer was an enthusiastic yes-enthusiastic be-

cause the Chinese we talked to had just spent a great deal of energy in the Cultural Revolution to establish that fact. The basic idea, they said, is that the people of the factory should run their factory, and the people of the hospital should run their hospital; thus the governing the people are actually running things is to have a leadership group which includes all the important groups in the factory or commune. And yes, committee deliberations take time, but the result is very much worth it

What do these similar political structures look like? All share the system of party and revolutionary committees; there is no separation between what we call the only a few departures from this, at the production team where the pre-Cultural Revolution "administrative committees" still exist instead of revolutionary committees

The relationship between the party committees and the revolutionary committees has an interesting history. We had come suspecting that in fact the party committees sould trud to control everything. After all, Chas age Communit courty, and by the own seasons the high Community carry, and by the own seasons the high the Community party, for we found that the recotion of the control of the was party the case because duting the California Revolution of the control party much there expenses are represented varies. party muches, because the control of the party which there expenses are represented varies. party muches, because the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the control of the party much the control of the control of the control of the control of the the control of the the control of the the control of the c

evocating seep in many.

The major change reputy workers, called eaders at The major change or the major in the many limit. This is a particularly strong version of the fixes of "in-vestigation" mentioned before. Because party cades, it contrasts to other types of leaders, are often saked to work in new areas or to work for periods of time in hurseau reals posts, there is a greater need for them to consciously arready are working. This they were of the local features are produced to the contrast of the co

workers.

Some of this was done before the Cultural Revolution, and the changes since may have been more quantitative than qualitative. But in combination with the revolutionary committee checks on them, the party committees have

Lost Among the Masses?

What is the role of the individual in all this? Has all the talk of cooperation and serving the people relificable

cancel a Shand society—successful conomically but book in covery other spars 'Intelly,' It was quite obvious to us at an China scidlina does not bin personalities, but in the state of the sparse of

The individual has an ouder nor early for positive accomplications the after of criticism of individual. This is compellationally after the complete of the criticism of individual. This is process curried on in open meeting where workers proceed to the contract of the complete of the c

We saw all kinds of people in China engage in "criticism-self-criticism," from Premier Chou En-lai, who criticized himself for his lack of firmness and experience at the 1954 Geneva Conference, to the People's Liberation Army official showing us through a factory complex: he told one young woman to hide a urinating child from our sight. A young man standing with hes challenged him immediately, asking why such a natural act should be hidden from the eyes of guests, and why the PLA officer should make such demands in the first place. The reaction; the PLA officer admitted he had been

As we went through the Southow Grain Store no. 57. several of the workers referred to critical-mediferations are resulted to the second mediferation and the second medification of the second medification and the second medification are set on the relation, gas for analysis, they had fit they were not "work offeration, gas for analysis, they had fit they were not "work produced, not cleak submitted to the second of the city they had fit they propose the second of the city they had fit they not complete the second of the city they had fit they not complete the second of the city they had fit they not complete the second of the city they had fit the store of the city of the second of the city they had fit to have complete the second of the city they had fit to have complete the second of the city they had fit they complete the second of the city of the second of the city of the second of the city of the second of th

But this didn't really answer our question. This was the "self-criticism" side of criticism—and was a way of preventing problems of complexency or bad relations with customers. How did they use this method to solve problems that had already come up? What if someone from

This time the grain-sines workers told us about a distribution of the properties of the properties of the properties. The grain tones processes flower and feel in the waypeer for varieties of Chinese "dumplings"—multi paper-this skins of dough which are warpped around bepoped studings of and are also made to order in larger amounts. One afternoon the month before, monome called from the factory carbon to order a large number of one had for disapplies, the properties of the properties of the properties of the by few that afternoon no one had come to collect them. Meanwhile the regular supplies of disappling wrappers had been also a made of the properties of the prope workers sold the wrappers; and of course the factory

"There were some hard feelings," one man from the grain notro tod in, "But we talked it over and decided that it was our fault—the factory workers had been included that the second that the second that the second call it. It we had castle them, we would have found our the reason and kept the wrappers or maybe even taken them over to the factory. In any case, some of us vochamour to the factory, in any case, some of us vochamand the factory workers thought this was a general contraction of the second that the second that the date for us to take, to they began to offer criticisms of themselves. By the time we finished taking, everything was all right again—and we really had farent domeshires.

This "happy coding" was a practical working arrangement, and it also demonstrated one advantage of group discussions: a single person might be very unwilling to shame himself in order to solve the problems with the blame himself in order to solve the problems with the the laws and took responsibility as a group, critician was seen as a contractive step toward better business practices within the store and led to a new procedure for claiming with the problem, not to mention a sense of in-

A "Social" Disease

No flies in China? Well, there are some—but not very many, and certainly far fewer than the swarming, buzzing masses of them we were all used to elsewhere in Asia. This was the result of one of the "four-pest" campaigns to eliminate mosquitoes, rats, bedbugs, and flies, all curtiers of disease. To attack the flies, everyone was targed to twat ten a day—and soon China's poole, 700 million

This is a famous example of how mass campaigns have solved problems in China. Another example—one which we were especially interested in as Americans—is how thins solved the problem of veneral disease. In the United States, this disease is now officially an epidemic: the rate of incidence of sonorrhea is 28.5 per 100.000 and that of explain is 44 per 100,000, or a total of about 50 percent. In Clima st Indemstan, the rate of ophisis significant to the control of t

This cure was effected while malaria, schintonemissity, B, kala azza, bookworn, leptops, and opium addiction were all competing with vesereal disease for the attention were all competing with vesereal disease for the attention of the death of the death

selves to attack a problem, they win.

Most problems, the Chinese say, are in fact political
and social at root. Even so-called "medical problems" are
political in nature, for once the technical means of cusing a disease is found, it is a political decision not so
organize the energy, time, and money to cure it. In such
situations the continued existence of any disease is a sign
of social decay—and makes any disease a "social"

The cure of syphilis was known. What stood in the way of a complete cure for China? First, the position of women. Women still were the chattels of men. The brothels were closed—but that was not enough. Just a few months after Liberation, the Marriage Law of 1950 was passed—a law which in one stroke ended the legal oppression Chinese women had endured for centuries.

Women were declared equal to men, with equal rights to devorce, to take jobs, to own material possessions, and to miss children. Forced marriages were abolished. With their status as women drastically changed, the prostitutes leaving the brothels could rejoin society, not as outcasts

Second, poverty. Without enough to eat and with wretchedly poor clothing and housing, all other health problems for the Chinese people remained secondary. Inflation was ended in the first year, and everyone was given what they lacked to meet the basic requirements of a decent life. This also provided the physical strength

Third, ignorance. Most of China's peasants knew nothing of how disease is spread and how it is cured. Because the peasants were illiterate, the process of spreading this information was doubly difficult.

But what resources did China have—what weapons with which to wage the battle against venereal disease? Here the slogan "Rely on the masses" took on a new meaning for health work. For at first it appeared that the tenources were few. It was relatively simple to manufacture greater amounts of medicine—but how to manufacture greater amounts of medicine—but how to manufacture greater amounts of personnel to discover venereal disease

After long discussions and arguments, two positions beclime clear. One faction believed that only doctors and nurses trained by the established medical training proframs were qualified to undertake this work, and that therefore the process of curing weneral disease could only proceed as fast as new people could be trained in the old ways. The most important step according to this view was

Acquisite the present training programs people who said but medial problems could have political solutions laid that new campaigns against venercal disease should be developed, raining new kinds of "paramedical" workra specially for the task and relying on the involvement of thousands of unkilled workers to help spread the Campaign, Sowly they began to convince the most trated the said of the "bis—one that was essentially political—would have a Traveling in China then, one would have sent teams of young men and women in the remotest villages putting or plays, reading stories, giving demonstrations and test, and setting up treatment days. On their earrival in a visual setting up treatment days. On their earrival in a visual setting up treatment days. On their earrival in a visual purpose. Using simple posters and illustrated dimensions the purpose of the disease, in the next few days, they would perform one-set plays use that, short wetered disease in the matteplace, and began the disease of the matteplace, and began the disease. The questionative form for diagnosting seneral disease. The questionative form for diagnosting seneral disease. The questionative form the disease to make the disease of the d

At first, of course, many—most—of the people was the manufactured to the other form, and treet of originate are made and the service of the people was the course of the c

Slowly at first, but then in a steady stream, people came forward to take the tests and receive treatment. Prejudices blocking the way to treatment had been broken down, and the principal sources of the disease's spread—rampaging armiss, prostitution, and ignorance—had been abotished. By the end of the second decade, cases of active veneral disease have become so rare that is is im-

possible today for the medical schools in Peking to find

The Inheritors: The People's Liberation Army

Again our bus rolled through the outkirts of Canton board the outryside—yestraky we had left the city to visit Huadong Commune, but today we headed in a new direction. We were invited to speed most of the day at the Canton Deaf-Mute School. Although the school has for many years taught deaf children to read, write, and speak, it has recently become well known for its experimental use of acouptacture to treat deafness.

This new program is an innovation begun by the Peoph's Liberation Army members working on the school staff, so our visit was not only to see the school, but to find out what the PLA was doing in a school for the deaf. As we arrived, we could see through our windows the small cluster of staff there to greet us. One of the women

The campus was simple and pleasing, with whitewashed farce-story buildings set andie willow trees and plots of repatables, surrounded by fields of corn. Inside the main tale and the surrounded to the corn large that the surrounded to the surrounded to the surrounded to the surrounded to corn. Inside the main to a small summy room for the first talk. The discussion was very short, for we had thought if the limit a talk denge too long, and asked our gadde if the limit in the surrounded to the surrounded that the surrounded the surrounded that the surrounded that

The most important work of the school continues to be that of teaching the children to read, write, and speak, that of teaching the children to read, write, and that the children to read the state of the children tapond to it equally well. Each child is treated according to the severity of his or her physical impairment. Some distrent in the area are too severely handleapped to come where the children to the children to the children to the school, but traches whose familiars leve in the city or close the children to the children to the children to the school, but traches whose familiars leve in the city or close

Now we would see the school in progress. Classes had already started, and we could look in through the oresdoors to see classes in session. The whole school echoos enthusiastic singing. Bright posters were stuck on the walls and sunshine streamed in through high windows. The teachers all appeared to be very young, and we saw many helping individual children or walking hand in hand with

We stopped at one room and the teacher invited us in at the top of her lungs, "It helps them learn," she said, smiling, "and it makes them feel bold enough to try, too," How advanced were the students, we asked, "These stustages in the students' treatment. Early classroom drill consists of rote recitation like this and 'creative work.' usually singing." We could hear many classrooms singing. now that this one had stopped, perhaps a bit off key, but with great gusto! "Later on, as treatment progresses, they essary number of characters for reading is about two years. We use tape recorders to check on the progress

We also asked how rapidly most students respond to speak or hear. Now she has achieved partial speech, and With a proud and very determined air, she said that when she is finally cured, "I will be better able to serve lations between students in the school and society at must be useful to them either within the school, or in the place they will go to after they leave. The basis of all active motivation for recuperation from illness is to be able to "serve the people" better. In accord with this, the

The Spirit of Yenan curriculum for all students consists of Chinese language.

After our brief tour, our guides brought us to the windows and a green-painted floor. Several teachers left little embarrassed, we thought-they proceeded to sing several songs and perform a longer skit skillfully, smiling here watching with us said that-since we most probably

A young boy sat down in one of the empty chairs, and color. She showed us where the needle would be inserted, work with the motto, "One thousand needles on oneself student, she inserted the needle to a depth of about oneand-a-half inches, rotating it gently. The boy sat quietly, had been holding it too rigidly, and walked back to join

the other students sitting beside us. "How does it work?" we asked. But the medical team told us that they didn't really know, Experiments are beine conducted to find out how acupuncture actually works, but for the present it is simply a method which gets results. Most of the students are treated once or

Our next question was difficult to put, "Why is the People's Liberation Army here?" The answer took quite a while, and generated a good deal of discussion among ber who had met us at the gate began by stilling us absolute the time when the PLA first exame, it noise. And that so the time when the PLA first exame, it noise. And that so the PLA was encouraged to form teams, and go into every methods and the plant of the plant

The FLA had plened two inginizate rices at the relication to the interactions of the new assumements and the present of the present of the relication of the real terms are of perspective and true the present of the relication of

problems, to be determined to do it themselves, this has

a powerful antience on the situation.

If the powerful antience on the situation were popular another including an including at the school routine, and were taught many base skills in addition to reading, writing, and speaking, base skills in addition to reading writing, and speaking, base skills in addition to reading writing, and speaking she skills in addition to reading writing, and speaking she skills in the students of the skills writing a strength with the skills wit

The school now has more than three hundred students, and since 1906 there have been about two hundred gradual sizes 1906 there have been about two hundred gradual states and the school of the school

We had had a fairly good snawer to our question about the PLA's presence in a school for the deaf, Although we continued to ask about the PLA's role in other units we visited, and often found considerable variation in the activities of PLA members, their con-

The Good Guerrilla Soldier

"What do you want to be when you grow up?" In China, the answer is most likely to be, "I want to join the PLA." At Peking's Middle School no. 31, the teachers complained to us of their difficulties in placing graduates This does not sound like our American experience at an The answer, simply, is that the PLA are the heroes

and heroines of China. As an army, the PLA is unions in heritors of the Yenan legacy . . . a legacy only slightly more than two decades old. Most Chinese look back on the war years and Liberation as the most momentons en of the villages of China. The army lived and fought among the people-as "fish in water"-and there was never the distinction of an institutionally separate army. segregated on bases and independent of the community.

Another side of the Yenan legacy is that the army tried villagers, they could be-and were-reprimanded by the village leaders. Village boys and girls regularly volunteered to join the PLA, and when they could not (for instance, only sons could not join the regular army bethey were just as disappointed as the graduates of Peking

Second, the PLA is a domestic, defensive force, The foreign country. Born as a guerrilla army to defend the people of China in the wars against Japanese invaders Third, the PLA is only one part of China's defense

Nanking: The People's Militia

The morning was hot and muggy and dismally overmes we arrived at one side of a very large field with a expecture something like a section of a small football stawe were about to see one of Nanking's militia units pracficing. To one side, a large group of people of all ages, women men and women, girls and boys, and a few older adults perhaps in their forties or fifties, were lugging around pieces of military equipment and setting them up

Some of the Nanking CATT staff had come out with us, and they now led us toward the reviewing stands. We climbed up onto the simple platform, and found long beach running the length of the platform in front of us. It was covered with a cloth and-even here-there were thermos flasks of hot water and plenty of tea. Stretching small stream running down the middle from right to left, and in the distance a sharp slope up into the hills and

a low ridge of hills still further on. The men and women of the militia group were practalk with us. The militia is entirely voluntary, he said, through most of their basic training so we would get a good idea of what the militia is. The women (there were munition belts strapped over their shoulders. The men of what they were doing, from long practice, but they did not look particularly military in these outfits. Most of them were fairly young, in their twenties or early thirties, except for a few older members. We asked their

representative sitting with us what the age requirements were, and he said that anyone can join and they are allowed to stay in the milital until an unspecified retinement age, but he told us that most of the people who join are young; looking at the group in front of us, we speculated that members must tend to drop out as they

With professional assurance, the militis sust fixed to the confession of the confess

Then the younger children—once seemed only also true or elevera—once hereard to take their trues. The boys were dressed like the older near in simple dark pants set was a set of the older near in the old different code and most of them well on allow of all different code and most of them who will be the firing line. They practiced mechanishing, shortly all lines are proportionally and the older of the older of the older ol

This was the end of the demonstration, and we steed up to thank them. But a young woman, after some urging from the others, came up to the stand and asked our guides if they could talk with us. They understood that we were Americans, and they wanted to speak with us just for a few minutes. We went down onto the field and found

has the had been joined by a man from the group and one of the older children, as a "team" of spokesmen. "We synteed to tell you that although we are in the millita to defent China, we are not enemies of the American people, the U.S. government's policies in Asia threaten us, and so must prepare to defend ourselves well. But we know the properties of the contract of the contract of the emission of the contract of the contract of the contract of emissions of the contract of the contract of the contract of the seminating spolicies, and we want to be friends, not enmies. We feel no houtlify for the American procles:

one Frank Jongs to full. "If you first week in China", but "A week beard a good deal about China' determination of the china's dete

become a "wist of generities."

Everywhere, too, he people of China made the same Dercywhere, too, he people of China made the same Dercywhere, too, he people of the too and the U.S. government. Troy believe many that the American people is not cookine what is a first with the total people of the china people of the people of the china people of the people

shouldn't be angry with them." The woman's face cleared, and she bobbed her head, but did not seem entirely con-

vinced.

Certainly, a part of the freedom the Chinese feel is based on the knowledge that they are strong enough to remain independent. That knowledge depends both on the PLA and the militial—the regular strmy and their own.

The People's Liberation Army in the Cultural Revolution

At the peak of the Cultural Revolution in Canton, the People's Libertain Army was called out to help restore order. But instead of riding tanks into town, they can walking down the streets in small groups, and they were walking down the streets in small groups, and they were people and starred to talk with them; they went to the university compares and talled with the students, to the factories to talk with the workers, and to the offices to talk to the bureacante. When they were done talking, and the the streets of the stree

in the city of Hartin as the same time (this was in early 1967), the whole city had come to statefull as early 1967, the whole city had come to statefull as though everyone had good control resorts the city of the city of the city of the city of the day of the city of the city of the city, and in Hartin, as claesters, each group waved the red for Hartin, as claesters, each group waved the red for the city of the city of the city of the city, and in Hartin, as claesters, each group waved the red for always said free year design of me to man of the revolutionsy freezy, but the PLA centered sub-cases, they always said free years design of the same of the resort Martin, when the PLA centered sub-cases, they control the city of the city of the city of the late of the city of the c

The PLA units were not sent into local level units with any final message of what leadership organizations should look like. Their most important function was to "support the experiences of the last year or so, to determine who

The situation during and immediately after the degine of the Cultural Revolution was unique because the gold and intensity of the devicted has been described commissip party based on the control of the control commissip party based only the control of the control commissipator based only the control of the control control of the control of the control of the control control of the control of the control of the control of the south of the control of the

simblance of order, and gounged during contruction of an example of this beapviled during contruction of the Nashing of the Na

the after initial serfements had been reached.
In all, we visited drivy-one organisms come of from had no PLA members on their reinteneary combines, better most extended to the properties of the committee to memberships. The rural communes had a particularly low PLA representation. In many of the factories, blooked we visited was were factories, but the properties of the plant and schools we visited was were last year or so. The PLA PLA has been then also become more and more interpreted into their new environments, for PLA members who go into managerial positions control who go into managerial positions control with even the properties of the plant properties of the pl

they can return to regular army status.

Training programs within the People's Liberation Army have been designed to maximize contact with and respect have been designed to maximize contact with and respect

for civilian working poople. PLA members, while to, are still in the regular array, participate in the daily war still in the regular array, participate in the daily work in factories, and are most offers found helping work in factories, and are most offers found helping work in factories, and are most offers found helping the property of the prope

This integration of military and civilian work raise morale among the soldiers, reduces beredom, and contributes to a sense of continuity with everyday life. I cases allenation between the soldiers and civilians, as helps to reduce authoritarian attitudes within the military. "Serve the people" is the eithic of the Chinese soldiers one which preserves their identity as a "people's army".

3. THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary to the political

Men by their constitutions are naterally divided into two parties: (1) Those who four and discrete the people, and wish to draw all govern from them into the hands of the higher constitution of the constitu

The Catteral Revolution is the deepest political truggle Peoples, Republic hear reprinced rates. Describes, Peoples Republic hear reprinced rates. Describes, Peoples Revolution, Peoples Revolution, Peoples Revolution, Peoples Revolution, Peoples Revolution, Peoples Revolution Stage in terms of pear and post-therestics. The Catteral Revolution Stage in the People Revolution Stage in the Stage

average income and there was no income tax; education was the right of all and illiteracy was rapidly disappearing. There was full employment and no national debt abroad or at home; the industrial growth rate was rising and

Where in all this was there room for discontent—discontent on a scale which shook China and reverberated around the world? It lay in the possibility of ultimase failure: loss of the revolutionary goals in the material success of modernization and death of the Yenna spirit

in the birth of a new class hierarchy.

The struggle which energed between the new elites as the Maoitis centered on the question of earls and measure. Chias was building socialism—but hor? Was it possible to religiously the control of the c

During the course of the Cultural Revolution, two same to symbolise these lines; Mos Teveng and La Nas-eth. La, in an do commels-sums of blas from 18-80-80-80, La, in an do commels-sums of blas from 18-80-80, and the comment of the

Mao represented another sentiment, one which he himself acknowledged was not the strongest in the beginning. He warned that the revolution had not been finished: "The guestion of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. The class struggle... will continue to be long, and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." It was possible for the revolution to change direction, even to reverse itself and turn back along the road to capitalism. The only check against this was to

This idea of relying on the masses stood in direct opposition to the devolengemental mode LL iau of obern proposed, for that model depended upon the relative freedom of the control of th

The Western model was followed in other ways: benthy of obsciously and contrained facilities were constituted in the circum facilities were constituted in the circum facilities were constituted in the circum facilities were contrained for the contraining facilities were facilities for the contraining facilities which parkets of modern tolker train the contraining facilities which parkets of modern tolker facilities for creat Lapp Forward in the late fifther facilities for creat Lapp Forward in the late fifther facilities for the contraining facilities which were model, composed by the Society windforward of "facilities" and other forms of all and as series of natural ways was sufficiently for the contraining facilities for the same facilities for the contraining facilities for the facilities for the contraining facilities facil

Every society contains the seeds of personal selfishness, of the hurasucratic mentality, and of the desire on the eart of some to dominate and rise above others. True, tional Chinese society, like every other, had a long true tional Chinese society, like every other, the distribution of noncooperation, inequality, and exploitation. To traditional Chinese landed gentry was among the deading the control of the distribution of the distribu

The Years Before

In the fall of 1962 Man warned of the serious diagof a "capitalite treatoration" in China. This was the coassion for the launching of the socialist education movement. designed in theory to cause the people (and especially the party codies) to rethink present policies in terms of the party codies) to rethink present policies in terms of cleantion movement programs were watered down or its noved. Mao's influence was at a low ebb, and the Pécias noved. Mao's influence was at a low ebb, and the Picking newspapers carried long articles debuting and criticisms

By spring 1963, however, there was enough support for Mao to faunch a new attack on the party endres whe formed part of the new elite. Criticism was to be directed at eadres who "fadulge in idleness and hate work, eat to much and own too much, strive for status, set like of ficials, put on bureaucratic airs, pay no heed to the plight of the people, and care nothing about the interests

The real debate, as it emerged, seemed to be over all this elite of lazy, aristocratis party workers had developed. Mao, as part of his insistence on reliance on the masses, encused the higher party officials of setting a bod example and encouraging the lower cadres to aspire to high positions immune from criticism. The only way to reverse this trend would be to call on the masses—the people in each cadre, and only one of the control of the performance of the cadre, factory, or other unitle—to help reform their ows.

But Liu insisted that the fault lay with the masses themselves. It was their own uneducated and unsophisticated ideas which had led the cadre astray; and the cadre could only be reformed within the party by the cast. Aspart of this policy Liu set up teams of higher party cadre to go out to the countryside to "cleanse and strengthen" he rural party workers. It was at this point, Mao later

Mannahi two other campiages had been started in an destruction of the control of the control of the product of the control of the control of the product Libertion Army—the clearest indication of how and has not all an anyocerus destructed that vision of any LA were really the inheritors of that tradition. All as PLA were really the inheritors of that tradition, all the proper was the control of the property of an anterior control of the control of the control of anterior control of the control of control of the contr

By 1965, when U.S. escalation of the Viteram War middenly brought everything to a half, three important is true had been raised and were being heely debated. First, the property of the property of the property of the standard of the property of the property of the William and change necessary throughout the Party at all breefs, and who should carry it out? Third, what was the property of the property of the property of the tary invasion in Indechinar's After the Teckin Gulf incident (which China chaimed was a U.S. fabrication and Which we now know was a fabrication) intentive U.S. when the property of the property of the property of the Standard of the property of the property of the property of the property of the possibility of the possibility of the Standard of the property of the possibility of the possibility of the Standard of the property of the possibility of the possibility of the Standard of the possibility of the possibility of the possibility of the Standard of the possibility of the possibility of the possibility of the possibility of the Standard of the property of the possibility o

One group of China's military leaders wanted to withframe the PLA from its normal civilian duties of helping he agriculture, construction, and opening new land. They arreed that China reshape its military forces to resume, he Soviet armies, with a more rigid ranking researches to the properties of the properties of the properties of the But Lin Plao (who had replaced Pieng Reh-baul as deof the guerrilla tradition, and Lin's speech predicted the victory of people's liberation armies fighting guerrilla war against imperialist powers. The military issue had been resolved, but the fate of the Cultural Revolution and the need for struggle at all level

The Beginning

The Cultural Revolution, although it was still large limited to higher electrication and cultural institutions, had began to make waves in the intellectual circles of Petking. In 1961 a play had been written by the deput mayor of Pekking, Wu Han, called Hal Init Diminstor from Office. At the time it had caused a stirt because of its very un-Minist ideas; now the play was being quiet in very un-Minist ideas; now the play was being quiet in very un-Minist ideas; now the play was being quiet in very large of the play was being quiet Teb-buna. Man out and the mayor of Peking, Perg Chen, to well

with four others to investigate and report on the contiwers. In retrospect, Mao isald this request was a kind of "tast" for Peng. It was reasonable to assume that Pent was delevely linked with Wu Ham, ha immediate subrout and take a stand for or against the ideas of the play. While this investigation was poing on, a major newspaper in Shanphii published a critique of Hal Jai . . . this was that the contract of the play that the properties and unone scrollstill confined largely to the universities and unone scroll-

of the intelligentsia.

In February 1966 P'eng issued his report. It avoided the real issues at stake, and treated the controversy as all

academic debate over the historical validity of the play in question. Peng had failed the test; he had identified himself as part of the faction more interested in protecting held own power than struggling over the ideas and polities of the issue. In May Peng was ousted and his report criticized severely. This criticism was the beginning of the

ment stage of the Cultural Revolution.

In the Committee of the Committee

Within a week, Mao had seen copies of the first poster at Peking University and ordered it broadcast over the national radio. Word of the new stage of the Cultural Revolution—open struggle with higher officials—west out and the students of China were the first to respond. In the heat of the ensuing struggles the schools were closed for six months.

—the first group began in the universities and almost all were middle-school or university students. They were ardens—they did not hesitate to attack anyone and every-one they considered an enemy, heckling them, embarrassing them, even in the height of the first summer dragging people out of their houses to face criticism from their neighbors. Impetuous and determined, the Red Guards were the first thock trongs of the new revolution.

By now, as the revolution spread and Mao realized the support it had gained, he seems to have encouraged the students to call into question all power holders, debate everything, criticize everything. That which survived the test of the manes would be worth preserving—the wester of the worth and the preserving of the world have been about to be first and dampered to the withdraw to Hangshow, going into scelarion, seemed watch and wait for the results of this new stage. While Mao was gene from Peking, Liu Shao-th'l saw don't high party officials formed work teams to go into a color high party officials formed work teams to go into a color high party of the size of the present the same of the size of the

students' discontent, and to buy them off with minimal reforms.

The students balked, and the struggle became more is the Yangter Board to Peking (after his famous swim in the Yangter Students) and the Yangter Students of the teams sharply for "suppressing revolutionary students. The 'sixteen points' were issued, supporting the Cultural students of the Students of the Students of the Students of the balden. Little of unping the masses to criticize all power balden. Students of the Students of the Students of the Students parts Pelistical Bureau, but he continued to work in it.

Again, Mao brought his prottige and influence to best on the situation. The Red Gaustit, who until the had been on the situation. The Red Gaustit, when were formular proposed and encouraged. Mino give a speech, ceiling or shefers who take the capitalist read? "The Red Gaustit behieved who take the capitalist read?" The Red Gaustit side, from and to Pederaty traveling out to the country-side, from and to Pederaty, traveling out to the country-side, from and to Pederaty, traveling out to the country-side, from and to Pederaty, traveling out to the country-side, from and to Pederaty. The Pederaty of th

But in a difficultied recording party cadres.

But in a difficultied return from that of Peng and Liu, the
Red Guards all will be the test. They failed because
they split and split agent of erring factions, and because they were so convinced or fine reconstitution
wasdom that they failed to respect that of the evolution
wasdom that they failed to respect that of the convention
wasdom that they failed to respect that of the convention
wasdom that they failed to respect that of the convention
that peans the peans the Liberation Army, So that
October Mao expressed his concern as well as his support.

He was amazed at the growth of the Cultural Revolutions.

In general studies titel wave had been unleashed. Her general studies titel wave had been unleashed. Her general studies titel the general studies to the studies and the studies are general studies. He said that he could understand how difficult it would be for them, but expressed his configuration of the studies are studies and the studies and the studies are studies. The studies are studies and the studies are studies in 1922 about the dangers of a capitalist vessel of the final studies. The studies which have not hought in the studies are studies and the studies are studies and the studies are studies. The studies are studies are studies and the studies are studies are studies and the studies are studies are studies and the studies are studies are studies and the studies are studies and the studies are studies are studies and the studies are studies are studies are studies and the studies are s

The Red Guards were in fact meeting tough resistance, especially from some of the higher party cadres. By Nowmber Mao apparently was finally convinced: all power holders must be criticized, and in order to do so, they must be deprived of power. Liu was removed from his effices and sent to a thought reform school; the revolu-

In January, the revolutionary misses (students from the Red Guards, workers, and PLA) seized power in Shang-lai in the "January revolution." Mao supported this power source and ordered Lin Pian and the PLA to support the "revolutionary rebels." In Heilungkiang Province a first revolutionary rebels. "In Heilungkiang Province a first with the province and the pro

As we flew into Shanghai from Canton, the pig-tailed fewardess announced that we were arriving in "Shang-

While we were in Shanghai, we met with a member of the Shanghai municipal revolutionary committee to discuss the course of the Cultural Revolution in his city.

Zhu Yongjia: The Story of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai

It was early afternoon. We had just come back from the Shanghai Industrial Exhibit that morning, and now after hands we went question to the covernous offiment of mel half. The Peace Host of Cacchany, the common of the half of the Cacchany of the high-ceilingst, constably plattered ballroom it was an to major allow cacchanges, leverthed Changes servants, and ever, it is simply furnished and our finesteeps eclosed as two tools for the service of the contract of the contraction of the contract of the contract of the contraction of

We shook hands all around and Zhu said a few words of welcome. His smile was boyish, and even for a Chinese leader his style was extraordinarily relaxed: his social drooped at the ankles, his bermuda shorts bagged slightly, and his shirt crumpled over a pudgy frame. He must haw been roughly in his early forties, but like many Chinese

First, be said, he would still the story of the Cultural Revolution and afforward ask for our questions. Though his voice was soft and reserved, he seemed quite used to the control of the control of the control of the control Mang Interry professor at Fedan University before the Cultural Revolution. He would talk about the four stages of the Great Pedarian Cultural Revolution in Sangalier 1965—May 1966); the second, sayouter and criticism of the "capitalitar confere" in the party (May 1966—Januari 1967); the third, science of power and formation of the "capitalitar confere" in the party (May 1966—Januari 1968); and the orbit, the period of "news", scienced

Zhu's Chinese was clear and easy for us to follow, but as in most of our more formal meetings an interprese translated all of his remarks. At first we had protested, of rather questioned the practice, but we soon learned that the pause for translation gave us time to write down white we had been hearing and to compose questions. Here during the translations we could whisper questions or remarks to the Fudan researchers and guides sitting next to us, and sometimes they volunteered remarks to us, such as one who told Frank proudly that she had been there as a particularly important mass struggle session.

"The Cultural Revolution here." Thu becam, "was ac-

complished by relying on Chairman Mao and the party. This was our first surprise; for most Wastern observes law discussed the Cultural Revolution in terms of an astack on the party, Here, however, Dan seemed to feel that the party had been an important source of suppert from the discussion he presented, it was clear that there were factions within the party and that some of the party confacils had been severely criticated and removed from power. Nevertheless, the main body of the party caders and leaders seem to have been active proponents of the and leaders seem to have been active proponents of the party of the party caders and leaders seem to have been active proponents of the

"After the founding of our country in 1989, there was mill class straight." But Zhu went to to explain that this class straight." But Zhu went to to explain that this class straight has been increasingly ignored. Most daniers are considered to the country of th

A bureascratic pattern of organization, Zhu went on a built like a pyramid, with lines of power extending upward through an endless series of offices and officials. If certain to lead to individual abuses and official privileges, Collective leadership, especially in the three-in-one alliance form of the present Revolutionary Committees, would bake it more difficult for leadership to be twisted toward he realization of personal ends, or to ignore opublic needs.

After the Great Leap Forward, the Soviet pullout, and the three hard year, both the explicialist countries abroat and the expitalist roaders at home had said that Chan experience of the control of the control of the conrevolutionary line. List and other capitalist roaders agreed that the revolution was over, class struggle had died out and the focus should be on economic production; what was good for economic production was revolutionary and the focus should be not control of the conposition of the control of the control of the conposition of the control of the control of the conposition of the control of the control of the conposition of the control of the control

Dist told us that is 1965, when Man and other restrictions yearly restrictions, most on district work of the control of the co

Here Zhu digressed temporarily to fill us in on some of the history of Shamphal politics. Until 1964, he said. Shamphai had had a pro-Matoist mayor named Ke. There had been a struggle in the Shamphai municipal party committee between Ke and two others: the party secretary. Chen Baixing (who had served with Lin Shan-ch'in Ini-New Fourth Army before Liberation); and the deport mayor, Chan Tion, in 1964 Ke fell ask, and Chen may Chan tools prower, and then in April 1965 Ke died, Chan became Theory commended the control of the comments of the Theory of the Change of the conditions that the criticism of Hai Jui first appeared that November.

An first there was no response to the critique of the play. So several days later, the three authors arranged to have it published in the Liberation Daily, another big paper in Shanghai. They reprinted it in pamphels from, the mayor of Peking, Preng Chen, refused to allow the pamphels to be pouglis into his city. He tried to find out who had written it, and finally her the pamphels and the pamphel in the pam

The country was shocked, Zhu said. Hereywhere people discussed the article, but there were two kinds of discussions from of them saw it is an assubment desired of an extension of the country of the cou

badges within each faction and the ideas they fought for.

After his report was published, "Peng and the four others who had worked on it with him took off for a weattime of the state o

The Second Stage: Exposure and Criticism of the

In late spring 1966, just as the first dushoo appears on the Peking campuses, the student amounts of the spring of the peking spring to Shanghai and Life work teams were surjected to Shanghai and Life work teams were surjected to Shanghai and Life work teams were stated to the student surject to a such effiry days," or the "white terrer said, is referred to as the "fifty days," or the "white terrer land against the posted this own dazhoon in Peking calling in August Man posted this low dazhoo in Peking calling on the Red Guards to "hombard the headquarters" of the power holders asking the capitalist road, and from all own the surject terrer land to make the peking to see the surject terrer land to the state of the surject terrer land to the surject terrer land ter

As they left Peking, the Red Gunds brought of them word of the "bombard the badquarters" dazwo When they reached Shanghai they found the they reached Shanghai they found the case of the Caso had blocked circulation of the poster increased, the pasted it up in the city, openly delying the established boads of the city party and governmental bureaucrasies. When the Shanghai party cadres found out about this Zhu said, their condificence in Chen and Chao plumented.

The Red Guards attacked the municipal party committee in pour after poster, exposing their suppression of news of the national revolution. Chen and Chao defended themselves saying that because the first critique of He Jul had been published in a Shanghai newspaper (when it had been published in a Shanghai newspaper (when

In August one segment of the workers began to orgaham August one segment of the Red Guards and the August of the Company of the Red Guards and increasing the Company of the Company of the Guards (this was the port of the Company of the Guards (this was the port of the Company of the August of the Company of the Company of the Company agers for trying to buy them off with bonuses and wagincreases, demanding to know "who is behind this noise." in early November the workers of seventeen large facocies met to set up the Shanghai revolutionary rebels' general headquarters (afterwards called the workers' headquarters). They marched together, ten thousand groups, and demanded that Chen and Chao meet them at

and Chao responded with the "three nos" policy; no exception, no participation, and no support for the procession, no participation, and no support for the responders find not show up at the Friendship Cheenas, So icon the cinema the workers marched to the railroad states and thousands boarded a train for Peking If the Red Gardis could travel to Peking, they would too, bringing with them their complications and control of the railroad states and thousands boarded a train for Peking If the Red Gardis could travel to Peking, they would too, bringing with them their composite acquired them and Cheenas (Cheenas Cheenas (Cheenas Cheenas (Cheenas (C

with them their complaint against Chen and Chao, But Chen and Chao had control of the railroads and stopped the train at Anjing station, not far from the city subtrols. There they organized groups to go among the weekers, trying to dissuade them and offering them bread. The workers replied that they would either walk to Peking on foot or block all other railroad traillic from Shanghai to Peking, but they would not give

sent Chang Ch'un-ch'iao (ene of the authors of the origial ciritique of Hat Jul) to investigate the workers' desinads, Chang camped out at the raifroad station with the thell workers and talked with them; finally be sun back a report saying that the workers' demands were reasonable. Mos replied that the workers' hendquarters should be recognized as a legal revolutionary mass organization. With this victors, the workers returned to Shanshais. In

Beir abence the municipal committee had put up posters attacking Chang Chin-echia for his interference; the truggle intensified and on Docember 25 culturalisated in the "Uberation Dayl sincident." This newspaper was well become as an organ of the proper in opposition to it. Now they were demanding that their paper is originated with the Liberation Daily (a demand for "equal time"). The revolutionary workers came to the street on which the Liberation Daily sucol and joined with the Collection of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the Uberation Daily sucol and joined with the Role Causele, "We want to read the Daily", "again word of the situation At this point in 20st 128 cost of the resorchers, in Politon leaned over and east to Frank, Philis is where we began to understand who the resolutative were. Began the politon of the politon of the politon of the politon of the leane were beganing to over good the consecutive people people—both the Issue deeply and to decide which side to show the issues deeply and to decide which side to show the issues deeply and to decide which side to en had been very less, only 10,000 in all, while its en had been very less, only 10,000 in all, while its consecution in common parameter, the Chrisei Daw Courte Course in Common common and the Chrisei Daw benefits and cromotion of a side kind in concepcia affects

But at this juncture the Central Committee of the part (in Pecking) did not support or recognize the Chine of but as a legal mass revolutionary organization. In this way they exposed Chem and Chino the worker, for Chem and Chuo immediately attempted to dump the Chine Desire of the Chin

Heating of the Chiwei Dai actions, thirty thousand workers from the worker? Beadquarts manched to his offices to announce that they would either go to Perking as they had originally threatened to, or they would that they had originally threatened to, or they would that down the city. At his point Cho and Chen widently left it was the city. At his point Cho and Chen widently the fit was the city and the city. At his point Cho and Chen widently the dock workers are considered to the control of the city of t

seer and more workers joined the attack on the econotic party leaders; there was great confusion in the city, the workers' headquarters, now growing by thousands experts of the revolution could not be stopped or conmoded. Chang (Chun-Chigo was sent again by Mao (this time with Yao Wen-yuan) to support the revolutionary forces, and on January 4 the revolutionary masses seized

This was the January revolution. First the Wemel Boo, then the Uheration Dealy were sizzed. After their she that the January and the January Perking; Mao broadcast the notice throughout Chains and the Central Committee sent a telegram coogerulating the workers on their revolutionary actions. On January 6 puraded through the streets of the city in a great celeration of the victory of the workers.

Stage Three: Seizure of Power and Formation of Revolutionary Committees

In Insury and February the government, party, one formation of possible ware found. The production of the production was found to the production of the production with the production of the pr

saying that these actions of the Red Guards (stealing the seals and coercing people) were wrong. So finally on February 5 the new Shaqphin revolutionary committee was established, The other mass organizations would not allow the Red Guards to attend because they were 'altralettists,' i.e., 'those who made themselves out to be more

"There were other ultrafit tendencies during the following nummer. In July one small group nanounced that they would direct the age of the same year. And in the Stanghal Discrete Engine Factory was committee, the Stanghal in the Stanghal processed and the Stanghal in th

workers rushed to the Diesel Engine Factory and pulled out those bad elements. There were some other smaller struggles in the country, and some of them were volcent. But over the six menths from February to August the errobulstonary committees for all units in the counter around Shanghai were set up, and during the same finierrobulstonary committees were being established all over

The Fourth Stage: Struggle, Criticism, and

The last stage in still poing on 2mn said Now they are going through the process of struggels, critisms, and transformation. In the months after the process of struggels, and testing year mass meetings were held in the football twistering year mass meetings were held in the football twistering watch. The meetings criticated Liu, Chen, Chao, and other capitallist roaders. This has been the period of consolidating the party, "getting and of the stade and taking in the firsts," Administrative structures have been tre-mendously simplified, the number of brusencaries positions.

Many useless rules have been removed formated and the worst

Unlike our hosts at many of the rural communes we sided. Zhu and the other Shanghai citizens with whom we talked did not give us long first of the technological innovations or changes in production methods: resulting from the Cultural Revolution. Although Zhu did tell us had industrial production in Shanghai from 1965 to 1970 jumped do percent over that of the five years because the condition of the condition o

This change came out in his long answer to a question beath and has been depended of the worker. We winted to be about the data belonging of the worker. We winted to Class of first, but were now considered "revolutionary and the proposed of the control of the control of the point." The advance force, "is said, "always are made point, "the advance force," is said, "always are always to the beginning, fart first the worker," beginning that the control of the control of the control of the control to the control of the control of the control of the theory revolution that number increased to eight manifed workers, but between cuty. November and the land transport of the control of the control

Everyshing was changing very rigidly. It was improved that the control of the con

Zhu's Own Story

This was our opportunity to ask in a more informs

When he was at Fudan before the Cultural Revolution eight months. At the time they were working on the chtique, however, none of them had realized that Wu Hat he had been opposed to the Red Guards and had even "bombard the headquarters" dazibao, he was not suffiwhat to think; was it really Mao's? It had not been pubbe? It was not until the Liberation Daily incident that he and many others began to realize what was going on and

Would there be any more cultural revolutions in the future? "Well, not in the next few years," Zhu said, "Bul in ten or twenty years from now if two lines develop, of course, Perhaps there will be many great proletarian cub-

what Are the Revolutionary Committees Today?

Cultural Revolution-as well as the strongest supportives, and representatives of the revolutionary masses.

General Motors was composed of outstanding assemblyline workers, floor sweepers, and test drivers, and the other half of more managerial types. The revolutionary cadre contingent was an average of 36 percent, and the with advanced education and paperwork skills-are reworkshops and fields

Following the formation of a revolutionary committee. usually about a year later, the party committees were reformed. From what we could tell, the party committees lutionary committees. The party committee maintains ultimate control over the affairs of the organization through a tembership overlap with the revolutionary committee. feally one administrative organ-"in this way we exercise unified leadership." Formerly there were two separate apparatuses, "but now with this system the leadership of the parts has been strengthened." About 50 percent or thore of the membership of revolutionary committees is composed of party committee members. This virtually enistrative decisions. In addition, standing committee mem-

committees are likely to be members of the party con-

Everywhere we went in China, we were told that revolutionary committee members were elected at large from among all members of their respective organizations. Finally at New Peking University we asked how these revolutionsary committee elections take place.

The answer to our questions was that an decess the boal level is a process of minutal decisions and similar to boal level is a proposed of minutal decisions and similar to the boal level is a proposed of minutal decisions and the contraction of the contraction

At some point in this process of reconstition, were constructed to the construction of a succession of the construction of the

and that the presence of outsides in leadership positions has been gradually reduced, and this process is expected to continue, making local organizations increasingly dependent on their own memberships for leadership. Since most of the revolutionary committees were set up only a few years ago, reelection has not yet taken place, and we could not tell from our conversations whether

Making Decisions

to function on a basis of democratic centralism, Important issues are raised with the whole committee in attendance, discussed at length, and put to a verbal vote. As a rule, votes are not taken by secret ballot or even by the raising of hands. Rather, after an issue has been discussed thoroughly, a proposal is placed on the floor which seems to reflect the general consensus. On serious issues, each member is then asked in turn to state his opinion of the proposal, and the committee then attempts to reach a full agreement. In several groups (for example, the Febsensus cannot be reached after reasonable discussion, the issues which were cited as likely to cause a division of opinion were production quotas, wage levels, the introduction of new products, and curriculum innovation-all clearly important issues. If a decision is made by majority rule, then the position reached is considered less permanent and more subject to review than a decision

Decidions on important or particularly dividive issues may be referred to discussion and a vote of the entire smay be referred to discussion and a vote of the entire membership of the organization. For example, we were told at the Shangbai Municipal Machine Toel Factory told the Company of the Company of

1,200 fathes. This figure was then adopted by the resolutionary committee as the year's production quote. The party committee also functions as a referral test for important decisions, or for criss situations. At such times joint sessions of the two committees are held to receive the issue. The party committee is expected to know about any national policies which would bear our production of the productio

A Westerner viewing this open and democratic procusional nor make the missake of thinking that Chain is following the road to New England democracy. Many of our Chinese Erisch's simply souffed at the Western election process, with its corruption and huge campaign contribations by special intentests, To them, the very 'mention of elections and pollificat corruption brings back the full missale of their experiences under Chaing Kais-beld, missale of their experiences under Chaing Kais-beld, statistical democracy while bedoing Chain day with our ruption and intalling his personal cromes in hist, near

Instead, they say that the collective leadership of the revolutionary committees promotes real denoracy and the inclusion of all groups in each unit. However, the coper discussion, criticism, and consensus agreements. Because the committees were forged in periods of great struggle, they represent a unity of purpose which the Chinese-say will help them to preserve their openness and democratic matter for longer than more superficial structures.

The Wielent Commun.

During the two years after the January revolutions revolutionary committees were set up throughout Chinia. In the course of the seizures of power and in the attempt to unite all flactions firere struggles were waged. Attacks and counterattacks in the dazibso, in marches, demotration, and mass meetings were part of a very real extraction, and mass meetings were part of a very real extraction, and mass meetings were part of a very real extraction, and mass meetings were part of a very real extraction, and make the part of the part

Liberation Army, as the more disciplined force in the Maoist coalition of revolutionary groups, was usually asked to bring the situation under control. Some of the most intense struggles were against the

utradificial, specially against factions within the Res Quitt. The time faction of those added themselves the country for the country of the country of the repulsating Fengs report, In June and July 1966, in the repulsating Fengs report, In June and July 1966, in the pulsating Fengs report, In June and July 1966, in the pulsating Fengs report, In June and July 1966, in the pulsation of the International Conference of the International Conference In July 1964, which is a Peter of the International Conference and in extremit contingent formed there as well. Asdient the International Conference of the International Conference of that Ecolor, In January 1967 the most extreme groups well-necessary for the International Conference of the International Conference of that Ecolor, In January 1967 the most extreme groups well-necessary for the International Conference of the International Conference on Conference of the International Conference of the International Conference control and Audiocalisms in "countervendinatory," In June 1968, the Planta was internated in "support the extreme felt repaired the initiative and that unmore again extreme felt repaired the initiative and that unmore trainties.

Tilinghuu University in Peking had been a center of toose of the most recularizant Red Goard factionalizations of the control recularization of Goard factionalization. Fighting on the campus during the summer had become of the Red Guards to come to see him. They talked the vidently reached so agreement, for on July 28 three were reasseed outlends of lighting. A few days later, free of the vidently reached so agreement, for on July 28 three were reasseed outlends of lighting, a few days later, free of a large state of the vidently reached so agreement, for on July 28 three were reasseed outlends of lighting, a few days later, free of all over China. Which not either with terms in his eyes and lover China, how the control of the down, and what is more, of China. Which foreign for the property of the control of the later of the later.

