

# New China

One Dollar

June 1976

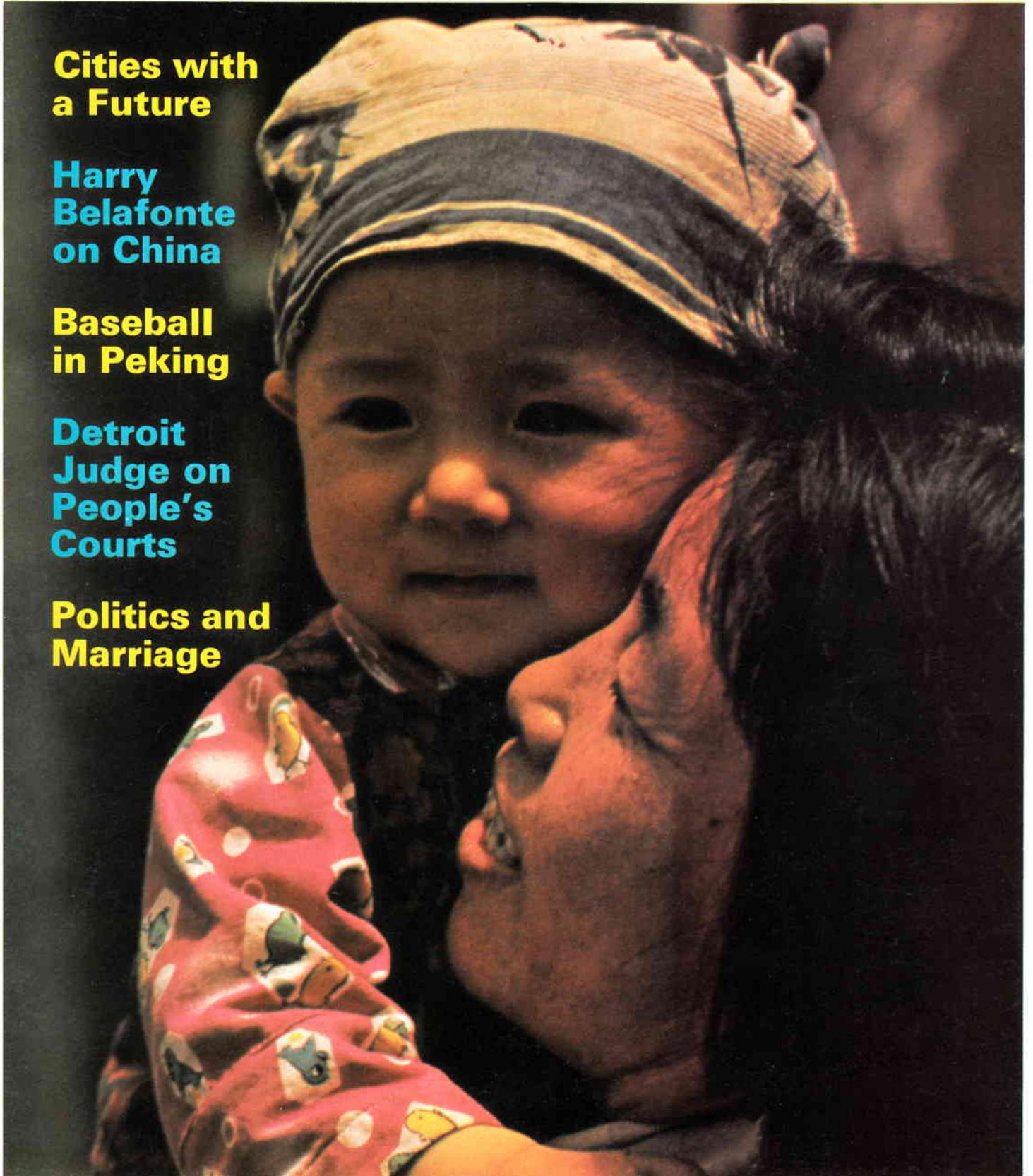
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