Chinal Inside the People's Republic

thought propaganda team" was dispatched to the campus

When so were it Tinghus he modern told in the story of what halpopend. Two of the indicates we third with had been members of different factors through the modern through the story of the time of the stranging. In order, from the being are who had sheady gone through the "seizers of power who had sheady gone through the "seizers of power who had sheady gone through the "seizers of power who had bready gone through the "seizers of power who had bready to be the seizer of power who had been seizers of the seizers of the who had been seizers of the who had been seizers of the with amender of the PAA as well, no because to a mass meeting and try to restore peace. The suduction when had the "seizers of the seizers of the of the

Doppin this the workers and PAA came on empore, in the fixed of both brists and warrings far the bases had been mines up a been and warrings far the bases had been mines up a been and profess automatic warpon, core more and when there were found into an amount of the more and when there were from the root of the came part buildings.— not unstartually, some of the workers and PIAA soldiers warrind to return fire. But by It is, and the soldiers warrind to return fire. But by It is, and the soldiers warrind to return fire. But by It is, and the soldiers warrind to the workers and place and the place being made by extremits, and it was a wrong late by carried warring to the soldiers while fire of their core workers had been blief. Slowly while five of their own workers had been blief, Slowly and the soldiers warring the soldiers while five of their own workers had been blief. Slowly

By the third day the workers and soldiers began to meet with the students to analyze what had happened and discuss the future. The students explaining this to us said that these discussions had been rather different from what they had expected. Instead of apportioning blane and lecturing them, the workers and soldiers aimply action questions and more questions, until in the end the sti

The Great Professiva Cultural Revolution

The Great Professiva Cultural Revolution

and that they could work together. At this point mass meetings were held to present the results of their discussions and criticize factionalism. The workers and soldiers are representatively with the help., Man gave them some mangion which a Pakistral delegation had given him when they returned to Tsinghas, the representatives worked when they returned to Tsinghas, the representatives worked

These were calter struggles in addition to show with intellal Red Garantia. In February 1977, a multier of united Red Garantia. In February 1977, a multier of united states of the control of the control states of the control of the states of the control of the

By fall, things seen to have calmed down somewhat, but when this coils encouraged counterwoolsomary forces the party issued a statement asying that only "bourpools facilitation was to be opposed, Since the utilitation of the control of the contro

factories or countryside to be "reeducated" by the workers and peasants, and revolutionary committees had been established by three-in-one alliances in almost every part

Some would do so witingly, having actually decided that the spirit of Yenna was no longer useful for growth and progress. These, the "small handful" of intransiges capitalist roaders, were class enemies and would put up a desperate struggle. But the vast majority of those guilty of elitism did so unwittingly and unthinkingly. For these it was enough to join the struggles of the Cultural Revolt is the struggles of the cultural Revolt was the struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt when the struggles of the cultural Revolt was the struggles of the Cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt when the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt with the struggles of the cultural Revolt was not struggles of the cultural Revolt w

thousand workers of Shanghai, the great mass of them would begin to understand what was at stake, "who is behind this policy,"

For the others, the "small handful," it was necessary to deprive them of power because they were harmful. Due by the property of the property

bouse arrest. Later they were either demoted to lower estimates within the party or sent to factories and farms or "recducation" at the hands of their fellow workers. Many also spent from several months to a year or more in a May? School where they studied Marxim-Leninism and Mao's thought and worked at ordinary jobs in agriture and trust industries along with other cardes who

Man explained this policy with a comparison to medicine, saying that the purpose is "like that of a doctor treating an illness... to cure the illness in order to save the patient." In the last year or two, some of the leaders removed from office during the Cultural Revolution have estimated from periods of reeducation and resumed their force positions on a reportationary basis.

Why Should Bureaucrats Plant Corn?

When we were asked about our ideas for an itinerary on that first afternoon in Canton, a visit is a cadre school had high priority. What were they like? Reports from the sensationalist newspapers of Hong Kong had created an impression of labor camps like those described by Sobbeniusyn. But after spending a day at the Poking Eastern District May 7 Cadre School, an hour out of the day in the substrant familiand, this impression was com-

Pitcity changed.
First of all, to spend a period of time at a May 7 cadre
school is not a form of punishment. While enrolled at the
school, bureaucrats receive their regular salaries from
flow work units. They are also free to make weekly visits
to see their families in the city: a few cadres bring their

Although some eadres came right sert the Cultural Although some eadres came right sert the Cultural Although some eadres came right sert the Cultural Report of the Very Company of the Cultural Report of the

One good indication that May 7 cadre schools are for all cadres, and are not punishment for those who have done wrong or for political outcasts, is that all four our guide interpreters from CATT had spent appearimately a year each in a cadre school. Travelling win Americans is an important political responsibility, and

Why is a stint at a cadre school seen as so important?

The May 7 cadre school run by the castern district or bridge is fast of all palce where officials can get surprising in the state of the state of

The endre students devote as much time to work as to study. The May 7 endre schools are sessentially farms, 88up on previously uncultivated wateland, and are always away from the cities. The endre work on the farm and in the small factories attached to it. Although many of the officials in the beginning didn't like to dirry their hands in this menial work and were awkward and unstilled at agreetizeral tasks, many of them told us that

farmers.

Why should bureaucrats plant corn? The idea is that they learn to respect and understand the vast majority of

and attitudes of white-collar superiority, and become seee physically fit through labor. Cadres at the Eastern Destrict School spoke with pride of how their school-farm was now producing enough to be self-sufficient, but they aways emphasized that they did farmwork primarily be-

It is also important that eadres of all ranks from various agent of effices and schools are mixed together at the Bastern District May 7 Carler School. Differences in agricative and status are irrelevant in this context. In addition, while at the school bureaucrats are sometimes sent back for a day to their offices in the city to do the most areal at task, e.g., cleaning the toilets. The goal is facilitated to the context of the context

miller form is occurred to the control of the contr

We debated among outselves the long-range signifi-Stance of the May 7 cader schools, Some of un thought But a silient at one might become a routinated experience or "arm "the thing! for fortessurents to do. But in spin of "the contract of the contract of the contract of the bloods were an important, exciting experiment in atthough the universal problem of bureaucritis stagration. As Stann said, "At least the Chinese are conncious of the Problem and net rejing to solve it in a systematic way. Campare this with the bureaucratic elitation of the Soviet Status shows administer the American operament's covering Status who administer the American operament's covering

The Cultural Revolution and the Future

The May 7 schools follow logically from the resoluting of a basic issue in the Cultural Revolution, that of whether or not China should "rely on the masses," To rely on the masses, it is necessary to know them, to live their life, style, experience their work, and talk with them—ultimately, for each leader to identify himself as thoroughly

In October 1968, talking about the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Man Tse-tung said, "We have won a great vistory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decedes.

we cannot speak of final victory, Not even for decades.
We must not lose our vigilance."

Many of the goals of the Cultural Revolution can be

Equality, This means breaking down clitim, bridgame the gap between the people and their leaders, and sunturing leadership collectively so that it will represent 's work-study programs in cluestion one can see these idles take shape in new policies. In health work, too, the bairs of the control period of the control of the control of the control of the period of the control of the control of the control of the period of the control of

sing, dince, set . . . and does, with enthusiasm!

Community. The changes since the Cultural Revolution have worked to build integrated and self-reliant load communities. Enduciation, production, culture, medicine in every area there has been a real decentralization, so only of structures but of power. By relying on the masses as well as on guidance from the party, the government and the tochnical experts, fascinating innovations law been made and experiments are underway all our China. In each unit, we would be shown a new textbook

Wast until you return—we will have changed again and

Interpretation. The tremendous spirit with which the Chinese people work, their determination and confidence, stem from a new bellef in their ability to independently solve their own problems. The slopin of zill gengheng self-reliance—expresses a faith in man's power to deternine has own dettry which files in the face of two has neither nature in the form of terrible natural disasters, nor man in the form of terrible natural disasters, nor man in the form of class enemies will divert

The Generation gas, Flow could Chines parents, who longsh throughout their twos to text China and then longsh throughout their twos to text China and then carry on the revolution? These children had not lived on the revolution? These children had not lived for length against the Knomittage of the Japanese, had never known schaling powersy, distance, and the death falling since the same sentidied and betweentable spatients and the contraction of the same state of the same stat

Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of oding to except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. . . . If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changed reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself . . . If you want to know the thooty and methods of revolution, you must to know the thooty and methods of revolution, you must

4. CITIES

The Chinese say they are attempting to recolve one of the most important contradictions in the history of the world, a driving force which Marx himself said summation of the contradiction of the contradiction of the three truther contradictions which they call the "three great differences" between urban and rural areas, industry and agriculture, and intellectual and manual labor. Their goal, they say, is to totally integrate the cities also

As early as the 1920s, there were disagreement with in the newly formed Chinese Commissing party shoult be the flower of the commission of the control of the revolution. Official doctrine from Moscow, supported 19 an anisoty of the young party members, stand that revolve workers as the cities | bell t. Mao and others differed workers as the cities | bell t. Mao and others differed and Mos broke with Moscow through the cities of the began as Human Pervince in 1925, but from that the He began as Human Pervince in 1925, the from that the unit Leberation is 1949 then were only slight changed or completely, and he depended heavily on people of with origin for position or frequentially which the organiztion. But generally the pre-1459 period is characteried from the commission of the commission of the commission of war one of political powers where would the reconstitu-

come from—the city or the countryside?

It came from the rural areas. Though many of the leaders were from the city, the strength of the party wzs in its ability to speak to and for the needs of the peasants.

20

and to organize them into an effective fighting force first spains: the Japanese and then against the Kuomintang. With Liberation, China's leaders faced a difficult problem. Could they continue to emphasize the raral areas? in the period of guerrilla warfare, the countryside had been the principal focus for revolutionary work and the guides had been targetst of excitement. Now in the post-

This new priority resulted in a significant change in the sale of urban areas, largely because of the concrete difficulties of rapid industrialization. The Chinese implemented the Sovie model, which recognized the city unconsidered the contract of the co

Mao, and others who agreed with his criticism, undersolve to reverse this trend. The process actually began with the Eighth Party Congress in 1956, when the xiam genovement was initiated. Xidang means to "go down to the countryside." Large numbers of cader were sent the agricultural areas and administrative staffs were significantly reduced. The campaign climaxed in the Great Laps Forward in 1958, which readfranced the importance

whe rural areas and of manual Works.

The years after this were domain. The need for a high the control of the part of the par

The Cultural Revolution brought a dramatic change of direction. The Chinese hope to create urban areas when are basically self-sufficient, serving the needs of the countryside through effective integration with it. The means that although there will continue to be urban industrialization, there is conscious emphasis on rural dustrial development. (City-based factories are urged when the contraction of the con

the construction of small m

strategy is obvious. It means decentralisation and a state of the control of the

These char

theory and practice which the Chinese Communicals have always emphasized.

and the street of the control of the

We had all, particularly the "urbanologists" among us, as about this phenomeno, but had found it difficult to support the properties of the properties of the properties with that "real terms, and terms, in China we for the case of the properties of the properties of the following the properties of the support of the properties of the properties of the support of the properties of the properties of the support of the properties of the properties of the support of the properties of the properties of the properties of the support of the properties of the properties of the properties of the support of the properties of t

Amout all the clies we saw were alike in one way; they were green. Peking was lush, verdann-Paris, but with still wider boulevards and even more trees. Soochow has upplemented in famous Ming clyancy parform with easy planned during the Great would be recognized by in American, because so much of it was built by foreigness before 1949. Even there thousands of trees have been planned apartly disquising the heavy style of the Beiths banks and Soviet architecture of the fifties. The impression is a subtraining, although the physical layout and

Municipal Bus No. 7, Canton

Socchow for Shanghai.

As we emerged from the train station in Canton on June 23, the amouptner was almost a physical shock. After Irong Kong—noisy, pushy, and crowdord—the basy Swees of Canton seemed genite by comparison. People Maout summered, their pase purposeful but relaxed. Sweeper of the comparison of the Sweeper Swe

First we saw the people. Only later, after we had slimbed into the bus for the hotel, did we begin to look at be city istelf. Our first impression was of a continuous fries of small towns. Each area had its own streets of loops, noodle stands, and playgrounds, with no apparent venter" of the city. From a rise looking out over the city.

the rooftops seemed all of equal height, undulating with the curves of the land rather than jutting up from it. There were no skyscrapers. Because the city is sprea-

There were no skyscrapers. Because the city is spread out, as our bus rolled through the streets we saw only a gradual change from the more concentrated inner collections.

Our hook, built for the large foreign population was to will back on a curved diversory—facely this in a set well back on a curved diversory—facely this in the first found to the curved of the curve

enough to fill the hotel, and justify its current existence.

By that evening, after an afternoon of itinerary discussion and a huge banquet in the hotel dining room,
we were impatient to explore the city. The hotel manager
told us which number bus to take, and five minutes last
we were bumping along on municipal bus no. 7 toward
we were bumping along on municipal bus no. 7 toward

We never did find gay night life in Canton, or 80° thing that would have satisfied the sophisticated tasse of Hong Kong. Instead, we wandered happely along for streets, eating ice-cream bars and trying bowls of noodle-watching the shops close up for the night and talking with the people on the roadsless. The streets were line-with trees, tall and dusky green in the light of the street lamps, and underreasth them men and women plays.

Manuel or Hong Koup's shower science, two or three actions and the shower shower should be seen and their actions properties; over the shower shower

of the Parel Reyer in one of the most lettule regions or of the Parel Reyer in one of the most lettule regions or way out to Handang Commune the next day, are notified and the Paring. Cannon is proof of the uthen the Parel Reyer of the Parel Reyer of the United Heaviers in China the complex capitals of the Shame of the Parel Reyer of the Parel Reyer of the Works in Fig. 19, paragrant solution sound the wellshy one of artifacents and emporer. Those cities, and those has prove pin the antimization center, bring of the agricultural produce of the proofs, contributing node, in remain the that ancientary lett. We construct the proofs of the proofs, contributing nodes.

last customers at the noodle stands, and we climbed back on no. 7.

Conton is an old city, moist and warm, set on the banks

By the end of the Samp dynasty (960–1276) this form and been highly developed, and China was probably the floor international country in the world. It was the cities of what period, with their fashulous merchants and the cities of what period, with their fashulous merchants and After the Mongol invasion had been finally defeated (1279–1368); the cities grew still larger, until in 1800—when the Whood at the threshold of industrialization—almost half with the cities and the direction of the cities and the still respect to the cities and the cities are considered to the control of the control of the cities and the cities are cities and the cities are control of the cities are cities and the cities are cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities are cities and cities are cities are cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities are cities are cities are cities and cities are cities and cities are cities ar

mained linked to the countryside; with the comine as

Today there are no slums in Canton. The city off housing. But we had no opportunity in Canton to find

China's New York, Shanghai

From our hotel in Canton, we seein boarded the China was another surprise, for it was a strange flashback to some of the small American city airports we had left behind. There was one simple passenger building with a up the staircase, and into the British-made propeller plane. The plane held about forty people, and was nearly

Shanghai airport was slightly larger, but also had the small-town feeling of Canton airport. Here, too. we took a Like Canton, Shanghai was a treaty port. But rather than being an expansion of an older city, Shanghai great from a small fishing village to the largest city in China foreign investment. It did share one characteristic with the older cities, however, in that it too did not produce ports as "economic ratholes" which dribbled away the

Such treaty ports were not only economically but also ctory, Foreign "concessions" were sectioned off and given m French, Japanese, British, and other national interests. Europe or Japan as they could. To ensure their control of some cities they demanded the right to govern them entirely. Although Shanghai was legally a part of China, it was partly governed by a foreign municipal council until long after the 1911 revolution. There were, of course, their own countrymen, the "compradors," But the net effect was to divorce the city from the countryside and to create squatter settlements housing a population of the

towns have been torn down, and the older buildings which are still sound have been renovated and now provide housing for many people. In addition, much new We saw examples of all these areas, and spent part of a When we arrived in Shanghai, however, we drove ditectly into the heart of the city. Here the streets bristled

like our cities than any other Chinese city we saw, complete with a faint touch of air pollution. And it has much more of the frenetic pace we associate with city living, at in Shanohai, and the tall buildings shut out the breezes so

Only when we came down to the Bund itself did the

habor breezes begin to reach us. The Band is the conficer and warfering section where foreign beniezes had bed to efficie and warrhouses, and where the boots, there are conficer and warrhouses, and where the boots, there are conficer and warrhouses are conficered to the warrhouse and the warrhouse and the warrhouse and war

Foreigners no longer rus Sharphal, and the Segui and protitutes are gone. But in the harbor ships six crowd the quay, for Sharphal is one of the largest port is the word, a fraund for products coming down from the word, a fraund of protection coning down from the word, a fraund of the farbor for China's took with the world, Its count of the farbor for China's took with the world, Its count of the farbor for China's took with the world, Its count of the protection of the world Sharphal has grown rapidly (aslose 6.5 percent each year) and disperpentionasely to the China's channel and the state of the world Sharphal has grown rapidly (aslose 6.5 percent each year) and disperpentionasely to the country of the world of the state of the state

By contrast with Peding, Shanghai has been an Indistinct electric decedes. Most of the Imper-autic industrial before 1949 were foreign-owned, and working conditions as well as living conditions outside the factories were calculated to extract the most labor for the least cost. As a result, most of the workers lived in crude shangtowns. As the city expanded, new industries competed with the Shang of of this land, which was a particular problem in the contrast of the contrast of the contrast of the contract of the contrast is soggy and week, fixedeasily, and the other land of the contrast of the

lands.

National planning priorities after Liberation empha-

and shops. In Shanghai, however, this was difficult. So much industry had already been built within the city environs, without space for housing, that a new solution was devised the workers' villages.

What does an ordinary Chinese home look like? In Sanghal, we visited two workers' apartments in Chaorang Workers' New Village—a low-rise, parklike housing sevelopment on the edge of Shanghal's urban area, about venty-five minutes from the downtown area. Chaoyang was the first such workers' housing estate built in Shang-

Come statistics on the exists first: In first phase was unjusted in 1923 which then there were 1/200 boson-position for the state of th

The cutate houses mostly industrial workers, usually below working in Shamphal's many settle factories. In addition to the housing blocks it also has shops, markets, believes an cientum shall with rending rooms, and cutature shall with rending rooms, as cascools, it is probably safe to assume that all the back-dage children residents in the state can go to clean. Nor was there a hopeful, but residents could use the New was there a hopeful, but residents could use the New was there a hopeful, but residents could use the New was there a hopeful, but residents could use the New was the resident to the new three the new three three

One of them was Zao Aiying, a slight, smiling, ex-

We star in the room that doubted as a living-stime from and beforem, where Mr. Zas zeroted us tag postroom and beforem, where Mr. Zas zeroted us tag postroom and the star was taken up by a doubte bell as to a third of the room was taken up by a doubte bell as to correct opposite as wall with two widows. Between the were four small closet swarfstoes with from suitcases, we were four small closet swarfstoes with from suitcases, or the swarfstoe of the star was the star was to the star of the windows, was a shall, and sight other chair as robots to doubt doubt for remaining wall opposite the watrobots. The flower was coment and the walls were with which the flower was to the star of the star of the wall shows the stocks, and several recolariously poinwall shows the stocks, and several recolariously posward flower than the star of the star of the star of wall shows the stocks, and several recolariously posward flower than the star of the star of the star of wall shows the stocks, and several recolariously postroom the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the wall star of the star of the star of the star of the week of the star of the

'The room-size estimate was our own. The rent figure was supplied by Mrx Zao, The estate's square-yard rent rate was given by the chairwoman of the estate's revolutionary committee during

s working-class apartment in some New York City housing project. The only consumer durable in sight was an

When we asked Mrs. Zao about where she had lived before moving to Chapvaga, the started by describing life in a squatter shack in pre-liferation Shanghai. After several sentences, her smilling face began today to cloud over and she had to dueb her eyes with a handkerchlef. (Only vivise did any of the Chines we met ery. Both were somen. The other was a primary-school teacher in Nantical Chapter of the Chapter of the Chines while describing landed consensing or Japuness depredations, for examthe they remained stockular chain. Jis was Mrs. 240° at the they remained stockular chain. Jis was Mrs. 240° at

Her father died when she was ten. Since there were a son and daughter younger still, Mrs. Zao was given to another family as a child bride. In her father-in-law's tone things were very difficult for her. "In those times we women didn't have the right to say anything in the tone. I wasn't even supposed to look directly at my fither-in-law."

Then gonggong (father-in-law) died on the job while prairing a streetlamp. Her mother-in-law blanned her for the family's bad fate and things became even rougher for her in her new home. She had to go out to work as child labor in a factory. During this period, before Liberation, buy were all living in a small, leaky one-room straw hat a slum and paying few years for its—or slightly more

Then came Liberation. Shortly after, they moved to Caoyang. She had children by then; the mother-in-law field subsequently. Their life here was just so much better than before. Several times she asked, as much to herself a to us: "In the old society, who would look up to us?"
Where did the changes in the new society come from.

we asked. From Chairman Mao and the Communist Burry, she said. To show her gratitude to them, since 1958 She had been taking an active part in neighborhood work. She first performed in cultural performances along with other housewives and retired workers in the estate. (She confessed that she had a good singing voice.) Later, the

party. She replied enthusiastically that the greatest proyher life was when she joined the party last May 36, we the 'eve' of the party's fiftieth anniversary." (The susversary was several days away when we poke to he;) We wondered why a person like herself, so active in meighborhood affairs, had only just entered the party is todd us that she had applied some ten years ago, tou since alse was cocky about her role in the neighborhood since

fire daily schedule was filled with hydrae worksweep the ground-and Procepanish' work, Lee, so were the ground-and Procepanish' work, Lee, so guesting and singing with the exact's cld and reste billing, was also fill be the hands of ever complision show the registering housework. In the new society, men the registering housework. In the new society, men would be a supported by the process of the second every small work of the substance of the the same every Smally when the works. Likewise, they that the very small per size of the substance of the the proceding day, from rising to going to bed. She size that that day was exceptional to target on the readow

5:00 Rise; wash and clean up; clean house; do man-

6:30 Meet at estate movie house for cultural group rehearsal.

7:00 After breakfast take a charter bus to downtown Shanghai with the other old and retired workers.

1:00 Rehearsal for day's performance over; rest and lunch.
2:00 Give their performance in a cultural show for the

the program of performances.)
4:00 Arrive back home; do washing; take bath; have
to supper—husband cooked. Over supper, talk with
5:00 husband and children about the performances

and the audience reaction. Told them the audience really enjoyed the performance by the old and retired workers. Told children they should learn from old and retired workers.

(The day she described was a Sunday, the day of the

seek not Christos velocite and coming short, we naked if including a solution of the control of the control of the manufacture of the control of the control of the control adoption in the building. She told us that most of the other residents were at work, but that there was a criterio socker on the next floor, just above, who was probably in. We same cordial enhancism, and ugain served era from the alternous—this one had a picture of the fact from the control of the control of the control of the control manufact from it. The old gentleman's name was Yuan Chennas, He was

remember years old and his motions were slow the remember years old and his motions were slow the facility from the Travel Service had to interpret into Bernard Francis from the Travel Service had to interpret into Mondarid for in. His family considered of hismatch of the Mondarid Francis from the Control of the Control of the Mondarid Francis from the Control of the Mondarid Francis from the Control of the Mondarid Francis from t

Mr. Yuan's memory for dates was not altogether secures, but he filled us in on his life history. Until refurent, he had been a textile worker all his life. That work life had started when he was twelve. In his time he sad worked in Japanese, Chinese, and American milks. Bfore Liberation they were all pretty much the same. If Jun 2016 the chinese had been a summer to the same of the same

Journal of the way forch live had restly had a soment than one year in any cost mill. He shapes was a mere than one year in any cost mill. He shapes was a shout being unemployed. He was fifty-form-or way a highly-developed the shapes of the shapes of the shapes in one factory; employment was guaranteed. When he was size-spiced to the shape of the shapes of the shapes of the was making at his retirement. (China's currency, is a was making at his retirement. (China's currency, is a remainly, has no become instant over the years, no to pentie was not even of the shape pend of his children.

Although Mr. Yuan's apartment now housed only two (it was originally meant for five), there would be an attempt to have him move to a smaller one. The policy of the revolutionary committee in the estate favored estimatity of tenancy, From newlywed couple through young family back to aged couple, there would be little or no

switching of apartments within the estate.

We were falling behind in our schedule, so we began
to leave, Mr. Yuan shook our hands warmly as we left.

We urged him not to see us downstairs. Mrs. Zao would

again. After a little persuasion, he accepted.

As we were going down the stairs and out into the yard, Mri. Zao, still beaming with pride and enthusiasm told us again: "In the old society, who would respect so ordinary working people? When could we have had been even and visit us in our homes? In a least edge guestes come and visit us in our homes? In a least edge guestes come and visit us in our homes? In a least edge guestes come and visit us in our homes? In a least edge guestes when the property of the country of the cou

Mrs. Zao was a neighborhood activist and an unpudparty member who came up through, and now helporganize, a neighborhood "mass organization," the oliand retired workers' cultural group. What did the organization of community groups, especially revolutionary committees, look like in Chaovana Workers' New View. At Chayang, there are two types of revolutionary against the first in the first developed (1) to specify the same part of the identification of the same part of the identifications between 50 Shanghait part of the identification between 50 Shanghait part of the identification of the id

shat level. The answer was given using the Chaoyang Primary and middle echools as an example. Teachers for all the schools are assigned by the education division of the Sanaghiat municipal revolutionary committee; since Bay were assigned, many of the Chaoyang teachers have Baywere assigned, many of the Chaoyang teachers have Baywere assigned, many of the Chaoyang teachers have Baywere assigned, many of the Chaoyang teachers promittees and broad to live within the hoosing rare. The neighborhood broad and the Chaoyang revoluteary committee day broad, and the Chaoyang revoluteary committee day broad, and the Chaoyang revoluteary committee day broad and the Chaoyang revoluteary committee day below. When the Chaoyang the Chaoyang committee of broad and the Chaoyang the Chaoyang committees and broad and the Chaoyang th

and the second s

pic, if a couple plan to marry and they are looking inparameters, they will apply to the other-send will be apparent they are planty to the other-send will be apparent they will be apply to the same way that housing count through inschaelists.) They are the planty of the same way that housing count through inschaelists.) They are the planty of the same planty of the sam

As we left Chaoyang and drove back into the city, we could see the physical layout of the region in terms of various functions. A rough diagram of the urban area

Back in the city that night, we went out to explore. As even of us wandered off from tenters, rying to small the hope crowds which gathered every time we slowed down, but it was hard to become anonymous even in those busy streets. Here people sat out at night at the off in Canton, but played a special table game, something off in Canton, but played a special table game, something the control of the control o

As all calledn, though, the atmosphere was low-served. The cilities of China vanishes agardy, and by six-fility each morning the shops are open. For breakful in Packand Shanghait they self dosigna, a milty soup of sor beam made sweet with sugar or soor with pickles of the contract, and youtine or staboling, long thin doughnut side state, and youtine or staboling, long thin doughnut side that the contract of the



- 1 Vegetable communes shading outward to rice communes
- 2 belt of vegetable communes and airport
- mixed workers' new villages and factories
 mixed factories, pre-Liberation
- housing, shops, etc.

 5 central business district—the
 Wall Streetlike ex-foreign concessions

"The Soothow River—or creek—is narrow and has many beldges across it. The Whangpoo is wide, has no bridges, and serves to interrupt what would otherwise be a neat and of pocentric prices." the impression that this was arranged on a rotating basis

explored in Shanghai, China has overcome almost all the tragic problems of Asia's cities. It has eliminated is systems, and is continuing to build. The problems that are left, and there are many, are not tragic by Asian or

Trees and Canals, Soochow

After Shanghai we needed a rest, and for more than five River, shady and green, Soochow is traditionally famous heat of the summer days. The buildings are small, repaintings of China's heritage, it is also distinctly a city of

Soochow is developing modern industry. These new only see the wisps of smoke from their chimineys, But hai. The only factory we visited in our stay there was the

sochow Embroidery Factory, which, though definitely its own work and surrounded by lovely gardens. It

Soochow, from traditional times, was compact and samped. The streets we drove through were narrow, wide secuch for two small buses. With the small houses and worhanging trees, the effect is almost that of a city drawn to two-thirds, or three-fourths scale. Yet the eardens are earden which had been designed and finished during the renimed the "Common Man's Garden." But the park remains the same, the graceful landscape and ancient pavilions unchanged. It is the people in the park who have changed, for today everyone in Soochow is welcome. and the park which used to be only for the upper classes

"The canals have not always been so beautiful," said one of the older women among the Soochow friends we nade, "I can remember when they were beaned with up to the threshold of my house and the garbage of months before passed by. The canals were so filthy no one believed they could ever be clean; and everyone bssed in his earbage too. After Liberation, though, we bealth, and we decided for our own sake to do something about it. Now, of course, we are proud of their Wonderful beauty, but you should remember that clean canal water is important for other things too, and that we

So Soochow, too, has changed greatly in the last two decades. We found out that all those trees, which we had assumed were also from the Ming dynasty, or at least the Ch'ine dynasty, had actually been planted in the Great Leap Forward, just fifteen years ago. The people of the tity are very anxious to preserve its reputation for grace and beauty, and we left thinking that perhaps with its smaller population and fertile environs, Soochow misses

Bicycles and Trucks, Nanking

We arrived in Nanking as mildaly on July 1, 1971, the fiftiest numbersary of the founding of the Communiparty in China. There were londing of the Communparty in China. There were londing to the Communiously small groups of people stings better than the constraint of the China of the China of the China and shops, talking and reading together. They are unusing the history of the party over the last fifty vanthe Nanking CATT told us. It seemed an appropriate as to celebrate this event. The Communic party in China has a long and fascinating history in this century. It has undergoom many changes, and, through them, Jed they subdergoom many changes, and, through them, Jed they such

Naking, itse Canton, is one of China's older eiter, when the older older and the post of t

Forms of transportation in China are widely varied. In Nanking we began to pay attention to the carts especial by. In the north of China, north of the Yangtze, we would find animal-drawn vehicles in profusion. But here in the south tricycle carts, carts with people pulling them, trucks Color crucks are nections to large in six, nor picks, and are used to his carrage and possesser transman are supported by the carrage and possesser transman are supported by the carrage and possesser transman are considered by the carrage and the color and
are considered by the carrage an

We asked about the many carts pulled by people, The answer from a young Chinese official in the city, was very straightforward: "You can interpret this in one of two ways: first, in a hostile fashion, you could see it as exploitation of the people. But secondly, in a more favorable light, you could say that our society is modern and backward at the same time, and that people don't throw up their hands because industrialism hasn't reached them yet. We call this 'walking on two legs,' to proceed thing both old and new means until we get where we Want," Indeed most of the Chinese people we met did burrassing, and seemed to take it merely as a sign of lite roughly the ratio between cargo carried by motor Vehicles and by people-drawn carts, and from our own fouth. There are usually three people to a small cart, of China we saw only animal-drawn carts, however; this evidently is the traditional pattern in north and south.

Northern draft animals are a strange assortment: mules,

Without passenger cars, the most important form transportation for the people of China are buses, water and bikes. Buses come in all sizes and conditions are invariably clean. The first one we rode was the we caught outside our hotel in Canton, which held six we caught outside our hotel in Canton, which held six we can be considered to the control of the control of the casts. It turned out to be fairly typical of the other transports of the control of the control of the China Travel Service would thought of China Travel Service would thought.

With the profusion of buses, there is good reason have conductors to advise passengers and facilities use seating and ticketing. These conductors are usually your women, helpful and also very determinedly political. The lead their riders in reciting quotations by Moo, single recollections; younger, and calling out to logans. All this come is they walk up and down the saless, selling sclose would control up approximately six cents in U.S. current. Death has a metal map of the routes with all transfer points, very similar to those in the New York.

In every city there seemed to be as many people or bleydes as on bases: Indeed, if there are any striffic problems in China, they must all be the result of the wester of bleyde communitars. More and more of these contractions of the contraction of the contraction of the in the central-city offices, because so much workers' house in the house it to have everyone living within cost in the central-city offices, because so much worker's house in the bley between the contraction of the contraction of the matery line hope is to have everyone living within cost many never be totally possible in the cities built up before may never be totally possible in the cities built up before

The bicycles were fairly expensive. We saw so many teen-agers and young adults on them that we asked about prices, and how high they were in relation to the average salary. The price range is from 150 to 165 yuns (about 565). Since the average salary of a young worker is 60 yuns a month of the salary of a young worker is 60 yuns a month of these facts.

expensive, how can so many people buy them? One

Avisit to a Police Station

Again to a route distance of the control of powerman and position of the control of the control

Years old, "Why not?" I asked.
"You're in new China, you shouldn't take pictures of him. He's old, that's a picture of old China. Take pictures of the Nanking Bridge, not him?, said the young man.
"I have lost of pictures of the bridge, but we should take pictures of everything, especially everything to do with the life of the seconds." I reprint of

"But he was not convinced. I put away my camera, such be relaxed; we continued to discuss the question. By now the urual small crowd had gathered and another man sepped forward. He was slightly older than the first, and he was wearing the uniform of a People's Liberation Army veteran (a PLA uniform without insignia on the Cap or lapids, and without a belt). He seemed to take

charge of the situation, unobtrusively, and at first a thought he might be a policeman, since they ton war-PLA-like uniforms. But policemen have insignia differenfrom those of the PLA, so this man without imaginacould have been either. In any case he was curious and

I didn't want them to think that I—or any other voice. American—was hostile and trying to take pictures the would damage China's image. On the other hand, they were equally determined to convince me that I should ony take inspiring pictures. I tried to poolin out that I I are turned to America with only glowing descriptions are perfectly pictures, no con would believe me, but sow the control of the property of the property of the property of the property of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid that the people of America would know the flow paid to the people of th

"Finally, because the crowd was continuing to growd. Invited the second young man back to our hotel to talk there (by now the first fellow, allghdy embarrased; to so we set oft, with groups of children walking in from; of white growding in from the second of the second walking in from the second walking in from the second walking in from the second of the second walking in from the second walking in th

"Deroity was still obbious to what had happened are y now the was freshed and althout out of sight. A y now the was freshed and althout out of sight. A year of the still of the still of the still of the still she that the still of the still of the still of the our faces, and rode for a few blocks. When we got our faces, and rode for a few blocks. When we got courryard. There don't seem to be suppose around a west inside the small office building and clinicated not went inside the small office building and clinicate on second foor. Here we could have propose tuning, and such that the still of the still of the still of the still to fetch concorn. I booked around. There was only large dets, several dails, and against the back was a

so sign, this must have been some sort of neighborhood security station.

bringing with him a man about ten years older than he was, in the same cassal clothing and with a long crew cut. He seemed very relaxed, immediately sitting down and effering me ten and cigarettes. What happened? he uninted to know, My friend nodded good-bye and left uninted to know, My friend nodded good-bye and left

"I explained briefly what had taken place and who I saw. While we talked, men and wonen would wander in feen other offices, listen a while or leave something on the desk, and go out again. It was all very relaxed and certain. My concern still was to explain why I had been taking the picture—for this man, though he didn't push taking the picture—for this man, though he didn't push pictures of the remnants of old China. During all this, I fall this wallify to speak Chinese deteriorizating railful.

"While we were talking, someone must have made a phone call to the Nanking hotel to ebeck on me. After all I could hardly blamme her young man who had invited and especially foreigners who speak. Who had invited band especially foreigners who speak. Chinnes and try to little up a conversation. In any case, the man sitting before me finally came to the end of his questions and our facusation, and suggested that if I didn't know the way of the control of the control of the control of the of I declined the often and left, all felling varuely trus-

On the way back, I met Dorothy and one of our guides who had come to find me after getting the phone call at the hotel. We talked briefly and came back—that

So Frank outlined his story for us. We all talked for a while among ouncelves and then saked our houss what they thought. Both the CATT guides and our Nanking CATT office hosts apologized, they assured us that the Dovernment's policy was very open—we could take picrase of anything we wished. But whey explained that since "singers are still so rare, many of the people we med while the property of the property of the property of which are not not relief to the angle anythicks were outle with an ones no are. Their trick and apusicless were outle Lao Xi assured us that our personal security while or the streets was something we didn't have to worry about Ray, who's lived in New York City, assured Lao Xi in turn that he had never felt more secure in the streets than or this trip to China. The people were extremely courtessuand friendly.

We went on to talk with Lao XI and our other Chinese friends about differences between the approaches in Chin and America to law and the police, Frank was struck by low informal the situation was at the "neighborhood security station." In China, the emphasis is clearly on public curity station." In China, the emphasis of selective on public arrests and trails are reserved to only when other attemps arrests and trails are reserved to only when other attemps.

Traditionally, the Chinese views on law have been used different from our Western ideas. Face-to-face recolution of differences have always been preferred to court decisions or trials, and this attitude has carried over interpretarily divorces and serious errors, and the properties of the properties are discussed distinguishment of the properties are sufficient to the properties of the properties are sufficient to the properties of the prop

There is no tradition in Chinese law of juridical declines are stip on previous cases of a similar nature, as in the American system of precedents. Instead, polities has long been and apparently still is accepted as a natural liffluence on the law. Chinese law and courts today, we were told, follow the "mass line," seeking to conform to an idea of instite that is both politically in the conformation of the conformation

As it has in many other areas, the People's Liberated Army has been seen on police forces since the Culture Revolution. One exact of this army involvement in PC Bee duties, our guides were police that before the Culture Revolution the police were police to the client way of the police in the client were police to the client way of the police in the client were close to live and many were said to have opposed the Cultural Revolution. Thus one purpose in the PLA railing one?

polico functions was to oust police in areas where they rested the new movement for reform and to challenge established local bureaucrats. Now many policemen are play to the police more clearly

As our discussion with the guides at the boal ended, we must about one important impression that had staye with all of us throughout our wist in China. Our hosts unity excepts that the property of the control of the unity excepts had been friendly — we we must compared the great difference between the streets of China and Anneles. Here we really were also to wait the street and Anneles. Here we really were also to wait the street and anneles after the weather that the control of the annel only in the control of the control of the same farm Dorothy, who is Chinese, escountered no which you got provides and families passed frough the shieth young beyields and families passed through the which you got possible and families passed through the which young beyields and families passed through the which you got begies and many the which young beyields and families passed through the which you got youlds and families passed through the which you got youlds and families passed through the state of the passed of the passed passed to the passed to the passed provides the passed to the passed provides the passed passed to the passed passed to the passed passed to the passed passed to the passed passed

Astronomy and Politics, Nanking

Before we left Nanking, we rode out to the Nanking Autonomical Observatory on a high hill above the city. Since our return to America there has been a great deal of schied the observatory as a Henge Kong press described the observatory as a "While it is true that one of the functions of the observatory to truck Chain's statistics, it is only a small part of the observatory and definitely, in the eyes of the technique of the observatory and definitely, in the eyes of the steems we third with there, not the most important part.

It was a relief to drive up into the hills outside Nanking that day. The city was sweltering under a fierce san, and as we passed beyond the city wall we could almost feel the sig grow cooler. For a while we wound gently up the wooled hillsides until we came out into a level area where we have the city of the by the city of the city of the city of the city of the property of the city of the property of the city of the city of the city of the city of the property of the city of the

We stopped in front of the most modern building, and several of the staff came out to great us. On the grace

in front of the observatory, and scattered over the lawne astrolabes, and other reconstructions of ancient astronomical instruments. The largest one was a set of incerings, each as tall as a man, set at angles inside task other, with dragons and other animals decorating it Is -200 A.D.). In the observatory itself, some of the seed took us through the lower rooms and then up to the too of the observatory, into a room nearly filled by a girnt telescope, With great pride, the workers pointed out the factory label on the side of the telescope: "The Zulinshan telescope, made in China," We crowded in and tried looking into it, then followed the workers back downdecided to take us to the People's Park to talk rather

than remain in the observatory, where, it being Sunday, off and followed the road a few yards before pulling into a parking area. We had arrived at the People's Park, a spectacularly beautiful, lush, and rambling park not far lawns, and even a teahouse, where we sat down together

In the observatory our chief guide had been a middleaged woman, described to us as one of the staff. For our talk in the park, we were with three of the research scientists, also middle-aged and very earnest in appearance. The Nanking Observatory is one of three schools of astronomy in China, they told us. The others are at one in Nanking is the old Qilu School, moved there from Shandong Province, There are also three other observatories in China, in Shanghai, Peking, and "the west"-being security sensitive, they preferred to leave

We asked the scientists where they had been trained, referring to the belief, common in America, that all of

ato. We mentioned Hsien Hsuch-shen, the scientist Dievements. The question was obviously one with which well, they were as incensed as one could expect a "All of us have been trained in China. We are from Oilu.

on our left, a tall thin man with thinning hair, "None I us were taught by foreigners. At Oilu we had no preign-trained teachers at all. At Nanking, there was only man, or small group of individuals, to be the source of Before 1949, the observatory had been rather small. to carrying on research it has produced a number of observatory work together. They have found that if one case we were told about, they made a significant How far does this practice go, we asked. Does this Dethod cover your research plans as well? There are tun in 1968, the scientists wanted to observe this in

Their answers to some questions were cryptic. We research had gone on, but official policy had tended to which looks to the West to see what is possible and does not try to push shead, is what is commonly ro-Liu Shao-ch'i). It is also called "lagging behind at a many of China's scientific workers felt under these 10the young graduates of the scientific departments and unwilling-for fear of loss of reputation-to try to solve

ad not all begin after the Cultural Revolution. But the

At the Nanking Observatory we asked as usual about olary for the chief astronomer of the observatory, who others both scientists and workers. In all, there are a well of 230 people employed by the observatory. Of these 30 percent are women; the average wage for the mtire group of employees is 60 yuan a month. We

spestioned the men sitting with us more closely about

The first to answer was the most highly paid, 130 win a month. He looked like a character from one of to make him real. He is the son of a poor peasant, and fory. The other scientist from a poor peasant class background was also a man in his forties. He wore glasses and talked very proudly about his five children. It ob-Viously meant a great deal to him, especially with his background, that all his children were in school, and he emphasized this point. He carns 70 years a month and Juan monthly. He is not of peasant background-his family were landlords before 1949-and he can speak tome English: he is not a member of the revolutionary Committee, but is a party member, Frank asked what the Sure," said the man wearing glasses, "it all depends on

as thinking and attitude toward the people," The high salary of the observatory's chief astronomer is an interesting extreme of a phenomenon we found everywhere in China: seniority multiplies wages fantastically.

All of the amplowment in heir own salited.

All of the amplowment in heir own salited.

All of the amplowment in heir own salited and workers allie, a good one to cheened with the mostle as worker pricing are arranged to the control of the salited and th

methods of time measurement, and they said they see all proude of the accomplishments. By now the day was nearly over, and the people leaving the park formed a steady flow of children, families and young couples. The roller-skating rink was almost and young couples. The roller-skating rink was almost all young couples. The roller-skating rink was almost all young couples. The roller-skating rink was almost all young couples. The roller-skating rink was all slowly to our best and the roller-skating where we want to the hotel, and on to the train station where we boarded the "little blue car," an overnight sleeper which

As our train pulled out of the station and headed

of the river, we realized that we would be crossing the yearge. Rever. Bridge in just a few maintes, Our came the realized production of the realized production of the countries into the setting sum and shooting backward was hardled. The river is wide, like the Missistopin in some parts, and the riche across was breatharking. Then, smiling off the bridge, we began to roll northward through its publish. The first major station we reached was Cheston, and Frank began taking pictures in great number. the was the same cown his driver at Columbia had does the was the same cown his driver at Columbia had does the control of the control of the control of the control of the state are control of the control of the control of the state are control of the control of the state are control of the control of the state are control of state stat

Day Securine night and the train pushed on, stopping war rarely, About one of event that slight it did stop war rarely, About one of event that slight it did stop slight out of the train, though as we did too. Up near the forest of the train, against the wall of the slation, support of the slation, and the slation of th

Back on the train, we fell asleep. When we woke up we were in the north of China—an entirely different terrain and color from the south we had left behind us. Rain swept down from a low sky, and instead of rice, the fields were full of corn. Soon we reached Tientism, because the second of the south of the second of the bour as we passed through the cutskirts of town, and at the crossings swarms of bicyclers waited for us to go by, or pedaded under the underpasses. From Tientism it was

Swiss, Vietnamese, and whole Japanese families, their

Our first afternoon was spent wandering around the

Summer Palace was almost never visited by the people of the city because transportation was difficult and the We asked how they felt, seeing the huge marble bost

After a day at Peking University, we left the city

but returned a week later. This time we staved longers

and had an opportunity to visit the February 7 Rolling enck Plant, This factory has a very long history, and is risce in the city of Peking. The February 7 Rolling both industry and agriculture in productive work and has farming into one area. The rolling-stock factory itself mainly by the dependents of those who work in the

ier labor there. As we drove out to the factory, there were no visual

city, where most of the factories have been built in the workers' villages and factory-grounds housing, the first is tastern side, and the factory housing complexes are set further out in the same direction.

The rolling-stock factory was about a half-hour drive fortunately we did not get any statistics for the acrual total. The main factory is surrounded by a number of secondary production units are important, not only to to provide work for the residents of the complex who are not employed in the main factory. In this way the workers' villages, where residents do not live close by

The factory owns a large amount of farmland, also

This type of complex is the direction Peking's industrial that will take, to the extent that it develops within its urban areas. There is also an immense amount of industrialization taking place in the countryside, with the eventual goal of creating a network of partly or wholly self-admicient units across the countryside. But this has not always been the goal. China's thinking about cities and industrialization has gone through several stages.

In the Streets and Alleys of Peking

We speat more time in Peking than in any other divand every day we went exploring, Konomiene, when we had a few hours, we would take huses to other parts of the city. More often we stoped within walking distance of our holet. The sounds of Peking are a exception of home hocking track horns, has horns, and beyond how with thought best tradities and the closest thing to like congestion during run hour, it the result of streams of bicycles, not of cars. The buses are full almost all daybut run to frequently we almost never saw long likes

All along the streets are vegetable markets, fruit pide high on the wide sidewalks, with baskets of apples and tomatoes and small heteps of coal for sale. One day we decided to price the food in a large market and found immediately a great difference from Hong Kong and other Asian cities: no bargaining! Standard prices are market obtainly, and the market workers weighed everythmediately.

screpolously. All of the stores, even the smallest sidewalk unds, were impoccably clean. Everywhere there were great heaps of vegetables, barrels of rice and flour, chickens and ducks (with their feet still artached—the feet with the best part, the Chinese say!), sides of pork and sof, and boxes of fresh garlie, mushrooms, and beam, prices are measured in fen per cattly (where 5 fem = 2

And teathy as about 140 pounds). And the fash seller as a sea the wides in potent ranges—here a control content fish were as a sea to see when the potent and the control fish were fished in the control fish and the control fished for the control fished fished for the control fished fished

Life in Peking is less sophistiested than in Shanghal, keconfing to Chinese stories, Certainly it shuts down turier. We found everything closed tight at nine thirty each night, and even the families were inciden, city, and but in frost of their less in the best until the ground boxens a fine layer of duty earth. The trees planted lace Liberation have belood to hold down the dust and Pervent the great works from sweeping of popple allowed lace Liberation have belood to hold down the dust and Pervent the great works from sweeping of popple allowed lace are limits on each year, in an attempt to hold down the population. Our first daye we noted sand fourlygiv-inch handbills on many of the lampposts. Doroth-Often small groups of people would pass us walking

of the appropriate age. The older people were usually play equipment we had ever seen. There were jungle eyms which eave three or four alternative means of going up and down; ropes, ladders, chinning bars, and other ways to get up; and firemen's poles, chutes, and

out to be very different from Shanghai. There were no squatter settlements. Frank speculated that this might be because of the climate (winter in Peking is bitter cold. sudden influx of workers before 1949 either, although it was already a large city of 1,800,000 people. The slums of Peking had been built of brick, and were solid structures. They were slums because of the lack of water,

As we had in Shanghai and other cities, we asked about

Today some of that has been torn down, either because it had been built in low-lying areas, where damp ness and occasional flooding was a problem, or because the Goldfish Pond. This area had been famous before Liberation as one of the worst slums in Peking with no

Mackish brick of Peking, stood one or one-and-a-half storics high along the narrow streets and alleys. They and obviously been cleaned and restored, and now vines erew up over the doorways of many of them, Beside the older housing still standing, new housing had been built for the residents of torn-down buildings. These units were generally four stories high, and they were set much doser together than housing in the rest of the city. The definitely was not of the same quality as the workers' villages or the factory complexes. Nevertheless, it was

we had known in Hong Kong. Frank had lived in the research, so he was well prepared to make the comparison. Most impressive to him was the absence of open the air, and are an ever-present danger to children playing nearby. Even Tokyo has only recently finished closing over the great part of its sewers, and this is a major water spigots placed frequently along the streets and clean concrete and brick public latrines (again, in profusion compared to Hong Kong). Goldfish Pond, in addition to the new and renovated housing, also has a theater, a workers' club, a stadium,

and a hospital. Yet it exists as a temporary solution, an improvement over the past waiting for a better future. Even in the workers' villages and factory complexes, it

A Conversation in Peking

Four days before we left China, five of us spent an bening talking with Wang Yijen and Qian Ming, two Peking's city planners. We had asked particularly for this opportunity because of the questions we still had bot only by what we had seen, but by some intriguing

Comments our China Travel Service interpreters and guids, had made as well. One of thems, a young man in his three, had made as well. One of thems, a young man in his three, had not been a service of the service of t

Wang Yilin and Qian Ming came to a reception room in our hoted and we set in a small circle with the abete us. Wang, a smiling, round, and very relaxed man, different of the fathicing, anothing a lot, making us relax too. But as Uddis said later, he did know what he was talking about—he came very well repeated and wat systematically through a great deal of material, in continuous control of the control of th

community of the polar polar saying about the city, the ferring to its unpred cross and observe of irreat. It is related to the community of the polar polar

With Liberation many of these aspects of the old semifeudal, semicolonial society were swept away, including some 200,000 tons of garbage—some of it dating from

ne Ming dynasty. Mao Tue-tung asked the question, whom do we serve?" The answer of course was, "The people." In urban planning the slogan became, "Faelliins production; facilitate the livelihood of the people." what this meant in practical terms is that priorities in urban development, in a city and a Peking, fell into three gargaries; the construction of government offices, the construction of government offices, the slown, and the creation of residential areas, with work-

The first step was to get the production that had existed running again, and to end the runnway inflation induced by the Kuomintang fiscal policy. Only when that problem was solved could the Communist parry consolidate political power in the cities. And only then could the cities be changed from consumers to producers. For the ability to clain for any society depends upon political power.

Production was restored and developed. Peking's industry diversified, and the city became a center of production. The Shijingshan complex, for example, has became a major producer of both iron and high-quality steel. Development was rapid, and now Peking has metallargy, machine, computer, construction, instrumentation,

The planners allotted space in the eastern sector of the city for the construction of these new factories. This flow was calculated with the environment in mind; for the construction of these planners and the construction of t

The problem of industrial pollution was attacked not from the perspective of aesthetics, nor even from a consern for health—pollution in China is still quite rare—but out of a socialist concern for "comprehensively uti-

waste water polluted an adjacent river, thus influencing irrigation and preventing use of the river water by factories downstream. The leadership of the offending factory organized the people to extract chemicals such as phosphates and potassium chloride from the waste, and estained three thoesand toos of useful products each year.

While this was going on near the city's growing edge, things were happening in the city proper. Peking's pepulation expanded from 1,800,000 in 1949 to 4,000,000 in 1966-67. Roads were being paved, trees planted, and housing built. We were provided statistics on each:

Between 1949 and 1970 the surface of paved roads went from about 250,000 square yards to 1,400,000, an increase of 460 percent. Buses and trolley buses on those roads increased from 164 in 1949 to over 2,000 by 1971.

the interaction that we are set of the work of years and the property of the p

cepartment infinite only the protegaters and use the ture of suplings. The city's inhabitants care for the rest. This program has also greatly diminished the effects of one of Peking's most serious natural problems, the constant dust storms which blow in from the dosert areas to the north. We were told that the great quantity of trees has even channed the climate of Peking, making it.

ueveral degrees cooler in the summer.

Again, all is not limited to aesthetics; large numbers
of pepper, walnut, and apple trees have been planted
to that Peking is now self-sufficient in apples, which before 1949 and all been imported from distant Shandous

and Liaoning provinces.

Tremendous efforts have been made to house adequate
ly all of the people of Peking. In pre-Liberation Peking the

ands. Since then, another 50 million square yards have built, including 22 million square yards of living have been, they could not keep pace with immigration and natural population increase in the city. People were Sying better. The new housing had electricity, running water, sometimes even gas; old housing was electrified and public latrines and bathhouses were supplied. But before the Cultural Revolution, housing density was rising. Wang attributed this growth in urban population to the influence of the "Liu Shao-ch'i line"-that sector of Western, and capitalist, solutions to China's problems. The "best" of intellectual, cultural, medical, and industrial life had gravitated to the cities, and the "three great of development was fine with the planners following Liu's line; but those supporting Mao looked upon it differently. In Peking, the north and northwestern suburbs had been given over to universities and institutes such as Peking University and Peking Medical College. As Qian backs. First, it separated intellectuals from the working

those concerned with mining or agronomy for instance, had no business being in the city at all.

After the Cultural Revolution, things began to change. Mining schools were moved to mining areas where students and faculty could combine theory and practice and work together in productive labor, learn from the mine

For those limititutes that did not move from Peking, altrotries and farms were started right on campus. We had earlier seen a student-staff-built pharmaceutical flew on the Peking University campus. Sevend days later than the control of the contr

It was the planners' opinion that Peking University had entirely too much space, even with factory and farm. This they attributed in part to the work style of previous designers. Before the Caltural Revolution they were separated from the people. They did their designing in the offices but rarely went out to participate in the ivea-

They did not specifically make the point in this color. They did not specifically make the point in the Columnia Revolution institution of May 7 cache raises, on the case we visited in the cassers asking and the case of th

"Interes" a wast horizon in the countryside," does for urban middle-school graduates ("Intellectual youth"), The window of the properties of the properties of the properties of million of the properties of the properties of the properties of four years ago is that many of Pelice was worth to their state teens—have gone to settle down in rural as their late teens—have gone to settle down in rural as aborder areas. That reduces the urban population stitution of tacilities, while Infusing the communes with "cultural delegants"—intellectual youth bringing their cos-"cultural delegants"—intellectual youth bringing their cos-

There was still another perialicl in health care. Urbs hospitals such as the Peking Hospital no. 3 artached 3 hospitals such as the Peking Hospital no. 3 artached 3 he Peking Medical School might have their staffs reduced by as much as our fine, in order to free medical person tell for roles in field hospitals that rove the countryst providing medical care in itolated areas, Al an even most providing medical care in itolated areas, Al an even most level, effectuated youth, secuetimes from the city, with a compared to the control of the control of the control of the city of the control of the control

140

as "barefoot doctors" serving the day-to-day, but very gal, health needs of the peasants.

and controlly, whose faint chain to the want prace flow note that the fail in districts of Pekling that previously had had none. More specifically, Mr. Wang cited the example of old-picing most notorious stam, Dragon-Beard Dirich. These were districts which the ruling class of pre-Liberation drap never set foot in or cared about, districts that housed most of Peking's laborating people. But now the ruling class of pre-Liberation most of Peking's laborating people. But now the ruling controlled to the production of the production

As the two planners explained, "Due to our socialist system, we work not for profit but for the benefit of the socole. This is our advantage." 1618 mu of land. Each of these five communes was difincent. Yet we came away with the feeling that in the sost basic changes they had experienced, they were also very similar.

windong: What Is a Commune?

At we climbed down off the bus, a viry young man upiled up. Like everyone else we could see, he wore guester and a simple short-deeved white shirt, with planic sandsia on his feet. Under a rough error wer, in his case and the short of the

Comrada Xu began to describe the Huadong area beer 1949. He talked of the plagues of drought, pest, and yphoens, and quoted an eld Castroness saying, and physical states of the plagues of the saying and physical states of the plagues of the saying and perfect of the far the perfect of the fact that the perfect of the people. Natural disasters could be survived under the people. Natural disasters could be survived und there had been much begging, selling of children, and

ade Xu into the main meeting hall of the commune

netorn. In each village, families "give classified according to their conomic position." The landford family lived of rent and taxes exacted from others; the rich peasant worked all his own land; the poor peasant worked all his own land; the poor peasant worked from others. Using this classification, the landfords' land, draft samming, farm implements; surplus grain, and houses were becaused to the landfords' land, the landfords' land, the landfords' land, draft samming, farm implements; surplus grain, and houses were secured. but It for art the majority staved on

5. COMMUNES

Chapter 1 describes the meagerness and poverty of valage life in old China. Harvest failures, floods, dynastic wars, and uprisings all meant disaster for the villagers, and famines took millions of lives. But in the years sace Liberation sweeping changes have transformed the coan-

The people of China say they have done in tweety years what two thousand years of emperors and featil-handlords could not accomplish. How? Is this really trust What is a commune like? Has progress been made because of, or in spite of, the communes? Elagrift, we learned forward in our seats, straing out the windows of our but as we drove into Hundong Commune. It was the contract of the contract o

We witted part of the commune. The first was Bee Good Commune in a rice-growing area north of Cause Good Commune in a rice-growing area north of Cause Good Commune and Cause Good Commune, and the Cause Good Commune with Cause Good Commune with Cause Good Commune with Cause Good Commune with Cause Good Commune, and Cause Good Commune, where we winted both the Techni Brayel Caches proping words 2,000 ears; the Techni Brayel Good Commune, where we winted both the Techni Brayel Good Commune, where we winted both the Techni Brayel Good Commune, where we winted both the Techni Brayel Good Commune, where we winted both the Techni Brayel Good Commune, where we winted both the Cache William Brayel Good Commune, where we will be compared to the commune of the Cause Cache Commune Brayel Computer State Commune Cache Commune Cache Commune Cache Commune Cache Commune Cache Commune Cache Ca

that with land alone many of the peasants still could not make an adequate living. They lacked tools, animals, and money to invest. In the West, family farms have gradually disappeared, to be replaced by huge "agribusiness" agriculture, but with one important difference. Instead of being gradually squeezed out, the families join together lectivization was marked by several stages. The first step, mutual-aid teams, meant limited sharing of manpower, operatives into effect. Land was still held privately, but In the collective farms which followed, the land itself was owned by the people in common rather than individually. By 1958 collective farms were being amalgamated into the communes, physically larger and with even

The communes as originally set up in 1958 were undiligent Communist party cadres encouraged them. Alcon learned that while the commune might be the right-For example the communes were effective units for Manning and organizing water-control projects, building too large to handle the daily details of agricultural production and sometimes tended to multiply red tape withcost equivalent increases in productivity. Because of this, s representation evolved over the following three years

conization remains today. The production team is the smallest unit, consisting ble for the day-to-day planning of farming and for distribution of profits. It appears to be the real social unitpeople who live close to each other, and indeed are ofion related to each other. The production brigade confor grinding and storage of grain, and for transportation, The commune includes ten to thirty production briand education and health services. It serves as a link

a villages?" The answer is very much, "Yes!" The Chibese peasant still works primarily within the confines of village, as he has always done. He will also work on commune plays an important role in these tasks which Ostrial production But the Chinese village does live on.

in a transformed way. What has changed? A great deal-now there is plenty food, warm clothes, and electricity, sanitation, educaon health care for all But more than that, the basic that self-reliance will bring them even greater improve-After our briefing with Comrade Xu, he and sewral

other commune leaders suggested that we ride out on river. This station is a part of the huge network of irrigaect by Huadong with two other neighboring communes

As we rode through the rice paddies, we noticed on other plant growing close to the ground. These were dong . . . great varieties of vegetables, heaps of fruit, dishes of pork and beef and fish from a hatchery they grows winter wheat. This seemed a strange crop for hot begun to plant small quantities of the wheat, and that when a bad series of typhoons hit them two years agodestroying their rice harvest-it was the winter wheat

enough in the aftermath of the storm to more than equal We were surprised to find out that Huadong also has plying them with fuel for their kitchen stoves and for

Coming back from the river, we stopped to look at

the machine-tool industry recently developed at Huadong. a tool-repair shop employing ten or twelve men; but scipate too. Further workshops were made out of conbuildings, with large windows for good lighting and packed-dirt floors), Designs for a common form of handand blowtorches, lathes, and metal-working tools were bought or more often constructed right in the shops. By the time we visited Huadong, these original workshops clusters of workshops, each with more than one hundred workers; the threshing machines are supplied to all the commune villages and also sold on a limited scale to peighboring communes

During the Cultural Revolution there was another injunction which Huadong acted upon: waste nothing, use all. This became the basis of one of the most fascinating small-scale industries we saw in China-the processing of cassava plants. The plant roots are used in several stages. First, they are ground and used to produce a type of starch for cooking very much like cornstarch. The residue of this process is then further treated to produce chemicals for industrial use. Finally, the residue of that process becomes fodder for the livestock (mainly pigs) of the commune. We were impressed. But that was not a breed of silkworm which will eat cassaya leaves instead of mulberry leaves!

Despite all of this, Hundong is not entirely self-sufficient vet. And although the improvements in village life were immediately striking-especially in comparison with what we knew of pre-Liberation conditions-Huadone was still one of the poorer communes we saw. At one point as we walked through a village on the commune, Ken, Ann, and some of the other members of our delegation

erir daily lives.

tion? Who are the Tachai people? What have they done?

were invited into one of the houses. This, like the other not whitewashed inside, the color of the brick and few closure, like a tiny courtyard, with a well in the center building with separate doors for men and women. Most of China's peasantry. Wizened and bent with age, the grandmother smiled and poured hot water for us as we looked around. She began to explain to us where her the Cantonese dialect, and even Rhea, who understands Cantonese, was having problems understanding her. We turned to ask Lao Shi for belo, and then realized that Cantonese well, and he was slowly repeating her comnational language; a laborious process. We realized how

At Tachai: The New Men and Women of China

sary new man is one who struggles to overcome all difficulties and takes initiative boldly. He is ready to give

Our overnight train headed west from Peking through surset and then into darkness . . . nine hours later, just as the sun was rising, we arrived at the Shanxi Province station of Yangquan. Standing on the platform was a short old peasant, his breath cloudy in the sharp morndark and ruddy by the sun; like the peasants of Huahad come from Tachai to meet us and to accompany us for the ride out from Yanguuan. This meant he had had to get up at 2:00 A.M., we estimated, since it was at least a two-and-a-half-hour ride; but he was in great spirits onto the bus. His teeth were dark and stained-a conour new friend pointed out cornstalks pushed over by the severe rainstorm the night before, and talked about we ransacked our memories for answers to questions about methods of water control, crop rotation, and the Through the windows of our bus, we looked out at the terraced crops. In spite of yesterday's rainstorm, they lay

On arriving at Tachai we put our suitcases in our rooms and went to the brigade room "to rest." There we were welcomed with the ubiquitous Chinese cups of tea. Community of Commu

"Welcome, my American friends," he said. "You must be tired. We have eighty-three households in our brigade, and our families would like to have you wisit them. We want to show you how we have changed the face of the land. But first," he added, smiling to show his beautiful new faste teeth, "since man is the most investment thise, in

And cat we did! Breads and needing made from exemilate, when, and soybeans. Garden-firsh transmiss, general periods of 30 people, which twenty years ago could so grouped or 430 people, which twenty years ago could so unique it all their population, has transformed the erode unique in the state of the st

In Tachai, as in much of northwest China, people have traditionally lived in caves cut into the leess hills, Dark and damp, these caves sometimes collapsed during tortall rains. This happened in 1963: Tachai was delugad with rain and virtually the whole village lost their homes. nory while the people began to discuss what was to be done. They rejected one possibility immediately. They would not ask the state for disaster aid. But there wasn't wasn't be state for disaster aid. But there wasn't permanent bomes for everyone, After taking a currell aventory of the wealth of the Village, it was found that by having individuals loan their own savings to the briade. new houses could be built for all without having

Now the average family lives in two "arce" rooms, cach one tweete by treatry feet in size. No longer cut into the hillsides, they are constructed of heavy stores and covered with packed earth. In this way they are as well insulated as the old eaves but far more sturdy. Warm and smag in winter, the cavelike hones are equally well protected against the summer heat. The homes are owned to the contract of the contr

The second evening of our stay in Tachai we split into groups of three, each group joining families for dinner, Dorothy, Utkls, and Kay went off with a very short wiry man, who seemed rather pleased to be taking a

Inside his home, he seated us and called to his oldest son, who looked about sixteen, to begin bringing the food from the kitchen. Over our bowls of moodles we struggled with his very thick Shanxi accent. Dorothy asked him if he had always lived in Tachai, Yes, he had, though before Liberation he and his family had lived in the old mud-style caves, the kind which were not rein-Had he been here when the Japanese came? Yes-that was when he was about twelve. His family had been so poor he had just acquired his first pair of real pants then . . . The first time the Japanese came, they just took a few chickens. Then a few days later they came back, and finally there was nothing left for them to take away but one old chicken. It was very agile and ran away each time. Then a Japanese soldier ordered the young boy to catch it. But he was so weak from hunger Updit askeen him it no had ever left I ischai. He shringsed and said, "Itatio none, for a few days, to Pecking. It was an experience, but I got uneasy after a while. You Jost sit around, you don't do any work. It wanted to come sit around, you don't do any work. It wanted to come any more than the property of the pro

After dinner we walked to the door into the kitchen and thanked his wife. She was very shy, and a little unsure of herself, but she smiled and said softly to come again, please come to see us again.

By contrast, Mr., Guo-who came to take Rhoa, Ray, and Paul to the home-was much more outsproken. He family was also a good deal larger, besides Mrs. Goo, agad distry-Gur, the family members included be himselved, thirty-sight, some sped twelve, seven, and four, and from seven to edvern in the fields being corn. Mr. Goo had become a truck driver for the brigade two years ago when the brigade og its first medima-insel truck. He had learned to drive during his statis in the army (1957)—the ball learned to drive during his statis in the army (1957)—driver. The grandmoder pelsed with the bounded of the contrast of the c

 The contract of

161

on her lap mill he fell altep in her zem and was offered to his bed in the familys other room.
The old grandsouther told of her life in the part. My armount of the fell of the fell of the collection of the fell of the collection of the pole of the pole of the fell of t

the home of a simple villager for dinner, and much chuckling about the virid lesson in class education these new commune members had had.

"What is life like now?" Rhae asked Mrs. Guo. "Tell us what you do, what did you do today?"

as whether one was the story of the come to Tachal in early life, the leaning among of our year. Right now the cost in Party the Leaning among of the right party of the leaning and the leaning to the cost was that the cost to be radly to have, the dy were down and the leaning to do now the leaning to the leaning the leaning to the leaning the leaning to the leaning the

"To finish this job we must all work from dawn on day. Everyone gets up at about 4:30 A.M. While grandmother watches the babbes or young olddren, I build a charcoal fire in the stove for breakfast. Then for the whole family I prepare a bearty been

"Meanwhile the men and all the teen-age children, board gifts, go out to the fields to work from 5:00 to 7:00 A.M. They return at 7:00 for breakfast until 8:00. From that time until noon, babies are left with older women in the commune nurreires, and school-age children are all in the brigade school. The men, women and all unmarried older children who still live with the

easily to numbe the baby.

"At moon I come home to build the charcoal fire again."

"At moon I come home to build the charcoal fire again.

the proposed bush. All this cooking takes a leeg time.

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the proposed bush is the cooking takes a leeg time.

wheat moodles for noodle and vegetable outp, While

wheat moodles for noodle and vegetable outp, While

where cooking, the children come home; then when hunch

is ready, the men and older children come home from

the fields to eat. After lunch, we all rest till 3:30, be
the fields to eat. After lunch, we all rest till 3:30.

"Ad 3:30 everyme goes out again to work or school 17:00 PaN, when I come home an hour called that everybody clee to cook supper and watch the children. The meal is after 3:00 at right, and then there are the season of the seas

we get up each morning at 4:30.

"Of course, we do not have to follow such a rivorous

work schedule all year. In the winter we get up much later in the morning, skip the nap after lunch and work straight hrough till a lot earlier in the evenings. During the long winter evenings we can have several hours of political, rultural, and livium extirities."

entherware excels filled which are in factors are wall and the stone caves. Smaller just stacked to not plield a variety of dreid foods. The family had a sewing machine and a rando. The room was liberally decorated with pictures of family and friends as well as three pictures of Chairman Moo. Mr. Guo told us fast their total annual cash inocute was about four hundred youn, of which they could save approximately half. When grandmether Goo had a save approximately half. When grandmether Goo had a better the sone paid the hospital forty yuan. If they could not have afferded to do so, the operation would have been

Like all children in Tachai, the young Guos go to school for nine years beginning at the age of seven. In the speer levels of the school, the students study math, Craises, physics and chemistry, basic agriculture, Muo Tx-stung thought, art, and culture and take part in productive labor when necessary, Usually this is one half day a week, but they also help with spring planting and fall harvesting.

For the children younger than seven there is a nursery, Young mothers, unless in ill health, are expected to work mostled the borns. When one adds making breads and the fields, the woman's day is full. Men are not as likely to share in the household chores in the countryside as in the urban areas. A party leader in Cantion's Huadong Commune reflected the reral view when he said, "Womther the children and are at home more. It just works out that

The Spirit of Tachai

How has this village gone from being poor and fooddeficient to having a secure if simple life and a spirit of persistent hard work filled with confidence and hope? First of all, the people of Tachai asy, they have studied and tried to put into practice the teachings of the Offentung. They have learned to put the needs of the collective first, to work together (as they have in transforming the land and building their homes), and not to far hardship or death. The people of Tachai say that life is not a peacets.

journey. They speak of struggle against the forces of nature, of struggle against the spirit of selfishmes which reappears again and again in individuals and some shield reappears again and again in self-viduals and the speak of the speak

"Learning from Tachai" also means self-reliance. Chem Yearning from the early days of the mutual-sid teams. The decision not to ask for state aid after the 1963 disasters, when nearly all the villager's homes were destroyed, is successful to the successful the state of state of the state of state of the state of state sta

The fooling of confidence this has brought to Trabable was very rediefalt to us one afternoon. Chea Youguil was very rediefalt to us one afternoon. Chea Youguil was very rediefalt to use the terracting and some of the newer law was to the terracting and some of the newer law rediefalt to the control of th

arest had goore humps. Dorothy saked if she wassed to behavior a breather Taine was netured recipency, and Dorothy, we were all sourced to water long pains and the sky and remarked that it was unmailly cold for goordine in that area. Perhaps it would shall loday, Saine and the sky and remarked that it was unmailly cold for goordine in that area. Perhaps it would hall loday, Saine and the proper shall be the sky and the control of which descreed early all the crops in Tachshi in 1962. But this young woman data could be prospect summer of a testy, objectively confident to be shall be

To an American Tachai still looks poor. The people bre simply, but their spirit is impressive. Tachai serves as a model for the rural areas of China, particularly for those who are most poor. Yet it cannot just be copied. The important thing is that looking at Tachai, other parts of China can see a great change. If Tachai can do it, so can they.

Expériments like Tachai have appeared in many plese. Il Guangdong's Huadong Commune, Comrade Nu took ut lo visit a production team where barefoot peasants showed us the marginal land they had reclaimed by removing huge boulders. Now women and young girls were beeing in that field. The team sheart recoped up the soft beeing in that field. The team sheart recoped up the soft in the contract of the

Tachai's neighbors, especially, have thought of thenedves and their work in terms of Tachai's influence, we visited two other brigades in that region. The first, Houjoung, is itself a part of the larger Tachai Commune. To get there, our bus avound up into the hillides for the properties of the properties of the properties of the print terms so tharp that the bus had to read with natugation that the properties of the properties of the around in a cleared area at the end of each turn before beginning unward again. Finally, we came out into a level area. Houjung was obviously a good deal richer than Tachai, and the oughly the same number of people. slope above us, the woodwork of the windows in simple other end of the village we could see the new middle

He said that until recently, Houjuang had studied Tachal this, we protested that we had been surprised at his com-

chai, Xigubi was a good deal larger than either Tachai or

In the past, not much of the land of Xigubi could be and badly needed to increase food production. They dearreage, and with this in mind the water-control project

bed has been designed to accomplish two aims. Working during the dry season, a wall is being built down the portion of the riverbed is freed for cultivation. At the same time, a part of the river-which now in peak seasons would overflow its narrowed channel-is directed through a nearby mountain gorge so that it irrigates the back side of the mountain. This area has never been irrigated betion. The work of digging through the gorge is being done largely by the people of the commune, with hand tools, but they have also borrowed a bulldozer from the county; they will be finished in about a year or so, and in two

Tachai's example of always working collectively to strive for success is even used as a model in regions withconditions are exhorted to never relax, but to strive harder in production for the good of the country and the

Hongqiao Commune is about half the size of Huadong.

It supplies about three hundred tons of vegetables to dence that the people of Hongqiao have more money to

The fields looked almost manicured as we walked which is already built, the commune is working on its toes were being picked-could we try our hands in the fields? Our "guide," the commune leader-a tall thin crew-cut man with an angular face and warm evesgrinned at us. No. no. we couldn't be serious. Gueste never work. But he went into conference with Lao Shi and Xiao Li . . . We could imagine our CATT friends telling him, "Look, these people have been bugging us to show us how. We picked tomatoes for about twenty next stop was the commune nursery, where we managed to give away most of our tomatoes to the children. Delighted with the unexpected break, they happily are the tomatoes, red juice dripping down their white aprons, as we looked apologetically at the teachers. But they were very pleasant and after a short tour of the school, we

While we were in the fields, the commune leader also talked about Tachai, saying that it had taken them a while to decide how they might apply Tachai's example to their much wealthire commune. Finally they decided that since they have plenty themselves, they ought to be more concurred for the needs of the city people they supply vegecurated for the needs of the city people they supply vegecurated for the needs of the city people they supply vegecurated for the needs of the city people they supply vegecurated for the needs of the city people they supply vegecurated for the needs of the city out to the city of the veget of the city of the city of the city of the city of the second and one of the city of the

to 168 varieties. Honggiao also follous Tachai's system for determining wages. Under the "Tachai system" peasants work together on tasks determined by the team leaders. Meetings are held at regular intervals in which peasants evaluate thair own work and suggest a work-point rating for themselves. Then other peasants discuss the ratings and adjust

Communes

Convention of cache person are finit that person's attitude you'rd work, and then his or he level of skill and diegree down's died to the control work and then his or he level of skill and diegree down's died to the control work of the

At Hongjian the highest number of work points per eighthour day it, low than middle level of 7 and a low for the haged or beginners of 4. Every season (three members and the light of 1 and 1 a

The value of the work point is figured on the annual income of the production beigned (at Tachal) or team (at Hongajian or Hundong). The total number of work the pressure and the pressure are the total language of the total language in the total language is the total language in the total language in the total language is distributed to the workers, 5 percent of the total language is to the state for tax; 7 percent for capital improvements of the commune; 3 percent to a fund for public distribution of the commune; 3 percent to a fund for public distribution of the commune; 3 percent to a fund for public distribution of the commune; 3 percent to a fund for public distribution of the commune; 3 percent to a fund for public distribution of the community of the com

Several people mentioned the problem of inequality between different production teams and the need to equalize resources. At present, fairly wide differences exist. Among Shanghai vegetable communes, per capita incomes vary from 150 yuan to 230 yaan annually. At Hongqiao the average per capita income was said to be 180 yuan, that

percent meets the costs of production

of male working person 900-600 yann a yanr This figure does not include insone from private by the or side on cognition. At Hardong Commisse annual boundard is considered to the person of the person

Peasants also maintain small private plots to grow vegetables for their own consumption. Government policy has never been to completely abelish these small bits of land which the peasants till in addition to their work for the collective. In Huadong each family head is allowed by mu. In addition some raise their own hops, ducks, and chickens. Twenty-five percent of the families' income was said to come in this way.

Down to the Countryside: Intellectual Youth

At Hongglio Commune we saw a small part of another important movement in China: And of educated young people leaving the cities to settle in the countryside. Canter of the control of the cities of the cities to settle in the countryside. The control of the movement has been extended to call for permanent restlement of intellectual youths in the countryside. ("In-thicknut youth" is a term used to include anyone who has been controlled to the control of the control of

Jung Zhiguan from Shanghai was a middle-school graduate who went to the Hongqiao Commune in April 1968.

"My father is a worker, I never thought of becoming 8 peasant, Naturally 1 knew life in the countryside was more difficult than in the city. In school I thought that my

education would be useless in the country. I thought peasants simply worked with mud, that they had no

"When I was inspired by Chairman Mao's call to young people to go to the countryide, my parents were worried. There would be no future for me in a commune. But in the three years I have been here I have learned that I car use my talents in the countryide. In fact, the countryide is the base for the development of the whole national economy. I can hearn from the peasants. In the relatively hard conditions in the countryide I can temper

"Of course life here has been a struggle. When I first came I didn't know how to work at all. But the peasants were concerned about me; they treated me warmly. They also told of their past suffering so that I could appreciate their happiness of today. Now I am also very happy here. I am determined to stay here all my life."

Millions of young people have moved to rural areas. We were told that in Shanghai alone, 730,000 youths were sent to the countryside from the beginning of the Cultural Revolution until the summer of 1971. Huadong Commune, with a population of 56,000 people, had 273 young intellectuals. The whole county in which Tachai

Jung Zhiguan seemed typical of the youth we met. A few of them may have the opportunity to return to the city for university education after a few years of practical experience. But by far the majority expect to live their lives in the countryside, becoming peasants and making

Mechanization-Industry on the Commune

People still talk of a labor shortage in certain rural arraes. Before 1949 the village of Tachai could not even support its population of 190, but now it could support many more than its present 450. With the development of commune industries even more people can be used. Would the intellectual youths help, we asked Chen. "Yes, they are a partial solution. But they cannot busically solve

races, clauring rocks, coentroeing irrigation systems. Tay see the next phase as moving into mechanization, necessary because of the labor shortage. Many communes, would like to develop new land, like the county farm near Island Commune, and to construct factories in the county side. In Tachash with the production brigated scing well and the standard of living increasing peasant do not want to leave their brigades to open new areas or work was also as the contract of the co

seing turned into orchar

During the Cultural Revolution the campaign to bind and flazorise or rural and substruct communes as some flazorise or rural and substruct communes as the community of the community of the community of toy where threshing muchlies are made for their comlystem for earling and chopping graft stalks and often community of the community of the community of the system of events and chopping graft stalks and often system, convented by an electric motor. A suphisticated farmparent, powered by an electric motor. A suphisticated farmparent, powered by an electric motor. A suphisticated farmparent, powered by an electric motor. A suphisticated farmter community of the community of the community of the terms of the community of the community of the comtainty of the community of the community of the comtant flazorist and conductable shallow.

peasants the advantages of mechanization and has opened the way for future advances.

At Honggiao, the affluent commune near Shanghal.

leaders mentioned mechanization and industrialization as matters of high priority. They had built five small-scale farm-implement factories, were processing their own folder, and had twanty-six insecticide producing stations. At Tachai we remarked that we had seen little industrialization in the brigade. "It's true that in our commune, industry is commaratively barelyard." Chen Youse.

gui sald, "but during the past four years in our Xiyang county we have worked on this. We have built a cement factory which can supply the county's needs. There is also and with a daily output of fifteen tons of iron. All these were built in the course of the Great Protestains Cultural Revolution. Before the Cultural Revolution there was a handlerart co-op which repaired farm implements;

ments, garden tractors, and electric generators.

"Chairman Mao aays that the basic path for agriculture is that of mechanization. We educate people to study Mao's thought in a living and creative way; this irrevolution in ideology which will guide the mechanization of agriculture. We call this 'revolution to lead mechanization."

We had walked several hours along the small terraced fields separated by rock boulders, Susan asked, "What will Tachai look like as you move toward mechanization? It would seem there will need to be changes."

"Of course, we are preparing for mechalization," we have been a second of the production of the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and for the land will be used to develop ordented and the land will be used to develop ordente

dustry.

"You must understand that this mechanization of agriculture will not mean a migration to the towns as I understand happened in some other countries," continued
Chen. "We have rich resources in our countryside and
can use many more hands. We have a bright future ahead
of the?"

are "genuine" workers on the governing body of the Communist party of China, including fifteen women, is it really true that the workers rule China? Has the liberation of China from a feudal landlord system and foreign control of its cities and industries also resulted in the liberation of its workers as well? What role do the workers actually

These questions were on our minds as we visited six different factories in China—representing heavy and light industries and handleraft production. When we left China, much remained unanswered, but we had also received strong impressions about the role played by work-

The Past and the Present

Before Liberation the Chinese worker went to his job in an undernourished state and possessed few resources even for minimal health care. He was then expected to work between review and sixteen hours a day, seven days work between review and states hours a day, seven days even the seven of the seven days and the seven days even days to the seven days and the seven days and expected the seven days and the seven days and the contributions, life figure, and unsafe equipment led to a high incidence of sickness, injury, and even death. In preliberation China, life in a factory was bazardous indeed.

Health care is no longer a problem. There were small clinic is all the factories we visited, Red Medical Teams (the factory equivalent of the barefoot doctors) assigned to the control of the factory equivalent of the barefoot doctors) assigned to the factory equivalent of the barefoot doctors) assigned to the factor of the

It was also clear to us that the workers from these six factories go to their jobs with full stomachs, Low food prices throughout China make it possible for all to eat well—for the first time in Chinese history. The convenient

6. FACTORIES

Textile Mill of Northwest China no. 1. certifed. Sim, 1st pring composed of factory buildings and most story million and most story for motions, all commenced of course earthen bricks and such that the story by Mills (No. 1988) and the story that the story of t

Before leaving Texatie MIII 20.1, we saked Wu giant axia to sign bet amen in one of our notebooks. She camplained, with obvious tembarrasament, that her hand-aligned pen, she was possible an landly agreed. Taking a ballpoot pen, she way good, but finally agreed. Taking a crudely but correctly. Afterward, we learned for manifest of her hands are successful to the she will be successful to the s

we learned that this is not at all rare. Several other members of the Central Committee were nearly full-time workers or farmers in their native regions. But while there 76 Chinal Incide the Bennle's Panublin

ate at three of these canteens and the food was tasty and varied, with plenty of meat, vegetables, eggs, and rice.

Shanghai: Who Runs a Factory, and How?

The Shanghai Machine Tool Plant is a huge complex of workshops and factories in the middle of Shanghai, its six thousand workers manufacture "mirror-surface" lathes, turning out over 2,500 in 1970, and surface grinders. These lathes are a vital link in the machine-tool industry, for they in turn make precision parts for other machines. These are exarts so finely erround that you can see your

Walking from the factory gate to our briefing for the tour that followed, we passed an extraordinary assortment of old and new buildings. There were old workshops, built mostly by Western builtosense before 1949, with this walls and matting corrupted from roofs, hot in summer and cold in winter. We also noticed a "culture pale me and cold in where. We also noticed a "culture pale me and cold in where. We also noticed a "culture pale the area of the cold in which were the cold to the cold of th

The questions we asked him, and many other people we met in factories throughout China, were ones to which we never really got complete or satisfactory answers. Who actually "runs" the factory? How much of a say do the workers have in fact? But here in Shanghai we received

At the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant, as in all other plants, the daily scivities of the factory are under the direction of a revolutionary committee. Important issues are discussed by the party committee and then carried out by the revolutionary committee, over which the party committee and then carried out by the revolutionary committee, over which the party committee and committee and committee and example, the production quota for the factory is discussed by the workers, decided by both committees, and is then implemented by the revolutionary committee. There is also an institution known as a workers' courses. This is the transformed in the contract of the committee of the co

Revolution. Most labor-union-type functions are covered by the workers on the revolutionary committee. Workers' congresses are mass organizations concerned mainly with political education now, though they do deal also with some grievance and welfare work. It's the factory revposition of the political control of the political control of the some grievance and welfare work. It's the factory revposition of the political control of the political control of the some properties between the handless the big is-

The resolutionary committees in composed of representatives of the recolonising startist, reclusions, and certainves of the recolonising startist, reclusions, and certainves of the recolonising starting startin

sidentifies of the facety's quota and the plan of producino. Differences of opinion are resolved through extensive discussion by all the workers. And very interestingly-cach side of an argument must characteristic producing the representative of the revolutionary committee, for the participants of a "mass siting," and for authors of dazhou (big character posters). Then the majority prevails, we were the control of the revolutionary committee, for the participants of a "mass siting," and for subthers of dazhou (big character posters). Then the majority prevails, we were discussed to the control of th

construction and ordered factors worker has a number of ways of making, his wiews known: the dazibao, the mass assembly, the "three-lin-one" work team, the workers' conserves, and the revolutionary committee. By making a dazibao a worker can write out any compliant or criticisms he may have and passe if up for other workers and the factory leadership to see. We saw compliant or criticisms which is the conserved of the conserved

As visitors briefly touring a huge plant, we could hardly tell how democratically these procedures would turn out in practice, but there certainly seemed to be a lot of give-and-tack between all the workers, and none, of the formal stiffness and everyday intimidation of boss-

Shanghai: When Factories Become Schools

Many Americans would wonder about workers actually running a factory. Isn't it possible, they might ask, that workers would not really know how to run a factory? This is a serious question, and one to which we turned as our tour of the Shockah Control.

tinued.

Along with the active participation of large numbers of workers in the running of the factory's daily activities there is a new program which provides the background knowledge necessary for this type of participation to work. This new proyers

The schools are all relatively new, stemming from a 1968 directive by Mao Tse-tung, and are aimed at making qualified technicians of factory workers. In Shanghai there were four kinds of the control of the control

1. July 21 universities: Fifty-two workers were selected in 1968 for the first session, and they will all graduats soon. All fifty-two were experienced workers, and had been recommended by their fellow workers and had been recommended by their fellow workers and adaptived by the factory leaders. The average age of those encoding was supine; average schooling was junior middle-school. After two-and-a-half years of training, the hope is, that they will be technicians with good political com-

Since 1953, the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant has

ranks of the factory workers. These technicians now make up half the present technical staff and are the backbone of the factory.

 Spare-time schools: These began in 1969. More than six hundred workers are currently involved in this program of studying politics, technology, and culture in their spare time.

3. Therein-one designing prought. This is a kind of co-th-job training program that places a worker in a designing team with a technician and a revolutionary and a second of the contract of

 Some workers are sent to the experimental departments at the factory, where they receive direct training on the factory floor.

Pollitics, as well as technology, is stressed in all four of these training programs. The purpose of all four "schools" is to raise the educational level of as many workers an possible. Obviously some of the training is other types of training—schools the second of th

Before Liberation the factory could only produce sinple farm tools. Immediately after Liberation it was assigned the job of producing lathes, a task made difficult by the workers' lick of experience and by the Western embarge. Until the Great Leap period they were able culy to limitate foreign models of lathes available in China. The workers we talked to said they were impired to the control of the control of the control of the bull of the control of the control of the control of the bull of the control of the control of the control of the had even a talk in which he discussed the need for

In 1961 a student, a worker, and a technician from lathe and achieved a significant breakthrough in its deonly the "expert" was supposed to do this sort of

The three-in-one design groups, Xiu Guifu told us,

Nanking: Making "Revolutionary" Film Projectors

We were totally unprepared for our visit to the Nan-

The Film Projector Factory also has beautiful large a slightly antiseptic appearance. White-coated workers

During our afternoon tour, we were taken through

led us back out through the gardens and into the building

While a film projector factory might seem relatively of how China's revolution has brought many small revand all projectors had to be imported. Production at this plant began in 1953, with only 40 workers (there are

non: 1 400) At first, only repair work was done on foreign models, tion of film projectors, but these were still based on the

After the Cultural Revolution, we were told, threein-one committees were set up at the Nanking factory. The first change they instituted was to send design teams to isolated and mountainous rural areas, to see if film projectors could be adapted to the needs of the peasants in those areas.

According to Wang Ligao, the chairman of the factory's ties. From their experiences in touring these areas, it became obvious to the teams that for most peasants the of China's peasants to travel the long distances to the cities; and their cultural life centered around home villages

small backpack for carrying, and weighs a total of 70 pounds (the old foreign models had four pieces and weighed 160 pounds).

The "illumination element" is 60 percent brighter, and a renovated generator was devised that weights 60 pounds) — only 40 percent of the weight of the old one (150 pounds). It, too, is portable in two backpacks, and uses adminishing in place of steel. This entire development, we were proughly told by the plant manager, was an illustration of the other main principle that is supposed to guide the plant manager.

the workers, wei reamin fuwu, "serve the people."
While it is difficult to separate this from just plain
ingsunity, and while 130 pounds for projector and generator is still fairly bulky, it did seem to us that the new
portable projectors were indeed "serving the people,"
especially the pessants who had pressounts been also

As we left the Nanking Film Projector Factory, we began to realize what this meant, and images came into our heads of groups of young people climbing into the straped to their backs. For projector and generator straped to their backs. For projector and generator such a movie could easily be their first. And while chair does not be the projector of the projector

Peking: A Railroad Worker's Story

At the gate of the spinnels Pedent Pedentry 7 Rolling Stock Plant, we were met by Ilas Dan, a dark-delender man in his late forties, the director of the factory in rate outloancy committee. Very relaxed, be wore a crumple People's Liberation Army uniform almost necessitantly and had the air of concuous in authority who docust; openly show his power. On the way to our briefing, we pushed through one of the largest plants we had ever seen, pushed through one of the largest plants we had ever seen districts, warm pound, divided into northern and southern districts, we have the late be been from one of

Located about half an hour from Tiananmen, Peking's center, the rolling-stock plant is set among groves of men and farm plate, but once we were inside there was some minister, that the was a heavy-industry plant. The single thousand workers here repair rolling stock for the production of the production of the production of the constituted becomes and milled ear. "Although these would probably be relegated to a museum in the U.S., In and, positing to large stems becomes being arrived may be a superior of the plant would score begin important." But he said that the plant would score begin production on a new internal-combinated fined and production. The plant would score begin advance for the plant. (A sporeal-hundred-mile sets run of the protection plant between competitions). In all the old may be the competition of the plant would be and import the engine compartment.) Inside the followtion of the plant was also many small farm plots, recsported. The global was well as the competition of the whole such as the plant was a superior of the whole such many thanks and the population of the whole makes and methods and the population of the whole such milks and the production of the whole such milks and the production of the whole such milks and the plant would be such as a such

Guy breiding included a fluminosal sketch of the plants' unusualized history. The factory was bin in 1901 by decided laster by the Japanese during their long occupations of the plants of the plant and plants of plant was plant on the plant of the plant and plants of plant was plants of plants of plants of plants of plants of the plant and over a distribution of the plant and plants of plants of the plant and plants of the plant was a bended of blant galaxies of their plants and plants of the plants and a blanted of blants and plants of the plants was a bended of blants and the plants of the plan

the maintenance shop for locomotives and cars was a natural focus for the efforts of the party to get a firm base among China's industrial workers.

After our hunch in the factory canteen, Hang Baohus—a veteran of the February 7 strike in 1923 for which

the plant is named—sat down with us to tell his story. Now seventy-three years old, Hang worked in the factory for fifty-three years, and has recently retired. In all his childhood, he had had one year and two months of primary schooling, yet his syntax and diction were precise, almost professorial. We glanced at his hands bornes with

As we listened intently he told us the story of one China's most important early labor struggles, in which he had been an active participant. Here is Hang's account.

"In 1918-19 Mao Tuc-tung visited the factory seal ralked to stt, the workers, about organizing curseiver. At that time our wages were seven to nine yuan a month, and we were respected to hand over eight to the foremen and we were supported to hand over of the to the contract of the con

"After the first contacts had been made, we allworkers in the plant—began to study in night schools run by Mao. There we learned about class struggle and revolution, and later we were the hard backbone of the partr's strength in the plant.

"Workers in those days were looked down upon as dirty and were tightly controlled by the controlled state. Even though there were four those now as we had to examine very gradually. At the end of 1921 he workers' either state of the Peking-Hankow Railroad, We were not yet permitted to use the title 'trade union' and 'school' had to harrow a meaning but workers were beginning to harrow a meaning that workers were beginning to

Hang smiled, remarking that by this time they had acquired a certain amount of prestige and no longer had to take any abuse.

of case any aguse.

Our srike in August 1922 was successful and we forced the company to accept our eight-point programitis included pay increases, improved working conditions, after working and employment priority to workers' children. During this strike, we captured weapons from

the police and soddiers and actually managed to stop relited at their on the Peking-Handsow line! We also drove sawy the French director of the factory, a man named for the policy of the peking the properties of the peking same of our organization from "workers" club's for trade union." Other workers' clubs throughout Chinas Gloridow our example and for the first time the works' furthed union." "Another rout of this strike was the feeling among

gany workers that labor was beginning to acquire real power. On February 1, 1923, the Communist party decided to hold a trade-union congress in the city of Zhamphou. Fe've handerd deleganes galhered there, commecting hall for the first session, they were stopped by troops sent by the local wardord. The deleganes brock through the corden of soldlers and convened the meetings. Later that afference, police and soldlers stormed into the meeting hall, broke up the congress, and posted a we called a great strike beginning on February 4, and we called a great strike beginning on February 5, and

"By the evening of February 6, all the attempts at negotiations had failed, and suddenly the leaders of our trade union at the plant were arrested. So the next day, February 7, we were without our leaders, and our strike plans were in disorganization. When I went to the tradeualon hall that morning, there were not many people there, and we were not sure what we should ap.

"About ten in the morning though, we decided to march to the police station to demand the release of our leaders; in all there were two thousand workers. A platton of soldiers faced us in the street and threatened to shoot. When we refused to move, the troops opened fire, killing four workers and wounding twenty.

"This massacre in Peking was the signal for a general attack throughout China on the young labor movement. Several hundred workers were killed or wounded, and after this the Communist party's organizing efforts were systematically wiped out.

As Hang himself concluded, this disaster marked workers. It also taught them an important lesson-than shifted to the countryside in the long fight to liberate China. The workers also decided that it was time to start arming themselves, and they set up small fighting

Hang was a worker in the rolling-stock plant and an the party in 1950. His life had spanned the periods of foreign invasion, Kuomintang repression, and finally the victory of the Communists. We left the briefing room with the feeling that we had been shown a panoramie

After this somber but fascinating story, we went out was devoted to the overhauling of locomotives, now an even more important industrial function as China's railroads begin to extend into the farthest mountain regions. hauled through June versus the previous peak in a whole year of 209 (in 1966). This was one aspect of an impressive production increase at the rolling-stock plant

The Peking factory included a fair number of others 10) and a shop which makes links and chains from

there. Old freight cars beyond repair are brought to sold outside the factory to make new fiberboard

in China which not only is the result of a concern for the quality of China's environment, but also stems from the fact that China is still relatively poor-everything

notentially reusable is saved. The subsidiary factories also provide employment and supplementary income for

As we were about to board our buses for the trip back to Peking, Paul Pickowicz asked Comrade Jia his "Well of course he'll be welcomed. Personally, I am not very enthusiastic about it. But you know I'm really glad you all came. I've really enjoyed showing you around, but about it."

Working Conditions

While the workers in China did seem to us to have an important role in running the factories they worked in, we were also curious about working conditions. It would not matter very much to have worker participation if conditions in the factories themselves were still poor

characteristics were the clusters of trees, gardens, and veretable plots on the factory grounds. This was the cities and was also part of the general movement in China toward self-sufficiency. Thus, factory communities, in addition to repairing locomotives and manufacturing lathes, should also grow as many of the vegetables they

Inside the factories we visited the workshops were relatively neat and comfortable-though there was a noticeable difference between the heavy and light induslarge buildings with very high ceilings that gave them a shedlike appearance-not too different from any large

There was also plenty of space between the machines and we saw no evidence of crowding. In the Peking factory, for example, 9,000 workers in three shifts work were cool-there were many fans scattered around-

we visited were completely dry. And these workshops were all well lighted for the work being done

All the machinery we saw looked safe as well action. Movable posts that could catch fingers or clothing cloth. Movable posts that could catch fingers or clothing were all screened in some way. There seemed to be adequate capquincent, such as crases and mechanical parabolic pa

For the most part, the workers settined to be detault very adequately for the work they performed. For making—for limit—were being used in the testile mill and welder's masks in the rolling-stock plant, shough we did so tice a lack of arbestos clothing at the Taiyuan Heavy Machinery Plant. Men working around the blast furnace there had gogdis, glows, and subestors "gnath" to protect them from sparts and read-sot enothers; it is standard in most Western sted mills for such workers to be clothed in most Western sted mills for such workers to be clothed in all weldens mills. At the same time, however, we are in weldens mills.