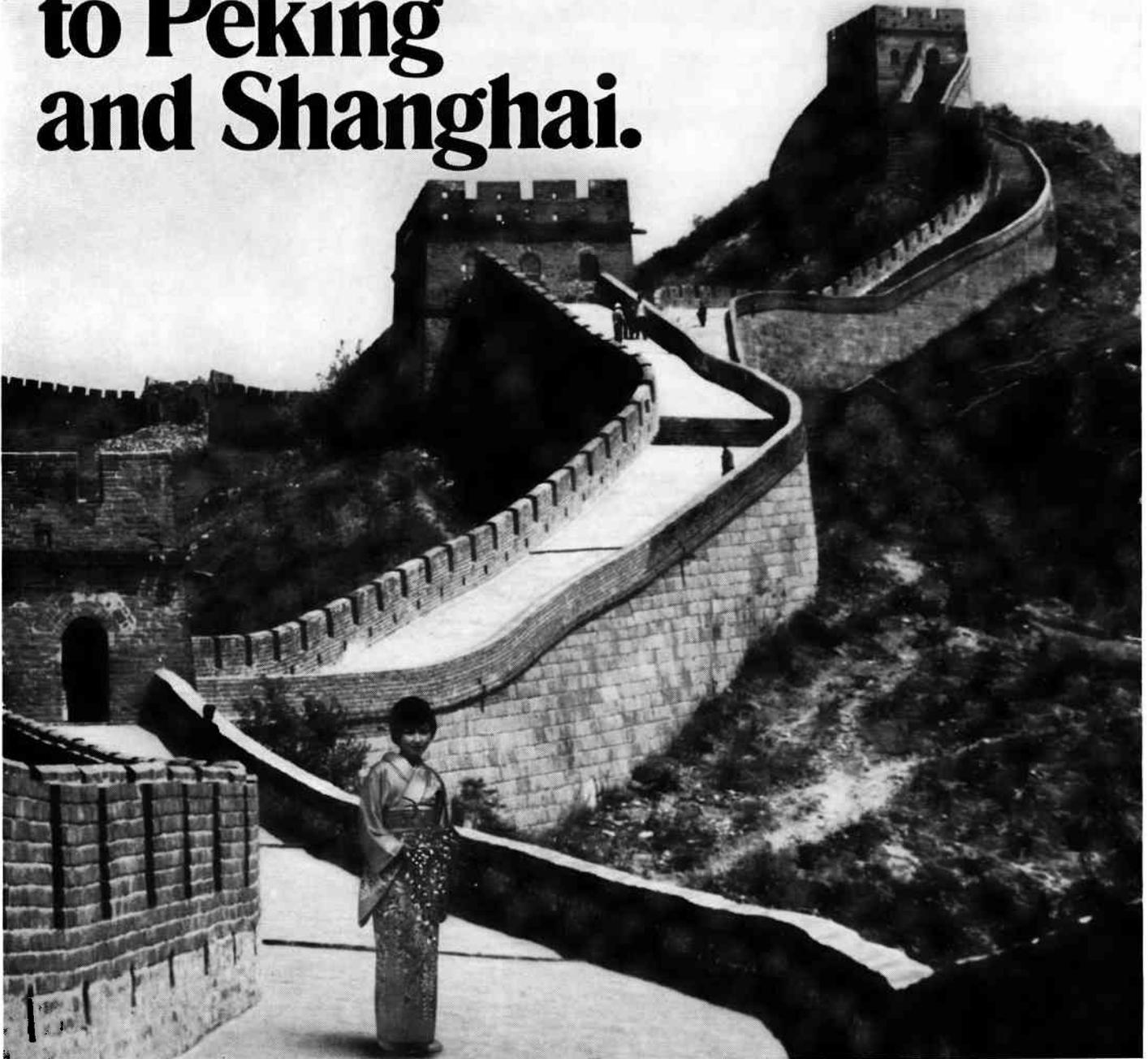
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# New China