Finally, in none of the factories did we see any indication of "speedup." The workers seemed to be working at a reasonable pace. There were no conveyor belts mindlessly driving the workers to their tasks. The length of shifts worked also seemed to be reasonable. At the Shanghin Machine Tool Plant there were three shifts, one

> day shift 8 hours night shift no. 1 7½ hours night shift no. 2 6½ hours

There is compensation for working nights, ranging from 30 to 60 fen a day. Wages in the major factories are set according to na-

tional standards—this included all those we saw. The small subsidiary factories, however, which are owned collectively rather than by the state, set their own wage levels determined by the profits and earnings from sales by the

Thus there are obvious differences in wages, often inside the same factory. In Peking, for example, the dependents and women who work in the collectively owned metalworking subsidiary of the rolling-stock plant earn one yuan a day. Workers in the main, state-owned factory receive two yuan per day for similar work, of similar duration effort and difficulty.

Wages also vary between factories, based on the type of work done. These are the average wage scales at some of the places we visited:

> hanghai Machine Tool Plant 65 lanking Film Projector Factory 45

Perhaps the greatest differences are those which result from increases given to workers with seedinity. The sign of this differential was surprisingly large. For example, at the Socohow Embroidery Factory the average wage is more than 40 yuan a month, but for workers with the most seniority, this rises as high as 90 yuan. From discustions we had at other plants this was not considered un-

But the wage level itself—which might seem low to an American—must be judged against other factors. Medical care in most places is free to workers and half price for families. Housing costs only a nominal amount, and most social services are provided cheaply. This includes child care, which is considered a vital necessity since the labor of women is needed in China. There was also materinty leave, with nw for fifty-six days at the fac-

Food is one of the few items in a worker's budget which must be planned for. Fortunately, food prices are quite low in markets, and there are canteens at every factory. These stay open twenty-four hours a day so that the workers on all three shifts can est whenever

Canten prices ranged from 25 ten (10 cents U.S.) for a plate of mean and vegetable to 16 fm for a small roll. The average was been done to 120 fm for a small roll. The average was been done within the same of the was small roll. The average wage is 65 years a menth, we were told that 12 years a month was controlled the same prices of the same property of the same

Most factories also contain large domitories, usually for the unmarried workers but sometimes including living quarters for married copy and families. This is separate from the larger require and families. This is separate from the larger require to the families. The domitories we saw in Sian seemed to be for married copy and the second of the second contains the second contains deposite and the second contains a sec

mil attors of precent of the workers are resume.

If the weather than the demandrey is from harminess that the weather than the demandrey is from harminess and the weather than the property of the property

Soochow: Embroidery for Everyone

We walked past a woman designer putting the finishing touches on a painting which will be used by weavers

43.00

at the Soochow Embroidery Factory as a model for a new piece of embroidery. From a distance the scene was very strange: she was bent over one end of the painting, putting a few strokes here and there; on the other

The woman was working on a new embroidery which was copied from a well-known North Vietnamese poster of a woman crawling through jungle grass with her rifle. To make absolutely certain that the rifle in the design looked like the real thing, the woman had brought a

Around her in the designing room of the Socchow Embroidery Factory were eight other men and women, all equally absorbed in transforming a sketch, a poster, or an idea into a painting for a new embroidery design. Next we came to the thread selection room, which was lifted from wall to wall with huge racks holding countfilled from wall as wolf ranknew of color. Workers would first creat in a wolf ranknew proposed for a particular embroidery nattern from the model for a particular embroidery nattern from the

Comrade Gu, a serious woman with short clipped hair, was our guide for the day. She took us to the inpactry room, where workers in teams of two were weaving large subsectives with the help of mirrors. Since the type of tapeatries produced in Socchow had the same design sewn on both sides of the cloth, the only way to ensure accuracy in the sewing stage was for workers to do one side of the theosety at a time. Jooking at the reverse side of the theosety at a time. Jooking at the reverse

side in the mirror to follow the pattern.
Finally, we came to the display room. Here we saw
the full array of products made at the factory—screens,
pliflows, reletures, baby clothes, and even a rendering of
the Butle of Pfiguingsaua, a revolutionary victory in
1937 in which Lin Piao's Eighth Route Army defeated the
cruef, Japanese Pitth Division on a north China mounland of the product of the piace of t

The embroidery factory was one of the most pleasant we visited in China. Every detail in the factory's layout and construction was well designed and seemed to be custom made for the eye-straining work involved in band-sewn embroidery.

The factory's workrooms are longer than they are wide. as much light as the outside ones. In addition, a solid line of thick-foliaged trees stands outside both sets of windows, far enough away from the building so that the and high enough to cut off the glare of the bright Sonchow sky. When an embroiderer looks up from her need dlework, done in bright, natural light, she looks out on a We were visiting the first branch of the Soochow

Embroidery Factory, the section in which all handwork is done with machines, and of the factory's total output,

Before Liberation, all embroidery work was done in-

inadequate light, and the embroiderers had to work long

Comrade Gu, now in her forties, had started doing embroidery at the age of thirteen, when she began learninto full-time embroidery at an early age. Like many others, she worked from dawn to dusk. Liberation was

one of the most important dates in her life. "In the past we worked for a handful of people-emnamese people." The older workers like herself, she said, were the ones who best realize the sharp contrast be-

Since 1949, all embroidery work is being done colhave improved dramatically. As a result of bringing the

embroiderers together, techniques have been improved -are much closer, she said, to the actual experiences of the people who make and buy the embroidery work Old classical themes have been abandoned now in favor lution and the revolutions in third-world countries. A particularly colorful example Comrade Gu showed us

The workers at the embroidery factory take the slogan "Serve the people" seriously and have come up with several novel ways of putting it into practice. One example arose during the designing of a large tapestry denicting Province. They made initial drawings, went directly to the banks of the canal, and asked the workers who had

An amusing example of this unique kind of opinion poll came when the embroiderers took a design of embroidery, though attractively produced, showed two rows of peasants working from each end of the paddy toward the center, transplanting the young green rice shoots. The difficulty, as one peasant quickly pointed out was that transplanting rice is done from one end of a Factory to take designs out to ordinary people for their reactions on authenticity and accuracy of detail. In this way, modern ideas are incorporated into an art which has more than a thousand years of tradition behind it,

Our visit to these Chinese factories left us with a numboth men and women-works very hard. China is still Liberation, and there is no question in anyone's mind there that in the future there will be more hard work

to come for the Chinese people.

We talked with scores of workers. From what we saw
and heard, it was evident that, in spite of the hard work,
the Chinese people are enthusiastically participating in

Conditions in the factories—certainly in every one we visited—have been vastly improved since Liberation. Work in China is no longer unnecessarily dangerous or unbearable. Gones, too, are the shantytowns, gambling halls, pawrsthops, and optium dens that characterized the workers' districts before 1949—and are still problems to

day in Hong Kong.

Of equal importance, the worker in China is respected; she, or he, is no longer looked down upon, as was true in the past. Indeed, Chinese society now views the worker

in the past, Indeed, Chinese society now views the worker as its most important member. Along with this new respectability, the worker lives in a community both more secure and healthier than that of his Chinese counterpart before 1949 and his Western counterpart today. The factories we saw were communities, not company towns or observed.

The atmosphere in which the Claims worker loves me to be a healthy one, a place where a worker common to be a healthy one, a place where a worker common the common threshold the property of the common threshold the common than a sold states seen of taking part and early in the daily admitted or his novel; There are also many calculations of the common threshold th

—for some—the chance to learn to read for the first time.

In addition, China's "leftover people" are now fitted into the workers' communities. Old people and other adult dependents perform subsidiary, but important, roles in

work the factory farms, and watch the children of the younger workers.

Working conditions are an important incentive in mo-

enating workers, one that is especially meaningful to oldthe workers who remember what work was like before Liberation. But perhaps more important still for the fasure, the Chinese have set out to break down some of the distinctions which make working in an American factory so unrewarding. The traditional and clear differences between "management" and "labor," for example, are being attacked in a variety of interesting ways.

The most obvious of these, and one which we saw everywhere in China, is the overwhelming and always visible emphasis on education and training—it sometimes even scened to its that everyone in China was in school. The value of such programs is direct and has an immetance of the contract of the contract of the contract of the event in "slay 21 universities" and the "spare-time schools," China is laying the groundwork for a future factory sytem in which everyone is equally declared—devoluced to

In America, social inequality has been traditionally based on wealth, but it has also been accurately reflected in the availability and quality of education. Factory workers often ended up working in factories because they could not, financially or socially, get higher education, while the rich who become managers invariably went to college. The usefulness of a degree from an eltie college

is as great today as in the past.

But in China, while the overall level of education is still not as high as in America, the need for education as a means to a better job is far less important and becoming less so because of these new programs.

Another way of encouraging the active participation of workers is the "intre-ei--one" team. We learned about their creativeness and effectiveness in producing new technical solvances in various areas of industry—the "mir-ros-surface" lathe in Shanghai and the new portable movine projector. in Nakhing. These teams, only recently the differences between "management" and workers. Ideally, by allowing the worker on a three-in-one team an op-

Of course, this is only what is hoped for, and we cannot say whether this will really happen. But from our trip it was clear that this new form of organization is spreading to factories and other units all over China, and there

Foreign observers have noticed the Chinese penchant for hard work, and some have decided that China today has its own version of the American Partins other—value the control of the Chinese and the Chinese and the bet results. To us, that did not seem to be too far off the mark. There was another side of this, also familiar to us—a strong sense of the pioneering spirit in this new China. But here people didn't talk of working for forture or famer, rather it was with "the needs of the revolution" in mind. The Chinese are not "going West". . . they are staying at home and building China in no a socialitation of the control of the control of the control of the set staying at home and building China in no a socialita.

7 FOLICATION

Of course I never had a chance to go to school, on I was illiterate. The traditional rulers liked to keep us illiterate so that we would not demand our rights and make trouble for cheen. Now I have succeed to the company of the com

The Old and the New

This is the old and the new in education, as described by an old woman in rural China. When the Chinese want to explain their ideas about education, they always contrast the present with the past. The past does not mean simply earlier in this century, for Chinese civilization is over two thousand years old. Throughout Chinese hisfory, education has played a central role, as it does today, there the similarities end, for in 1949, Liberainon turned

Education in traditional China was for the few and the rich; today is in for the many and especially the proof. In the old society most young people had to work; they had no time for school, and no money to pay their expenses. Chiy the seas of officials, landfords, and metchanic could receive an obsention. The remains people were illustrate, and these were the poor. Now priorities have been reversed. A lengthy threate, campaign has been uncentful, and only those people too old to learn cannot read Chinese newspapers. In place of a system that

Sudans under the old system were trained to be arbeit, and the state of the state o

In Old China those with education had power, as well as money. They used their power to rule China for their own profit. The purpose of the new education is just the opposite: the Chinese want to train leaders that will

The Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution, beginning in a university, brought the educational system to a complete standardill. Schools were closed in 1966, and some universities have been approximately the Cultural Revolution there has been approximately the cultural Revolution These are to train people with skills useful in solving Cultural Schools and social problems, to motivate students of the contract of the contract of the cultural schools and social problems, to motivate students and social problems, to motivate students and social problems, to motivate students and social proposal social schools are social social social schools and social social schools are solved to the social schools and social schools are solved to the social schools and social schools are solved to the schools are solved to the social schools are solved to the social schools are solved to the social schools are solved to the schools are solved to t

The debates in the Cultural Revolution were thus about the methods of achieving these goals, not about the

goals themselves. The Red Guards argued that school administrators were creating a new oldosated eller trained in abstract of the trained and trained

The "three-door" graduate was the perfect example of what the Red Gunds thought a Chinese intellectual should not be. The three-door graduate passed through only three doors in his life: from family to school, from school to university, and from university to office or bloostatyr, in the view of the Red Guntst, such a person would have seen the contributing to production, and was thus a waterfoll parasite.

Before we started visiting Chinese schools, we had many questions. What would the Cultural Revolution actually mean in the life of the students? Would the schools be drastically changed? Finally, we wondered, what would

Politics, Ping-Pong, and Guns

Like children evrywhere, those of China are very curious, especially show these terms. Pay have been its curious, especially show the statem. Pay have been its curious, especially show the statement of the control of the control of the curious curious and the control of the curious curious and the control of the curious curious and the curious curious curious and the curious curi

possibility that we were from the United States would emerge in a small, dark head and would be hesitantly set forth. Many a child in China had his prestige raised immeasurably in the eyes of his peers for having correctly guessed our answer: "Yes, we are Americans."

Chinese children participate enthusiastically in sports, Ichina much emphasis is placed on good physical health, and early in the morning it is not uncommon to see Chinese cellus doing traditional Chinese or modern West. Chinese cellus chinese con modern West. Chinese cellus chinese con modern West. Chinese cellus chinese con modern with the contract of the contract which is considered to the contract of the contract which were contracted to the contracted t

Just as children are the same everywhere, so are they different from one place to another. Chinese children grow up in a revolutionary country, one only recently wrenched from a semifeudal society. The history of this nation, its values, and its needs are passed on to the new children born since I sheration.

Learning about the old society is a major aspect of a child's deucation. Perhaps he has grandparents or other elderly relatives who speak of diagrandparents or other elderly relatives who speak of diagrandparents of special testimenties in their schools about "bitter runnersparence." Cultural events—photography exhibits, sculpture, ballet—all may tell of the old society, a world that must stem almost unbelievable to these youncest, the control of the c

Chinese children have responsibilities that might seem difficult or dangerous to a Westerner. To learn about bor. To help defend their country, they join the people's millies. In Nanking we had the opportunity to observe local million excretises. Children as well as young adults of both sexes participated, The little girls looked cheerful in long, bright print skirts with shorts underneath. The firing range was a collage of huge red bows and long shipy reinsit. We questioned the leader of the children's units

short children being in the militia.

"Chian must be prepared," he said, and then went on
to explain that Chian only bocame unified through a poople's war. In this war for liberation, it had been necessary
to mobilize every person in the society. Today the Chinose
leaders are sware of possible war with the Soviet Union,
and they also feel threatened by the many American busts
surrounding Chian. As a result, Chinose children learns to
be prepared for all withouts. They work in factories, they
therefore the control of the con

Chengxian Road Primary School

On a raisy morning we winted the Chengian Road Framary School in Manking. The school is a collection for the Chengian Chengian Chengian Chengian for the Chengian Chengian Chengian diam helgin, it is relatively now but very simple. On our arrival we were accorded into a large room where we made with representatives of the school revolutionary committed the control of the chengian committee with representatives of the school revolutionary committee with the committee of the chengian committee with the chengian committee of the chengian of the curriculum. The school was described by our hosts as being slightly above average, but not one of the best committee of the chengian chengian committee of the chengian chengian

The classrooms are medium-sized, with large windows, since this is a primary school, the students were from these seven to thirteen, and were enrolled in grades one to the Students sit on benches behind small desks in double flows, Each, class has forty to fifty students, because there

The classroom atmosphere is extremely orderly, T

children who had been sitting with forcarms croused breastino clapping when we entered one room. The teachscalled the students to order and the English class resumes, the students to enter a strong British access. The class dutility resucher with a strong British access. The class dutility resuchers with a strong British access. The continued until each word in the sentence was pronounced, and then the students read the sentence as a whole. Most manner. The teacher front were conducted in a similar manner. The teacher front were conducted in a similar manner. The teacher front were conducted in a similar manner.

Curricul

The duly schedule in the Chenguian Read Priess School changes from numer to witter. In the summar classes begin at 7:30 A.M. and end at 11:00. Everyone classes begin at 7:30 A.M. and end at 11:00. Everyone the control of the contro

The length of time spent in this primary school is being experimentally reduced from six to five years. Since this is a recent change, the students in the older grades began school on the old system. To deal with this problem, the classes in the school are divided into two sections. The first, second, and third grades are geared to the new five-year system, while the fourth, fifth, and sixth

Texthooks, too, are being changed since the Cultural Revolution. Each district now writes its own textbooks, relating them to local conditions and problems. For example, the schoolchildren in Nanking had a story about the new Nanking Yangzer River Bridge, a local accomplishment. Each class had two textbooks, one for each sensester of the school year. Even though these texts generate of the school year. Even though these

textbooks are newly written, they were not in final form.

According to the teachers, the books will be used for

What does a Chinese child at this Nanking primary school study? The younger children have five basis exclusives a politic, Chinese language, physical culture, math, and revolutionary at and culture. After a child reaches the fifth grade, English and "common knowledge" are added to the curriculum. The material studied in "common knowledge" varies during the year, but includes mechanics, appriculum. The material studied in "common knowledge" varies during the year, but includes mechanics, appriculant studies, and natural science. The control of the school workshops and parties.

proper political and mental outlook-takes first priority in this school. We were surprised to find a sixth-erade reading class using as a text Rent Collection Courtward. a series of articles about life in the old society. It was a new text, published during the Cultural Revolution. In a fourth-grade politics class, we heard the teacher discussing imperialism with her students. The lesson for enemy of Asian peoples and all peoples of the world, She gave an account of the Korean War and of two decades of American aggression in Southeast Asia. The stress in the entire class was on the ability of the Asian peoples to triumph over American imperialism. Many students also attend Mao Tse-tung thought study classes after normal school hours. They have a choice between classes at the school and those in their neighborhoods. The classes at the school are made up of students and are of two kinds: regular ongoing discussions and special meetings about significant events, such as a major policy announcement from the government. The neighbor-

bood classes are organized differently; teachers from the school, street leaders, and parents are represented. These educational committees can also offer opinions on the administration of the schools. Putting theory into practice is also a key part of ideolorical education. As in the middle schools and high schools, primary students do actual productive work using

Children at Work

In the first workshop we visited, a woman was bussing sowing a group of twelve fourth graders how to use metal files. Their task was to cut a grid on metal strips destined to become bus steps.

"How Iong will it take you to flash one step?" we

"Two class periods," answered a boy in a blue and white strined T-shirt, "sometimes less."

We saw bus steps in all stages of completion around the room. One little pirt, with pigtails tied together so that they wouldn't get in her way, was learning how to measure lines and put a pattern on the raw strips. Another boy was learning to make the strokes of his file even so that the depth of the cuts would not vary. Each child

"What if a child wants to do it differently from the teacher?" we asked, remembering the ways of American

children.

"He's allowed to do it his way on scraps kept for that purpose," answered the worker-teacher. She went on

to say that the students gradually learned to trust the years of experience that the teachers had.

Our guide, an eighteen-year-old teacher, led us into the next workshop, Here a group of older children were electroplating small metal parts to be used in the con-

their blue pants. On the walls were safety posters concerning the dangers of sword with electricity and seids. They had been made by the children themselves. A gift with a Little Red Gord armband explained that the equipment had been confecced by the students themselves under the entidence of

serves under the guidance of a worker-teacher.

"This used to be a wegetable storage vat," she said, pointing to a large container of acid. Scraps and discards from nearby factories had contributed to the construction of the remainder of the equipment. The students in the contribute of the contribute of the contribute of the contribute of the remainder of the equipment.

considerations, such as quality control. They had estab-

These same parts were utilized in the nart workshop. There a pair of sixth prafest were using a stampen machine to punch out metal components for the filters. The metal these were turned and turned to make it possible to make one more plate from each sheet. In the anner crom a group of children was susembling the final mean room a group of children was susembling the final workshop. All the purts had been made in the school. Now the filters would go to a factory to be installed. For one week each term the younger clauses and their teachers would go to this factory to weit. The upper cancels are the proposed to the final proposed to work the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work. The upper cancels were the proposed to the factory to work the upper cancel to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factory to be installed to the proposed to the factor to the proposed to the proposed to the proposed to the proposed to the factor to the proposed to the

Why is all this necessary? Why are the children put to work? Is China so poor that even the children must work? These were the questions in our mind. We asked a teacher. "The reason is neither profits nor production." she ex-

palation. "Every child must know that the things be used in life are mude by the hands of the workers." She went to explain that education should not create an ecloracid measurement from the cred of the people. Rother work discountered to the credit of the people of t

Turning a child into a responsible Chinese citizen also means he should have experience with farming techniques. Almost every school we visited had some kind og andren. In this region peasant from outside Nanking were asked to serve as teachers. Old peasants thus came on the educational system to provide instruction in meaning the contraction of the children of the contraction of the children of the contraction of the children of the children

How did these city children from Nanking respond to having an "uneducated" peasant for a teacher? Our guide told us that the children treated the peasant with disdain at first, until the "tomato experience" taught the children

The children had planned a large space in their gardes with tomnices. They were quite pleased when the plant grew green and tail. At this point the old peasant took order to grow properly. Small hands were put together and the children decided logically that more plants would give a greater yeld. The peasant widely let the children decided logically that more plants would give a greater yeld. The peasant widely let the children were dead, having squeezed each other our. "Now the schildren have learned, for themselves that the peasant shiften have learned to the shiften have le

Peking Middle School No. 31

Entring the small campus of Peking Middle School no. 3 right in the middle of Peking would see widness immediately of the school's long history. It began as a ministonary school, run by Westerners, and the architectural control of the school of the schoo

and a swimming pool. We began as usual with a presentation by teachers. We began as usual with a presentation by teachers and similarization, and students gathered in a small meeting of the students of the

to discipline his students. They wouldn't ait still and they wouldn't held reads. He order that the present a still and they wouldn't held held the still the he had noticed that most of them enjoyed their own in the factories and in physical education more than clastroom work. They worked diligently and well used their had the still the factory tasks for which they were given responsibility. He began to praise them for 40th well at these activities, and now he had a

better relationship with his students.

We had come out behind the buildings into a large fine area. This was the playground, where in addition to sports and games the students do exercises together every the player of the students of the students of the students they had postpood the exercises. Now they began to stream out of their classes, laughing and whisporting about this strange group of walignores—foreigner—who had come to watch them. They formed more or less regular they proceeded to go through a precise and exhausting routine. It was very hot to go through a precise and exhausting routine, It was very hot to go, and their cheeks flusted bright red—we fet a little guilty studenting could and

area. Here a class of girls in bright blue and red swimsuits were learning to dive. Shouting and giggling, some of them were helping friends, showing them how to duck their heads, but others were pushing each other in with teacher or us. We turned away after a while and began to walk back toward the school. One of the girls who was showing us around said to Dorothy, "You won't see too many classes actually in session now, because we're just summing up our experiences from this year. Summer vacation will start soon," "What will you do during the vacation?" Dorothy asked her. She looked a at the school will go to a village to work. But our school can't arrange for enough places, so some of us can't go, I'll have to stay in Peking. I'll stay home and take care of my brother. He's only a baby, and there will still be some activities at school,"

We were back in the front courtvard, and a small group

of color gibt were preparing to you us a colorant portions.

On the high peace to stip, we could use groups of
man A time by such as the color to th

Admissions

First of all, we learned that the tall, healthy-locking medical sub-precise as all level in the emphathoned temperature of the sub-precise and the sub-precise and precise and precise and precise and precise and precise and precise and to take any exception, to be administed to take desired to add the sub-precise and the sub-

Now entrance examinations and the tracking system

have been abolished, and primary-school graduates attend middle (secondary) schools in their own neighborhoods. This is an important change, First, each primary-school graduate should now be able to continue his education, Second, each middle school can have a heterogeneous mixture of students with different abilities and family back-

nure of students with different abilities and family backgrounds. In every city we visited we asked about these changes. In Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, and Sian officials said that students were admitted on the basis of residence, and entrance examinations were no longer used. In this way they hope to create a more egalitatian

Middle School no. 31, like all other middle schools in

Length of Schooling

Peting, has reduced the length of schooling from six years. One Defente Collisian Revolution, the six years of section. Before the Collisian Revolution, the six years of secmiddle school (justed high school) and dires years of an extraction reduced (school plant) the collisian of distributed cases was use required in order to past from workers were set factories all over Collisian and cracked outly the level of justice-middle-school graduates, it second to the stool before the Collisian Revolution, Now the dissistance was the collisian of the stool and senior middle school has been schooled, and all reduced will consider school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled, and if it alternative will consider the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it in the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the school the school has been schooled and it is the s

Through shortening the period of study, the Chinese hope to make it possible for every child to receive primary-and middle-school education. Primary schooling in Peking has also been reduced from six to five years. In the past, even in the cities, few students were able to complete the full twelve years of primary-and middle-school education. By cutting the twelve years down to ten, the Chinese can be their waitable teachers and resources to teach more

As we heard the administrators in Middle School no. 31 talk about the advantages of the ten-year system, we compared their program with those we had seen in ty to city in the duration of schooling.

There is even more variety in the length of schooling.

and otherwised attragement in the countryside. Before the Cultural Revolution must all pressuant children coast break away from their farming in the continuous continuous of continuous co

Techni Production Brigati, set in the regged, set is a Shankl Province in northwest Clina, now persage in come table, part comband primary-middle school. The 438 of the come table part comband primary-middle school. The 438 of the company of the

Several other villages near Tachai that we visited also had newly established middle schools or combined primary-middle schools. In making more education accessible to rural children, the Chinese are struggling to make the opportunities for education as broad in the country-lide as they have been in the cities

- missilum

The students at Middle School no. 31 told us that purely subjects were taught at the school, and that each year they take eight or nine of them. The available courses were: politics, Chinese language and literature, mathematics, English, physics, chemistry, fundamental agricultural knowledge, health and hygiene, history, geography, atheirs and military training, and cultural performing.

school course offerings were similar: in Socchow, middle school students study Chinese language and literature, mathematics, basic agricultural and industrial knowledge, physical education and military training, ceilure, history physical education and military training, ceilure, history seven middle-school students we met in Techni study Mico Tecturage thought and Markinsi-Indusinien, mathematics, Clinice, physics and chemistry, basic agricultural and industrial knowledge, military training and physical exercise, and revolutionary set and cutture. The rural Tachni stutual rural most students study English, and stone schools offer

Size the liberation of China in 1949, classroom education has placed more stress on politics than does education in America. A new revolutionary society meant a tow kind of cloudston and a new set of attitudes. Thus the study of Mao Tia-tung thought (the writings of Chairiman Mao) and of Marxim-Lunisim has had an in-Jortant place in the Chinese curriculum Hawing a good in the control of the control of the control of the mention of the chinese curriculum in the control of the production of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of the control of the control of the mention of the control of

Our conversations with students and teachers at Middle School no. 31, and our visit to a primary school in Nanling, suggested that since the Cultural Revolution even more stress is being placed on politics in all classes. For Cample, the material studied in courses like English and

The Red Guards, activists during the Cultural Revolution, felt that the schools had previously paid too little motivated to serve the people: "We try to teach the students for whom' they learn and study; we emphasize that they should use their training to help China develop rate er than to promote their own selfish ambitions."

All the textbooks we say in various schools throughout

China were written and published during the Cultural Revolution by local teaching material research groups. During this period of local experimentation, there are so autionally standardized teaching materials; instead the students in each area are using, on a trial basis, the textbooks put together by the city or province in which they live. All indications are that, after examining the results of the local experimental teaching materials, the educational

Working While Learning and Learning by Doing

Everyone at Peking Middle School no. 31, special, the two young students, was very excited about the school workshops which they have started since the Coltum Revolution. In these workshops, they teld us we would use the most drammife and the most important innovation in little opportunity to learn by doing prices produced work, in industry or in agriculture. Therefore their graduates were not enfinishestically welcomed by peasants or workers, since they were regarded as people who "knew work, in industry or in agriculture." Therefore their graduates were not enfinishestically welcomed by peasants or workers, since they were regarded as people who "knew only in their from the blankboart and could use a little work) in their from the blankboart and could use a little work of the production of t

Now every middle-school rindem in Peking spends one menth a year learning in a school owrishop or in a factory outside the school, as well as one month a year spade. In addition, the school frequently invites workers, peasants, and army men and women to speak to the students about their work experience. In this way, the school and society, made education more concrete and sea abstractly ascellent, and started to give students betsted and society, made education more concrete and



Mao: "The deeper the oppression, the greater the rebellion!" Sculpture of peasants overthrowing Ming Dynast

Inside the People's Republic



"Never forget the past."
Photos on exhibition in Yenan streets. Left, Japanese massacre of Namking people in World War JI. Below, "Girl for sale," common in famines in old China.



中国文革研究网 www.wengewang.org



A rare old photograph of Mao Tse-tung playing ping-pong.



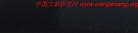


American visitors with Chinese friends on the Great Wal













A grandfather and his grandson window-shopping in $\mathbb{N}^{2^{n}}$





A member of Sian Red Guard cultural troupe rebearses the ballet White-haired Girl.









Removal of thyroid cyst with acapuncture for anesthetic. Right after the surgery, the patient is up greeting the Americans who observed operation.







CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE

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our group spent most of the afternoon exploring the global contribution and tail-size with the statement of taskstatement of the statement of the gas Athendon stort of the lighter explored in now, most observed in the statement of the stateme

The middle-school workshops, including a triode transition assembly area, were full of innovations and investions constant by the students themselves. One of those was a camera for the production of negative used in making printed circuits. We found that a new camera would cost fore a thousand youn," and the girl workshop leader, To Frend that amount of moses would completely defeat the Propose of the workshop. Pairsing kanned the Bosson of Propose of the workshop. Pairsing kanned the Bosson of the Company of t

Economy was the molivation for another innovation fast was sur. The school made called for submaritive rise. This process required a great deal of work with a Modering roo. The soldering was repeated to the control of the soldering was repeated to the soldering was repeated t

The students and teachers told us that the main year pose of the workshops is training and on high producing or profit for the school, but they do arrange to again the school of the sc

playing a part in building up their country.

The students also learn a great deal about electricin and other technical aspects of their work. During their month in a factory or workshop, they stop attending other classes but they read out in the country.

classes, but they read and discuss scientific books related to the work they are actually doing. Some middle-school students spend one month a year working in a factory, rather than in the school workshops. When we visited a film projector factory in Nanking, we

saw three young men working among the older workers. When we asked about them, the "responsible people" sie us that they were from a middle school which had essent its students and teacher in groups to spend a nose working there. At the factory, the undents change job every week so that they learn several different skills. The earl with the workers in the canteen, and often dicens it will be a supported to the control, and often dicens it will be a supported by the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the support of the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the middle school in Nation, But the gather and the supported the support

The actual amount of time sport in work and the system of work arrangement varies from place to place. In Section of work arrangement varies from place to place in Section a middle-school teacher said that students there do come month of productive work a year. In contrast, if Schinghia we were told that all students, during their field that the section of the sec

Education 213

bor.

After Graduation

When we asked a rosy-cheeked girl of twelve at Peking Middle School no. 31 what she wanted to be when she grow up, she promptly replaced: "I want to join the People's Liberation Army." We soon discovered that this girl was not unusual; most of the students we met at the school said that their first choice for work after graduation

Unfortunately the PLA cannot accommodate all these voluntees. Of no. 31s. 1970 graduates, 60 percent went to work in factories, 30 percent settled down in farming communities, and much less than 10 percent joined the PLA. The others got jobs in commerce. The most striking aspect of these statistics is, of course, that none of the graduates went straight to a university.

This soum to be firm all over China, though we were with corolling rational directly from Indide action. View propose now plan on pains to work after middle action. When propose now plan on pains to work after middle action. The control of the co

We met many of these "new peasants" when we visited

21

new small factories run by communes, teach school, or work as "barefoot doctors," but a large number of these young people take up ordinary agricultural work.

griduals (fit short heigh sent to the constraints as produced in the control of the control of the Chen Verjing. Her father wounds there to remain in the control of the control of the control of the control temperature and the control of the control of the requested a rural assignment because the warmed to requested a rural assignment because the warmed to requested a rural assignment because the warmed to the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of

As we left Peking Middle School no. 31 coursbeay, as he has possible possible to design it receives any education list logardar. Benal coperturillate to enter any education list logardar. Benal coperturillate to enter a second control of the control of the control of education; and the control of education; the curriculum—these are the big changes. All these policies are designed to produce a middle-school gardana when the curriculum—these are the big changes. All these policies are designed to produce a middle-school gardana when the curriculum—these are the big changes. All these policies are designed to be utilized to solve problems in facusion and farms. He should be a graduate who has not lost onch with culturary workflow proposite or the pressure property property may be a support of the problems of the pressure property property may be the work with their hands, and a gradual property property property more with white hands; and a gradual property property property may be a property proper

After a few years of work experience, a few of these graduates will be chosen to study at universities. How would they be selected? What would they tady at the universities? To answer these questions we went to Peking

peking University

gounded in 1998, Pecking University quickly because the day of the property of

Peking University has a beautiful campus on the outsikers of the city. The buildings, many of which are in the attractive rardidonal Chinese architectural style, are spread over the large campus. Students walk or bike on puties which wind through groves of trees and flower garfless and pass over steams. It is certainly a lovely settling and many control of the control of the control of the second control of the control of the control of the puties of the control of the control of the control is football. All of the control of the control of the large Revolution shoot the school out of its quiet life, "Affing University tudents did the on hovy-nower exist."

During the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 to 1970, bere were no classes held at universities, and may blocked battles and vigorous debates occurred on camplex, Since 1970, Pecking University and some other situations of higher learning have started to enroll stutuments of the control of the control of the control of the situation of the control of the control of the situation of the control of the control of the situation of the control of the control of the way. Also also the control of the control of the situation of the control of the control of the way. The control of the control of the situation of the control of the control of the situation of through preparation—debtas, discus, criticise his made the ceredity resignable—before resume, dates. Buildon have been admitted to Peking University as mental. Although they plant to do so soon, at least to the contract the plant to do so soon, at least to the contract the plant to the sound to the contract the contract through the contract to the contract through the contract about the tasking saff erreams about the tasking saff erreams also that the same size a below the contract through the contract throu

the future; what we were seeing was the very beginning

We compared these developments with what we less seen in Shanghak, We net several young men and were seen in Shanghak, We net several young men and were who were working in the economies department of Fudar. University, Grantlates of Fudan, they were helping research and write new teaching materials. They said the university seroled is first relates of 1,500 lat year, and it is seried to be a several y selecting the second class; but before the west currently selecting the second class; but before the west currently selecting the second-year courses for the department. Fudan, Mey Pecking University, was only beginning men. Fudan, Mey Pecking University, was only beginning the second-year courses for the department.

We specify an extraculum and stated body.

We specify a proper of the specific proper of th

. . But secondly, where had she heard of this? "In the library," she said, "We have many English magazines and I was randing the Plack Barthary

Although disappointed in his answer, she went on to ask if we would like to write to her. She was also very concerned about the defects of the revolutionary ballet Red Parachurent of Women, and asked our opinions of the

central and of Women, and asked our opinions of the performance of who meeting the performance with the performance with the performance with the performance of the performance with the performance of th

Admissions

At lunds we peake with three tell young women. All while entire heavy must of eggidant unit, and bread, which entire heavy must of eggidant unit, and bread, we chanted away. The two women in ordinary pasts used to provide the peak of the peak of the peak of the must be peaked by the peak of the distinct workers in Pediga Restorts. For your week of the peak of the peak of the peak of the peak of the University, and estyped stellag out how they were been determined to the peak of the peak of the peak of the University, and estyped stellag out how they were to the peak of the peak of the peak of the peak of the three peaks of the peak of the peak of the peak of the Lowerised to the two women had joint die Peak the Lowerised to the peak of the peak of the peak of the Lowerised to the peak of the peak of the peak of the Lowerised to the peak of the pe

Letter In the day we found our how Peking University we lector new students. The national entrance cuantisms used as the chief method of choosing students before for claimar Revolution, has been abolathed. Each department at the university decides how many places it has, she university recording the students of the province as pocal some university recording the students of the province of China. In each province a special soft the provinces of China. In each province a special soft of the provinces to the various faces. Sommunes, and army units in the province. They still how to distribute the sloss after considering the

as a whole. Some units may get more than one vacanes. For example, the Hsinhua Printing Press has five student currently studying at the university.

After vacancies are assigned to various units, individuals working there who desire to enter the university apply. Then the people working in each unit decide who

mended applicants must be app

Behnd this one administrative process is an increased change in critical for administrative measurements of a candemic qualifications. Persionity, applicants had rewer a highly competitive examination. Now universe authorities describe a different kind of new student. The most be activities in positival study and have close due sum and the interest in positival study and have close the sum and the interest of the study of the properties of the least be graduates of a kern and peasures. They must least be graduates of a kern and peasures. They must have two or three years of work or study. and They must be in poof health, and with the exceptions of city, vertex movelers, they should be about treating year.

The general rule is that so student is accepted discretifier modifica-choicy advantation. They all have been seeing in factories, farms, or the army long enough to have learned how to relate to ordinary working people. But perhaps most important, they have seen for themselved the immediate pressing problems of their society. They do not to the university with the intention to learn that there is table plot where problems. The hope at the state of the properties of the propert

While visiting the mathematics department domines we need one of the weteran workers with and become student once again; this definitely is an incompression of the program in China. This broad-faced northerner was most forty years old. He had a wife and two children when the said that if ye he could wife them frequently, he said that if ye he could wife them frequently, he would be given one of many the program of the country, he would be given who being given this of

portunity to resume his studies, and he was getting paid set 24. All Peking University students get tuition, lodging, food, medical expenses, books, and pocket money paid by the state, but veteran workers who have worked at a partner for at least ten vears confinue to receive their

Not only do older workers come to the universities, but the universities also go to the workers. Some larger function have exhibitated their own institutions of higher the masks of confiant workers. This is not a new idea; some factories have long sponsored primary and middle should for workers withing to study in their spare time. Raming a university is a much more ambitious project. Naming a university is a much more ambitious project.

Length of Schooling and Curriculum

Just as the course of study in primary and middle schools has been shortened, the curriculum at Peking Edwersity, too, will take less time to complete. Before the Celtural Revolution, students in the Arts Faculty spent control of the Celtural Revolution, students in the Arts Faculty spent control of the Celtural Revolution, students in the Arts Faculty spent control of the Celtural Students and the Arts Faculty spent control of the Celtural Students and the Arts Faculty spent control of the Celtural Students and the Celtural Student

Actual course offerings remain about the same. There are three faculities—are, sciences, and languages. The arts the faculities—are, sciences, and languages. The arts language in the same of the sam

and centered around Mao Tse-tung thought and Marx theory. However, discussions with students during o neelect this rich literary tradition either,"

Practical Knowledge

The teachers and students at Peking University from quently mentioned Kangda, the Anti-Japanese Imperialism University at Yenan, Situated in the rugged hills of northwest China, Yenan was the Communist headquarters in 1937. In the late 1930s patriotic youths from all over China traveled to the rugged hills of Yenan. Kangda, open from 1936 to 1945, was established to educate these young men and women-train them to think, to work, and to fight. Kangda students built their own facility ities, partly because of economic necessity, partly because they learned self-reliance and manual skills in such construction. In addition to studying from books, they also took part in military training and in production of crops

During our visit to Yenan, we saw pictures of the steeach beside a spinning wheel, learning from three pesses ant women how to spin cloth. We heard how they did sociological investigations and political education work among the people who lived in the area. This university out Mao Tse-tung's ideas about combining theory with

The Kangda model has inspired Peking University, well as other schools, to incorporate work in their courses of study. We had seen how successfully this was dotted at Middle School no. 31 in Peking, and now we west eager to see what was happening at the university level-Students and teachers led us to the university pharms ceutical factory. Here students of organic chemistry and biochemistry specialties were experimenting with and proseeing medicines. All the equipment, including several

belo people suffering from illness.

The factory also runs a short course of two to three other way in which the university serves the community

Peking University also has its own experimental farm, culture more than in industry. They went to the countryside three times this past year; once for three months then again on a ten-day trip. They also spend a half the campus. They were learning much about parasites and new plant strains, thus attacking two important agricultural problems.

For the students and teachers in the arts and lanstrages departments, there was no obvious way to comto follow Mao's instructions, but found it difficult to unthe whole of society as their factory." But how should

Pebruary 7 Rolling Stock Plant in Peking was one attempt to answer this question. The factory was carrying writing when we visited the rolling-stock plant a weet later, the workers had composed their own poetry and had written it in colored chalk on blackboards in the factory workshop.

Teachers and students of the arts faculty feel that the

Teachers and students of the sert faculty feel that Year in a way for collecting of the control of the control

The Cultural Revolution at Peking University brough about great changes in school administration. The professors and academic authorities no longer run the seloatons. One of the basic arguments of the Red Guard of tacks on the old educational system was that those wihold power in the schools will determine the schools interaction toward societies.

Soldiers and workers are assumed to have a good of look toward society, while professors are suspected lacking revolutionary fervor. Thus members of the Perple's Liberation Army and workers, along with ordinary

226

students, play an active role in both the revolutionary committee, which administers the university, and the Comsensit party committee, which handles political issues

in me survey.

The workers and PLA soldiers first came to Peking University to reconsile warring Red Guard groups and reason order so that everyone could start building a new system of university education. At first there were over seven hundred workers, who came from twelve Peking factories, but now there are only one hundred workers.

At Tsinghua University, later in our trip, we raised some questions about workers and soldiers in university administration. Why were they staying? What role could they play in the university?

The first answer was broad: workers and soldiers know more about concrete social, economic, and political problems than de professors. They also know what the actual sure that the instruction of the proper soldiers was to be a sure that the instructivity is oriented toward serving the propie. When the professors and scademic authorities held the power in the school, only the selfath individual the power in the school, only the selfath individual to the propies of the school, only the selfath individual to the propies of the propies of the propies of the school, only the selfath individual to the propies of the professor and scade in the school of the s

"But workers and soldiers don't know much about the subjects taught here," we insisted, "How can they help ran an educational institution?"

Apparently there were some students and teachers who ad asked the same question. One answer came from courage Xie, a vibrant young woman and PLA political officer who was an important person in the university. This thoroughly involved young woman explained to us. "After the factional fighting calmed down, there were samy people in the university who had doubts that the Sophie's Liberation Army and workers could carry out

be educational revolution. Sure they could handle polibia and production work, but how could they manage ducation? Many professors and students were saying, Ext the PLA seize the skip, but it as sizes the ship; and annually the PLA and workers play a reside for it is assumed by the PLA and workers play a reside for it is team in the water concervation featurement of Triaga, may not know much about the subject lenstly, but the problem with flat department was that before the Cut and Revenishers, they correctly confident the state of the play of the play

It took eight thousand people's labor for half a year to build.

It can only be looked at: it cannot be used.

"The PLA men and workers have now organized to department to criticize this project as a negative modification of the control of the control

Since we are students ourselves, we were happy to that students, too, share in administrative power and it sponsibility at Peking University. In addition to serve on revolutionary and party committees, students help a cide departmental issues, too. For example, in the philosophy department the new class of students helped destinations.

their own first-year curriculum.

Despite some resistance, students, soldiers, and worders actively have joined the ranks of university administrators. While professors and professional educators in

agy must now there power with these other groups of interested parties." The students feel they have a right on help make committee decisions because they should have a say about their own education. The PLA soldiers and workers who remain on campus believe they must have a set to because they represent the society which should be served by the university.

As we left now Peking University, we beam to un-

derstand where the "new" came from: (1) a new admissions polley which means that students all have at least two years of work experience when they enter the uniworks; (2) a new emphasis on learning through doing which means that students all leave the classroom to study actual problems of their society and help solve them, even before graduation; (3) a new system of admitistration which means that professional cleator

In primary schools, middle schools, and universities the decinicational insortions of the Charaft Revolution all inti toward producting a graduate whose skills can improve the schools of the charaft producting a copy of the schools of the schools

229

8. MEDICINE

The old woman flinched, then smiled at us weakly through the maze of hands and instruments. Bite aid something but it was muffled and we couldn't hear it, so we stee and watched them lift the extrater from her yee, Ace punctures needles protraded from the folds of her opbids—no other amenthech had been sued. Vet, fully awais, the claimed to feel no pain. And she did look gas controlled, design be moment of occasional anxiety. Me controlled, impressed strangers.

ing theater, where a much vounger woman was having an ovarian cyst removed. Here we stayed longest sings this operation was easier to get a close look at than the delicate work of the estaract removal had been We guessed the age of the patient to be roughly thirty-five She seemed very confident, talking occasionally to the nurses and our suides, as the doctors slowly detached a cyst the size of a large fist from her abdomen Not we were flinching rather than the patient. Each of the patients we saw had been anesthetized only twenty mitutes before the operations began. How brave were the patients being. Kay asked a nurse. The doctor answered assuring us there was no pain at all; but the nurse added that total anesthesia had still not been achieved. The of tients do not feel pain, but many of them can feel some thing moving inside of them. That idea did not appear to us. But acupuncture, the nurse said, is a good do safer than the total anesthesia produced by drugs Western-style medicine; the drugs themselves are offer dangerous to the patients, and with acupuncture the

covery period is much shorter, roughly two weeks for to the next operating theater we came to a middleseed man was undergoing what many of us have faced: on appendectomy. But while we had all slept through our own operations in America, he was awake and very neely, chuckling at our discomfiture and assuring us excircly that all was well, "It's nothing it's nothing!" Locking into his abdomen, we found it hard to agree with him, but he was clearly not in pain. He seemed to know each step of the operation almost as well as the people working on him did, nodding his head with satinfaction each time the nurse told him of a new stage in his operation. "Does he work in the hospital?" Ken asked, turning to the young doctor beside us. "No. he and asking all the questions that bother him. Now he's not afraid because he knows what's going on." He certainly gave that impression; we wondered if this "team" approach might not produce patients who wanted to di-

The last operations was spectucular—just as we arrived, the doctors were lifting a stryrold tumor from the throat of a young woman. Here, too, needles flashed in the bill-powered light, and small wires ran to some of them of the strength of the strength

The doctors and nurses were helping the old woman by. Without a sound, she turned and looked around the foom, examining each face, each tile in the wall. Still wall with the standard of the standard wall was great to the standard wall was given me back my sight, "she said, "now I say see again." Almost blind for twenty years, an illitate peasant woman from the rough plains of North

China as the "Sick Man of Asia"

Honan Province, 1942

The roads to the Tailhang Mountains were soon filled with corpose. In the spring of 1942, the buts of all tres were eaten. The bark was stripped from every tree, so that the trunks presented a strange white appearance like people stripped of clothes. In some places, people ate the ceces of sikeworms. In other places, they are a queer white earth. But such food coadd only stave off starvation for a few days, and the victims quickly died., . . .

those areas where there was rain, they were too weak to plant or plow. This kind of famine is known in China 25 successive famine.¹

The body counts of that era were in the millises. Famine went hand in hand with the travages of foreignamies and wardout troops. Jack Belden, an America properter, was describing the famine of 1942 in Reservation of 1942 and the reservation of 1944 and 1944 an

I was ashamed to go from one Kuomintang general to another, eating delicacles from their well-taid tables, while peasants were scraping the fields outside the yamets for roots and wild grass to stuff into their griping stoom acks. But I was more than ashamed—I was overcome with a feeling of loathing—when I learned that these

same generals and Kuomintang officials were buying up land from starving peasants for arrears in taxes and were holding it to wait tenants and rainy days,2

Medical systems provide a sensitive barometer to the political and economic priorities of a society. Just a generation ago, China literally was "the sick man of Asia."

China's Health: The First Stens

How does a desperately poor, ware-ravaged country beauth the sick? How does a country encircled by hostile powers and committed to spending its resources on economic development conferent used stagering health problems at families, an acute shortage of doctors, and rambus the conference of the shortage of doctors, and rambus the new Chinese government found hundreds of millions wask from malautition and the ravages of constant war, times of millions more, victims of malaria, substonomissis, and warnered disease; millions of people, addicted to Pylema. If from dIT halls azar, hootowers, and leptons.

Power and pipotence were reflected in a complete line of antilation, as a result of which by and variative constantiation, as a regular of which by and variative constantiation. Were interesting to the proceeding wintered have been dead under manner was the main war and sold fertilism. The people to be of the frigular constantiation of fertilism. The people to be of the frigular constantiation of the process of the process

they were toedliest and decrepti. Many adolescent piralization calcium and vitamin D, developed softening and narrowing of the polivic bones, so that normal children became either impossible or so dangerous that it, or eight per cent of all deaths among women were due to children. Babes were breast-left for three or four years than on the mothers, and also resulted in child maintains and the mothers, and also resulted in child maintain on the mothers, and also resulted in child maintain and the mothers, and sales resulted in child maintains and such visitamin deficiency decises as rickes and searny. There were no preventive innocations. Lice and poverty went hand in land, and with them.

William Y. Chen of the United States Public Health Service observed the total inadequacy of China's medical system prior to 1949:

Poverty and disease were prevalent over the entire country. There was only a handful of modern medical doctors. The total number of modern scientifically trained doctors was estimated at only 12,000 in 500 hospitals, the country was capable of producing only 500 medical graduates per year to serve an estimated population of 400,000,0000.

China's first National Health Congress in August 1950 exhibitished basic health guidelines to draw on certain sources and inherited knowledge whose development extensity produced of adstanctive Chinace two decades have 1. Health work should primarily serve the masset 6 the laboring prople, the workers, pressants, and sodies 2. The main emphasis should be placed on previous control of the contr

and modern doctors.

4. Wherever possible, health work should be conducted by mass campaigns with active participation of medical

Point (1) is an obvious one. Obvious, that is, until 69

**PDr. Joshua Hors, Away with All Peats (New York: Month)
Review Press, 1969).

contract it with medical priorities in pre-Liberation China. China's medical system, and above all its modern, Week's an action of the properties of the pro

The emphasis on preventive medicine was a response both to the immediate crisis, that of disease in epidemic proportions throughout China, and a long-range commisment to the health of all the people. Preventive medicine mages from the most basis education in hygienic principles to the purification or high soil (excrement used as fertilizer) and water supplies to inoculations against disease, and it has been responsible for much of the

The third guideline highlights one of the most distinctive features of health care in People's China. Mao's principle of "walking on two legs," of uniting and develging traditional and modern approaches through revoluying traditional and modern approaches through revolutional control of the properties of the concept of the properties of the control of the concept of the properties of the control of

Among the 1,500,000 people of the Shenik-Kama-Manjuhal horder Rogion there are more than 1,000,000 limitation, here are 2,000 presidioners of witcherstr, and the state of the body vary high . In such determinations to rely sold; most of the state of the Shenik with the thousands and more dectors and the state of th Our task is to unite with all the . . . doctors who come

Out of this unity-a unity combined with mutual cris. icism and mutual commitment to serving the Chinese people-would emerge a new and distinctive Chinese medical practice. China's health needs could not be posstors could be trained, Immediate efforts had to be made to utilize and improve medical care provided by tradtional practitioners-and, moveover, to develop, systematize, and learn from the most positive aspects of their accumulated experience. Given the deep gulf in values and practices separating modern and traditional schools of medicine, especially given the deep-seated contempt of modern doctors for Chinese medicine, these tasks ware enormous. Nevertheless there is emerging in Chira today a health system which incorporates major feature of traditional medicine with the most advanced scientif-

is no longer the exclusive prerogative of the medical ple through the introduction of popular campaigns to matter of three to five years. China eliminated total the world's most serious drug problem, involving sale lions of opium addicts. Venereal disease, which world to do so. (See chap. 2.) The liver and intesting affects some 250 million people in Asia and Africa

to late as 1955 it afflicted an estimated 10 million Chinese, mostly in the lower Yangtze area. Today, this alsease has been brought under control in large areas of "feur pests" (flies, rats, bedbugs, mosquitoes), disease earriers of every variety have been attacked, and hygienic principles such as control of water and night soil have been introduced and implemented throughout China 5 Most of these problems had been conquered by the time we traveled in the People's Republic, so we did not see the process at first hand. We have talked, in China and the West, with doctors and others who helped in these

China in the mid-fifties had introduced comprehensive free health care for government and factory workers and university students in urban areas, Enrollment of medical and public-health students rose from 15,200 in 1949 to 49,100 in 1957. By the early 1960s. China was graduating more than 20,000 doctors and public-

But as late as 1965, despite immense strides in rural elementary logic to this approach—a logic reinforced by the Rockefeller-financed Peking University Medical Coltraining received by China's leading physicians Prior to 1949 and the weight of medical experience in Se Soviet Union. Newly trained doctors went to work city hospitals where medical resources could be effecbyly concentrated. A network of county hospitals mushhomed outside the great metropolitan areas bringing hos-Neal care to new areas, but remained centered in county

This discussion of the development of health care in China has 'Mao Tse-tung, The United Front in Cultural Work (Pakel

ical care would filter still further down to the communa and villages. Meanwhile, popular health campaigns week bring significant rural health gains even if doctors conv not yet be permanently dispatched to the villages in ing highly trained doctors to work in remote villages or watering down medical education-create a hopeless fragmented system, or impede the long-range development First Five-Year Plan for 1953-57 closely reflected over-

In developing health and medical services priorities must areas where capital construction work is in progress, and

The attacks on medical planning made during the system before 1965. But Mao and the Red Guards had directed their criticism at the right target, Health-care resources-physicians, hospital facilities, and moneywere concentrated in the cities. This system could only manual laborers. It created a trained medical elite of joying economic privileges and facing squarely towed edge back to the village by cutting off trained persons

China's Health: The Cultural Revolution and After

Early in 1965, Mao Tse-tung remarked that the Min of Health was the "Ministry of Health for Urban Oxed

tords." This highlighted the crisis that had been developa mestion of principle," If health care in China was he for the people, all the people, it must stress the the. This new orientation was summarized by Mao in a sentence which became one of the chief slogans of the Cultural Revolution in health: "In medical and health

With this new orientation, it became clear that rural As a result, a second line in health work and medicine began to develop. This line embodied a model which was revolutionary in nature yet which could be adapted to fill the expanding health needs of the entire nation

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others

At the Huadone Commune, outside Canton, we saw None of us are doctors. Other Americans, themselves

Mao Tse-tunz, "In Memory of Norman Bethune," Selected Norks of Mao Tze-tung (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960). dectors, have visited Chias and written about its segaticated modern medicine. They have written about ispecually a superior of the superior of the superior of the lang machines and artificial kidneys, and the quanty of modern medicines useds as polio vaccines. We are asqualified to write about many of these aspects of medica--rather, we went to observe medicine in action. He artificially designed the superior of the superior of medicarather, we went to observe medicine in action. He artificially designed the superior of the superior of medications are superior of the supe

The staff of the Huadong hospital were eager to as Like other communes, Huadong has a hospital whis serves two purposes: as a treatment center for serious] ill patients and as a training center for midwives and fer "barefoot doctors." More recently, Huadong has added third function, the making of herbal medicines. The greatest changes to come out of the Cultural Revolution, we were told, have been the result of the new training

"Barefoot Doctors" out in the Fields

Our delegation vaited the hospital in the afternose while patients were being attended to. As we came is small groups were waiting quietly. The building was site pley, whitewasted and fresh, with an atmosphere of its assuring competence and uninstitutional Hirsdiniess. It because the place of the place

"Early in 1965 mobile medical teams of doctors, nurse and health personnel from the large cities first began appear in our villages. They came for periods range from six mostlis to one year, and many of them as returned again." These roving teams, including see for China's most prominent physicians, nurses, and publihealth workers, brought systematic health care to ast not the direct treatment of patients was not their mortant talk. They were also there to train a particular treatment of the particular treatment of the patients. Most important of these new medical suchers, treb "neutron descript". At leastment, They leave the patients of the common They leave to the patients of the common They leave to make the patients of the common They leave to make the patients of the leavest of the patients of the pati

In recent months, 180 bursfoot dectors had been trained at Huddoe, In a commune of 5.60 poops, this is a tignificant increase. The tasks of the new dectors go far as tignificant increase. The tasks of the new dectors go far see that every village rest all his vacadiants, demonstrate the correct use of pesticides, improve sanitation methods, Batch mothers about nutrition and child care, and given the control of the second of the control of the second of the sec

Barrioco de com an integrated with their fellow vilwars in one solitional and highly seguificant way. The Rose no special financial rewards for their medical care. Their incomes remain unchanged, eclesiated on the basis produced to the seguing seguing the seguing seguing seguing to the seguing seguing seguing seguing seguing seguing to higher seguing seguing seguing seguing seguing a lateract of their entire brigade, village, and commune. He training of mediwers has probably had more effect and to imagine the process of childbirth before Liberasia, when appearation-ridden of women tended to the their children at home, the training of competent mides in the post-Liberation period has had high prior, especially since the Cultural Revolution. Part of the size in genables the midwires to diagnose a difficult to early enough to bring the mother to the commune hops now, for example, many cassaren sections are perform

The financing of rural health has changed greatly we the advent of the barefoot dectors. In the past, the sal had provided the salaries for tens of thousands of medium of the salaries for tens of thousands of medium of the salaries for tens of the substitution of the salaries for the system could not go indefinitely. Instead, emphasis on self-reliance and integration of medical care with the working population of the salaries of the salaries and the salaries of the salaries

Since late 1968, cooperative medical-care systems have been created throughout the Chinese countryside. Under his system each commune member pays an annual fet (equivalent to less than an American dollar). His production team will also pay for him, from its welfare furdabout five cents to the cooperative system. After that about five cents to the cooperative system. After that cach treatment costs about two-ond-a-half cents (units

This system is an outgrowth of China's boldest and most revolutionary diedals. Run by and for the community with minimal state involvement, predicated on principle of voluntary participation, self-reliance, thrift, sor-specialization, local initiative, and service to the popole it has made medical care a basic right for hundreds'

Traditional Medicine Revived

Huadong now grows much of its own medicine. "Gromedicine?" we asked. Yes—the herbs which, dries ground, and mixed, are the basic source of simple medicin China. We should remember, though, that the same also true of many important medicines in the West. American heart specialist, Dr. E. Grey Diamond, viscon.

the People's Republic soon after we did, and commented

Most of the people in that huge country still get most of their medical care from dectors who go out into the hills and make their own medicines from substances they've been using for 2000 years. It hought to myself, 'By God, we in the West had to learn to use primitive berts in adjustils, in cpbedrine, and in the rauwoflat transquilizers; there must be a lot of pharmscology the Chinese cas seath us, too. If like to see us really test their medicines.

In every unit that we visited, even in mountainous Tachai, the commune or brigade set aside some of its arable land for the cultivation of herbs, or for alternate cultivation of herbs and other crops. Each unit also has a tore with both herbal and other types of medicines. This is not merely a confinuation of past patterns, it is part of a major attempt to improve the understanding and use of traditional medicines and to increase their

After the Western posteriation began with the Opium Wave of 1840, the traditional healing method developed over the course of two thousand years quickly fell into distripate. Chinese modernizers, inhumenced by the West, Stampard to dispose of or discredit anything Chinese as West, Table of the Chinese of the West Table of the Chinese of the Chinese

Pari of the work is being done at the Dongfeng Yiyuan,
East Wind Hospital outside Socchow, where we spent
Pares have the staking with the patients and staff in
One to find out more about this side of medicine in
One to find out more about this side of medicine into
a side of the state of the staff of the staff of the side of the

The East Wind Hospital was a good deal larger to the commune hospital at Hundong. It has two hungbeds, with three main departments: the inpatient, as patient, and dispensary services. Before the Cultural p, volution, the East Wind administered only Chinese macines; now it has facilities for Western medicines and truments as well, and there were several doctors of

They pointed out that there are some 800,000 traditions all obcrets at work in rural China. Ignoring this resource when Chinese medicine is respected and trusted by a people and when there is a shortest of doctors trained to the source of the source of the source of the parts of China. But they emphasized the need for a search, standardization, and education in the tradition methods.

The source of the so

difficult to describe. On one side of the large room were rows of shelves holding trays of raw herbal components On the other side was a control board which activated chutes from the various travs leading to mixing pans. The contents of the mixing pans are then boiled and mixed to achieve the desired strength of brew. The original idea had been developed in Shanghai and then modified by the East Wind: it looked like a Rube Goldberg inspiration smoothly and mixed the prescription incredients properly Another contribution of traditional medicine frequent methods typically call for forcible realignment of the bones and a cast which holds the body area immobile Chinese methods, on the other hand, use gradual prosure in flexible splints which, over time, will realign the bones. The Chinese methods avoid the use of anesthesis and reduce muscle wasting and joint stiffness, By the time the bones are in place, the limb or joint is often almost perfectly operative. In contrast, our Western tock niques may show by X ray that the bone has mended be the patient may still take months before the limb can be

A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH

Acupuncture

By far the most dramatic demonstrations of Chinese advances in medicine were the four operations we watched at Peking Medical College Hospital no. 3. The acupuncmer techniques we had seen were evidently still con-

"In 1966," one doctor said, "we decided to display for futer to think, dues to do't spirit, and to try to use superacture for anesthetic parspores." Since that time, and stir much testing and experimentation, most of it on themselves—the doctors and staff have increasingly used segmenture to anothetize parients. In some operations expuncture could not be used because of the need to assolution more than one area at none. But, for a great many operations—more than 400,000 does in China time 1958—exequenture has been the means of

Because acupencture has been widely discussed in the American press indee our return, we have intimply described on experience in the East Wind and Peking no. 3 hos-Pilals. It is worth pointing out, however, that acupentures has been used and respected in a large number of Western countries for some time. Perkinsolism, skin indicates the contract of the property o

Three-in-One at Peking Hospital No. 3

Other than the methods used in the operations we, the most intresting aspect of the Peking Hospital 50.3 was the way in which patients were prepared for operations and for postoperation recovery. The patient was the doctors and staff concerned meet together before Yerantions for form a "three-in-cone" combination. The Yerantion to form a "three-in-cone" combination. The Section 10 of the Peking William 10 of the Pekin

patient must declare war against his disease and tay active role in learning about 1t. During these measuthe patient and his "three-in-one" team study the relawhen the relation is actually necessary, and it, whether the operation is actually necessary, and it, the relation is actually necessary, and it, then the patient is fold about the method in order dispet any fears and to bring into play a positive stitude, rather than the negative feelings such as "I so the hospital" or "I am not sure about my survival of a contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the survival of the contract of the contract of the contract of the survival of the contract of the con

The doctors acknowledge that the person most use cerned about an illness is the patient himself. So does and nurses talk to the patients, get their opinions suggestions and cooperation, instead of taking the postof experts who know all. Of course, this has not of changed overnight. The doctor still has the final asbat his role now is as part of a team, and they treat the patient rather than the stomach or the bit tool.

speeds his recovery after the operation.

This team approach has been responsible for important immonations in operational procedure and medical setniques as well as medical equipment. During the entares operation on the old peasant venum's reje, one of the operation on the old peasant venum's reje, one of the adapted by the hospital from a more care which as adapted by the hospital from a more care which as model. The working principle of the instrument was simple—that frozen objects tend to be adhesive, in the case, the cutatract, after being cut from the eye, we street to the end of a probe which had been cooled with the cutatract could be lifted simply from the eye, and

After the Cultural Revolution

The training of doctors and medical staff at the hospitaseemed to be the area that had undergone the more performed changes since the Cultural Revolution. Previously by the course for doctors took six years; now the student scording to the staff we talked with. After the three vers of course work there is an apprenticeable of another control and the properties of the staff of the st

There has been another innovation in the training pergam even more recent than the barefoot dector program. This is the training of Red (health) Workers, They seem to be, in fact, an urban and industrial workers of the barefoot dectors. An abbreviated basic course and corrent follow-up to sessions enable them to care for the ballsh of festion workers in the factories and to stimulate Statistics. On the set of the s

Although only two of us, Tony and Rhea, tried acupuncture (see Introduction), several of us had simple solds and fatigue and were treated by a number of different types of health workers. Our experience with the Red Workers came during a visit to Peking, where Paul bezan to cough violently.

The factory worker sitting area to me a sheel if I wanted by the sa sheer, it and that would be no much roused by the sa sheer, it and that would be not mean through a best sales and the same and the

246 Chinal Inside the Poople's Republic pulls and by the time we were on our way back pills and by the time we were on our way back poople from the property of the property o

classes run from three to six months with training assist the hospital. A great deal of emphasis was laid of the fact that the Peking Hospital so, 3 is a training the second of the second of the second of the Medical College, it had concentrate optimately exsearch before the Cultural Revolution. Today, moder restanced continuous but is applied in presider. The great concelluid of severy year on one of the "four fromit of greatest importance the countryloid, the factories as mitted, the border regions, and finally, all major goverment and military units.

9. THE ARTS

The broadword fight ended and the band started upgin. The brightly dressed young actors began a skit based an part of the opera White-haired Girl. At the edges of the playground, the parents watched procedly and larghed with us . . . we were at the Hongqiaso Commune, learning about culture in China. It was the same at every commune and school we visited—every unit has a cultural wound of the control of the c

He is a spoular culture. For the first time in Chable and artistic life of the nation. Everywhee, traditional form of art and culture have been review and with a sum of a sum

Two Cultures of the Past

Throughout China's history two levels of cabinated dish yaids. One of these, urban-centered, so tisted dieb yaids. One of these, urban-centered, so tisted dieb yaids. One of these with recentered to tisted the property of classical Chinese. The arra which went along interacy—callingsylve and branch pastings, postery of the tradition to China's cultural heritaps. But to work and the property of the tradition to China's cultural heritaps. But to work majority of pensants the harm Faralises of even did put this earliere beyond their reach. It reminded the twentieth century. In fact this radige was by major criterion for policial and social advantage of the properties that for our count of d its articles.

It is this "liferate" radition which is studied as West as "Chinese culture. But through thousands of set of Chinese history, there was a second culture, for a consistency of the consi

The tumuluous period before World War I profile as new generation of writers determined to revolution as new generation of writers determined to revolution as new generation of writers determined to reconstruct China's archaic culture and education. Though the traditional cultural elide themselves, they advantage to the control of the

ting and not read 'The Artificities' because they were a second of influence, the lowes of the property of the condition of the condition of the three property of the condition of the Pooley's Republic in which the condition of the Pooley's Republic in a many Chinese as possible literate. Educational canalization of the condition of the conditi

the Caltural Revolution was an attack on all forms of privilege, including the status attained by intellectuals and writers. Significantly, some of the opening shots were fireful at Pacing Invitersity, the Harvard of China, and later Monloyed into a full-scale attack on the elite in both southeast of the opening of the control of the

Everyone a Star

The Frondsword fight at Hongqiao was very much like performances we saw in other communes, and in factorized the same of the s

We were all sitting on three sides of a flat censthreshing ground; directly opposite us, on the fourth side was the school building with bright red tiles and woods. Intelled windows. The bullquitous cold towest and bet a appeared before us, with a few peaks of opposite the appeared before us, with a few peaks of opposite the appeared before us, with a few peaks of opposite the passes of the peaks of the peaks of the peaks of the passes of the peaks of the peaks of the peaks of the passes of the peaks of the well would be the Chinnes which called an even well

which the opening sword-light dance (portraying and Jamens extragels of the thirties and forties), one the young girls supped forward, waited for the band begin, and sang an aria from The Red Lautern—beautfully. As the finished, another girl appeared to one size-rested a moment, and then danced outstage. It was ballet sequence from the White-habried Girl: though that only cloth shoes and could not go up one point, and only cloth shoes and could not go up one point, and the could be supported to the state of the state of

There was about break. "Where do they learn to dismit sign?" July intended the villagers of the communities of the communities. The communities of the communities. The Ret Leaven, or ballets like White-halved Villager of the communities of t

vincing.

The final part of the program was a fascinating cobination of songs and a short skit. The girls had we
hats of leaves and grasses to resemble the peasant
set Vietnam; they played the role of guerrilla figure
shooting down U.S. planes and working with the village

presentation benches an addings and hervers rise. We also distain here of the desired peoples ringuist regarded in justice of the anatom cultural presentations. In Nanking and the control peoples are sent to the properties of th

and the instrumental we bound that the Institute of the Institute of the Institute of Institute

What is "Culture" Now?

The most surprising aspect of this new movement is clear deemphasis and questioning of all the literary

arts-novels, short stories, poetry, and other kinds of cres. writing have decreased markedly. Furthermore, the books written in the 1950s and the early 1960s are no longductions, picture books, prints, posters, and sculptures The reasoning behind this dramatic shift appears simple tional bureaucracy, a culture based on literature will con-

Primary examples of the new cultural works are the the Docks; a ballet, Red Detachment of Women; a fole-

Tremendous attempts have been made to popularize provincial troupes in the smaller cities. They have been

The Arts the schools. The vast spread of these works indicates a pereture of the 1950s out of the hands of many who could not yet read.

to addition to the model works, the new encouragement given to nonliterary culture has brought about a enival of folk arts in local and regional areas. Many emeteur groups have resurrected almost forgotten songs and dances, and are engaged in creating new ones based

Everyone a Singer, a Dancer, an Actor

The most important result of the spread of mass culture is that now almost everyone in China participates in some way in the cultural life of the country. One rather sophisticated example is that, in 1966, as a result of the new movement, the workers at the Dailing oilfield in See skills as part of their education. Of course once from the grass roots, and now many works like The

Naturally, the quality varies immensely. But the idea bibutes in some way to the cultural life of the commanity. Thus there is a great development of "amateur"

Broups. This is now just in its beginning phase. does not mean, however, that cultural and artistic are not coordinated at the national level by the leaders of the country. The model operas and base all from carefully secured and privated, and make all from carefully secured and private, and the program. As "models" of the values of New Chian As are all the secured as written, and few liberates are taken with any aspects of their production by an exclusion with a property of their production by an exclusion of the production of the p

The cultural troupe had just emerged from sevent years of intensive change prompted by the Cultural Revolution. It was founded in 1959, but ten years lateralated the control of the control of the control of the conclosed down and everyone had gone to work with the possants in the mountains for eight months. Now that possants in the mountains for eight months, Now that were book, and had pent the last year trying to put impractice what they felt they had learned from that semiples and the field of self-religione, and their own emphasis on the field of self-religione, and their own semplassis on the field of self-religione, and their own semplassis on the field of self-religione, and their own semplassis on the field of self-religione, and their own semplassis on the self-religion.

tempts to "serve the people."

Soli-freliance covered a wide range of innovations, NeSoli-freliance covered a wide range of innovations, Nesoli-freliance covered a wide range of the cochange. That we found in the slow, where the trows
now made their own ballet shors, repaired musical le
struments, and contracted sets. Before this now prowing
the trough had bought all of their ballet shoes fred a
fractival etight youna a pair, now, making them the
cheeply to amateur groups in the area. There had shown a period of the contractive contractive to the contr

In the last six months the troupe had performed taking orchestra, sets, and equipment with them—for

During this period no new members had been admissed in the flower stock, but in the law are accord generated as the flower of the law and the flower was found two propes practicing in a large discussion. The flower was found two propes practicing in a large partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed the partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial burst, their teacher watted among them, pushed to the partial burst, the

From the cereitie roots, we willed to the hall where a wipuploop crotestar was practicing. It was a full consumer to a wipuploop crotestar was practicing. It was a full consumer to the construction of white the construction of the construction of

flourish of sound, the program-and our visit-came to

an end.

an

Velopment.

Literary culture has always placed a great emphaon individual creativity. Perhaps partly as a reactor
the old culture and partly as a result of the scellvalue of cooperation, the Chinese have begun to fa
a great fedal more emphasis on collective creativity
criticism, Many paintings, for example, are now doubt
whole groups of artists working together, Taking to

was a collective enterprise from start to finish. Members of the Peking Opera Theater of Stamphai wrote and travialed the dialogue, music, and choreography many times. Together they arranged all production details of set design, costumes, and makeup, and they also wrote several critical reviews on theoretical and practical matters related to the production. This collective procedures was similar to the production. This collective procedure was similar to the production.

The Chimics are also typing to get away from the "tog mane" in culture and art. There are relev famous writers or air performan in the new movement, When the Sam the state of the state of the state of the state of the three discrets share the difficult lead role throughout the performance, Although there are excellent discrets there is no need for prims domain. No one about to perform is introduced in the manner: "So and so will now sing section and such." It is always: "And now, each and such a stong." They feel that if everyone participates, there is it from the other actives and shot from the sudices.

What will the future hold for the new movement in culture and art in China? There seems to be little question that the movement is exciting and that it is being will received among the Chinese people. Its excitement is grantered and the control of the control o

Yet this course is still relatively new. After 1949 is was believed that the movement for popular culture would excelerate, but in fact an old intellectual clife radiffued by predominance of the urban-based literary culture. Many Chinese think that even now there is danger that a contract of the predominance of the urban among those who are desired in the predominance of the predomin

New Forms, New Content

The new artistic and cultural works are in form a faccinating combination of the old and the new, the tra-

232 Count mate the receipt forquase distinguishment of the second property of the count of the distinguishment of the count of the count of the count hadron of the count of the count of the count and the count of the distinguishment of the count of the distinguishment of the count of the manner of the count of the count of the manner of the count of the count of the manner of the count of the count of the manner of the count of the manner of the count of the manner of the count of the position of the count of the position of the position of the position of the manner of manne

consider the control matter, many tree techniques to control to control matter, many tree techniques to control to control matter, and the control matter and the techniques are sufficiently pieces but also for ballet and other Westman forms of music. There is a symplomy, Succhiagoney, and also a Fellow River Plano Concrett, both of which are quite popular. Of course, the ballet itself is a Westma all form, and the Chitiens have produced two beautiful form, and the Chitiens have produced two beautiful fairs and White-ballet Grit.

Combinations of Chitese and Western and cled are considered to the control matter and the succession of the succe

new can be seen everywhere. For example, all the most works are scored for both Chinese and Western instruments, and oil pains are being used to paint traditional works combine what they call "socialist realism" are works combine what they call "socialist realism" are "revolutionary remandicium." That is to say, although the acters are real projet, engaged in real activities, where their views of the second of the second of the second period to set of their injusty. No one really believe pelendro to set of their injusty. No one really believe uniforms with white capes during the war against die Japanese, or that the "internationally" was played by seare drawn from both Chinese and Western traditions, the content is what is most strikingly different to Western segnishibities. For above all clex, culture in China is political. This is because the Chinese feel that art and culture cannot and should not be divorced from the political poils of the revolution. The content is just as important as the form, and there is no "art for art's sake."

White-haired Girl

White-haired GH is a typical example of the new cultural direction, Originally a foliated of Sherai Province, it was made into a play during the Anti-Japanese War, and is now a abilet, it is also an ingenious combination of old forms with new political ideas, and at the same time a wantily and musically beautiful piece, depite what in the describen guilds seem a sappy metotion of the same and the same and the same and the of this action and played, and at Sian we saw a full perorial properties.

The hallet opens with a young village girl drying up the roottage on the day before the Chinese (Imars). New Year, She spends the early part of the evening celebrating the holdeds with village friends, among them a young man who has paid her special attention. After they have which, but falter treats home—be is and firm, a widow of the contract of

After this beautiful score come violence and distact. The local landford and his mea rarve to collect the year's dists. The father angrify says he doesn't have any money to pay and tells them to go away. But the landford has seen the grif. An idea comes to his head, he rolls his eyes retunned, chuckles an evil laugh, and tells his men to grab the girl. The father tries to defend his daughter, and struggles until he is knocked to the floor. The girl Leneis down

she is taken away by the landlord's men

The following scene has a dark and gloomy setting. In the landlord's home, beneath a scroll which says "The Home of Benevolence," the girl is brought before the landlord's mother. She is still angry and unwilling to serve the landlord and quarrels with the mother. Because of this rebelliousness she is beaten, but with the help of

namonors's motioner, some as this stagity and time winners seerer the landlord and quarters with the motiber. Because of this redelitiousness she is beaten to be considered to the control of the contro

cer wild fruit and vegatibles and learns to untive in its winderness. Promi time to time feered by human; the gas winderness are the contract of the contract of the worklight. Due to the lack of all in this diet, her has and finded. To show the lapse of time and how this has the contract of the contract of the contract of the belletial raviet to stage field, a different famour at our appears from the other side of the rock, dances are the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the article and the contract of the con

By this time, the revolution has begun to prend in China. The landled and his son want to collect these wealth and fire the village. They do it stealthily, while about it. The two men, hist uncombed, a lower low under their arms, run to the local temple, looking back as fort to make use neededy is persished them. The gift of the make the needed of the prending them. The gift step, the quickly jumps onto the after and bides belief the curtain that normally shelter the status of the golder of mercy. But when the see her old centains, the land with fear, thinking this sizes her old centains, the land with fear, thinking this white-halted certains is the Section of the with fear, thinking this white-halted certains is the Section of the with fear, thinking this white-halted certains is the Section of the sect

dess or a ghost. In great anger, she picks up fruit from the alter to throw at them. Chasing after them in the temple, she comes close to the landlord at one point. A clear and loud slap on his face can be heard, and the audience applicable. Just them, the villagers enter the tumple, and the girl abandons her enemies and runs away, rwe villagers each the two men but do not notice the

properties of the mean and the properties of the mean and the mean and

the girt begins a new life.

Such suffering and the breaking up of a family were very common themes for folktales and faction, dairing back-to accient times. In this ballet, it has been rewritten from a twolutionary point of view. The girl's sufferings and her father's death are caused by the landlord's doings, and the people who finally saw her are other villagers.

and the control of th

tarp, and string instruments.

The costumes in this ballet are all Chinese, with both and women wearing jackets and pants. The main fancer wears silk jackets and pants which are cut very

3999

wide: these are especially beautiful when the dancer takes goth as that which expresses the world view of other

A Western audience would also notice that the main figures in White-haired Girl are average peasants and no officials or rich people. In a country trying to cradicals the gross inequalities between city and country, rich and of average workers and peasants, and are being blue people. This may help to explain the popularity of the new culture among the Chinese masses-for this sort of

Red Detachment of Women has a theme directly out of older drama styles, Acrobatic somersaults, swordplay the old Peking and Cantonese operas we had seen many ballet traditions of the West. During a struggle between the heroine and one of the landlord's henchmen (the ple they are both holding onto a lance. While he crouches, she rises on one toe and turns. This is a familiar balle. movement, with the man supporting the woman, but her he is actively struggling with her. At another point, after she has spoiled her fellow guerrillas' scheme to capture

audience can identify with a situation many of them have such uses at times. After all, they point out, all art

wide; these are especially beautiful with the clothes ripple En classes of people. They go on to say that art cannot be grarated from certain social classes no matter how hard and try. They are putting the "proletarian" content of are and culture together with old and new forms to create a eass movement which is now encompassing virtually all of he people in China.

Keeping the Old Culture

Yet if the new culture movement has such a radically aw basis then the question arises, what is being done with the old art-or to the old art? This question is ially important in light of charges in the West than the Chinese have destroyed their old art, or that they are

Basically, the Chinese have retained and continue to lop the techniques and forms of their traditional ic to play important cultural roles, and the Chinese extremely proud of the great artistic works of the past. example, visitors to the library at Peking University as the Tang dynasty (600-900 A.D.). There are also ng and Ch'ing dynasty paintings and rare scrolls and ments of every sort. The famous Imperial Palace in ing, with its Forbidden City, has been undergoing vation, and has just been reopened to the public. It thousands of visitors every day, and if you ask them but they think of all this "decadence," they answer, "It's

he ancient city of Soochow, besides being famous for embroidery, is also justly well known for its scenery, by parks built during the Sung and Ming periods are meticulously well maintained and open to the public, though they are remnants of the past. There are ten thousand works of ancient art, dating back to B.C., excavated in sites found since the Cultural cent on absence were that but for the sweet and of the common people, and now the common people of the common people, and now the common people of the commo

goals in life.

Thus, in many ways the Chinese are doing much nor thus, in many ways the Chinese are doing much nor thus simply preserving their ancient heritage. They also using it as an educational experience, to the present as well as the paid of th

Culture After the Cultural Revolution

What have the results of this new cultural moves been? First, the Cultural Revolution itself is a moving to change people's thinking, to get them works gether for the goals of the revolution and the develop of socialism in China. Cultural productions which evidence poals and values are one of the most effectively considerable of the most effective these poals and values are one of the most effective the control of the most effective them.

The Arts 265
countryside—efforts which are still going on today—with
the result that culture and art have virtually exploded onto
the rural scene, even in the most remose areas. Others is

coming to everyone now.

Secondly, belief in self-reliance and the determination of the people to improve that own lives through their own effects has, in cultural areas, reclused a tremendous poential of creativity and artistic experience. The opening and drawings on the walls of factories are the people of the people

Thirdly, the spread of cultural life throughout the country distribution an important effect on many practical concession, seekil, and pottical programs. For on many practical concession, seekil, and pottical programs. For on the country of the c

Perhaps the most important result, however, is the enalment of people's lives which the art and culture of and middle-school girls shooting rifles in a militia din.
These contrasts convinced us that the changes in the
lives of women since Liberation may be one of the greatest miracles of the Chinese revolution.

The position of weener in old China is summed well in two Chines proverby, not for nor and our will in two Chines proverby, not for nor and our law of the chines when and the series of the series of the chines when the series of the chines when the chines when you many a series with the dogs. A young Chine gold and the dogs. A young Chine gold with the chines when you many a series of the property of the chines when the chines

It was ocially unacceptable for her to remarty. The grind of suomen in this situation of forced marriage is lustrated in Chinese literature by many stories of wathrowing themselves down wells or hanging themselves from their marriage bed with their wedding clothes. Foot-binding ensured the economic and physically pendence of women. When still very young, gift, and their feet quibby wrapped and being mail its subterior test quibby wrapped and being mail its subsait the normal size, and a partly cripped means. This cases of riches since only upper classes, and was a size of the size of

In the early decades of the trentleth contary, ideas shout women's welfar and equality began to spread. Vet early the upper-class women benefited from legal changes, for the rest of society was still poor, illimetate, an uninformed. Even if a passant girl discovered that a the could so longer be legally forced into marriage, the would have to way to endorce her wishes. In the cities, growing intered the country of the country of the country of the starting of the country of the country of the law to the country of the country of the country of in textile units where female children were paid not even a much as maje children. Older women worked sixteen

some a day in brottal, unsanisary surroundings.

In spring 1950 the new regime of liberated China
In spring 1950 the new regime of liberated China
Postularized the new marriage faw. In one blow they
all the property of the control of the control

The Marriage Law has been so successful that people to were raised in pre-Liberation China find women's best in the present almost unrecognizable. For example, as old mm at Tachal who had witnessed the whole transition and women in his village told us how much beautiful the women with the work of the instead of the inst

A Simple Appearance

Chieses westen today have a besuty and realismes the counts from good health, confidence, and pride. The clothess they were are confortable and practical for this dealy work and for realist wester. One past of a duratic color to they will not stoll easily, and simple blooms in white or pasted colors. Men and women alike west obtained to the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors. Among and the colors of the colors. Men and women alike west obtained in our healt when we requested an iron to from some colors for meeting with various unbases, officials as Peking, our guides laughed at us for wasting that and beautiful to the colors of the colors

Clothes and hairstyles for women are very plain, except for the occasional flowered blouse or skirt and hir
ribbons. Women wear their hair in one of two styles which
are practical for work; it is either cut short or worn lore
in two heavy braids. They never cut their hair or do any
thing artificial to it, and no one wears any makeup, except

It is mogetible to fell whether a woman is married site by one abe. The he may keep he own family summaried for work, and nobody over calls her "Miss" or "Miss" must other year for the martinest they sufferes her as "Commado" or use other instead they sufferes her as "Commado" or use other instead they suffere is the works in the same phote as the humband, they avoid public display of affection for so other in accordance with Chinere traditions, the same phote as the same phote as the same phote as the same phote as the humband, they avoid public display of affection for so other in accordance with Chinere traditions, the same phote as the same phote a

Women at Work

Women at Work

Much of the pride and confidence shown by the
women comes from their new, useful role in building
China. The Chinese press constantly deplores women we

seesy at home all day long and gossip and think of nothwhich is that all women should work at productive labor could receive equal pay for equal work. This plan has succeeded surprisingly well, considering how backward China's women were only twenty-two short years are road gangs, and fly planes in the air force. Half of the agtion's doctors are women, and women comprise more than half the work force in the textile industry. Most sursery and elementary-school teachers are also women At each people's commune we visited in the countryside, all the women are full-time workers, except the old women with bound feet whose working ability is very limited. At the Hundong Commune near Canton, 52 percent of the commune laborers are women. All the women alongside men on the same precision machinery, with no apparent segregation of jobs according to sex. At the

In citization, we saw no segregation between male and transla students; gifts and boys items raise by side at all brake. Each fermide and male student practices factory and spicultural work on an equal basis. There is no seem at the control of the control of the control of the students of the control of the control of the control and chere are certainly not quite half. We observed "Noman is high, though not quite half. We observed "Noman is high though not quite half. We observed "Naming millar exercises where women and gift we have the control of the control of the control of the state to dat the Husdong Commune that 4.3 persent of white melon are women.

lobs for Men. Jobs for Women

As we traveled around China visiting many production by we observed that there are some jobs which tend to be done by women, and some which are mostly for men.

In the educational system, for example, the pattern a China rather than only at home, is strictly woman's work In the large nursery at Textile Mill of Northwest Chateacher in any of the nurseries and kindergartens we

Going up the educational ladder, from nurseries to primary schools to middle schools to universities, the percentage of female teachers gets smaller until male teachers are in the majority at the university level. At the primary school we visited in Nanking, there are thirty-nine women and seven men teachers. The men teach specialized courses, such as factory skills, physical education, soc 1,487 men on the faculty. In other words, in the educational system, the most prestigious and highly paid son

In factory work and medical work, we found much more equality between men and women than is found in no. 1 is 40 percent men. In both factories, we willed all highly mechanized tasks the men and women work it job has not been mechanized, the task is done by worse is the final inspection of every foot of cloth produced the hand repair of all flaws in the cloth, and the worker who do this are all women. At the embroidery factor some pictures are still totally hand-sewn, with each

tore requiring nearly two months of careful work. Only

We also visited some factories which in our own comary would have all male employees-machine-tool facand a rolling-stock plant. In China such factories have mostly male employees, but the occasional woman can be even painting the finished machines or driving a crane waich moves heavy machinery around. The February 7 staff. Of these, only 1,700 are women. This includes the women employed to care for children in the nurseries are not barred from these jobs as they are in our country, either by company or union restrictions, some jobs are

Finally, there are those jobs which are reserved mostly

for men. The part of the working world least open to women is the People's Liberation Army. Members of the PLA are highly respected in China today, and they do much more than just prepare for the possibility of invasion. They hold important positions in all sorts of production units and governing bodies. To bar women from any significant role in the army effectively bars them taked with only three women members of the PLA. One Mixed in Canton. Another is a young PLA woman of tarnty-two who is a student of English at Peking Unienity. (There were other PLA women in the freshman

talk to.) The third is a member of the leadership at Binghua University. They told us that women members When we asked why these differences between male female employment continue, we were usually told women are by nature better suited to some tasks, as gentle care of the sick, patient rearing of children, neticulous sewing or inspection tasks where perfec-

is required. Neither the men nor the women seemed Sucstion the assumption that there are these sorts of intot differences between men and women.

built into the job and pay structures. For example, name get less pay, on the average, than doctors, and the numeral women. Kindergarten teachers get less pay the university teachers, and kindergarten teachers are alwomen while university teachers are mostly men.

On the people's commune, where the great malors are added up and gold in cath at the ord of the 3rd and 4rd an

Educational Opportunities

Continuing inequalities can be found not only in and pay scales for women, but also in education educational system of China treats female students male students equally in the classroom, but in some page Women

new are more boys than gifs in the sebool system. At the dusts in the commune they and that 45 percent of the dusting the commune schools are gifs, for the percent of the commune's population is female. It is formed, the commune schools are gifs, formed, the suppose of the commune schools are gifs, formed to the percent what the reason is for this disparity, but it may be that some commune gifts drop out of middle school concer than the boys. We happened upon a practical school class-sine given in a commune glectric power plant, and the

It appeared to us that higher education in China is will bissed in favor of men. At Peking University, we were not distant the student body is 30 percent women and 70 Coltural Revolution their first year's class after the Coltural Revolution of the State State State State to made extra efforts to enroll children of workers, peasas, and soldiers, but not women. When we asked people here with the state of the state of the state of the state of the peasance of the state of the state

Leadership Roles

Men commune teatership rotes in the People's Republic Chana. In almost very organization we are in Chana. Chana. The control of the Chana. The

We were fortunate to be able to meet with local leaders

six responsible persons who need us at the train were near We found that even in factories where the workers as mostly female, the leadership is heavily male. For example, at the Socokow Embrodiesy Factory, where 80 person of the workers are women, the revolutionary committee has seven, women, twelve men, and the elected head of the committee is a man, as usual. In the primary schol we wisted in Nushing, the leading committee is presented to the committee is the propositional of the committee is presented to the committee is presented to the committee is presented to the committee is the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the committee in the committee is the committee in the commit

Of comes in some places the problem of lack country, and country and as the 26 to 30 percent lower limit, when the country and as the 26 to 30 percent lower limit, and the country and th

gates to national conferences.

Out in the countryside where the great majority of the people are, things move more slowly and plodders when it comes to something so wrenching as women country. Women's role in leadership varies greatly free commune to commune. The relatively advanced ones wisted have about one-third women, two-thirds me.

their job for the most part is to lead other women, to confine themselves to women's affairs and women's problems

The customes of those women's expansion on superior "repeated for women's affers in a indication pound "repeated for women's affers in an indication pound of the control of the control of the control of the country with the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the control to anist any women to the control of the liberation of the women who formarily ground grain to the control of the women who formarily ground grain to the control of the women who formarily ground grain to the control of the women who formarily ground grain to the control of the women who formarily ground grain the liberation of the women who formarily ground grain who is the time and the dominate schedule in Calina's Why is it that the mail the dominate schedule in Calina's whose the control of the women who formarily ground grain who is the control of the women who formarily ground grain and the women who is a superior to the control of the control of the women who formarily the control of the control of the women who format who are the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control of the women who is the control of the control

One nature can be found by observing the viscous who have made it into leadership positions. They are almost a base made it into leadership positions. They are almost a leadership which was the same of the same

Another reason why women are underrepresented in absolutionary committees and Committees and Committees are but these that these committees are not or productionary controlled to the committees are not or produced by the committees are not or produced by the second or a city. The elected members often include second a city. The elected members of the root include second. But the problem is that these committees the problem is that these committees the problem is that these committees are not provided to the committee of the Proplets Liberation when the problem is that these committees are not provided to the committees the problem in the problem is that these committees are not provided to the committee of the proplets Liberation of the problem is that these committees are not considered to the problem in the problem in the problem is the problem in the problem in the problem in the problem is the problem in the problem in the problem in the problem is the problem in the problem is the problem in the problem in the problem in the problem is the problem in the problem in

assigned to help lead, and cadres from the local Commiss party. These members are usually all men, perhapiteluding one woman cadre occasionally. The inequise of these committees merely reflect the inequities in othe leadership organizations, namely, the Communist party and the Pecolos's Liberation Army.

When we land our daylong with to Peding Unliverse, we are arread as Petit beine being briefled on the case, we are arread as Petit beine provided on the case, and the period of the per

A Managaminas/ Fastaw

Allbudgh many Chinese women had long been assounistic their homes, some women have only recorbegum to work. At the February 7 Rolling Stock Plant awa a carriers phonemone catalled a "housework to tor", Arganization of the control of the conplanted economy it is hard to fit everyone into a job, aircan when have not traditionally been part of the restraction of the control of the control of the is policies of assuring everyone work. But during Caltural Revolution a great effort was made to com-

and the last

everyone to contribute to the socialist construction of new Chin. Women who had never felt any duty beyond that to their busbands and family spontaneously wanted to or were encouraged to do more. More housewives' facneties were started during the Cultural Revolution so the

these women couns works.

The rolling-stock plant where we saw the housewires' factory is more than just a large factory. It is a whole industrial settlement which includes housing for the workers, schools, and recreational facilities. It is virtually a cyle in itself and is located several miles from Peking in asburban agricultural area. It is difficult for people who live bre to jet into Peking to work, althoush some do.

The housewivest factory was located on the grounds of the rolling-stock compound, but separate from the main alops. The separation is more than physical, as was immediately apparent when we entered. The buildings are small, the few machines fairly primitive, and the products. Study recycled wastes, are definitely of subsidiary installed to the contract of the cont

The plant.

The plant is a strong to a strong the factory were provided of his recent development, trensing over and strong provided of his recent development, trensing over and the strong the stron

Human resources, too, are not wasted in China other societies, you would see old women sitting in they would probably be economically dependent totheir children or on the state. The women we saw weuseful, no matter how small, that was contributing to the revolution. In the shop we saw a few men working and asked why they were there. We were told that they were retired workers who were employed in the housewise shop to teach the women their skills. But it also gave these after their retirement. We also saw a young handicapted

bodied young women would be working there with elpeople and the handicapped. We were told that this was never become a "state factory" (a higher-ranking production unit), because its purpose and justification was teach the main state-owned factory. This attitude suggests the housewives' factories are not thought to be important, so left us skeptical about this phenomenon. Of course, " have no way of judging these housewives' factories from petuating a second-class or auxiliary status for worter

women who would like to work in this factory than

A Conversation in Shanghai

puring our short stay in Shanghai, the seven American

At this meeting they told us that women are for the whitever inequalities are left are not major ones, and will servations, for we had seen women driving buses in the

The three women who were members of the revolutionof Shanghai the vast majority of responsible posts of the leadership in Shanghai at all levels is composed ing committees of the district Communist party 280 Chinal Inside the Poople's Republic committees, one-shird of the members are women; or revolutionary committees below the district level, as said, 30 percent of the members are women. We wisted, workers' bousing settlement in Shanghai, Chooyan which houses 65,000 people. A veteran worsain care told us that out of twenty-occ members of the interest of the statement of the committee of the statement of the st

We ended our discussion feeling very impressed us these Shanghai women; they are dedicated and hay, people. Because their liberation is basically complete in their environment very supportive, they show no nomment toward the male comrades around them. The leaing women of Shanghai are a model of what liberais women can be like: relaxed, confident, productive, and

Marriage

The obvious freedom and independence we smode for women we posses with in Sanaghai implied in the women we posses with in Sanaghai implied in the women we posses with in the sanaghai implied to be of children, and in child care. We were told that we will be a smooth the sanaghai in which is the sanaghai in which is the sanaghai in t

mate.

The Chinese government discourages early marrise.

In pre-Liberation China, child marriages were common

and teem-age girls often had bables. The members of the Handwag Commune told us that the average marriage and the state of the state of the state of the state of the production. In the cities the usual marriage age is highter in the countryide. Late marriage age is highter in the countryide. Late marriage age is not a seam to get all the deculation the can, and to become a pedactive worker independent of whomever the marriant. If she does not have handwad and children at two young an age, the is less likely to be dominated in thought the control of the country of the country of the date over. This can be a real reforeme, because in the

countryside a newly married woman often still moves into

We were sold by some ween'n at the Tischal Production Region than criticism about their liberated settinies come region that criticism about their liberated settinies come and the sold of the sold o

But incompatibilities can be tolerated in a marriage common the marriage is only one part of life for the woman as well as for the man. A woman in China need to the common common common common common common common laws ber healthough is hard to get along with. After all, pass her health common c China, the is very close to other women. This is a para-Chinest culture in Talwan as well as in China; women chinest culture in Talwan as well as in China; women to of time topgether, helping each other, holding shad, and putting their arms around each other willous as burrasment. Men in Chinese culture are close, too, see express their friendship with one another very opening the control of the control of

The old patriarchal division of labor which relegand

modified in the People's Republic of China, Everywhere

Household Labor

was weath we suited whether more share in the duties who was two weather whether the state of the duties and do a fillied seasoning around the boson. The was a suite of the state of the s

operate with each other, neighbor women as well as womes in the same family.

nester a robordinate bounded role traditionally remained and robordinate bounded role traditionally and all different bound for Blank, we were intend to seeing a second of the control of the bounded cocked a levish meal, then steped in at leithen on as with the genum bed did not eat. Meansurement of the second of the second of the second of the with w. In each case we asked why the weares were no with w. In each case we asked why the weares were no started by the second of the second of the second of the intervent of the second of the second of the second is server be posted and man of the bloom, but not to see with the custom to be inconsistent with women's well that custom to be inconsistent with women's well that the second of the second of the second of the women's consistent with the second of the second of the women's consistent with the second of the second of the women's consistent with the second of the second o

as the cities, the picture has changed. We were sold on groupes who coopers on their one day off per page couples who coopers on their one day off per page couples who couples the cities of the couples of the cities of the couples of the cities of the ci

The propile who work in city food markets have somesias fried to lighten the burden of food shopping and soleton for customers. We visited a market in a stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the stagellal housing settlement, and they told us that the appropriate foods table full of plates of washed, peeled, A few conveniences lighten the burden for city ween, but in the countryside the only modern convenies to help women is sewing machines, which are now week available, and of course the nurseries, kindergartens, see schools which care for China's children while their moss schools which care for China's children while their moss on the course of the cou

Family Separation

During our trip, we began to wender if the governcolomy spenates handsom, were, and clittlers for inclined spenates and bandsom, when the conlomination of the control of the control

In other cases one number of the couple may be a found in one place by a job, n y by differing, while decoupled the place of the place of the place of the construction, or is the countryled to work temporally the fields. This is all very well if everybody is happy the arrangement, and we questioned many people and the place of the place of the place of the place of the mind. My job is exercise, so I want to do it event had been also been also been also been also been also like the collection of the place of the place of the like We go where we are oncoded, and don't find any when the place of the place of the place of the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the secondary for a woman to like the firmly or a like the place of the place o

leave his family for work purposes, either one will go

These of us who have lived in Taiwan or Hong Kongsiège the culture has a lot of elements of old China, have jearn de laure has a lot of elements of old China, have jearn many couples who separated for momba or years are great to misse the separation may come not from socialinate from traditional Chinese culture. When we saked have been been been supported to the contraction of the artist families, they responded that it is not intentional, the two-pto-phy works in needed in new China. They said that wheneve a couple requests a job change in order to jobs a soon as possible, but there may be a lag of a few

It one senie, this occasional separation illustrates the indepositors of Chinese seniers. In a Humpian Committed and the comment of the comment of the 4th the community is go to work to conswhere far from the adaptate area. She had left the chind the mahand, her adaptate area where the comment of the comment of the senior of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of the comment of the comment of the comtant of the comment of th

while her hutband works in the fields of the commune. Chance women separated from their families seed in the for their safety. A great boon to the progress study between men and women in Chins is the like a woman can go alone anywhere in Chins and no the safety. A great book is the chins and now for fear page, theft, murder, or attack of any lind. The feet, the can carry out her independent role fully without with the deep of the can carry out her independent role fully without the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the can carry out her independent role fully without with the carry out her independent role fully without with the carry out her independent role fully without with the carry out the role of t The government at all levels encourages complete accounts of the process from planning. We have do we do by or its comprosite, and that the operation is done safely at common to the comprosite of the complete of the comple

Af we traveled, we asked the people how many oldfren there were per couple in each place. At the Chanys neighborhood bousing settlement in Shanghai, the wonter that the couple of the couple of the couple of the Most occupies agree dut three solliers are too many. Setodd us, but the problem is that most women want foundation of the couple of the couple of the couple first two children are of the same exe, they frequently children all of the same ase. The biasest circles peers children all of the same ase. The biasest circles peers

have the most successful family-planning programs, and ayong so out into the countryside, the number of children from the countryside, the number of children from the country of the coun

finds women in China gara laws of flips to Hypothesia of the China gara laws of Hypothesia of the Garantina of the China in Earth at Earth

Child Care

There are facilities to care for children from the day as mother's maternity leave ends—approximately a continuous contin

cated in the place where she works. She is given time on during the day to breast-feed her baby. If she is no breast-feeding, she may just hold or play with the beau have a grandmother living with them, usually leave their children in her care. People are not forced to take their

The child-care facilities for children are divided into three levels. The feeding stations are for the youngest, the one-half years, and kindergartens for ages three and onehalf to seven. The parent usually pays ten to eleven yum a month for child care. This money is for food, and is about what it would cost for the child to eat at home. The children get three hot meals a day, and four if they hand, and the child is treated in a special isolation room. the child is transferred to a hospital Naturally in Chira all this health care is free. Overnight facilities are also available at child-care centers. A small percentage of couples in the cities leave their children at the kinderday off. Children often stay overnight if one member of the couple works a night shift at a factory or if the parents

Traditional Americans would be quick to criticize China's women for neglecting their duty and shunting their children off to day-care centers, but the fact is that year-olds clapping to greet us in the Chinese custom and are running up to lead us by the hand into their room. the beautiful grounds of the nursery and kindergarten and lawns with sturdy wooden climbing toys and swines, was noths on the grounds were shaded by trellises with vines growing on them. We entered the room and were seated in miniature chairs by children who then ran off so prepare for the performance they were to give us. We The Chinese have a different orientation toward child

seem amazed by their poise and self-confidence.

eare from that of most Americans. The people in our were cared for looked very dull, spartan, and bare. We saw practically no toys, games, or books. The walls were either whitewashed or gray cement, with no pictures but the ever-present one of Mao Tse-tung. Just looking at this, one could easily jump to the conclusion that the Chinese have just done the minimum necessary-provide utilized. However, this is definitely not the way the Chinese see it. They do not see these facilities as in any way inadequate or inferior. Rather, their whole emphasis is not on things for the children to do or play with, but on types. Instead of painting, a rather solitary activity, they spend a lot of time singing, dancing, and performing skits. We saw even the youngest toddlers doing the same dances hat we saw middle-school students and even adult workchildren learn quotations from Chairman Mao, and their songs and skits all reflect the belief that art should serve

The children are getting the kind of care parents want Solings for the children. Nor did other kinds of roomschool rooms, meeting rooms, or auditoriums-have the the rooms is partly a result of the frugality of the Chinese, who believe that other things are more important

290 Chinal Inside the People's Republic and healthy. It was summer, and many of them had hear rash, but all were wearing the white calamine lotted to

The children certainly received pienty of love as algetenion. The ratio of suff to children was high in inchild-care facilities we saw. In the numery at Tehin is the control of the control of the control of the with their patiently bound feet found this was consistthey could do. When we walked in, they were sitting on samp playing with and cuddling the children. As the chdren got older, there were fewer adults per child, above the control of the children and the children and the The children along the walked experience of develop-

ing relationships with one another.

There is a may that the family in China is being broken up, that children are taken away from their perfect of traditional China and to further utilize or eliminate at family responsibility. According to this myth, then, askin and evote all their time to their work and their children and evote all their time to their work and their children and their chi

tung, and the partners live in the same house with the married some or daughters and their families, and sumeried some or daughters and their families, and sumeried some or daughters and their families, and sumeries of three generations then pool their incomes were the family partners. We visited must family homes where the family had purchased families several histories, and radios by combining their recovers in this way. If housing units are too small to allow electronic to the several high the same that the same house with the same family that the same that the same

her son and daughter-in-law who live very close by.

The people who take care of children in the nurself and kindergartens are not parent substitutes. And it we obvious wherever we went in China that purents, gran

doing things and going places together. Far from weakening the family, the employment of women and the child-

The Road Toward Liberation

The achievements of women's equality since Liberation have been not only on the practical side of life, but also on the spiritual side. It is exhilarating for women to live in if they have not yet managed to become equal to men in every way. The writings of Mao Tse-tung stress that China needs the productive labor and ingenuity of the female half of the population as well as that of the male balf, and that women can do whatever men can. The whole value system of new China supports and encourages women in their struggle for equality. Therefore, once a woman decides that she will be completely equal to all the men around her, the society will support her against whatabout a couple in Shanghai who had marital problems over the issue of women's equality. The husband was a party cadre, and the wife had been just a housewife until ltap forward herself and gotten a job as a Shanghai bus driver. She then worked her way up into a leadership potition in the party too. She gradually spent less and less time in the home, and her husband started complaining bitterly about her neglect of household chores. She took he problem to a study group at her work, and all her coworkers encouraged her and her husband to study Chairman Mao's savings on the subject together, which of the family to share in the housework, and the result has that the woman continued unhindered in her work

and leadership roles.

A hutsand may just stand aside and let a woman try

A hutsand may just stand aside and let a woman try

A hutsand may just stand aside and let a woman try

landong Commune, we were told of a forty-year-old

woman who was asked by her coworkers to take charge

a warehouse. She was reluctant because she had been

Chinal Inside the People's Republic ucation. She was also afraid her husband would obies On the contrary, he encouraged her, and she took its

The Chinese woman can thus find support in her es.

11. CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The Peking People's Daily of July 16, 1971, carried a hand corner of the first page entitled simply "appouncement." The "announcement" was brief and restrained, not very different from the morning weather report. Henry Kissinger had been to Peking for talks with Chinese of-Peking for a discussion of "normalization of relations between the two countries" and "an exchange of opinions on problems of concern to both sides." The article was

We were in Peking, having lunch at the Xinqiso Hotel, when we heard the news. After a few seconds of stunned "Yes, I know," she answered, smiling at our con-Neus motive Nixon would have for coming to China-a consider the archimperialist? What kind of change

From his bed in the Anti-Imperialist Hospital, New Porton his bed in the Anti-Imperium 1200ption, rock Times correspondent James Reston plaintively sent Everyone seemed to be going about their business very calmly . . . obviously, they did not consider its tremendous reversal in China's policy, and did not expect this event to overturn the present situation. we were not satisfied with these speculations. We ware

Three days later, on the evening of July 19, we had a opportunity to ask these questions during a four-hoconversation with Premier Chou En-lai, By now the have been nictures of him in many American newspaper and magazines, and his calm, aging face-with the butblack evebrows and quick, humorous eyes-is families He greeted us at the door of one of the smaller rooms in the Great Hall of the People, shaking hands with each of us and then following us in. He put us immediately at ess with a few comments about our trip and introduced to others in the room. Two of them we had read about to Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, both members of the Political Bures of the Central Committee and key figures in Shanghall Cultural Revolution. We sat in a large semicircle, confortable in large wicker chairs, with small tables for our premier spoke in Chinese, and we waited while this wa translated into English, then replied in English and again observed the form. Later, in transcribing the text of the

interview from our tapes, we were very glad of this, see ensured that unclear sections were repented.

At the beginning of our conversation, Premier Coassured us that we were invited to take as many photon

slon.

The premier's talk centered on Asia, but the commente made on the Nixon visit reveal the basic Chinese look on the likely development of ties with the University of the Chinese look on the likely development of ties with the University of the Chinese look on the likely development of ties with the University of the Chinese look on the likely development of the Chinese look of

Chinese believe that they have been the subject of American bulligarency and threats for over twenty years, in thir yes, it is America that in the past has slammed the doors the possibility of better relations with China. Which was been the Chinese experience in dealing with backcons, and what does it tell about how China will act since turne?

The main fact dominating Chinese-American relations

sine the Second World War has been the continuous insubvenment of the United States in Chieses affairs. This involvement began even before the founding of the People's Republic, with several bellion dollars of sid and direct military intervention in China's civil war on the sids of the Nationalist regime of Chinag Kai-thek. When General George C. Marshall arrived in China

in 1946 with instructions from Truman to settle the consists between the Communists and the Kuomintang, he resemted himself as China's generous best friend; the baited States would be accepted as a dissintered mediatry whatever America favored would be in China's best

Such presumptions came naturally. American miscismosphy proups had for almor a handred year dispensed in this wast was "best" in American evidication, and Americans and upiliting. When the Communists in 1949 and the civil war and turned toward Moscow, the shock was the contract of the

Many Thost China; "Many Thost China; "Many Thost China; "Many Thost China; For even as Marshall in 1946 was trying actal of war, American war material and money were as all Berally into Nationalist hands, By March 1949, so the state of the china; and give to China during the entire war against the china; and give to China during the entire war against a china; and the china; and given to China during the entire war against a china; and the china; and given to China during the entire war against the china; and given to China during the entire war against the china; and given to China during the entire war against the china; and given to China during the entire war against the china; and given to China during the entire war against the china; and t

So Mao threw his lot in with the Russians. The cold

war, he believed, was carving up the world, "Sitting one fence will not do." he said in 1949, "nor is there a sa

What else could Mao have concluded? The Univ. civil war, but it had supported in Chiang Kai-shell regime of unrelieved corruption and one with Republic as the legitimate government of China, done the obvious distaste felt for the new regime. John Potts Chen Yi noted in 1965." Dulles suggested that "if the Communist government a China in fact proves its ability to govern China withou Taiwan serious domestic resistance it, too, should be admitted to

The Korean War dramatically foreclosed any possible ters. The American forces, which made up most of the ordered air strikes on Chinese cities. The Chinese quicil on Chinese border cities, MacArthur in late 1950 se

RAND study by Allen Whiting, moved into Korea of

sher repeated and explicit warnings that MacArthur's

Although the Korean War remained a "limited" war, pertalists to come in and attack us," Foreign Minister

ity of peaceful Chinese-American relations, Barely 8 300 h international relations, Traditional United States old the People's Republic was faced with a fierce was a policy toward China as exemplified in the Open Door "United Nations" or "allied" troops, were led by a gent American official position even more strongly at the time;

Chen Yi, speech, cited in unpublished paper by Jonathan Unger.

^{&#}x27;Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictators speech, June 30, 1949, in Selected Works (Peking: Foreign John Foster Dulles, War or Peace (New York: Mad

hostilities in Korea, Truman ordered the U.S. se-Picet to intervene in the Tailwas Strains. Althouse viously a reaction to the Korean situation, Trumaction had the effect of saving the remnants of the Kotentianing government and Nationalant armies from more, the American People's Liberation Army, on more, the American to the American Companies of nesse affairs. This was even hander for the fifther of mental provenues in Peking to understand vision mentals before, the United States had seemed resid shandon Chinang after his "final" defeat by the Cou-

The effects of this intervention were not seriously or sidered at the time, but the State Department earlier i 1950 had recognized what an intervention in Tales

For the United States Government at this date to extendible in non-Chinese administration on Permans, establish as non-Chinese administration on Permans, would be almost universally interpreted in mutulate China me wideling by interpreted throughout Atia as attempt by this Government to separate Formona feet China in widelines of its pideges and occurracy to its longer and contrasty to its product of the pro

Despite this assessment, the United States did introand continues to Intervene today, without legal or procal justification for such a colory. The People's Rephas therefore regarded the central issue of American jey on Taiwan to be one of principle—would the keep up its Interference in an internal Chinese 18th Would it nited on supporting Ching Kal-sheb.

SEATO

The Korean War shaped Washington's view of China as an "aggressor nation." The U.S. government concluded that China could only be contained through the threat of ourscheding force. The Pentagon accordingly built a military barrier enclosing China's periphery from Japan

the most important link in this chair was the South San All Treat's Optimization (GMATD), are step in 1954, which the U.S. was deeply involved in trying to high which the U.S. was deeply involved in trying to high which the U.S. was deeply involved in trying to high the control of the control of the control of the theory of the control of the states of the control of the largest officers, were sent into North Vertama to been stated on the control of the control of the control of the largest officers, were sent into North Vertama to been been the married and solution of the control of the largest officers, were sent into North Vertama to been formed to the control of the transport of the control of the

char un author have 200 no un telluso monte.

To Americany makers, and John Fester Dolles in John Garden Dolles in John Garden Dolles in John Garden Dolles in Land and a desaster. It meant that an important region because of the property of Asian countries and the property of Asian countries are the property of Asian countri

[&]quot;State Department report to the House of Represents early 1950, quoted in Jerome Alan Cohen, "Recognizing

Tibet, India, and Laos

Along the length of its contains notice. China has nemerous military provocations. These insements of the contained the contained that not Nationalist Chine furnishing to the American than not Nationalist Chine furnishing to the American policy of containing Chine furnishing the American policy of containing China these actions have often peared to the Chaulth started American policies.

In Their, China was suppressing an upraing our the rulers of a minority population within China's who boundaries who themselves practiced slavery and down. Their is also China's strategic underfully, in the Thetams had risen, Peking felt in Lamy, This specific control of the China's their control of the China's their control of the Thetam revole is well known in the West Americals in the 1959 agriding, however, is only vogumentsood, both accounts have presented the reduces as a "spontaneous" revolt led by supporters of the D-Lama, Their's former feedal ruler, and by Khambau Tun.

began, the Nationalist Chinese government expensions are proposed to the proposed proposed to the proposed proposed to the proposed propos

will almost certainly never be known—how many American planes, how many American pilots, how much tax-payer, money spent secretly. But we do know that Americans were involved and that China's claims then were true. The CIA and Nationalist aid to the Tibetan rible was also a prelude to the brief was fought. on

Their notices because there years later. The sur between China and India has been integly and their control of their control

Stean family meepinated the war by a direct milliony medical Chance instants mutch of the diquoted border medical Chance instants mutch of the diquoted border and chance and the steam of the steam of

Alahn K. Fairbank, "How Aggressive Is China?" New York

torial investigations do we now have a picture of the suof the American war in Laos, and much is still to be sualin addition to providing some support for the gossa-American war effort in Southeast Asia, the Natiousia forces in Laos have engaged in millitary actions not atrectly kaked to that war. At different times Natiousi andplaces have bombed up to and across the Chine

There is growing confirmation of the role playe by a CLA and the Nationalist Chinose in the opious arrange morthers. Loss. But it is now clear that the confirmation of the confirmation o

The Third World

Thirty-dive years ago, while he and his commades recuperated in Yearn after the Long March and the desire of Liberation was still far off, Mao Tue-tung told Edu-Scow: "When the Chinese revolution comes to the power, the masses of the many colonial and semi-colonidated the Chinese revolution comes to the similar victory of their own: "One at the Chinearn no loss convinced that their experience is relevant asvaluable for the struggles of other third-world powerly available for the surgiples of other third-world powerly But the complexities of world diplomacy in a welldominated by hostile powers have always influenced."

The Bandung Conference For four years, from early 1954 to late 1957, the

Stuart Schrim, The Pollicial Thought of Mao Tre-tang (No

produced struggles in Africa and Asia and China's own revolution of the provinces centred a strong and supportive motivation and strong and supportive moderate Indian agreement on Tibles a through a structure of the principles which became the basis for China's actings with all third-world nations during this period, the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrating with all third-world nations during this period, the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrations of the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrations of the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrations of the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrations of the principles were mutual respect for retrieval integrations.

These five principles were affirmed a year later at the Banding Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples, defining a new form of neutralism which was intended to give these misons more freedom of action in the world and more control over their own affairs. The idea for the conference and born riside by Indianesian President Sukarmo at an suffer conference in April of that year; the aim would be of forge a political unity of the third world against the

The small and "standenderstepped" autons had found from your smallers to determine their own fates and first your smallers to determine their own fates and their properties of their standards and their standards are standard to their standards and their standards are standards as the standards are

Under these conditions, the third-world leaders had not succeed by come to the conclusion that their only insufficiently come to the conclusion that their only insufficiently in unity—in the formation of a "third bloc." The succeeding the succeed

China's Reasons for the New Police

The five principles and the Bandaug Conference, resented a clear shift in the Chinese position. In the sense and the Bandaug Conference was a second to the sense from the

The course followed by the Chinese people in defeating imperfailing and its lackeys and in founding the Peoples Republic of China is the course that should be followed expenses a remove a semi-colonial and colonial countries in their light for independence and people democracy.³

Liu also said that only a Communist organization, business and the colonial countries in the colonial colon

our use protestants after a free army, count succeed in mising a revolution; the entire statement was vigorously seproved by the Soviet Union and reprinted in Pravida. Lin's statement, and Pravida's approval, occurately reflect Chinn's situation between 1949 and 1953, Insequeenced, just beginning to recover from the civil war, asfaced by a hostile United States across the Thiswan Statiland in Korne China was in a position to oncess Statil-

leadership.

With the end of the Korean War, however, and se success of its economic recovery, China began to responsis tis role in the world. By 1955 the first signs of reconsideration of its dependence on the Soviet Unite were already there—and China began to see itself alles with the "first bloom return the sixth Description."

After Bandung, the position China took in Africa was

occiniony and realistic. Departing from Livil youthon in 1994; it counted bearing, mindred as "Liviley" and "mindred door "of Euro-American imperialism. In large art the probly was based on a new Chinese strategy are the probly was based on a new Chinese strategy mercet the alignment of African states with the major waters powers. In explaining their new upport for those minorials "bourpool" leaders, the Chinese remarked the minorials "bourpool" leaders, the Chinese remarked the minorials "bourpool" leaders, the Chinese remarked the minorials "bourpool" leaders, the Chinese Communitation and that—as Lin Pian axid—the Chinese Communitation and that—as Lin Pian axid—the Chinese Communitation and the communitation of the communitation of the problem of the communitation of the minorial communitation of the problem of the communitation of the minorial communitation of minorials and minorials are minorials and minorials are minorials and minorials are minorials and minorials are minorials and minorials mino

Under these conditions Chinese diplomacy in Africa was mixed with a spirit of cooperation. The chief criterion of China's support appeared to be the willingness of the African government and nationalist movements to Oppose the Western powers. But in a period when many Africans were eager for independence and bitterly resentated of Euronean and U.S. stances, this criterion defined

abment all off them as friends.

The Seze crisis of 1936 was the culmination of this self-active of the self

Afro-Add Page 1 Pino, Long Live the Victory of the People's Wer (Peking:

Egypt's claim to sovereignty over the Suez Canal, are acceptance of arms from the Soviet Union, brought open break. The U.S. withdrew from the Aswan Day project and Egypt found itself, in the attempt to claim a rights, forced into one of the big-power "camps."

Chia rejected the Soviét model in foreign polity and in economies, and disological contentions team and an economies, and disological contentions team and a seconomies, and disological contentions the same and the seconomies of the seconomies of

The Great Leap Forward campaigns of 1957–62 seestablished the need for self-sufficiency in China. Chins must be able to go it alone, without Soviet or other foreign help. The general result of this policy was a pittially intentional sitolation for China from most of the

One result was a major spils in the Afro-Asian Peop Solidarity Organization (AAPSO). Created at the Sova initiated World Peace Conference in New Delhi, or eve of the Binading Conference, AAPSO had best were supported to the Conference of the Conference of the Communist party role in the third world. In the set spirit of independence after Bandany, AAPSO had best ignored. It remained morrhund until 1957 when in the water of Nasser's definition of Delhi People and the U.S. water of Nasser's definition of Delhi People and the U.S. AAPSO took on a new independence, integrity, and sementum. China and Russis held capture membership, New Control of the Contro

Cainese opposed a Soviet resolution on disarmament and beam to attack the Soviets as "outsiders," being neither Asias nor Africans. In February 1963, at a third conterence, the Chinese successfully promoted a resolution pervating white delegates from speaking; only those with

The Question of Revolution

Some armed struggles in Africa are not supported by Chinese at all explicitly or implicitly. In 1965 in Part Normalisand, there was an anticolonial struggle and the support of the suppor

China, and de Gaulle was demanding French inderedence of U.S. domination. His action converged when the Chinese peneral international strategy: to build united front of friends against the main enemy, sed unlike coefficies and contradictions within the enemy customic production of the contradiction of

The overriling factor in these cases, apparently Charla delister to the journal fast reliables with the float delister to the journal fast reliables with the limit, the Charles continues to stress, openly, that treat leads and profited independence can be subsidiered to the control of the c

All non-independent African nations are committed the liberation of conthern Africa; this has been the saince 1938. The disputs among these states centers on the means to be used in the strugbe, it is in regard to question that China's stress on the utility and rational of armed force should be seen; for the African state which argue that a "dislogue" should be opened with a reast regiment of sustliner Africa are those which have colorest its with the Euro-American imperialists. China's reportedly height jot coupling art rain revolutionary force

military arms for the same purpose. In 1964 Chou Es-alt toured Africa, and during his stifters proposed the "eight principles on economic and testical assistance." Their main import is to state that is estance programs should not be for the purpose of self-ing political content of other governments, suppressive the proposed programs of the principles o

pight Principles on Economic and Technical Assistance

1. The Chinese government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid is other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of milateral alms but as something mutual. Through such aid the friendly new emerging countries themselves gradually develop their own national economy, free themselves governed to control and transplant or control

feres in the word.

2. In providing aid to other countries the Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never asks for any privileges or attaches was conditions.

 The Chinese government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for repayment so as to lighten the burden

4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark

5. The Chinese government tries its best to help the helpitest countries build projects which require less instances which recipient while yielding quicker results, so the recipient preraments may increase their income and accumulate

6. The Chinese government provides the best-quality stupment and material of its own manufacture at intersistent material of the equipment and material ready of the Chinese government are not up to the add specifications and quality, the Chinese government

7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the

The experts dispatched by the Chinese governme telp in construction in the recipient countries will ha same standard of living as the experts of the recipie arry. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make a valid demands or enlow any special amenities.

Economic Aid: The Tanzanian Case

Tanzania has been independent for ten years. In the time it has sought aid from most of the nations of a

world. True to the idea of an independent third and diplomacy, it has tried to avoid becoming a definite sulite member of any big-power camp.

This has proved in practice to be virtually impossed. This has proved in practice to be virtually impossed. Tanzania had projected in 1964 that 78 percent of independent program for the next flowage period was program for the next flowage period and the program for the next flowage period and the program for the next flowage period and the next flowage period a

Initiatin and projection in 1964 that 78 percent of a development program for the next five-year period used to the period of th

Both Grest Britista and the U.S.A.—major sources sid—have responded to Tranzania's tempts to pressure independent line in international affairs by writhdress promised and or certaining available aid. For example, provided and the state of the state of

percent.
In terms of industrial aid, China has financed.
In terms of industrial aid, China has financed signed, and equipped a \$7.7 million "Friendship Test
Mill" in Tanzania. Completed in 1968, the mill allow Tanzania to concentrate its resources in other stors of its economy. In the past Tanzania and boen a importer of textiles, now the mill promotes conserved forforigin exchange, and enourages the development

In agricultural aid, China has loaned funds for

the fam. begun in 1964—will cover an area of soven
and the second of the

sensed project which has received widespread poles, in 1944 the World Bast withdress a personally given in 1944 the World Bast withdress a personal project of index that consumer others had bed Thuman to Roboths to dependent on Roboths to any other than the Roboths of the Roboths of Roboths to any other than the Roboths of Robot

The clother the end of 1971.

The clother clot

Given Châna's basic military strategy and plannic, why did it commit large resources, at beavy cost to dustrial and agricultural development, for the resourand manufacturing of nuclear weapons? Is it true, as Richard Nixon once claimed, that China has an "imperia ambition" which will involve it in "foreign adventuring! It is now reasonably clear that China built its atoms.

bomb as a direct reaction to American threats to Chairciatione. V. Vet, unlike America's reaction to the Russis technological threat after Sputnik, China's reaction II, American nuclear threats was relatively calm, in the Canada American succeptant threats was relatively calm, in the Canada belligerent for more than a decade, with the possibility invasion or a "precemptive" nuclear artike against Carl invasion or a "

Nuclear threats were first made by America during the Korean War in 1953, MacArthur wanted to "fake Schina's industrial plants in Manchuria, but the China's industrial plants in Manchuria, but the China could not tell whether he actually spoke for the America government. Eventually he was relieved from his semand, and some of his wilder statements about attoals.

China's Foreign Policy

were neutely aware that they had escaped war with the

These potential threats became more concrete when the U.S. gave howitzers capable of carrying nuclear warsoads to the Nationalist Chinese forces on the Islands of Quemoy and Matsu off the China coast, An air base was also built on Taiwan to handle B-52 bombers, and this was followed by the installation in 1970 of six-hundredlian nuclear mische 18

Whatever the rheteric of American policy may have been at the time, the Chinnee could use these concerned the test at the time, the Chinnee could use there concerned used to the concerned the control of the control o

The Soviet Union

It is easy in retrospect to discover the seeds of the present conflict between China and the Soviet Union. The sign of monofithic communism has been dead for well over a decade, and the Sino-Soviet split is a familiar part of our political vocabulary. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that so few observers—in America—asw it com-

Territorial Integrit

hut as Japan had demanded China's Shandong Provbas as spoils for helping defeat Germany in World War I, Shasia demanded and received Dairen and Port Arthur an Japan after World War II. Their value as, respecvely, warm-water port and naval base, were evidently as worth angering the Communist Chinese, then fighting

his Alen S. Whiting, "What Nixon Must Do to Make Friends in E." New York Review of Books, October 7, 1971.

use Liberation, they found these services and poly the Soviet United and that—having driven, who the Soviet United Services and the Landau Grange Grange Medicard in Michaelman with Russin Harving John Carlordon Hollands with Russin Harving John Carlondon Hollands and Landau Grange Grange

But the Chainese resented what they consider is fusal of the Soviet Union to offer adequate support a major crises involving their territorial integrity. The in 1958, was the Osemoy-Mattu crisis, in which is the contract of the cases of the cases (china was quite genuine) through of these cases (china was quite genuine) through of these cases (china was quite genuine) through of these cases (china was quite genuine) through the contract of the cases (china was quite genuine) through the cases (china was quite genuine).

To this day China resents the Soviet position on immutal border. The border, fixed in 18th centary subsequent the border fixed in 18th centary subsequent the Manchu (Ch'ing dynasty) and tearist court transferred a large portion of what had formerly because territory to Russia. Despite Later and the continued to assert those border. Compounding the area of the continued to assert those border. Compounding the border problems, there are large populations of "maintenancesic" (Clipher, Kazakis, Kripher, and other grown and the continued to the cont

Both of these border problems became acute in the mid-1960s. According to the Chinese, the Russian formented a robellion among national minorities in Sirkiang Province in 1962. In 1966 the Soviet Union beginning the control of the

the quarter incidents began to break out along the singled lines. Two years hare a majer clash occurred many the Louist River to the northwest. He classes the Louist River to the northwest, between He classes and the classes are considered of the classes and homestay, or in Chinesto, Chenhoo Balan, and the classes are homestay, or in Chinesto, Chenhoo Balan, and the classes are homestay to be the classes of the classes are consentant money destress observed in that the first in-classes of break the prolonged transion was probably as some was simply local intrinsipases in that the first in-classes of the classes of

Economic Aid

Economic relations between the two nations have at times been even rougher than those of a military nature. The brief period of Soviet support—barely a decade in all—anded in bitter recriminations and increasing mutual militim of domestic policies in both countries.

Soviet sustance took two forms. All materials and amundal ad were loams—and not particularly fong-term forms. It has been a great point of pride for the Chinese with the power and the power and the power and the loam fully, each form of the control of the contr

ern heavy industries were constructed and placed in

By the late fitties, however, the Chinese were control feel they had made a mattack. The convention was to feel they had made a mattack The convention of the development which the Soviets exported, and the had imported, was edyfunctional. Because the Soviet el was very capital-intensive, where China's greates source was its large labor pool, and also because Soviet Union heavily emphasized development of a areas and urban-related facilities, where China was overwhelmingly agricultural, the Russian model sin did not fit. Recognition of this failure bed to the climaters of the did not fit. Recognition of this failure bed to the

The Great Leap Forward was taken as a serious, as by the Russians, Not only were the Soviet gooses models rejected, but the Chinese seemed to be claimated that they had pulled ahead of the Russians on the to to communism. In creating rural communer, the Chine separation of the Communism desired for the Communist deta of "from each according to his the Communist deta of "from each according to his reserved according to his productivity.) In unserting the less-advanced according to his productivity. In unserting the unique value of its experience for other undertexed according to his productivity.

autobic, Chinta again directly confronted the Soviet ma-The Soviet response in July 1960 was to withdrawter the source of the confront of the confront of the of the approximately 300 into the confront of the major projects the Soviets had taken responsibility were finished—and many of the Russian technicians to the bapenius with them when they went. Coupled with three years of natural disasters (the "three hard years and burseaucrate mismanagement, the Soviet pulsa-

Ideological Disputes

The fierce ideological battles of the early sixties to tween Peking and Moscow revolved around three those First what attitude should Committee the state of the

of or Communit, but normals; powermons is well to Remains upported more added these governments by the Remains apported more added the relation to Lindow and the United States 'The Remains and yet; the Community of the Communit

useis caled "China's Khruschev" during the Cultural Redution.

Clina's relations with Russis—as with other countries substrated markedly during the Cultural Revolution.

Similar delvoe was still a bone of contention. Both China will be controlled to the controlled of the China of the China's controlled to the China's controlled to the similar delvoe was still a bone of contention. Both China will democratic forces and governments, and China with the controlled of the China of the China of the China Chinase still reject Russian demestic policies as a second from the auth to communism.

wages and income. Significantly, Liu Shao-ch'i was com-

a Japan

Chai's relations with Japan, beginning with the Japanscappation of Talwan in 1895, have been bitter and
For most of a century, Japan has played a part.

For most of a century, Japan has played a part.

The property of the control of the played of the played of the control of any allied (country, the Chinese et al. congulate of any allied (country, the Chinese et al. congulate of any allied (country) the Chinese et al.

a deep suspicion toward Japan. It is perhaps companie in intensity to the Russian feelings toward Germany at the ever-present American military presence on

Japan has perhaps been the main Chinese fear since to Postwar American policy toward Japan was these seen by China as particularly dangerous. After a few of demilitarizing and democratizing Japan, the American occupation government suddenly reversed course in 19

The United States set out to rebuild Japanese industriand military capacities as a keystone of America's pe

This shift in American policy toward Japan with it, the Chiles feet, service occuprones for some occurs. For example, in the attempt to release it is a service of the control of the cont

The most serious consequence of this policy has be the encouragement of militarist and imperalist entends in Japan, which have most stemally linked to Japan, which have most proposed to the proposed of the

the Present and the Future

What do the Chinese see as the main problems affecting the improvement of Chinese-American relations? Has Chinese position shifted on important areas of dissert? Will they "soften" beit line, for example, on Taian? We were constantly thinking of these questions durties our interview and wondered just what changes were gleyto occur.

The basic impression we got from our conversation with Chou was that the Chinese have certain clear massal security and military interests on which they will be considered the control of the control of

Indochina

Control statement of support for the various revokative movement in Indochina stender objectivity significant movement in Indochina stender objectivity significant movement of the Provinced of the Provinced Country to virtually all of the repeatation now in Provinced Country to virtually all of the repeatation now in Provinced Country to virtually all of the repeatation now in Provinced and the Provinced Country to Virtually all of the virtually all of the repeatation in Provinced Country to Virtually and the Provinced Country to Virtually and Virtually

Before saying this, Chou put the statement in context

by giving us a description of China's experience of China's experience of China's experience of China's China'

From our tilt with Care Tools, the sensor question, though never stated categority, was of that the Vistama War would be settled only at the control of the

These views were also impressed on us during our visits to the Peking embassies of the three revolutionary governments of Indochina. (See Appendix 2.)

Chou En-lai was equally immovable on the question Taiwan. He stressed that Taiwan was the chief roadlasafter Vietnam, to better Chinese-American relations. I history of the United States involvement in Taiwan, intervention and occupation of a Chinese province to Cerciga power, has been a part of daily life in China Section of the China China China Section (China China) and the China about the Taiwan Taiwan China China Internating their basic demand that American written groups from the island and its diplomatic recognition from

"She was tasted for us some of the different plans dreamed up apilir Taiwan away from China-me "independent" plans, two Chinas, one-China-one-Taiwan—all of them greater than the completely sunceptable to the People's Republic. The sunceptable that the people is republic. The sunce that the people is republic. The sunce that the people is republic, and possibly controlled by foreign powers, Japan and the United States, Its Seader, we were reminded, had been a student at Harvard and was back at another more than the people is the people is the people is the people in the people in the people is the people in the people is the people in the people in the people in the people in the people is the people in the people i

Clou also mentioned that at Potsdam and Cairo during World War II, Western statement recognized that Taiwan was a part of China, Despite this, other efficials and happen in the West were now trying to claim, by complicated and debicous reasoning, that the status of Taiwan was sunshow "unsettled". To the Chinese, the only unsettled bigs about Taiwan is the continued presence on the island of American troops. All arguments used to justify, one "Wor another, the continuation of Taiwan's existence as "Worstand, chained consult year simply debiconest tricks, but a propunet, distinct country are simply debiconest tricks, but

and to keep Chilas from regating sits entirely.

Clear was unsequenced about Tailwan—China would decrease the control of the c

The Soviet Union and China Today

Premier Chou talked at great length about the diagram

into Southeast Asia. But the Chance scent to full function more immediate danger is posed by the Soviet Using Relations between the Soviet Union and China writarilly measuristent during the Cultural Revolution for the Cultural Revolution from Moscow (as were the Chinese ambassaders from Moscow (as were the Chinese ambassaders from Moscow (as were the Chinese ambassaders for the Chinese ambas

riodically in the next several years. Potemics between the two nations reached new heights of suspicion and outrage. Only at the end of 1970 had relations been sufficiently restored to allow ambassadors once more to be exchanged. This period of adjustment, through most of 1970 and 1971, has seen accommodation and retranchment on thirs

The first, relations between the two Community parts of China and the Soviet Union, has shown the least its provenent. China continues to be extremely critical or most of the continues to the extremely critical or distribution of the attacks in 6-4 and 1905. The societies along the line of its attacks in 6-6 of the Caltural Revolution. The hard feelings evident is of the Caltural Revolution. The hard feelings evident is this debeta are compounded by Chinese charges that the Runsians are conspiring with the United States to form: Runsians are conspiring with the United States to form: which is the contract the contract of the contr

Second, borrier tensions have remained fairly high. Second, borrier tensions have been more rare since talks agan in October 1969. Continued Soviet troop buildings however, bolter an already massive force. Today missel abundantly and strategically placed along the border stylement forty-the Soviet divisions—approximately milition Soviet troops. Many U.S. observers have 15th milition Soviet troops. Many U.S. observers have

before China can develop a retaliatory capability, which means roughly sometime in the next two years. Although hit is speculation, there is no question that in a military sesse the Chinese consider the Soviet Union their number one enemy.

The third level is that of state-to-state diplomatic replaces, and it is breef that the situation has most improved gince the Cultural Revolution. In 1970, when Chinese and Resistian ambassders returned to their respective to the control of the control of the control of the blein and Chinas. But there agreements were more symbolic of restored relations than a significant binding of the two concoming, for that—If the Chinese have their sym—will never happen. Still marriang from the pullout of the corp. States and well sware of the manipularity lever the control of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the control of the control of the control of the state of the control of the

Form proposits for Suo-Sovier relations are, in cost integro, basility more of the same. Each distins the strategy, basility more of the same. Each distins the Martins of the other party as heavy; the limitary of presented, campaign in food countere datase the likeliposition of the same party of the same party of the fee Broads as an example of what can go wrong with a few Broads as an example of what can go wrong with a few Broads as an example of what can go wrong with a few Broads and it the cell mark more disagreement than the most of the same party of the same party of the same party of the cell mark of the same party of the same party of the same party of the same party of late in fact deeply occusion, because the celllater in fact deeply occusion about the possibility of the same party of the same pa

Negotiating with America

China's recent negotiations with the United Strate, bein the Warraw diplomatic talks and in more informaexchanges like the Kissinger visits, give another perspects on how much each side will have to change or compromto achieve better relations. As early as 1964, Chon said and America's like the control of the control of the dark America's like is for the does not be to said in this view, America has been more responsible in the pastic preventing improved relations, so American has more

Until the successful visit by Henry Kissinger, diplomatic initiatives were regularly proposed, begun, and shot down one by one. Occasionally the United States axed its own moves; "hard-line" military and intelligence officers proved obstructive and undermined presidential feelers; Vietnam

Yet Nixon apparently was sincere in his statements. On their side, the Chinese declared that they were happy 80 be dealing directly with the "party of Wall Street". Chas hoped that the real American ruling class would be more cautious and pragmanic, both in ending the Vietnam War and in making contacts with China, A few problems ster-

pornity bedied this hope-for praguate approach full backed this hope-for praguate approach full backed to the property of the property for February 20, 1969, but the Chinese never got to the American policies would not the UN February 20, 1969, but the property of the Princip Back together changed and he preceded by sevener Canada made a willingers to that it. It February benefit property for the property of the property benefit property for the property of the property benefit property for the property of the property ward in Holland the CIA, approprintly without Walds 15 february 2009, property 2009, property without Walds 15 february 2009, property 2009,

China's Foreign Policy

of diplomat. On February 18, China sentited the state of the control of the contr

Delles and former Taiwan Foreign Secretary George Yeh. Bu certain sections of the American military, independent of the White House, had apparently moved to create aw tensions in the Taiwan Straits. American diplomacy was again the loser. During the closing months of 1969. American Ambas-

ader in Poland Wahrer Stonesel was wooing Peking back the Warsaw conference table. American reconnissance lights over the mainland had been halted by President Almon in Martel 1968 in his droved the Martel Martel 1968 in his droved to the provocative spits were resumed. And in Jamuny 1970, as the Seventh Peter was pulling back from the Talwan Straits, another says Nationales commando raid hit the mainland of the provided the provi

be downing of a U.S. spy plane over Hainan Island. Chinese radio accused the United States of hypocritically spealing for peace while simultaneously sending spy states to provoke China. State Department officials crossed on the Chinese showed un for the talks as

Huang Yung-sheng, chief of staff of the People's Libsenton Army, in June 1970 offered Chank's opinion of the Julyan Strais incidents in a major speech aimed at Washshon, Huang argued that by "ceaselessly making intrusess into the territorial waters and airspace of China's stain that the territorial waters and airspace of China's stainland and frequently instigating the Chiang Kaishondir same to barks the maintain." America per-

In the more than a year since Huang's message, Nixon

Nixon Visit: Ping-Pong Diplomacy

Why is President Nixon going to China? Why is he going now? And what is Nixon hoping to bring back from paing? Our interview with Chou En-lai and our talks with people all over China suggested to us some very

indechina was the almost automatic first response of every Chinese citizen when we asked them why they brought Nixon was coming to China. There seems to be a gereal feeling that America is finally beginning to admit defeat in Victum and is actually, if gradually, withdraw-

the day after the announcement of Kistinger's visit, we west out again to washed reauned Pecking. The Nixon plysus of course still very much on our minds, and at one rout, when we had stopped to talk with a middle-aged man in a fruit market, we saked him his opinion of the Nixon visit. He responded at once, as though the survey was to chrown at ident need to be explained at all. "Have was to chrow the day of the country of

The second reaction we heard most places was that medica was in the grip of a growing and potentially selutionary in the grip of a growing and potentially selutionary common and political developments in second and the political developments in second and the state of distantiaction arising from the Wixton, in their view, is trying to distract the American Common and the second probable from their real problems by going to China.

that is like trying to catch ten fleas with ten fingers, but now are trying to catch one flea, another one jumps out. And the result is that all of them escape. And at the float, you can only catch one flea by freeing one of you make and letting go five fleas instead. That is the pre-

26 Chinal Inside the People's Republic

has moved effectively to change America's beligions stance. Military hard-liners have apparently been a strained (though violations of Chinese waters and aims do continue); restrictions on travel and trade have face one after the other; and the Chinese have finally been see concrete evidence of change, especially on its season.

China has persistently explained that Taiwan's thin overshadows all other U.S.-China differences, Chou most this perfectly clear in our interview, taking care to give

China's terms for detente have been moderate. Chis has not demanded immediate possession of Taiwan, ee; that the United States withdraw its forces from the Taiwan Strats and from Taiwan. Poking did not even press hed the issue of U.S. contingents on Taiwan; in the wism and summer of 1969, that demand was cuitely droped and summer of 1969, that demand was cuitely droped.

Nixon apparently realized that the steps requested by the Chinese were reasonable, for he quietly moved, comply in part, In early 1970 Washington, well aware the Taiwan on its own accord could repel an attack from the maintain, phased out the Seventh Fleet's regular Tawa Straits patrols. Only some eight to nine thousand Américan troops, largely logistics personnel, remain on Taware and troops, largely logistics personnel, remain on Taware.

By early 1971, the Chinnes had hard evidence to like the histon was serious when he said. "We has taken specific steps that did not require agreement which underfile our willingness to have a more now and constructive relationship." Porty-eight days later, Ch an irrited the U.S. pine puen gream to Peking, In Jon an irrited the U.S. pine puen gream to Peking, In Jon Viennum Warr hurting him seriously at the polit. Now responded dramatically—and populary—for direct set tions with the People's Republic. This was followed and by by the invitation to wist Peking, An American Piers January and the Chinese to a constraint of the Chinese to the amount of the Chinese are increased to the constraint of the Chinese are increased until the Chinese are increased active. A constraint of the Chinese are increased active and Chouse-along with only Chinese—places a good deal of soft of the Predent Vision shock and disbelled that America had fallen so raped from its typolog position after 1935 to its current of the Chinese places are probable to the Chinese and the Chinese places are considered to the Chinese are increased as the Chinese places are considered to the Chinese places are

Another explanation, one we didn't hear very often, we that the United States is withdrawing particular. If China now for that the United States is withdrawing particular to different category. One foreigner, a longtime resident is Peking, told us that in late 1969 the clay had been period for war. A cash strike was expected from Mengillar to begin parertills warfare. We cannot say how accurate the description of the period to begin parertills warfare. We cannot say how accurate this description was, but the Chinese definitely have

powerful enemy to the norm.

A much more modest reason for Nixon's visit was say gested by Chou En-lai. He pointed out that governments must relate to governments, and that as long as there were official relations, people-to-people contacts were difficult. The first step, he explained, is to at least make step the property of the pr

easier for people to travel between the two community Perhaps the Chinese are being much more than Nicon in not excite high a proper of the from Nicon's tirip, but they know that it can also in few concrete improvements or even some at Chou said in a recent meeting with other visiting Aucans, "From our side, it is all right if the talks after and it is all right if the talks fall." Whatever the form of the concrete them to the concrete the travel of the concrete them to the concrete the travel of the concrete them to the concrete th

mediate outcome of Richard Nixon's visit to Peking, his decision will have a long-range effect hard to estimate now. Would it not be enough, as a short-run result, if Chiese could now come to America and Americans could

postscript

on November 1, 1971, the red flag with the five gold use of the Popel's Republic of China took is place in foot of the United Nations in New York along with the flag of 130 other UN members. Less than a week befret, the New York Tomes on October 26 had clarioned in human handlines; "UN. SEATS PERING AND EX. PLES "TAPPEL, NATIONALISTS WALK OUT BE-ELS TAPPEL, NATIONALISTS WALK OUT BE-US TAPPEL TAPPEL

On November 15, Chiao Kuan-hua, vice-minister of breign affairs of the People's Republic and head of the Chiace delegation to the UN, arrived at Kennedy airport and publicly expressed wishes of friendship for an people of New York City and of the whole United

We had been in China for the fiftieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist party, the one hundred ninetyfits manuresary of the United States and . . . for Kissiager of the Dock was being written at the time of the historic way. The History seemed to be moving fast, very fast intered to the China of the China

[&]quot;New York Times, October 7, 1971.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI BY THE COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION TO CHINA

This text is a transcript of tape recording made by memsor the CCAS Friendably Delogation to Chain during their four-hour instruiew with Premier Choo En-lai on July 19.1971, in the Crear Hall of the People, Peking, It is as full and complete as possible given the condition of our second transcript of the property of the property of the second transcript of the property of the property of second or the property of the property of the property of second or the property of the property of the property of second or the property of the property of the property of the second or the property of the property of the property of the second or the property of the propert

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and of these qualifications.

In clear to us from our extraordinarily warm and
the second of the sec

The following transcript is issued by Pacific News Sersian

CHOU: Both of them have been elected members of the Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'ino is a deputy leader of the

also a member of the group. You asked me about the January revolution of Shanghai and they are both members of the January revolution of 1967, Because half of their time is spent working in the Central Committee, when you were in Shanghai they were not there, and were not able to have discussions with you. We heard that you would like these few days and she will not be able to come here tonight. She also sends her regards to you.

time in Hong Kong, I believe. Did you all go there at the

KAY JOHNSON: There are great differences in the time we have spent in Hong Kong. There are some psonts who have

CHOU: I think there is also a friend of Chinese origin DOROTHY KEHL: I'm Cantonese from Xinhui, Guangdord

CHOU: Have you ever gone back to your native area?

CHOU: Taishan people play very good volleyball

wet heard you have said that you think that the present with movement in the United States is similar to the May movement in China, at the present stage. I was also a articipant in the May 4 movement and meeting you it me I don't think it's exactly the same. Perhaps you also lawe a bit of the Red Guard movement of China in your sewement now. So you have something of both eras, Is

Kay: I think that's very good analysis. Osou: I heard that you're the liaison officer. And during that, For instance, my wife, Comrade Deng Yingqiao, has at that time, we had a majority of middle-school students nisority, and now you are all college graduates.

have to ask these two comrades to tell you something about lelves members of the "service committee," or members of and of thought that they don't like to be called "minister"

Par Pickowicz: Pickowicz.

Carry: During the May 4 movement there was a situation one girls who shaved their heads, During the May 4 move-20th She sacrificed her life during the civil war period of Guard movement there was a different trend. At that they liked to wear coarse clothes, army uniforms, and estimated, and also declore has very system that has many patients as possible. Therefor that yes were sinking we propose weren't wearing the colored sche produced in a color of the produced in a color of the produced in a color of the produced in a color of provide and the color of the col

haps you know her. She is quite young. Have you met her

PAIR P.: We haven't met her.

ChOY: The also likes to learn from the FLA and the Bit to ware a narrow mission, very mark, a baddy for sever and the baddy for the sever and the sever and

of Tamposat University:

GROUP: No, we have been to Peking University.

Calour: Thus you know Professor Chou Pelevyaan and
Professor Chou Yi-liang. Both of them have the same sair
name as I do. And also Comrade Chi Qua, also ferTsingheau University, and also from the PLA, Pethius No.

GROUP: No.

GROUP: No. we still haven't.

shout going to see one (an army unit) before you leave? I will ask these two comrades to accompany you—one man and one woman.

Cocci. We fully agree with your opinion that you should go among the masses. There is not much to talk below with an important property of the control of the control of the initial control of the control of the control of the standard control of the control of the control of the control of the standard control of the control of the control of the control of the standard control of the control of the control of the control of the standard control of the control of the control

COMPADE XI: Mrs. Woodard, (Laurhter)

Cours. I believe it and I think you. And I was happy to the high was I read that statemed. That he fight way to do think upon I read that statement. That he fight way to do think who I read that statement I read that the statement is statement in the statement in the statement in the statement is statement. So we wideone very much all the statement in the state

The Old Society For instance in the old society, I were a braid, a pignail,

and of course, you can't see it on me now, nor can you and course, you can't see it on me now, nor can you can't see it of course, you can't see it of the course of the same and the course of the same and the course of the same and the course of the cour

is still wearing a pigtail, they can take a photograph of been entirely wrong. And another factor or phenomerous Of course she passed away. So there are no people is This seems a very new experience for foreign friends, for instance, our friends from the United States. For instance, if you want to take photographs of this. Chairman Mao has said you can take photographs of this. But naturally because that's a phenomenon which the old society should be held We were the ones who overthrew the old society, the old system. Of course now after Liberation we have been persunding people not to bind their feet, but what about the old people, their feet have already been bound and you cannot cut off their feet, nor can they be restored to the original feet. But if it were not for her how would I have come to

the basis of the old society. If there were not the old, where would the new come from? They are opposites, they are is opposition to each other. It's a dialectical matter. If this is a philosophical question, I will have to ask these two Who are there among you who would like to talk about philosophy? Later on you can have your say. But I asking of photographs. If you take photographs of this sort time: for instance, when you went to Canton I believe you uw a people's commune. The women there do not have board feet. Their feet are very large and they go barefoot into the rice fields. They are very healthy and strong, isn't that so? And if you take two photographs, one of each phenomenon, wouldn't that be a comparison between the are very large, and they carry things on their shoulders That can serve as evidence. So Chairman Mao does not agree to not allowing people to take photographs. Since Joe're allowed to go to a place, why shouldn't people be allowed to take photographs of what they see? Therefore if to do it. Please do so

Add if any of you have taken any tupe recorders with your tenters and the control and these if for your Schow was more about record to its like of for your Schow was and you will be proved to the control of the contr

and the same fairs. Of course we small on the position of the stand of the spiritudin, and you of course fair, and should that. As for our views we do our utmost to one should be suffered to the stand of the principle of the stand of the principle of the stand of the standard of the st

All the same time the present photonomes are also like that the rate with our factorized separate. We can see that there are the same factorized separate. We can see the name to be supported by the same time time to be supported by the same times to the proper time to the same times to be supported by the breast meson of the propie. And in which the same times to be supported by the breast meson of the propie. And in which the same times to be supported by the breast meson of the propie. And in which the same times to be the propie of the same times to be supported by the breast meson of the propie. And in which the same times to be supported by th

section of the people rose up to participate in the Cultural specialists. And in the movement, the over-the-ining majority for the properties of the control of the control of the full man how Tu-curug's thought in order to solve some of the problems at the time, But by now the Cultural Revoluion and the control of the control of the control of the problems and the control of the control of the control we now call it the stage of struggle, criticism, and transforters of the control of the control of the control of the wear Marisine-Institute the control of the contro

gody the works of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tsenng. And therefore these formalistic things should be cut down a little. And this matter was also written in an editorial in the People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), the PLA paper (Belongian Boo), and Red Flag (Hongai). Have you seen the editorial that was put out on the anniversary of the founding of the party, that was the first of July? And in the afterial the struggle between the two lines in the party from the beginning up to the present day was very comprehensively dealt with in simple words. And from that editorial it can be seen why Chairman Mao Tsecture has such a high prestige throughout the whole party, the whole people, and the whole army, and why we have been able try, and also been able to unite with all the patriotic forces, to fight against the common enemy. The result was that we were able to overthrow the Chiang Kai-shek regime and to drive out the imperialistic forces, and then we established Put forward questions to these two (pointing to Yeo and and we can talk at the end about political problems.

SNY: I would like to say a word first, if I may, We are most becored that you have taken the time to meet with The aim of our trip to China has been to further the medidalp; and understanding between the Chinese and Artican peoples. We feel that this meeting is certainly a Medicane, contribution toward that end. We've been traveling china for three weeks now. We believe that our main when we return to the United States is to communicate where we return to the United States is to communicate

progress that have been made by the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. Casou: You must add something to that. You must us

that there has been progress made, but there is still a let work on. Otherwise the viewpoint would not be completely

KAY: But we believe, in response to that.

CHOU: There are also some phenomena which are invocess of moving from the lower to the higher stage, as the way things develop. And also the standard of a

won't believe you.

KAY: We hope to get a complete and accurate picture of Chins, and pass this on to the American people. We fet that this has not been done in the past, and that the American people do have a distorted picture of the Chinese necessity.

people do nave a distorted picture of the Chinese people. We hope that we can give an accurate picture (amastike) and that we can contribute in a small way to our main ain, which is to further the friendship between the Chinese and American people.

Cuou: Although the contribution which you make may be small at the beginning, its influence will gradually grow. And that's the way all new things develop

KAY: Before (we continue) we would like to say on thing with regard to our Chinese friends with China Travel Service. I feel that we have been treated in a very good way and well taken care of, and it is us that have given then a great deal of trouble, and we hope (inaudible). And they

modified, we amount do without troobling them at all, be came the Red Guards hold even more meetings. For its stance, we direct met with the Red Guards many deals in this Gerel Hall of the Poople. And each discussion could be held used to the red to the

we heard that some of you fell ill.

Caou: Which one of you fell ill?

KAY: All of our problems in China have been very smaller because we don't do work, and we are lazy, and we at our desks and read books, and that's why when we start our desks and read books, and that's why when we

CHOOL: You can't be blamed because it is a very difficult be to come to China, see things, and take notes, and read sols, and then take them down and write, and record it all. CAN WOODLAND: After we came to China, we saw that the bathly of the Chinese people was very good, but health was a great problem for us people here, so we have been mer all every chance to participate in some labor. Decause

we feel that this would improve our own health.

Canu: Did you take part in some work at Tachai? Didn't

Centrade Chen Yonggui let you do some work?

JEAN GARAVENTE: They told us we'd spoil the crops.

Chou: But have you been to the February 7 Rolling Stock
Hant in Peking? And did you do some work there?

KAY: We did some work in a commune in Shanebai, and

CHOU: That's the place that they (pointing to Chang and

Philosophical Problems

Chou; That doesn't matter. Wasn't it Mr. Kruze who
has going to put forward some philosophical problems to
here two comrades here?

YAO: Probably when you contacted some of the masses you probably asked, you had some discussion with them shout philosophical problems.

Chou: And you also probably have read some articles.

ULDIS KRUZEI, Yes, this is TOO. The very interested in the Sortment to study philosophy. I believe in his great significance, not only for China, but also for the American moves. It me very interested in the way Marxiam-Leninism is a superior of the control of

CHOU: I'm going to follow you and take off my coat.

YAO: I agree with your idea and your question. That is,
the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism must be com-

the working, passens, and the Propin's Liberation Away have under Martine-Lealman in a much heart way. We have under Martine-Lealman in a much heart way. We have the second of the second of the second of the trap of the second of the second of the second of the trap of the second of the second of the second of the third core reportment that the second of the second that core reportment May Tracking under the second that core is second of the view bean able to refer the that core is second of the second only own defined, and you put now intended "reminishing only own defined, and you put now intended "reminishing of the second of the secon

For instance, Chairman Mao Tse-tung put forward a

tion of one's own ideology.

pollocycloid problem. That is to say that it is noted in the control of the struggle, between the problemate and the bosquitte man of the control of the con

ang's revolutionary line, and the revisionist line advocated by Liu Sho-ch'i, that is, the struggle between Marxism and esistensia. And there also is the struggle between the correct pro-

pearian views and various erroneous views, various right or And if one does not study dialectical materialism and histhat I have come up against most are questions like the ones that I have just now stated, that is, ideological ones. And with him, and he especially asked him (Mr. Snow) if it was materialism, that is we stand for investigation and study. This new was opposed by Liu Shao-ch'i. So if when you come acu time you will be able to tell us something about a

Chou: I would also like to ask something of you. I see there are two among you who come from Harvard. MT. SEAN SERKE: I come from MIT, not Harvard, MIT. Chou: lant there one of you who teaches at Harvard? OROUGE: NO.

RAY WHITEHRAD: Could I ask another philosophical ques-

RAY: I would like to ask on the question of human nature,

Eve read some articles on this and I understand that the is a rejection of the theory of human nature as being a revisionist theory, but just now there was a comment ascential theory, but just now there was a comment ascential theory, but just now there was a comment ascential theory, and may question it it possible for anyone, any human being to have a ideology transformed, and if so, does this indicate some but ideology transformed, and if so, does this indicate some but ideology transformed, and if so, does this indicate some but ideology transformed, and if so, does this indicate some but ideology transformed, and if so, does this indicate some but ideology transformed.

Yao I can give you a very simple asswer in one assign. I will refer you to read a mattled withmy by Chairmas Mr. Toe-tune, that is, his speech at the Yenan Literature sat Art Forom. There is a paragraph. The speech was made specially on the question of min paragraph in the units specially on the question of min paragraph in the units specially on the question. I will prefer it to you ned give you an answer in a very thorist enteron. Because if we want to the property of the paragraph, so I will refer it to you ned give you an answer in a very horist enteron. Because if we want to be a supplementation of the property of the propert

RAY: I have read that paragraph but I don't feel that I completely understand it, but I will reread it again on this

Ping-Pong Diplomacy SUSAN: I have a nonphilosophical question, The ping-

post been cume to Châna and now we are in Châna and post been cume to Châna and now we are in Châna and very excited about this, especially exertical because we refriends of Châna and we think this is a pood thing for Châna and also because have we are in Prêcha, bearing the sew and the Châna an

SCRAN: Well, I think we are here at a good time and I ink it's a good time to ask a question of Premier Chou.

SURAN: My question is, how did it happen? What is there that his changed the relationship between the Chinese and American people after tweesty-two years of separation? And low does Premier Chou see the situation now, what does he chink might happen in the future, and what are the biggest goldens we still have in developing the friendship between

Casus: The foremost thing, Miss Suans Sistir, is that the Clanes and American people with the exchange within with Calcular with a substantial property of the case of the control of the control of the case of t

with the powerment Or the Name Is all pattern dead up with the powerment Or the Name Is all pattern dead up to Control. That of the Name Is all the Name Is al

to continue. Because we received a very quick answer, and there was no way to stop the visit. And so now you also have come, and of course when you go back you will introduce new, even more American friends to us. Also seen black friends. Of course if you would be able to introduce new, even more facilities of the Ulnited States to us, we would be a well as the contract of the Ulnited States to us, we would be

Let them all come to China to have a look. Of course, we will also return the visits, because your table-tennis tens. has also invited us to go to the United States, and our table tennis tens in allo prepared to return the visit. Do you agree that the first state of the course of concerned Axian Scholars (said to English) has also invited us, and since you are so kind. I think that our young Chinese.

friends in Shanghai; they should take the lead.
Yao: Because you have already been in Shanghai.

not only men, but also women. (Laughter.)
Yao: And complete equality in numbers. I believe that

Corou: It also would be a good thing to make it equal is numbers. But even though we are a socialist constays, a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet, still, subcharavisians comes up sow and then. Of course subconscioust-Causovi: Today, seated here among the Chinese computer the number of men and women are not count yet.

Case: See, be's critication no. Yet I have trute my law in the law of the I. When I liveled to countain from highing University invited one mas and one woman. The second question, Let's not just that shout the first aspect of this question, the law of the is how the harriers have been booken. But the de-nobeause in the world of today, the state structures of conbeause in the world of today, the state structures of conbeause in the world of today, the state structures of conbeause in the world of today, the state structures of conbeause the law of the law of the law of the law of the countries will exist in the law of the law of the law of the world today, and if there is no normalises or even were a served today, and if there is no normalises or even the law of impossible for the contact between the two peoples no designations. pation of relations between the two countries and the restoration of these relations. If Susan Shirk was the president of the United States, then the matter would be easy to solve, age the problem isn't so simple. Isn't that so? Our philosophiorizind understands. Complete: The is in the solu-

at friend understands. (Laughter.) That is, it still takes a stocess of continuing cognition, that is, there still needs to Shirk who said that though the revolutionary movement in the eve of a great storm. But the question of how this des. And this can promote the solution of the normalization Mations between China and the United States? What would

On Taiwan

Chou: You have all mentioned the right problems. It

will not so there.

Fifth point. We are resolutely opposed to the so-called Independence Movement" is nor a native movement

staments of them in Japan. They are supported by the

The sixth point. The United States should withdraw off of their present military strength and military installations the beginning of the ambassadorial talks between China first in Geneva, and later on in Warsaw. They began after the

The question also mentioned very correctly that we are

You have also said that one of your aims is opposition to the

CHOU; And the appressive policies of the United States

Dession. We are assisting the people there to fight against

And on this issue at that time we Chinese, and at the time

How could it be that a country which would not sign an

as one of the delegates on the Chinese side at that meeta, at that conference, accept your criticism.

After that time, France, because of its defeat at Dienbienpin, did not wish to continue the war. It was willing to so, the war, But the U.S., which had begun to assist France.

the Truman government of the U.S. which had begun to assig France in its aggression in Indochina—did not wish to end the war.

The British representative at that time was Mr. Eden. and

marcation and in this way to carve up, to divide the area a also to divide the world by drawing lines of demarcation, idea of Mr. Eden's way suited to the needs of the belief

or Mr. Eden's was suited to the needs of the brinkn hip policy of John Foster Dulles.

And advanged from war a clause in the Gener Agreement the one sty of the recordinate of the Green Agreement the one sty of their conclusion of the Green Agreement of the Common Control of the Common Control of the Common Control of the Common Comm

which was then expanded to the whole of Indochina.

Now this question lies before us, before the people of the
United States, the people of Indochina and us, and the only
way to solve this problem is that we show our complete support for the season as the same of the

Ngsyen Thi Binh on the first of July on behalf of the positional Revolutionary Government of the South Vietnam separation and the Vietnamese people, and the Chinese government of the South Vietnam of the Chinese people completely support this propriation. And the Chinese people completely support this propriation. And the Chinese people of the South Vietname and the Chinese people says fully support the stand of the declaration of the four season of the Countries of Indechina which was issued at

goer summit conference in April last year.

I believe our friends have already met our Victnamese

fieeds and Sumdech Novodom Sihanouk and I believe that

me had issue we have the same stand. And we know that

the broad masses of the people of the United States are also

opposed to the aggressive was in Victnam which has now ex
panded into the whole of Indochina. We believe it is also

is accord with your aim, the aim of CCAS, to oppose the

aggressive policies of the United States in Indochina and the ent of Asia.

We are a neighbor of the Indochinese countries. We assted them, supported them, in their war of resistance gainst France. And in the same spirit support them in their

This is known to the world. No matter whether in the U.S. held or abroad, we believe the greatest ery is for the U.S. withdraw is troops from Vistama and the whole of Indo-thins. And the troops of other countries which have followed the United States into Indochhas should also be withdrawn. I believe that our stand on this is also clear. And we also like the present day among the American people with the present day among the American people.

Not only for the United States to withdraw its troops from

but all military forces and all military installations.

It might also be said that this demand is even stronger
an the demand to restore relations between the Chinese
American people. Because the people of the United
that do not wish to sacrifice the lives of their people in a

And therefore we believe that the question to be solved about the the question of Indochina, and by doing so we do be satisfying not only the interests of the Indoces people but also of the people of the U.S. But also, we should also mention that Indochina is the

Indochina of the Indochinese people and we should retree And at the summit conference they've already said that a war of appression waged by the United States has linked them up in a common fight and after they achieve views in accordance with the borders that they have already

Pathet Lao. They are all victims of aggression and we

On Korea

And besides these two issues I think that there should be two other issues that are worth your attention.

The first stage of that conference was devoted to Korea.

and in opposition and the result was that it was not passed.

And as a result of this, the meeting was called off with no whatsoever, And so now at the thirty-eighth gorallel in yorga there is a military armistice commission that meets wery week. One side is the American representative and the recognitative of the South Korean puppers, and on the northen side there is a representative of the People's Army of the Democratic Republic of Korea and also a representative of China. They meet once about every two or three weeks. There's only a cease-fire, there's no other treaty whatsoever, who study international law. It is the same case between China and Japan. The state of war has not been called off vet. We still have not concluded a peace treaty. And there are still American troops in South Korea. The Democratic about this. Recause the Chinese people's volunteers withdrew from Korea in 1958. The American troops in South Korea relation with that there is also the question of Japan, are probably also very familiar with the Japanese question.

On Japan

Yaan tell you about them.

YAO: Under the present regime of Sato, the Japanese

a number of films which were on the topic of Japanmilitarism. And they laid special emphasis on makpropaganda shout the Japanese navy because in the Japane aggression against other countries they relied upon the arm in the post: So a lot of these militarist films centered or an navy. Because during the wars of aggression the air Son-

And in fact we saw these films even before a number of films we showed these films to our Japanese friends and they also felt like us that these films really showed who of Janes and another film was called Yamamore 56 And Warlands, Another film was called Wor and Man but we against China, against Korea, and the Asian peoples; who launched the war of aggression in the Pacific, But they turn all these facts upside down and make out as if this war of on them because Japan, they said, lacked resources and they made out as if what they called Manchuria of China was one of their lifelines, and south Asia too was a lifeline, and that they were compelled to launch this war of aggression by the Japanese militarists: that is, that expansionism and 15"

west very good teachers by negative example not only to the Chipese people but to the Korean people, the Japanese neorelant against the revival of Japanese militarism. Our Kerean comrades were rather early in taking note of this and they felt very strongly about the dangers of the revival the joint communiqué issued by the two sides, this point section of the people of the various Asian countries. The serval of Japanese militarism is being fostered singleundedly by U.S. imperialism. President Nixon also admitted his point in his public statements saying that they are fosterise their former enemies. But now Nixon is also saving that Issun is his competitor. And so these films, too, reflect these very complicated positions. On the one hand, in order to tody to U.S. imperialism these films help to brag about U.S. inperialism. On the other hand, they portray the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. These films serving as teachers by acquire example can help us see the present aims of lapanese militarism. Perhaps you can select some of these

Ens and see them.

(Chang Ch'un-h'iso and Chou En-lai interrupt to sugget that it would be best to see Yamamoto 56, Our Navy, and The Warlords—which, of course, portrays Tolo.)

PRANK KERIL: Perhaps Comrade Yao would also be inmitted to having an opportunity to see the film Torst Torst ford which shows from the cooperative American and Papaness dide the same kinds of distortions of history. The Spic is the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. But precisely this Suttradiction is what is deall with.

Cisou: We haven't yet got a copy of that film, have you ten this film?

Phases: Yes, I have, Perhaps the patriotic comrades in the Kong have made an analysis and perhaps they might ways of getting it. Its special interest is that it was a special content is that it was a special content of the periodicers and it showed the attack on Pearl Harbor from tides, but both sides with a distortion of history to said

PAUL P.: There was an analysis in the Hong Kong Ta Kung

PAUL L.: Another small point is that a Japanese admiral,

spoke at the same time that the movie came out and these began a lot of big possibility in Japan and at the same time, a believe that it was about the same time last year, a score treaty was signed between Japan and South Korea, a defeater treaty. I was woodering if this has given rise to the temis that Comrade Yao Ween-yuan has just mentioned, a cerus amount of rise in tension between South Korea and obs.

CHOU: Yes, it is a fact that Japanese militarism is being to tries. And after the war they were not burdened by paying reparations and also for quite some time they spent very little on armaments. How was the Japanese economy developed? There is one characteristic of the development of their economy, that is, they made a fortune on wars fought by others, that is, the war of aggression against Korea and the war of aggression against Vietnam. After the conclusion of the Second World War, less than a year after the end after the world war, Chairman Mao personally west to Chungking to have negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek. I haw Japanese aggression. It only turned out to be passive per press our thanks to the American correspondents of the older

pagird I Dentition Army 3al by the Chinese Community of somety the Japanese servaterie in time planes. So fair the surrender of the Japanese servaterie in time planes. So fair the surrender of the Japanese surfacels at the Japanese provides the Control Chinese Education. In particular, the Control Chinese Control Control Chinese Chinese Control Chinese Chi

American forces also guarded many of the air bases and that time Japan already was making a fortune through this and now this war throughout Indochina. Although Japan does not directly take part in these wars and Japan is a defeated power Japan makes fortunes through these wars, I believe that out of this Japan made quite a lot of money from the military repairs and transportation costs and costs for vacationing of the U.S. troops and also some means of communication. In all these fields I think Japan made quite a War, Japan, a defeated power, has now become the number When praises Japan as his biggest partner. That was when you the already in China, probably you were in Nanking. then President Nixon made that statement on the sixth of by, in Kansas City. Have all of you seen this statement by Kansas City, and made this statement to the press. And ton praised Japan in these terms; that the output of steel Japan last year already approached 100 million tons. at that is to say, Japan may either this year or next year

3000

catch up with the United States in steel output, because he years the U.S. contract of steel was 100 million to Now were do Cisour More. More than 110 million toos, Now were do this output of steel in Japan come from? Where did Japan get such resources? Where did Japan get these markets? Now on the American market three are a lot of Japanee cur, Autectiles, a let of Japanees textiles. You are quite clear above that.

PAUL L.: Except for the resources, the resources one

Choir And not only Australia, also Latin America, and the Affician countries, and the Affician countries are also as the Afficiant Countries are as a consistent of the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant Countries are as a consistent of the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant Countries are as a consistent of the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant Countries are as a consistent of the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant Countries are as a consistent of the Afficiant Countries and the Afficiant

And according to the prount economic capacity of Iron the loss not require fire years to carry out this loss the does not require fire years to carry out this loss that the capacity for the capacity of the property of the property of the capacity of the capacity for the capacit

the Describe Exploite of Kirst, the Project Republic Act of the Committee of Committee of the Committee of the Committee of Committee of the Committee of Committe

PRINK: Some of our organization, not those of us here, but in CCAS do know Japanese.

Casou: Have you been to Japan? That's a place where it's

The Military-Industrial Complex in the U.S.

Not: Recase the daughter continues in Indochain, of man, this organization and many organizations are many comment as expansization and many organizations among being people of America concentrate their efforts on the question of the var in Indochain, and the question of the recommendation on the recommendation of the parts of t

Citou: The American military-industrial complex now is starting and to the central part of the but has also sured to the West Coast and to one to the central part of the central part of

part of the United States, that is, all these monopoly capitalists must get their orders.

Kind: So we've come to China and we have visited China

after the break of relations between the people of the U.S. and Chain, that has lated for over twentry years. The ingroup that came to the People's Republic of China, the proper team, when they came here, their feelings were so deep with repart to the recunification of the two peoples after use an extended period of time that many of them were its thry came into China, and as they flew from Canton to Shanghai. We also have experienced these feelings, of course, on see

contain by how found is top our Price to Group on the China China and Find and Find

lems cannot be separated from one another.

Caou: You're right, neither can these Asian problems be separated from one another, nor can they be separated from

be United States either, nor from the world. You have five

GROUP: That's all. More or less.
CHOU: And how many are in the United States?

GROUP: The great majority.

GROUP: Almost all of them are in the United States, almost all five thousand. Chou; Are all of them college graduates?

CHOU: Are all of them college graduates? GROUP: No. the majority are.

Chou: They are college graduates in the United States.
GROUP: There are some who are studying in college.
Choss: Then in our country, you would be considered high

understand, and you have a history responsibility. And if it is made in the continuous process, and the first make per in subspectation of the process of the continuous process. And the foreign as the continuous process of the

Coop. 2- Sett teamner.

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Coop. 2- Sett team of team of

P. I would like to say a word about the process of the process of

DANK: Not so much because in the South. Asian studies is

CHOU: But the industry in the South has developed greatly

seen matters. They focus more on Latin America. CHOU; How about the various research centers in uni-

sersities? Do they mainly do research about Latin America in the southern universities? PRINK: In the southern universities, ves. But there are some

also in other parts of the United States.

FRANK: There was a group very similar to us who become aware even earlier, called NACLA, North American Congress

on Latin America. And they are an organization very similar Chou: Why are they called the congress? FRINK: They call themselves a congress because they are

Chou: So if you use the word "scholar," you may limit

FRANK: We are very limited, so we are petting broader in

CHOU: What is the membership of the North American FRANK: I am not sure, probably as large as we are. Chou: Many are from universities too?

Chou: Where are their centers?

PRANK: One in New York, that's the one I'm familiar with.

CHOU; And if our friends from the congress would like to

JEAN: I think it would be a good idea to invite some Latin.

and caining experience. One of the main contradictions of violent straggle in Vietnam and our learning process then be

clear understanding of the Korean situation, so we keep on

Pattr P . We think that our knowledge is imperfect in many ways, that is, we still have very imperfect under-

standing and knowledge of the origins of the original probedge of the unity of these problems, not only in Asia, but in

too often we only talk about Asia, and we only talk about up with other groups and talk about Africa and talk about

CHOU: But you have already begun in this direction. You

GROUP: Mainly centered in universities.

FRANK: There is no big university in Detroit. But Michigan FRANK: Yes, there are many,

your country?

Ann Kauze: Well, they are not foreigners, they are poople
of Mexican or Puerto Rican parentage who are citizens of
the United States, and retain cultural identity with Poete
Rico or Latin America, especially Mexico, some large-

and customs.

Frank: Especially Mexican Americans have lived in a
Southwest of the United States for generations and sense.

ANN: I would like our Chinese friends to know one thing.
While we have shortcomings, and that is a serious consideration to us, we are also sware of our strengths, we de exist as a group. We are aware. We are making progress. We are forming alliances. We are starting to do something. We will

not be moved away from this sam.

YAO: That's good, You have hope, And you are very courageous. Because although youthful in years, you have made very serious study and carried out very serious thinking about the major problems of the world. And so that shows.

Ten Fleas with Ten Fingers

Cincir Since you have addressed yourselves to varies upon the straight of the

we it, not even you could preconceive it. As for us, we has up and taking action. But that latter part, referred to by gree. Just citing a single figure would be quite surprising which is relevant to every single one of you. The internal debt is the United States now is approaching \$400 billion. And the interest being paid this year alone is already \$19 billion. and that is the amount of the annual budget prior to the \$20 billion. So how was that conceivable at that time? That That was \$20 billion. But the amount of interest alone to be said in one year's time from 1971 to 1972 is \$19 billion. That is the change over a period of thirty years. A number of you are apparently not even as old as thirty. Who is the Tourcest? And you too are only twenty-six? And so I see hese changes over the past thirty years. Were any of you here born in 1945? That was just at the conclusion of the Second World War. At that time U.S. imperialists appeared to be almighty. The world is changing, undergoing tremendous thances. But the American people, you, should not feel any World, and that is a very fine opportunity as was already War? You have gone to all places in the world . . .

CHANG: Even to the moon. (Languier.)

(Some sentencer misred in champing the tope.)

The monopoly capitalists are blaming each other for their
like to fully control them. But you have found this as a
storical lesson. And you can draw different and new condinons thereby. And also apparently after some members
your Peace Corps went to other countries, when they resend to the Kajass they came to the conclusion that it was

Chou. And now this Peace Corps, there are fewer now?
FRANK: There are fewer and fewer Peace Corps voluntee
and those that are sent are extremely carefully screened;
that all progressives don't get in. That policy began to chur-

PAUL L.: Also, some Danish friends told me that they had organized a peace corps to send to the United States.

CHOU: It would be better a friendship corps than a peace any special privilege. When they go to that other courter, in accordance to the law of the country. And I go back to speedily return home. And if you die there, do not ask for any special treatment, just have the corpse cremated. And to gain the full confidence of the local people. This is a kellyou have learned such a huge lesson over the next twenty-five the population ratio, then we are far behind was Although

ascause in the world there is another country which is learnallitary expansion is bound to occupy various places throughset the world. Having carved up the various continental areas gorial sea extends out a distance of two hundred nautical giles and that is indeed a great decision on their part-that's gate something. And according to this proposal, the Meditercountries, and no other country can use the Mediterranean as open seas. Of course, other countries may be allowed to sess through the Mediterrenean. Friendly countries are still accepted. The point is that the Latin American countries out forth such demands because they are compelled to do so by circumstance or compelled to do so to protect their We need teachers by postive example as well as by pegative nample. Just as if one just had the experience of success to your country, you are harassed, you should not become discouraged. Now you will also encounter such things. In our

George Washington

Almost two hundred years now, init' that so? Five more shared to the hundredth anniversary, to ecleinare your be hundredth anniversary, to elicinare your be hundredth anniversary. Chairman Mao often like to disabout when Concern Washington roue by to oppose the shart contain rule with only a population of three million. But you had the picked on or more—well, let's say may-sound nor inness the oppolation of the United States at that the England of the State of the Concern of the Co

And the Americans at that time precisely carried out goesties wearfase firing from his corner and that corner, wear wearfase firing from his corner and that corner, the stated your struggle in 1775. And afterward you clean George Washington to be your occumander in chief-speed year fourth of July in Calha. [Laughter] This is made significant. And on your two hundredth anniversary you we come again. At that time you may only see two of the [Le

the Late, and the territory, itself to complete your peaceter Late, and the Late of Late of the Late of Late of the Late of Late of

Although the time may need be so long, if one prids in long line in 1921, the strength of the long of

of taking the photos in Nanking. (See p. 127.)

So long as you adopt the attitude of comparison of present and the past you should be able to take all of phenomena in China, some progressive and some ward. Some things may be in the process of development point point of the process of development point points on departs are of progress, and development points of the process of th

go Chairman Mao always tells us when our guests come to with China, we should let them see all our different facets, all the different aspects of our society, so they can make a comparison and see the process of development, and see the need of our development, and which are the side currents. And in society we are bound to find some adverse currents. And so clam asking for a discussion with the two PLA, and

are will have a discussion on how they support the left in project working. We are asked if project were asked if project were killed, by the years were the set asked the set light back. And some of the workers who were there or light, by the years were the set of the project were killed. So of them, and a number were wounded among the project with the project with the project was a set of the project with the project with the project was a set of the project with the project was a set of the project with the project with the project with the project was a set of the project with the project wi

FRANK: I was just going to say that not only is an apology not necessary, but the incident you refer to was netually a very good opportunity to talk with some of the masses involved, and to understand from the great concern that they have their motherland.

CHOLY Sex, there is that aspect to it. But from our side, in

he aspect of our work, we must examine our shortcomings, to take the short of the short our shortcomings, to the aspect of the short our short our shortcomings, and all properly informed them of the situation, then this

Puts P. I. would like to make some closing remarks and wrey difficult to make them, because there is so much to a closing of interest and there is not much time. First hast to extend to our friends thank, to Premier Chou, and State of Chang and Yao from the Central Committee and State of Chang and Yao from the Crimit Trends from Pecilia Week PLA friends that are here and our friends from Pecilia Week PLA friends that are here and our friends from Pecilia Week PLA friends that are here and our friends from Pecilia and Pecilia Plant Friends and the Climit Trends from the and the time. Period Chang State Mark the his many offifieds in the United States. Well we can any now that he has some now friends in the United States. (Applicant). Chou: And Taiyuan . . .

FAOL P.: We have visited people's communes, and we say visited many factories. On our part we had a very values opportunity and I think a very symbolic one. Since we has come to Peking we have ment with foreign friends from Keenfrom Vietnam, and from Cambodis. I can say for all of units is truly a dream come true. We have come of friends the six of the control of

everywhere as friends of the Chinese people. We know the We know the Chinese people with the Chinese people with the Chinese people with the Chinese people. We also believe that Decline with the Chinese people. We also believe friendly that from with the Chinese people. We also believe friendly that from the Chinese people. We also believe from that the Chinese people with the Chinese people people with the Chinese people people with the Chinese people people people people with the Chinese people people

antiwar movement in the United States, and yes we have done some work in the United States, but we firmly believagain that the real heroes of the anti-imperialist strugge 28 Asia are in fact the Asian people—the Indochinese people the Korean people and the Chinese people. CROUD: But if you make efforts, you will become work

heroes.

Paul P.: I say that the Asian people have suffered the most and they have struggled the most. Our stand is with the Chinese people. We support them in their struggles to build socialism in China and in their opposition to U.S. aggregate and U.S. interference in Chinese affairs. We demand jumediate withdrawal of U.S. military and equipment from mediate withdrawal of U.S. military and equipment from

Croou: Thank you.

PAUL P.: And now in closing I would like to prese
some symbols to our Chinese friends here, similar to whe
we have presented as gifts everywhere in China, to friend

ountols. One is a photograph of our group. The other one is a button. On both of these symbols is written, "Long for the friendship of the Chinese and American peoples."

ween symbol.

Coop: That is our final aim.

PAUL P.1: Would like to present Premier Chou with a photopagh of our group which has been signed by members of the
props. And I would like to give him a second photograph
because on our behalf to Chairman Mao.

Chou: I will surely present him with it. Thank you for your

PAUL P.: I would also like to present our button to Premier Chou, I would like to give him another one to also present to Chairman Mao, and I would also like to present buttons

CHOU: Thank you. You should note the plaque to the martyrs of the revolution which is in front of Tiananmen Square with a word on people's revolution, on which it is said that Chairman Mao laid errest stress on the importance of

(Photograph and pin presented to Premier Chou

The prince started by assuring us, "We are not in any way hostile to the United States. We are sincere admirers of the American people and their tradition of democracy, liberty, and justice." But that didn't mean that the United States

Cambodia had a very precise, a very particular way of the that involved neutrality and independence. Since the coup and the invasion, everything has been destroyed; as only in the tremendous situather of my people, but also our territorial integrity, our national unity. . everything has

His tone was neither that of depair nor of anger, but rather something closer to exasperation.

Niton abould withdraw his protection from Los Noll, see the Cambodia consistence [see] was without any interference from outside. Sometay we will be able to put an end for any two wars that are lisked to each other: war made by external focces in Indochan, and civil war. The first one cuternal focces in Indochan, and civil war. The first one — and the Utiles States is the major external power. If your government withdraws, perhaps the civil war swood continue, I don't know, perhaps the evident war swood and

they are not surported by the people.

For example, the regime in Phnom Penh gets there hundred million dollars a year—and it's not Nixon's mostly it know President Nixon is not a poor man, but he's not that rich. It's the American people's money it's your mostly. This money enables Lon Not to fight against the resistance.

of the Cambodian people.

So, it is accusary inference—and there barded miles of the So, it is a secure to ference—and the barded miles of the source of the

seen. They are like the blind man, they make no discriminason. Our fighters know how to escape, It's the civilians who

The prince was by now on the edge of his sent, speaking with great intensity and animation. His facial expressions and hand gestures were very Gallie. Each time he made a point, he would try to look in the direction of a different member of his methods.

The U.S. generations speak of two oldes in the respect to the country of the coun

royalty separates Silanouk from the people, and that I pos-Nol is of the people, so they support him. They say the Chinese are bad Centimilates because they support royalty. Silanous and the control of the control of the control of the solution of the control of the control of the passed to win silone. We have written assurances (here he passed to win silone. We have written assurances (here he passed to win silone. We have written assurances there he people will respect our frontiers and territorial integrity. During West-War II the U.S. Ital of Communities ally in the fight against thirty, which was the USSE, it is not tramps for covalis-

Perhaps because he had visited the United States several times and knew what was on the minds of a segment of the American population, he pursued this further:

Communism is not a problem for the U.S. No geniles internationalism exists as far as contaurism is concerned. Even the Communists become rationalists—not the Hitterpe rationalism—but nationalism meaning patriosium, attachment to the motherland—not functions. Nationalism is executed to the motherland—not functions. That excellent to the motherland—not functions. That excellent to the motherland—not functions.

the dispute between China and the USSR, Communism me internationalism in the past, Now it exists differently in Communist countries, Yugoslavian communism is not same as communism in China...

There is the socialism of the Vietcong and the of North Vietnam. They will not reunite immediat the war, South Vietnam will remain independent

"Communité camp" does not mans anything autremet. There is no one camp. Cambolis will not be a Commande travelle de la commande de la commande de la commande even more nationalités and royalités. The united font represents a compensión of four grouper instination, communités, reyalités, and budshies, We most unite, Commande sociedaire, very nationalistic, very Cambolian, and the nontradialit. We will not allen, Neximality in the sine qui se firming on the basis of contradial; We shall showy have the dishina set the state religion. Even the Communities and Budtshina set the state religion. Even the Communities and Budlies. The communities of the state of the state of the la commande and the state of the la commande and la command

Having expressed this part of his crodo, the animated prince

sary skeptic in his audience: "But what communism, I ask you? The Communist camp doesn't exist anymore." He rejected momentarily again. Then in a lower key and more

the day we shall wise, It is not loop, It is a fact, It is

Réstrance, hence Chira will be our first friend. But we also want the friendship of the U.S. We want the U.S. And the government in Washington as our good friend. It was the anti-Communist crusade that caused the U.S. to get lato a war in Infochina.

lo respect our frontiers and our independence. Chira will do be same. We shall not be a sacellite of Chira. We see separated from Chira by Laos and Vietnam. We are a most bufful sort of the shall be considered to the same bufful shall be considered to the same bufful shall be. Chira has to get back Taiwan, not satellize Indochina. When the U.S. spots supporting Taiwan, U.S. relations with Peking will improve. It is the duty of China to achieve the terrifocial integrity of the own nation, not to satellize when the consideration of the consideration of the consideration of the same properties.

The hors d'ocuvres had been consumed, and now the Cam-

"We Cambodians have no U.S. prisoners. We have liberated

and I can assure you very precisely . . ." He repeated the

many Vietnamese fighting in Cambodia and there is no our own command. Perhaps they (i.e., the Vietnamese in

"What is the relationship of the forces in Cambodia," we pocket concerning the territorial integrity of Cambodia There Will be people in the United States, especially in the exweptment, who will say that the Communists will not respect Cambodia's borders once the U.S. has withdrawn from Indo-

The prince was on the edge of his chair again, speaking

I have received spleme declarations that Horoi will respect the internal affairs of Cambodia. By the joint declaration

And we of Cambodia made certain assurances to them: (1) we shall not be anybody's ally; (2) there will be no military as well. These are the absolute maximum guarantees. We

ancient capital of Angkor. How are the prince's forces safe-The prince plunged right into the answer.

There are many stories about the Communists stealing a Gallie What-can-I-do? shrue.\ Perhaps we can criticize that they are honest! They do not steal antiques and sell Puppets . . . by men like General Do Cao Tri, recently

He caught his breath, recalled something that must have en fresh in his mind, and plunged in again.

letter telling me that I should have the safeguarding of

Commit Instate the People's Regulation
Anglor al beart and therefore I stoad early in the nestess.

Buth They take reminded me that I had been the more
stated and they never any time and the latter and
anglor and they never any time unablets. Now state,
you still one my assets here. Do I ask you to be present
deficious best I cament pay with the price of Anglory with
It is the capital of Cambodius and I will keep it. I will not
that the state of the price of the state of the state
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should tall Nicon to top the bombing, not to meetrifile
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The prince paused, then said:

Lon Not and Sirik Maria, thry have members of ranilly—my medicine, and old and sick woman; my children I cannot neutralize them, we must accept the consequences of war. We must continue the struggle, when I replied to Senator Pubrishe's letter shout the journalists Hargin and Senator Pubrishe's letter shout the journalists Hargin and continue the senator of the se

Note: John D. Rockelder III and Kenneth Young, for U.S. albussheet D. Handlend, are chairmen of the house U.S. albussheet D. Handlend, are chairmen of the house Their articles of Coxider 2, 1971; untited Wath Let De Green Work at Angeles, "France South region as instruvioled Cambolia last mouth on a missis reasonable provioled Cambolia last mouth on a missis reasonable protrict of the Coxider Coxider Coxider Coxider Coxider Tolking Letter and Coxider Coxider Coxider Coxider Policy Reference Coxider who has long served as districted to the Coxider Coxid possible by intensive negotiations last year involving Phnom Pach, Paris, Hanoi, and the fielding government; and by direct contact between Grosilier and "the deputy commander of the North Victamenee unit that had occupied the area. He appearing gained the commander's confidence and persuaded him

Further on in the article when the negotiations are derived on greater detail, the Lon Nol sporremnent is attributed as not whatever. Greater reports only makes change was that "heds's of carrying have apparently increased during the ecception, but not to the extent described in the presports." The articles suggest at one point that the occupies reports "The articles suggest at one point that the occupies are Visitoney and North Victoramose; at another point only some the superior of the present of the like members before the control of the present of the like members before the control of the present of the like members before the control of the present of the like the members of the superior of the present of the like the present of the like the members of the present of the present of the like the present of the

The article concludes, "Daytomatic sources said that the Cumbedian Government (Lon Nol) was planning to propose the neutralization and internationalization of the Angkor area at the current session of the United Nations General As-

We asked Prince Sihanouk what was the extent of th liberated areas of Cambodia. He replied:

Possibility of the country has been liberated and in the orient field, may perfusely our more from by the other has well on the country has been desired as the country of the country of 1974. The military situation has not changed much since of 1974 the military situation has not changed much since of 1974 the military situation has not changed much since with Lot No. military situation has not changed much some on the country of the cou

It was approaching time to leave. We asked a final question concerning the prince's opinion of the seven-point peace product put from Binh, and how it affected Cambodia. The prince answered, still speaking as energetically as that example how a softier.

We support the proposals put forth by Mme. Binh on proposal there is now a new element for progress toward

Kay and Ken gave the prince several tokens of our solldarity, among them a copy of the CCAS book Combodie sion of our solidarity, which concluded, "We will meet again,

The prince was obviously moved and he said, almost with

but were going to have one of our own people hold the and take a picture of the whole group lest one of us be left your picture taken by Prince Sisowath Methavi, the younger

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of

In contrast with the prince, the representatives of the Pro-

ate nulled up in front of an undistinguished, modern, twoseturary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

An embassy official, casual in shirt sleeves, greeted us at the foor and escorted us into a long, airy room to the rear of the building. On one side a floor-to-ceiling window-wall of cicadas. We exchanged introductions with the six other Wetnamese who were there to talk with us. They too were emply dressed and seemed eager to begin the discussion. We stranged curselves around a long table in the center of the language. Only one of them, their official interpreter, spoke

Peace Treaty signed by all of us. The treaty had been first the American National Student Association and the National be war. We were aware that on several important points the July 1 seven-noint peace proposal had superseded it. Yet we hade no further comment. We also gave them copies of

arminology, yet their questions and comments indicated

Vietnamese understood this very well.

We asked them what Americans could do to help end the
war more rapidly. They offered us four suggestions and one

Their first point was "Unify, unify, unify." Create a broady based front of all those who oppose the war. Second, they asked us to learn from the antiwar veteran and Cli. They have been to South Vistnam. They have seen

and GIs. They have been to South Vistnam. They have seen war crimes, atrocities, corruption in Saigon, and U.S. predteering. They understand what the war is really about and they oppose it.

As their third and fourth points, they ureed us and all

All their fairs and roturn points, usey uses we show a mericans to study the Pentagon Papers: "They will test you much about how the American government works as how it tries to defraud the people"; and to study the save point peace proposal: "Understand what it is saying and what this time it represents a just basis for resolving the confinint Vietnam." They restated and discussed the text of it

Total of the Course Baint Bassa Brances

Regarding the deadline for the total withdrawal of U.S.

forces.

The U.S. government must put an end to its war of aggression in Vietnam, stop the polley of "Vietnamization" of the war, withfraw from Soath Vietnam all troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United Sustand of the other fooelige countries in the U.S. camp, and disand of the other fooelige countries in the U.S. camp, and disance of the control of the U.S. camp, and disance of the U.S. camp, and the U.S. camp,

The U.S. government must set a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vistnam of the totality of U.S. forcet and those of the other forcets countries of the U.S. carp. If the U.S. government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vistnam in 1971 of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other forcets occurries in the U.S.

A. Of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

...

can pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes. These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

A crass-fire will be observed between the South Vistram people's Libertainon Armed Forces and the armed storces of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the United States cannot, as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Vistram of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries

(2)

Regarding the question of power in South Victnam. The United States government must really respect the South Victnam people's right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vitnam, cease backing the bellicose group headed by Ngoven Van Thieu, at present in office in Salgon, and stop all manu-

pupet Nguyen Van Thieu.

The political, social, and religious forces in South Vietnam aspiring to peace and national concord will use various means to form in Suigon a new administration favoring peace, independence, neutrality, and democracy.

The Provisional Revolutionary Correspond to the Re-

public of South Vicenam will immediately enter into talks with that administration in order to settle the following questions:

A. To form a broad three-segment government of national conceed that will assume its functions during the period

elections and organize general elections in South Vietnam.

A case-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armod Forces and the armed forces of the Saigon administration as soon as the government of

altional concord is formed.

B. To take concrete measures with the required guaratices so as to probabil all acts of serror, reprisal, and discrimination against persons having collaborated with one or
the other party, to ensure every democratic liberty to the
South Victoriance people, to release all persons skilled for
Political reasons, to dissolve all concentration camps, and to
pleudate all forms of constructs and overeion so as to permit

dom and to freely engage in their occupations, C. To see that the people's conditions of living are stabilized and gradually improved, to create conditions allowing

Chinal Inside the People's Republic

everyone to contribute his talents and efforts to heal the D To arree on measures to be taken to ensure the hote.

Recording the question of Vietnamese armed forces in

The Vietnamese parties will together settle the question tion and with a view to making lighter the people's con-

Resarding the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and the

A. The reunification of Vietnam will be achieved step-

B. In keeping with the provisions of the 1954 Geneva.

Regarding the foreign policy of peace and neutrality of South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and

cultural relations with all countries, accept the cosectio and technical aid without any political conditions

On the basis of these principles, after the end of the relations in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

Recarding the damages caused by the United States to

Recarding the respect and the international guarantee of The parties will find agreement on the forms of respect

The thin soft-spoken leader of the Vietnamese side finished. tounger, began to speak. He said that he had met with many world antiwar people, often intellectuals. He had always

The question was: "How is it that a small country can debut a large one; a weak country defeat a strong one?" Impodiately, another Vietnamese at the table made a gentle bekine hands all round and moving toward the door.

to defeating the U.S. because even though they're small,

There was a cross fire of barely restrainable instant analy-

He asked a question that doesn't have one instant answer. the more you begin to see the connections among the different

In our interview with Chou En-lai, the premier referred force against a strong imperialist nation. We remembered

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Our visit to the PRG embassy was on the evening of July 14. Two days later, on the morning of the sixteenth, the first That evening we were scheduled to call on the embassy of the

We were greeted at the door of the embassy by a selfspoken Vietnamese man who apologized for his inability to himself was not accustomed to English-speaking visitors and two interpreters (Vietnamese-French, French-English) and

As we had in our visits to other embassies, we began with a presentation of three documents—a statement of solidarity ment of purpose which condemns scholarly complicity with ments regarding Ho Chi Minh with warm thanks for our

group, and for all Americans "who have stood up in the face of the aggressive policies of the U.S. government in Indo-

The leading diplomat from the Vietnamese side then trunched into a discussion of the current situation in the sentatives of the PRG, he too urged us to take careful note tary prisoners held in northern Vietnam. He also suggested mation on the origins of the Indochina conflict and the

Although their manner was restrained and rather formal. there was no sense of bitterness toward us in the presentations

We watched two short movies with our hosts, swing Presented us with sifts of Hanoi publications and an unusual and is inscribed in Vietnamese with the date and occasion. namese said with a quiet smile, "It was sent aggressively, but

Chinal Inside the People's Republic

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Our first meeting with representatives of the DPRK took place at our hotel in Peking. A secretary from the Korean embassy and his interpreter arrived one morning and greese us, saying that they had read some of our literature and bean about our activities from Chinese triends. They were happy to meet with a group of young Americans for the first time, and expressed interest in, responsible better, understreamed

The Koreans showed concern over the fact that their sax of the conflict in Korea and their positions have never realy been made clear in the United States, and that their attempts the control of the Conflict States, and that their attempts out consideration by the United States, and that their attempts out consideration by the United States government and the government in South Korea. They began to talk about the government in South Korea. They began to talk about the government in South Korea. They began to talk about the cladest on most again. They invited us to come to their own your full man and to see a Korean film, and we accepted the source of the control of the co

Some days later we were received in their new embassy, as impressive, air-concilioned, modern building constructed strictly of Korean materials and by Korean workers. As we proved a fine property of the pro

"Now, the problem of pacefully and democratically fetunding Korea is the supreme occ." They told us about the efforts of their Red Cross to arrange a meeting with the Sel Cross in the sund from the purpose of renning families untered to the sundanger of the suprementation of the sundanger of meetings have began. They also summarized their proposals for undiscission, made in April 1971, which recordulation to publishing in the United States, Briefly, their effect of the sundanger of the summarized their suprementation of the Nortean people themselves in as follows: (1) All foreign 1979. Mould withcurs from sundanger Korea foreign 1979.

agreement and secondary Keenes should be realoued to 100,000 general real secondary Keenes should be realoued to 100,000 general real countries should be a shoulded. (a) When there are necessarily only the properties of the secondary of the sec

After dinner we were treated to a speciacular full-length color films, the Madlers of Diamond Mountain, The dialogue was in Korean, but the interpreter performed yeomas service for us in keeping up with the complicated plot. This very pleasant evening ended with exchanges of books and pumples, and their wish that we take back their regards to the American exchange and interprinty. the American working

Then, just before we were scheduled to leave Peking, the Krosan kirvled to back again for a brief visit. The secretary slide he wanted to thank us for our concern and expressed the design that scholars of Asia would continue to visit and countries and that some would be coming to Korea. We now how of your just cause, "In said," "Ath it is, opposition to imperialize aggression and war and support for the freedom of the said of the said of the said of the said of the distance of the said of the said of the said of the distance of the said of the distance of the said of the said of the said of the distance of the said of the

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Few Americans realize just how American their view of Chinais. Almost no other country in the world has isolated itself from China so completely over the last two decodes. As a rosult, the China at most Americans "Know" is almost unrecognizable to Europeans, Asians, or the Chinese themselves. To compound this situation, most American books and reporting are basically unhelpful. The reporting is beavily bload and usually and-Chinese, while most of the scholarly books

The books listed here are among the very few to draw an informative or fair picture of China. Many of them are journalistic accounts and almost all of them are about China

We have tried to exclude books which require extensive incovidedge of China or Chinese culture. The books included we mostly written for the general reader and not the scholar. Sooks marked with an asterisk are available in paperback

History and Politics

Most of the books which describe Imperial China (pre-1911) are highly specialized and, with few exceptions, duil. Except for translations of early Chinese Ilterature and poerty (Arthur Waley has done a large number of excellent translabus of early poetry), a good place to begin would be Wolflang Franke's China and the West* (New York: Harper & Now 10673)

For general background history, The China Reader* proyears a wide variety of documents, as well as analytical and interpretive arricles. The first volume covers Imperial China to 1911; volume 2 is Republican China, 1941–1949; and volture 3 is Commanist China, 1949 to the Present. All are Chinal Incide the Recolds Beautifu

edited by Orville Schell and Franz Schurmann (New Yor Vintage, 1967).

On missionaries: James G. Thomson, Jr.'s While Chia Faced West (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Pres 1969). Written by the son of a missionary born in China, the book provides a new look at the supposedly altrustite effor of American churches and foundations in China. The mo notable results he shows were the fallure to bring penetre

A good short history of twentieth-century China is C. P. Fitzgerald's The Birth of Communist China* (Baltimore, Md.:

Penguin Books, 1964).

For the 1911–49 period, the best treatment of the collap
of the Kuomintang and the rise to power of the Communication Living Bianco's Origins of the Chinese Resolution (Str.

ford: Stanford University Press, 1971).

For a personal account of the disintegration of the Kuomintang from 1945 to 1949, read John Mellby's The Mas-date of Hearners' (Garden City, N.Y.; Doubleds, 1971). Melby was an American diplomat on the scene in Chungking and Nanking, and records vivid personal impressions of the

demise of Châng's regime.

Edgar Snow's Red Star over China* (New York: Grove Press, 1961) is one of the few "classics" on modern China. It is an account of the early years of the Chinese Communist movement and is based on the author's visit to the Communist of the Communication of the C

his extensive convernations with Mao and Chou.

A much more detalled but very interesting book on how
the Communists established and expanded their "base area"
in the Anti-Japanese War is Mark Selden's The Yenau Wo
in Revolutionary China (Cambridge, Mass.): Harvard Usi-

versity Press, 1971).
Another American reporter, Jack Belden, wrote of the way jears in China Shaker the World* (New York: Moosth) Seven Press, 1971), which covers the 1949 liberation at wall white the author is openly partisan on the Communist silvation of the Community silvation of the Communist silvation of the Community silvation of the Co

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Because few Americans have been allowed to travel in China since 1949, there are few good book raviables with an American perspective on life in China during the past two decides. The best general pixture is Edgar Snow's The Other Sate of the River. Red China Taday* (New York: Random Bloom, 1962). The book is based on the distinguished journalists return to China and his extensive travels here in 1960, control of the China and his extensive travels here in 1960, for community of the China and his extensive travels here in 1960, for community of the China and his extensive travels here in 1960, for community of the China the China should be consulted in the China for China the China the

For a personal panoramic view of twentieth-century China, see Han Sayin's biographical trilogy, The Crippled Tree, A Mortal Flower, and Birdless Summer (New York: Putnam, 1965, 1968). The books will be available in Bantam paper-

Rural China

human meaning of the new society that is being built in rural

The first is William Historis Famines: A Decumentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village! (New York: Monthly Rev York: Mo

Two books, Jan Myrtall's Report from a Chinese Village*
New York: Signet, 1963) and Jan Myrtall and Gun Kessle's
China: The Revolution Continued (New York: Pantheon,
1970), tell the story of a single village in a very backward
Part of China before and jast after the Otilural Revolution.
Dere is an enormous wealth of detail in these two volumes
Sout ordinary people and how their lives were changed by

The last two books, Isabel and David Crooks's Revolution in a Chinese Village: Ten Mile Inn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959) and The First Years of Yangyi Commune London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), are written

able to trace the changes in a single small village over several somewhat less sensitive to the problems people face as their society is being transformed than are the first three books,

The study of China's cities has just begun, and unfortunate. munism, 1949-1968* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969); this book tells the story of modern should not be taken as representative of Chinese cities in

Desnite its forbidding title, Rhoads Murphey's "Traditionalsee how China's new government has sought to change the

For a more detailed picture of China's cities, one can com-

(Stanford: Stanford University Press, forthcoming): and ford: Stanford University Press, 1971). These books are from excellent and readable to dull and boring. Read selec-

Away with All Pests* (New York: Monthly Review Presh Joshua Horn, who spent fifteen years in China, Horn de-

to the needs of the people, especially in the rural areas, and to combining "the new and the old," giving credit to valuable service continually developing and adapting to the needs of

Education and Youth

from 1960 to 1966 the educational system worked to undercut

The Political Biography of Dai Hsiao-al* (Garden Chy, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), which covers the first years of the

Cultural Revolution.

There is an excellent description of how American children
are taught to see China as the "enemy" in Richard and Leigh
Kagan's "Oh, Say Can You See? American Cultural Blinders
on China" (in America's Asia," Edward Friedman and Max

Women and Family Life

There has been very little written on women and family little China today outside of stories and novels published in China today outside of stories and novels published in China in English-linguage editions by the Priving Footing Active Plantile Plantile State of the China Ch

Report from a Chinese Prings and Critics. The Revolution Continued (cited above) contain a wealth of detail above family life, telling the stories of individuals and the change in their lives. For a good contrast with womes in old Chine and I day Puilt's Daughter of Han's (Stanford: Stanford Chiversity Press, 1967); this is the moving story of a poor worst.

A brief story of the struggle of Chinese women to free themselves after "official" Exeration is told in "Gold Flower's Story," which is in Chine Shakes the World, cited above, and was reprinted as a pomphlet by the New England Free Prest (791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118).

Chinese Communist Political Thought: Maoism
The ore of China's political thought is Maoism, and the
ways the Chinese have chosen to build their new society have
been shaped by Maoist principles. The clearest explanative
of Mao's thought is Issuart Schram's The Political Thought
Mao Ta-Louge* (New York: Praeger, 1963). A holyful bewith this is Schram's bögraphy, Mao Ta-Louge* (Baltimer's

THE RESERVE

Better still, one can read Mao Tse-tung himself; for exmple, the Quotations of Chairmon Mao Txe-tungs (Pekingjorigin Languages Press, 1966) is available in a cheap, redstant-covered edition. An American paperhack edition of the haparations is available with an introduction and notes by sert Schram (New York: Banana Books, 1967), And there

Petrig Potegai Lauguage Press.

John Gurfey's "Capitalist and Maoist Economic Development" (in America's Asia, cited above) approaches Chinese
political thought from the perspective of its theory of economic
development, making a comparison with the theory of Westera capitalism.

For the interested reader, Franz Schurmann's Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1968) is a long and comprehensive discussion of how the Chinese put ideology—

lew York: Oxford University Press, 1967) is a detailed planation of the social and political roles played by the PL/the period 1946-65, and is the best book on the militar

The Cultural Revolution

The best place to start in reading about the Cultural Revolulion is Jack Gray and Patrick Cuvendish's Chinese Commutain in Critic Manism and the Cultural Revolution (Losdon; Pall Mall Press, 1968). The book was written while the revolution was still in progress, but it gives us the best and blo the most sympathetic description of the key issues in-

Shampkal Journal,* by Neal Hunter (New York: Praeger, 1969) is the story of a young Australian language teacher in Sanaphal during the Cultural Revolution. It goes into detail about the class composition of schools before the Cultural Revolution and describes the dynamics of the mass movement in the class composition of schools before the Cultural Revolution and describes the dynamics of the mass movement in a blow-by-blow account. The book, however, has the draw-

Louis Barcata's China in the Throes of the Cultural Revolution (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1968) is an

eyewitness account by an Austrian journalist. This book is

Foreign Policy

Most books on China's foreign policy tend to get bogged down in China-watching games or are affected by the celd war and the containment policy. This list should give the reader a broader background for understanding current

The best book on U.S.-Calina relations before World's. If was written in 1933. A Whitten of Truvelle's The For item on Policy of the United States' (New Havon, Coast. 'Yas University Press, 1935). For a clearer understanding of a University Press, 1935). For a clearer understanding of the Branch of the States of the States

Since our first real contacts with the People's Republication in the form of the Keenas War, attention is well encounted in the form of the Keenas War. The Residence of the Republication of Easter the Keenas War" (New York: Milliam 1864), the case that it was Advantum approximate that the case that it was Advantum approximate that the least that the second of the Republication of the

Altempts by Nationalist Chinese propagandists in the 1950s to keep the American public misinformed are revealed in Ros V. Koen's The China Lobby (New York: Harper & Rostotthcoming). Apparently as a result of China lobby pressure that the china lo

book was suppressed when Koen tried to have it published in 1960. Richard Nixon was an ardent China lobby supporter

Chia's relations with other Asian autions are thoroughly explained in two works by John Gitting, "The Great Asian Couplings" (in Americal Asia, cited above) destroys the American propagated chilms that Chies was part of the American propagated chilms that Chies was part of the Soute Diputer London and New York; Oxford University Pers, 1969) attempts to explain the difficult Chines-Examina conflict. Especially good in Newlie Maswell's book on the Hanlayun border war, Indit's Chines Wer (New York; Panthono, 1970). Maxwell presents convincing evidence that trust of the New Chines and Yellow's indifferent indifferent united that were constant and the Chines and Chines and Chines.

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B a more soose and userul analysis.

For articles on current affairs see the Bulletin of Concerne

Arius Scholars published four times a year by the Committe

Concerned Asian Scholars (9 Sutter St., San Francisco

GLOSSARY

cericalural communes. Officially established in August 1928, but setually existing since servy summer of that year in the form of analyzamazed agricultural producer' contained to the service of peasant work based on the following: collectivation of peasant work of the service of peasant work of the service of the service of peasant work of the service of the servi

Annam. The traditional Chinese name for Vietnam ("Annan," the pacified south). The name now refers to central Vietnam, between Tonkin in the north and Cochin in the

Bandung Conference. A conference of Asian and African Communist and neutral nations convened in Bandung, Inforestia, in 1955. The conference sought a united front shee analous agreement of the proceeding to the help and the procedural procedural procedure. The participation is third-world affined this basis from 1955 to 1959 posedderably naived its results.

Bao Dai. Became the last emperor of Annam (Vietnam) in 1926, abdicating in 1945. Reinstand in 1949 as the Franch puper rules of Vietnam. After appointing Ngo Dinh Diem as premier in 1954, he was succeeded by the latter at Annetic case to read-the france and the decimal of the control of the

baofia system. A system of rural control developed in China

harefoot doctors (also called pearant doctors). Peasant trained in basic techniques of medical care formed during and home arrox able to handle most routine medical problems.

horder region. During the occupation and War of Resistsentially free from enemy incursion. These areas were formally constituted as border regions since they generally

Boxer Rebellion. A popular religious and antiforcism movement which began in north China in 1899 and cultiland in the siege of the foreign legations in Peking during the summer of 1900. The siege and the movement were A final settlement was reached in the form of a protocol Chinese sovereignty, such as the right to station foreign troops in Peking and the levying of an indemnity of over

codres. The "backbone personnel of the Chinese revolution."

endres, revolutionary. Those who were characterized as

Cairo Declaration, Issued December 1, 1943, after the

conference attended by Chiang Kai-shek, F. D. Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill affirmed their nurnose "that . . . all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as near Taiwan) shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Combodia Royal Government of National Union of Established May 5, 1970, in Peking two days after a congress Shanouk, Prince Sihanouk is simultaneously chief of state Nouth is the prime minister of the Royal Government, which Matak regime in Phnom Penh. The NUFK is a broadly based united front of royalists, Buddhists, nationalists, and since spring 1970.

corry. Basic unit of Chinese weight measure. Has various

Central Committee, Elected by the National Party Con-

Chang Ch'ing (b. 1913), Has been Mao Tse-tung's wife lince 1939. (It was not the first marriage for either.) Before the marriage, she had been a movie actress, using the stage

There is no indication that Chang Ch'ing had had any

sible for the development of revolutionary ballet in China since the Cultural Revolution. She was also one of five mers, bers of the Cultural Revolution Group, which guided the Cultural Revolution in many localities and institutions.

Chang Crise-Wise No Information is wallable on Chang very correct. After Destruction, New sub-rooting Primaries and Control of the Control of Control of Control involved with column work, not one stift bissuiff trater. By the involved was a control bissuiff trater of the Control of Control of Control of Control in the Sharphal policiest seen, this attent support of a to the Sharphal policiest seen, this attent support of a control bias a primary position in officering the Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Control of Control of Control of Control of the Control of Con

Chang Husbelling. The size of Manchania was Chang Tools, he messeed to the Indier ring date of the Chang Tools, he removed to the Indier ring date to nominal Nationalist counted in 1978, he was counted to nominal Nationalist counted in 1978, he was counted to nominal Nationalist counted in 1978, he was counted to the other counter of the counter of the National bandsquares—and commission shows objective was to was surprised to the counter of the counter of the transport of the counter of the counter of the transport of tra

Chen Yl. After joining the Chinese Communist party in France in 1923, he gradually rose through the military 10000

of the Communist forces in the forties. During the civil war of the late forties, he was in charge of the Communist forces in the area north of the Yangtze River above Nanking, as well as those which liberated Nanking and Shangbai. He became mayor of Shangbai in 1949, a position he held until 1958, when he became forcipis minister. He was criticized

Chiang Kul-shek. A native of Zhajiang Province, asstern Chian, Chiang Kahishi was bern in 1873. He headed the Wilmpon Military Academy and was a follower of Sun Yayson- He attained political and military leadership of the Kooninatong during the Northern Expedition (1925–27) which supposedly until the Republic of Chian under Kart the armed forces of the Republic of Chian during the Political Chian Ch

China Administration for Travel and Tourism (CATT). Parent body for China Travel Service. That segment of the Chinese government responsible for the well-being of foreign tourises in China: travel, accommodations, guide-interpretable continuities on with other segments of the government that the bourist might be interested in contacting. Decision-making

China Travel Service (Luxingshe). Official travel bureau of the People's Republic of China for visitors coming from overseas or Hong Kong-Macao, China's only recognized travel agency.

Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Has been the leading force in the Chinese revolution and in the construction of Socialism. Like other Communist parties, the CCP is an Organization of professional revolutionaries based on demo-

The CCP was founded in 1921 and at first maintained close contact with the international Communist movement (Commerce) and the Nationalist party (KMT) in China. Since 1927, it has been politically, organizationally, and developed a revolutionary strategy and mobilized resources for the struggle signist the Japusees invaders and the KMT. After Liberation, the CCP expanded membership from 4.5 million in 1949 to 17 million in 1961. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao expressed fear that some sections of the CCP were lossing revolutionary spirit, and might become a new exploiting class. After fleroe political struggle, revolutionary

Chow En-lai (b. 1898). One of China's most important resolutionary leaders—in student activities, in building the PLA, and in negotiations with allies and enemies. Since 1949, he has been premier of the State Council and

He was involved in many phases of government activities, especially those clealing with scientists and intellectuals. More than any other Chimes leader, Chou has been series of the control of the contr

comprador. The class of Chinase who served as intermediates between Western merchants and capitalists in their dealings with the Chinase people. This group is condumned for their cooperation with Western accountie imperialism, thereby impeding native Chinase economic development, comprador mentality, consequently, is the label applied 19 people who exhibit a stavish dependence upon Western methods, thereby impeding independent Chinese development.

Cultural Revolution (Great Professions Cultural Revolution). In Marrist terminology, a revolution in the superstructure. A historically unprecodented political revolution in what was already a socialist China. Begun in 1965 with 3 piece of heavily political literacy criticism writer by Yuvenyum against the deputy mayor of Peking, it burst fully on the scene when daziboo went up on the Peking Uli-

ceriotism and berryac doubtery.

M. Rog jinusely enhanced "Control and Control and Control

Dalai Lama. Religious and political ruler of Tibet enthroned in 1940 and assuming full power in 1950. He fied to ladia in 1959 after the abortive Tibetan uprising.

dazibao (blg character poster). Medium of expression of political views, especially by those who have no necess to the press. Essays or manifestos written on posters and often put up on walls. These were used in early mass movements —May 4, the student anti-Japanese imperialist movement of

Democratic People's Republic of Korea. After the withfraval of the Japanese focuse from Korea. Bopel's continues were set up in both North and South Korea. Bopel's conmittees were set up in both North and South Korea. In Jourter of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the Populyra and proclaimed the Democratic People's Regulate of Korea. to Defen Committee in the north most at Korea. The Committee of the Committee of the Committee of Accessing the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of Society of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of Society of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the with the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the Society of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Committee of the Committee of the Committee of the William of the Co

Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Formed in 1945 with its capital in Hanoi, the DRV has consistently fought against intervention by France and the U.S. in the affairs of Vietnam. Giving support to the resistance against the U.S. in the south, the DRV supports the seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vies.

dictatorship of the proletariat. The intermediate stage predicted by Marx between capitalism and communism (at which point the state would go out of existence), when the proletariat, or urban working class, would seize state organs of power and use them to suppress the bourgeoisse, until the proletariat could consolidate its control over the society and

Eighth Route Army, New name assumed by the Chinese Workers and Pessassi's Red Army in 1937 to Indicate the Chinese Communist parry's willingness to cooperate with the Chinese Communist parry's willingness to cooperate with the under the control of the New Joseph Japan, Nominally under the control of the New Joseph Japan, Nominally operated primarily in north China, comboining military deferes against Japan with mapse political and economic referes against Japan with mapse political and economic and maintaining the support of the Das army in winning and maintaining the support of the China army in unbequent provide casential to a Community theory in the subsequent

fessial remnants: Since the official Communist party view of China's history is that the nation was fessial for the three thousand years preceding 1842 and semifested, semicologist until Liberation in 1849, any undesirable manifestations of the ways or thinking of the old society in the countryside art labeled fersible for the control of the ways or thinking of the old society in the countryside art

General Conference. On May 8, 1954, nine countries, the United States, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Cambodia, Lacs, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam took up the problem of the first Indoction war. The destruction to the control of the

L. Laos and Cambodia would not request foreign aid unless for purposes of self-defense.
 The seventeenth parallel in Vietnam was not to be

Gloss

...

"interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

3. General elections would be held in Vietnam "under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the member states of the International

4. All who signed the declaration should "respect the govereignty, the independence, the unity, and the territorial integrity" of Cambodis, Laos, and Vetanam, while refraining from any "interference in their internal affairs." The United States retused to sign the declaration but

The United States refused to sign the declaration but romised not to disturb the agreements arrived at.

Great Lusp Forward, Initiated by Mao in 1953—a plan to utilize Chain's vast manapower to effect improvement in industry and agriculture without foreign belg. Cooperatives during the control of the cont

Humey Yamp-shreng (b. 1906). Chief of general starf of be People's Education Army. A native of Jimagoi, he began his military cureer in the Bod Army in 1931. Participated in the Community of the Community of the Community of Community of the Community of the Community of Community of the Community of the Community of Community of the Community of Communi

Kuomintang (KMT). The Nationalist party, founded by Sun Yatives in 1912. Since the 1927 purge of left-wing denients, the Kuomintang has been under the control of Chinag Kai-lefts and has claimed to represent the whole Chinese people. In 1949 the Kuomintang and its adherens were driven from the Chinese mainland by the Communius land took refuge on the island of Talwan, where they remain as the "Republie of China."

Chinal Inside the People's Republic

Lao Parionic Front (Neo Lao Hak Sai). Formed in January 1956 as the political wing of the Pathet Lao. The frest opposes any U.S. intervention in the affairs of Laos and calls for a "peaceful settlement" of the Laosin problem based on the 1962 Geneva Accords on Laos. It supports a foreign policy of peace and neutrality and advocates national uni-

Liberation. The victory of the Chinese Communist pany (CCP) over the military forces of the Nationalists (KMT), in a civil war which was fought off and on from 1927. It was a carried on with resolute vigor from the time of the surrender of the Japanese forces in China in 1945. The official day celebrated for this Liberation is October 1, 1945.

Lin Pino (h. 1907). Hus been one of China's most important and settlinan military commanders ever since the creation of the PILA in 1927. In 1959 named minister of defensa, after the pervious holder of that position, Pemp Te-hund, had criticized Mao's strategy of the Great Leap. As minister of defense, Lin Pino stressed that the human factor is most important than weapons, and that politic and ideology more important than the changing to lake 1971 Lin Pino Info.

Liu Shao-ch'l (b. 1898). One of the important leaders of the Chinese revolution. Specialized in organizing industriaworkers during the 1920s and 1930s, and also set up the underground activities in north China in the late 1930s. In the early 1940s, Liu was a leading theoretican on organizational questions of the Chinese Communist party, and by

1945, the second highest leader, after water.

After 1949, one of the top leaders of party and state, chairman of the state and president from 1959 to abed 1967, during which time be was actively concerned with the development of the economy and the party. At this time be

was Mao's heir apparent.
Liu came under sharp attack during the Cultural Revolution, because the policies that he advocated were such as in increase class differences in China. As a result of these attacks. Liu was removed from his leadership position, and his where

loest. Known in Chinese as huangtu (yellow earth), this is soil and dust blown from the inner Asian deserts into China over the millennis. In many parts of north China it reaches a depth of fifty feet or more; because of its unique composition it is particularly adapend for the digging of cave dwellings. The soil, while fertile, is susceptible to severe crosion.

Manchurla. Known in Chinese as the Northeast (Doughel), this pivotal area between Russia, Mongolia, and Korea has traditionally been an area where outside pressure has been exerted, from Russian harassment in the nineteenth century, to Japanese Invasion in 1931, to safer ratifiaj by General MacArthur in 1950–51, to Russian encroachment in the late 1960s.

Mao Txe-tung (b. 1893). Unquestionably the most important leader of the Chinese revolution. Son of a Hunan peasant. One of the roughly dozen men who founded the Chinese Communist party in 1921, and became the leader of the party in 1935, a role he has continued to hold to the

In the revolutionary struggle, Mao early recognized the potential of the peasurity, especially when combined with potential of the peasurity, especially when combined with a disciplined parry-army and a trust base area. As the war with Japan developed, Mao realized that nationalism was an important demand of many particle Chinese, and supported united front against Japannes aggression. The final element of Mao's revolutionary strategy—a self-conscious revolutionary Mao's revolutionary strategy—a self-conscious revolutionary

After liberation in 1949, Mass was chairman of both the government of China and the CCP. As before, he continued to play a critical roll in the CCP. As before, he continued to give many the control of the control of

Marriage Law of 1950. Promulgated in May 1950, it is essentially a bill of rights for women, defining for the first time in law such basic rights as equality of the sexes, and treedom of marriage and divorce, as well as outlawing the

musz line. This term designates the type of leadership expected of caders daining back to the 1990s. They are to inquire among the masses for their ideas and desires, translate these into specific policy proposals, and take those back to the people to be put into practice, and to be improved upon depending upon the experience of the practice. The principle is summed up in the slogan "From the masses,"

May 4 movement, A demonstration held on May 4, 1919, to protest Chinis's sheddy treatment at the Versatilles Peace Conference became the keystone of a broad movement directed against imperialist incursions and certain aspects of Chinese tradition inimital to development. The movement came to fecus primarily on such cultural phenomena as promotion of the vermeatural tanguage as against the classical, and a new willingages to accept Western ideas.

May 7 cadre schools. Novel institution created out of the struggles of the Cultural Revolution. Named after a Mass directive. Medded after Kangals, the Andi-Japanese Impetilssian University of the Yearn days. Urban cadres, several houseast at sime, pot substrain or rural worstleant assessing the control of the Company of the Company of the Company dominories, and classrooms. Leders usy there from 86 mooths to two years speeding half their time in manual work, and half substraing the Cadresic of Marxien-Landison Mao Booghib. Purpose is to purify the cadres would view, see that all Charity cadres will do a time month, "abackeral" and

mu. The Chinese unit of land measurement, equal to

Ngo Dlah Diem. Vietnamese Catholic nationalist who ousted Bao Dai as ruler of South Vietnam in 1955. After all eight-uper reign noted for its oppression and lack of flexibility in the face of popular revolt, and during which damest-up the source of the s

au.

wis deposed and killed in a U.S.-sponsored coup in November 1963.

Mysyre Thi Bish, Pareign minister of the Provisional Recolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. Recolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. In the serving three years in prison under the French, even-mally became member of the National Liberation Front Central Committee. Appointed to present position upon formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government on Jane 10, 1969, the succeeded Tran Buu Kiem as leader of its defension to the Parist talks.

Ninh Party Congress, Conwood from April 1 to April 24/96, It was the first to be held since the Cultural Revolution. At this time Lin Pito delivered a major policy sporch, as one revised constitution was adopted, the Central Committee was elected, and Mao was elected chairman of the Committee was elected, and Mao was elected chairman of the Committee was elected, and the committee was elected to the committee of the committee of the control of the Cont

offshore Islands. The islands of Quessoy and Matsu near the minimal ports of Amoy and Foochow were held on to by the Kuomintang after 1949 and have been a constant source of tension between Taiwan and the Poople's Requisite of China, as has been the nature of America's détense com-

Option War, 1838—22, the first major armed conflict between China and the Western powers, signaling the irreconciliability of traditional Chinese methods of foreign policy and the demands of Western Impediate loop of the China C

Pathet Loo. Formed in August 1950 from various nationalistic Laotian groups who had fought against the French until independence in 1949. Has continued the struggle for

Peking University (Belda). The first modern university in China, founded in 1898. Belda was the center of intellectual life in China from the May 4 movement—tl led scadenic resistance to Japan in the thirties, became militarily see-

People's Daily (Renmin Ribao). The newspaper published daily in Peking which serves as the official organ of the government of the People's Republic. All official policy an-

Feeling Liberation Army (TLA). The same given to the ARM Army (TRA) from Army) in 1544, eightlying the ARM (TRA) from Army) in 1544, eightlying the ARM (TRA) from Army (TRA)

"people's livelihood." The third of the "three people's principles" (sammin zbuyi) of Sun Yat-sen, the first two being nationalism and demoracy. As vaguely outlined by Dr. Sun, the "people's livelihood" entailed "restriction of capital" and "equalization of rights in the land." The "three people's principles" is still used as the official ideology of the Kunmisteran.

people's militia. The voluntary self-defense forces existing in most major Chinese production and residential units. The tens of millions of members of both sexes all train only parttime is exact.

ing to the Marxist formula. Also serve as an adjunct to local security forces and as work vanguards during time of natural disaster.

Political Bureau. Elected by the pleany sension of the Central Committee of the Chinese Committee party. While the body, a smaller standing committee is elected, and debate within this small group reasons in parry policy decisions and directions. When major policy changes are to be decided upon, the Political Bureau will convene a pleany sension of the Central Committee. When the Central Committee is not in sension the Political Bureaus exercises all its func-

Postsdam Conference. On July 17, 1945, Truman, Churchill, and Stallin met at Postsdam, Germany, to confer on postwar policy toward Axis powers and liberated areas. Stall reterated by Atta demands that Dairen port (Manchuria) be Russian although open to international trade. The U.S. concurred with this policy. The "unconditional surreduce" policy toward Japan was also developed at this conference. Restiffered that Taiwaw he returned to China upon Japan's

production brigades. Work groups actually organized in white of 1957 and ageing el 1958 with the launching of the waterworks program. Although the production brigades did go through several stages, one can say that they radically transfermed the organization of pessant labor by entarging the scope and posperbellum. In the which pessant during the scope and posperbellum is the which pessant part of the commence organization and usually codicides with the anatural vallage. Currently it is a decision-emission looky midway between the larger commune and the smaller work team.

Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (PRG). The government formed jointly on June 10, 1969, by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces (a coalition of non-Communist, anti-imperialist groups). This government represents a broad front of South

g Chinal Inside the People's Republic

All Control Times or votes a control to a Pales, middle or Red Guarda. In May 1966, it students of a Pales, middle or proceeding certain activities of the teachers possible or proceeding certain activities of the teachers and administration of their suched. As the practice spread to other middle school and universities, the students formed groups and called their such cash the proceeding troops and called their such cash the proceeding troops and called their such cash of their such

Revolution of 1911. Initially, an uprising in the city of Wuchking (present Wuban) in central Chins, on October 10. As similar uprisings brobe out throughout the country the Manchu emperor was forced to abdicate and retreat to Manchuria on February 12, 1912. The republic which was subsequently set up marked its national day as October 10 to

revolucionary comunitiese. One of the new organizational forms created during the Cultural Revolution whose purpose was to better represent the "revolucionary manne" aguitation of the cutrended purpose the partie of the partie Communities were conceived after the pattern of the Paris Communities were conceived after the pattern of the Paris Communities were conceived after the pattern of the Paris Communities with the pattern of the

SEATO, On September 8, 1955, Australia, Brisin, France, New Zaxiand, Postaino, the Pollipines, and Thallands and collective defense teasty under the spensorship of the U.S. The Southeast Alla Treaty Organization was to provide a collective response not easy in the erest of armind agreement of the Collective response not easy in the erest of armind agreement states of the Collective response not easy in the erest of armind agreement states of the collective response not easy in the erest of armind agreement states of the collection of the collecti

provided for "assistance and protection" of nonsignatories

Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam.

seven-point peace proposal of the Provitional Revolutionary
Government. Presented by Mme. Nguyen The Bibly head of

The seven points proposed were:

1. Simultaneous withdrawal of U.S. and other foreign troops from South Vietnam and release of National Liberation Froat—and North Vietnamese-held prisoners of war, ac-

Frost- and North Vietnamese-held prisoners of war, accompanied by a cease-fire.

2. U.S. withdrawal of support from the Thieu government,

(e.g., electrons), a new animate against persons of either forbidding terrorism or reprisals against persons of either side, and an agreement upon measures for holding genuinely free electrons.

3. Vietnamese parties themselves to negotiate settlement regarding the question of armed forces.

achieved peacefully, with neither side participating in foreign alliances or allowing foreign bases on its soli.

5. South Vietnam to follow a policy of peace and neutrality, maintaining economic and guitarul relations with all countries.

including the U.S.

6. U.S. government to bear responsibility for the destruction it has caused to the people of North and South Vietnam.

7. Victamenese parties to negotiate forms of international guarantee of the settement.
On July 6, 1971, Le Due. The announced that the question of military withdrawal and return of prisoners of war could

be nepolated independently of political quientens.

Sincephel worker rebelling of 1977. On March 20, 1927,
Sincephel worker rebelling of 1977. On March 20, 1927,
the armod workers of democrat. This move was in conjugate of the city force of the c

a part.

bodia, he abdicated in 1955 to become premier. After pursus 1970 while out of the country. Soon after, he announced the formation of the Front of National Union of Cambodia (FUNK), beadquartered in Peking,

chief of staff in 1945. Smith served as ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1946 to 1949 and later as CIA director.

state factory. A factory owned by the state (ownership of "all the people"), which may be under either central (therefore a central state factory) or regional (therefore a regional state factory) economic coordinative control. It contrasts with the collectively owned factory (ownership by the "collective"), which is usually of smaller scale, often involved in recycling wastes and based within a residence unit such as a owned factory by the workers working in it and their coresidents in the commune, university, etc., of which it is

Tolwan, Island province of China about 150 miles from the mainland. Also called Formous after the Portuguese colonial designation. Ilba Formosa (Reautiful Island), Origigradually pushing the non-Han groups into the high mountains loyalist Koxinga. Han Chinese migration continued and

(Manchu) dynasty. After the loss of the Sino-Japanese War, and Potsdam agreements, Taiwan was to be returned to Taiwan reverted to China with the people of Taiwan greettator, as a result of the army's corruption, there was a islandwide revolt put down viciously by Chiang Kai-shek's troops In 1949 with Chiang defeated on the mainland, he and two million bureaucrats and troops loval to him fled to Taiwan. The People's Liberation Army, massed on the mainland of the civil war when the Korean War broke out, and the

Taiwan-U.S. Defense Treaty. Signed December 2, 1954. also calls for strengthening capacity to resist armed attack

stopped.

treaty port. After the Opium War of 1838-42, five cities of the Nanking treaty, which provided immunity from such as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Hankow, the powers were colonies totally under the rule of the various Western na-

pro-China policy. A policy recognizing the legitimacy of both the People's Republic of China (Peking) and the Republic of China (Taiwan). This policy has been denounced by both Chinese regimes as imperialistic and unfounded in unit. The United States (1971) proposal regarding the adunited front. A characteristic feature of the Chinese reolution's bourgeoid entercuties stage, the united front is a method of uniting the Community party with a wide range of democratic distance or groups. It was used in 1924-27 in some control of the control of the control of the control used to unite China's peoples against the Japanese invasion from 1977-45 on diffully, it was used as an ideological two in post-1940 campaigns to transform society and coronous. A united front is used to achieve political, military, or south goals unacherwhele by the party adense or more efficiencies goals unacherwhele by the party adense or more efficiencies greative but still democratic groups or classes.

wurfurd. A military official who gathered a personal army and officer corps loyal to him and "mode" a territory within the Chinese polity. During the 1911-49 period many area of Chinas were controlled exclusively by usch sentinedual war-lords. Previous dynasties also saw this phenomenon, which included feathy to the overford and rewards of load grants (with tenant peasants) to loyal subordinates. Ching Kailsek allied himself with many warbork in order to succeed

were of national liberation. As assumed up by Lin Filia in his 1965 article, *Long Live the Victory of the People* War,* this type of war is viewed as the struggle of third world nations to from the control of the world nations to from the control of the production of the property of t

Yao Wen-yuan, Main author of the article "On the New Historical Play Hal Jul Dimissed from Office," which was the opening shot of the first stage of the Caltural Revolution. The article raised political issues that went far beyood the

Sho-chi tried to limit the emaining debate, Yao, about forty, is one of the younger members of the Central Committee of the Central Centra

Yeh, George K. C. Appointed foreign secretary in 1930 in the first Kuomintang cabinet to be formed after the Nationalist government fled to Taiwan in 1949. He held that puts until 1958, when he was appointed ambassador to the U.S., a position he occupied until 1962.

Years Forum on Literature and Art. A series of talks hold in May 1942 in which Maso culturate the Chinese Communiate party view that the function of literature and art was to serve the people and stressed the necessity for artists from nonprotestarian backgrounds ocome to grips with this cocopt. Always regarded as ingo the Cultural Revolution as the even greater unphasis since the Cultural Revolution as the

yuan. Basic unit of the renminbi (people's currency).
Worth approximately forty cents U.S. The yuan is divided

INDEX

Academy of Sciences, 134 Acheson, Dean, 297 Acupuncture, 5, 59, 61-62, 243 244, 245

as areathetic, 228-229, 243
Africa, 305-311
Afro-Asian Economic Seminar
(1965), 307
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity
Organization, 305-307

(1962), 308-307 E Agriculture, 99-101, 105, 106, 136, 139-140, 145, 150, 153, 154, 157, 161, 165,

214, 223 nechanization, 171-173 nigration from urban areas, 170-171, 215-216 loochow Grain Store No. 57,

see also Communes Angkor Wat, 379-181 Annam, 27 Arboriculture, 123, 146, 187 Arrest, arbitrary, 33 Arts. The 242-265

hallet, see Red Detachment of Women; White-haired Girl opera, 247, 250, 252, 256-257, 258, 263 Sian Municipal Red Guard

see also Chinese language and literature; Oilture Asia Society, 379-380 Away With All Pests, 232n.,

Baghdad Pact, 303 Ballet, see Arts, The Banding Conference (1955), 302-305, 306, 345, 349 Buo Dai, 350

Bethune, Norman, 44, 237
"Bitter remembrances," 23-24
161, 200
Boxer Rebellion (1500), 27

Canton, 68, 95, 99, 107-110, 120 Deaf-Mute School, 5, 59-63, 271

Trade Fair, 108 Chang Ch'ung, 37, 82, 332 Chang Ch'un-ch'ino, 49, 82, 85, 87, 294, 321, 332, 337, 338, 339, 341, 346, 355, 368,

Chang Hsuch-llang, 36 Chao Tijou, 82, 84-87, 88, 89 Chaoyarg Workers' New Villags, 24, 113-120 Chen, William Y., 232 Chen Raixian, 82, 83, 84-87, 88,

Chen Yi, 297 Chen Yonggui, 43, 46, 48-49, 157-153, 164, 169, 171, 172-173, 341 Chen Yuping, 216

Chiang Kat-stee, 25, 32-34, 5 67, 94, 295, 296, 298, 32 325, 339, 349, 356, 357 Chiao Kuan-hua, 329

Chinese foreign relations, see

323, 326, 327, 328, 329,

Cohen, Jerome A., 298n.

294, 319-323, 326, 327

visit with N. Korean reurn. visit with Sibanous, 373-382

Central Committee, 49, 86,

nov. 1949 31 35 36:38 104.

curriculum, 202-204, 211-212,

study classes, 43, 162, 194. Culture, 30, 102, 162, 182 see also Arts, The; Cultural

Economy, Chinese, 27, 30, 33,

admissions, 203-209, 219-221,

School, Peking, 99-102,

140, 143, 144, 180, 194,

Income see Wases

Government, Chinese form of,

105, 106, 112, 117,110

tory, 180-182, 189, 214,

Shanghai Municipal Machine

Soochour Embroidery Fac-

No. 1, Sian, 174, 189, 190,

Irrigation, 25-26, 70, 146, 153.

war with, 28, 31, 33-34, 35-

Kangda (Anti-Japanese Imperi-Kissinger, Henry, 293, 324, 327, 329 388

Land reform, 32, 151-152

Lace, 300, 301-302, 303, 324,

Liberation (1949), 29, 56, 64,

58, 104, 105, 111, 115, 118,

Marriage Law (1950), 56, 267 Marshall, George C., 295 Marx, Karl H., 104, 342

102, 147, 148-149, 153, 163, 169, 175, 222-223, 228-246, 270, 288, 396-397 "barefoot doctors," 239-240

"barefoot doctors," 239-240 East Wind Hospital, Soochow, 241-242 herbal, 233, 238, 240-241, 242 Medical College Hospital No.

3, Peking, 243-244, 246
medical planning, 235-237
midwires, 239-240
National Health Congress
(1990), 232-233

training, 239, 244-245, 246 see also Acapancture; Venereal disease Mine dynasty, 107, 123, 145.

Nanking, 124-137, 201, 251 Chengxian Rd. Primary

Film Projector Factory, 180, 182, 183, 214, 269
Observatory, 11, 41, 131-13
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 305, 30
Nehru, Jawaharial, 301, 303
New York Times, 293, 297n, 328n, 329, 389

Nguyen Thi Binh, 350-351, 38 382, 389 Nixon, Richard M., 187, 29 294, 312, 317, 319, 32 215, 326, 327, 138, 39, 32

375, 377, 379, 389, 3 Nkrumah, Kwame, 305 Norodom Sihanouk, 351 CCAS interview, 373-382 No. U. 303

Index
Opera, see Arts, The
56, Opera War (1840), 27, 241

Pathet Lao, 301-302, 352, 379 Peace Corps, 310, 365-366 Peking, 27, 76, 78, 107, 125 138-149, 187, 264 Eastern District May 7 Coder

284
February 7 Rolling Stock
Plant, 93, 139-140, 182,
186, 189, 223-224, 271,
276-277, 341

95 Imperial Palace, 263, 264 Medical College Hospital No. 3, 243-244, 246 Middle School No. 31, 63-64,

U.S. ping-pong team, 326, 344 see also Peking University; Tsinghua University eking People's Daily, 293, 339 eking University, 77, 84, 92

132, 138, 147, 148, 217-227, 263, 270, 271, 273 276, 369 dministration, 224-227 dmissions, 219-221, 273

length of study, 221-222 size, 218, 270 leng Chen, 76-77, 78, 82

Peng Ming-min, 348 Peng Teh-huai, 75-76 Pentagon Papers, The, 299, 30 384, 389 Poople's Liberation Army, 4 52, 53-54, 59-64, 75, 78, 79

118, 119, 127, 130, 134, 182, 208, 215, 218, 219, 224-225, 226, 261, 271, 275-276, 312, 325, 334, 338, 356-357, 369

Ind.

Army (continued) in Korea, 296-298 in Tibet, 300 role in Cultural Revolution 68-70

training programs, 69-70 People's Militia, 65-68, 201, 269 People's Republic of China: armed forces, are People's Liberation Army, People's Militia

establishment of, 34, 295 foreign policy, 293-371, 400-401 Bandung Conference, 302-305

905 Chinese-U.S. relations, 293-302, 312-313, 317, 319-321, 324-329, 344-352 economic and technical assistence 300 210-311

in Africa, 305-311 Nixon visit, 293, 294 Sino-Japanese relations, 317-318 Sino-Soviet relations, 307,

leadership roles in, 273-276 Police, see Law and order Posters, see Dazibso Power, electric, 114, 122, 147, 153, 154, 168, 213, 311,

Praride, 304 Qian Ming, 143-149

Rebellion (1927), 33 Recycling, 140, 146, 186-187 277 Red Detachment of Wanted 219, 252, 256, 258, 262

Index for

formation, 77
Red Sar Over China, 25, 394
Reed Collection Courtyard, 2
203, 252
Rens. 28, 33, 71-72, 114, 15

Revolution (1911), 32, 111
Revolutionary committees, see
Communist Party (Chimese): revolutionary committees

mittees
Rising Sun, The, 253
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 297

143, 147, 153, 156, 231, 236, 239 Schram, Stuart, 302n. SEATO, 299-300, 306, 350 Selden, Mark, 235n.

136, 133, 154, 164, 180, 186, 200, 213, 254, 265 Shang dynasty, 109 Shanghai, 107, 110-122, 171, 270

Cultural Revolution in, 79-90 Diesel Engine Factory, 88 "January Revolution" (1967), 79, 86-87, 88, 89, 94, 332 Municipal Machine Tool Factory, 93-94, 175, 176-179.

workers' rebellion (1927), see also Fudan University Shanxi, 45, 150, 157, 210, 2 Shi Wenbing, 183

tural Troupe, 254-256
Textile Mill of N.W. Cr.
No. 1, 174, 189, 190,

Sing-Soviet Treaty of Friend-122, 124-127, 137, 138 Truman, Harry S., 295, 296, 225, 226, 271, 334, 346,

Space program, 117, 131, 134, 312 U.S. State Department, 298,

306 U.S.S.R., 103, 104, 105, 133,

Talyuan Heavy Machinery

Trade unions, 184-185

White-heired Girl, 247, 250

Whiting, Allen S., 296, 312n. Women, 266-292, 398 279

marriage, 30, 266, 280-282

wage differentials, 272

354, 356, 361, 365, 367,

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

The Construction of Construction Associated in 1988 by a function of 1988 by a function of 1988 by a function of 1988 by a function, and sociations who have decreased the control of the function of o

"CHINA"?

In summer, 1971, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars Stured China. This broad entirear group, fromfeed in 1968 by shederth, Ries Arian specialists to wide making the control of the 1968 by shederth, Ries Arian specialists to wide making drawn in 22 years. Met number of the group speak fluent Chinese, each member representing the most current American Involvége on China. For one month, the COSS green transled throughout the republic. They visited citiz, the COSS green transled throughout the republic. They visited citiz, chinese, children, government of fiftiels are solders. Subdest, Samuels, famers, children, government of fiftiels are solders.

What is China? Can it be understood? The authors give us the most pointed and direct American analysis that we have had for the pust