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The opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of NEW CHINA or the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. Items signed by the National Steering Committee represent the national voice of the USCPFA.

NEW CHINA welcomes ideas for articles. Authors should first submit a one-page outline. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope with all submissions.

**Corrections, Winter 1976 issue:** In the Chou En-lai interview, the headline on p. 39 should have read "Two important events from the summer of 1971," not 1972. On p. 41, col. 3, "As John Service" should have read "Ask John Service," and the paragraph following the sub-head should have opened with a bracket to indicate interpolated material. The cartoons in "Floriwan" were drawn by Fred Wright. Yvonne Cheng (p. 26, box) went to China in 1975 with six, not seven, other students from Walt Whitman High School. The seventh student was from Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. Yvonne's brother's name is Mark, not Marc. Her first trip to China was in 1973, not 1974. "The Continuing Revolution in Education" and "Inside and Outside the Classroom" were written by the editors.

**Correction, Fall 1975 issue:** The photo on p. 26 is of ex-addict Wu Yong-zhi, not Zai Yong-mei.

**Los Angeles** 200 friends of China welcomed the Women's Basketball Team in the home of USCPFA supporters with a Chinese dinner at which table settings, desserts, and wine were donated by local businesses. Friends of China from the Chinese community, representatives of women's groups, and members of seven Associations attended. Each member of the Chinese team was provided with a translator to ease communication and received a "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" pin. The evening was widely publicized and the *Los Angeles Times* ran a feature picture of the event.

**San Francisco** A fund-raising Christmas bazaar at the San Francisco Unitarian Church helped build friendship in the Golden Gate area, while sales of baskets, toys, dishes, clothing, and rugs raised needed funds for future growth. A whole new audience was attracted to the festivities that also featured slide shows, books from China, and Chinese food. In November, John S. Service spoke on Taiwan, and the San Francisco local's active Health Committee maintained its rate of two or three meetings per week with programs of films, slides, and photo displays at schools and community centers.

**Central Jersey** Some 500 people heard John S. Service speak on Taiwan last November at Princeton University. Campus groups and the Chinese Students Association joined the Central Jersey USCPFA in sponsoring the event, which also featured a Friendship Chorus and a dance-drama, *Bonds of Kinship Span the Taiwan Straits*, performed by a New York drama group. Highlighting the displays was a Denmark-China Friendship Association poster exhibit which is now touring the Eastern Region. Home-made egg rolls provided a culinary and financially profitable addition.

**Plainfield, N.J.** Randi and Peter Schmidt did pioneer work on China during November and December in local Black and working-class communities. They showed Felix Greene films to members of the Tenants' Association of the Elm-West Projects and to young people in an after-school program at the Community Center.

**Norfolk** Variety and depth marked Norfolk's October 1 celebration. Climaxing a weekend of workshops, speeches, and films was a Saturday night gathering chaired by Professor William Wycoff that drew 150 people, mostly working-class and minority, to the Norfolk Unitarian Church. Performers of all ages presented Chinese songs and dances, a

group of working people demonstrated *tai ji*, and Gerald Tannebaum spoke on China's proletarian culture. Other speakers included Susan Warren, Chien Chao, L. N. Zhao, and Rick Clemmons. Local merchants contributed enough food to keep the participants well-nourished throughout the celebration.

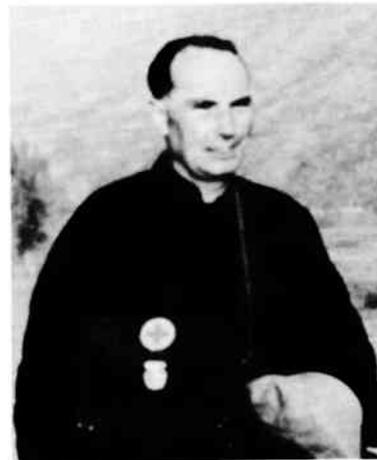


Photo: courtesy of Monthly Review Press

JOSHUA S. HORN  
1914-1975

Dr. Joshua S. Horn died on December 17, 1975, in Peking after a long illness. He had lived and worked in China from 1954 to 1969 as an outstanding surgeon and an involved political person, serving the people through a firm understanding of the unity of politics and medicine.

Active in the English workers' struggles of the 30s, Dr. Horn visited China in 1937 as a ship's doctor after giving up a lectureship in anatomy at Cambridge. In 1939 he joined the British Communist Party. While serving as a surgeon during World War II he developed a special interest in traumatology, the treatment of severe injuries.

In 1954 he left a secure post as a consultant surgeon in England and went to China with his family to make what he thought would be his "best political contribution." His book *Away With All Pests*, which describes the achievements of revolutionary medicine in China, is a fine memorial to his work and the development of his political consciousness. Its publication, like his other writings and his extensive speaking tours throughout the United States and Europe, helped build friendship with China. In word and deed he set an example of internationalism.

His friends will remember him for his sense of humor, his liveliness, his enthusiasm, and the revolutionary outlook that inspired his work and service.

D. Sipe

**New York** A flyer headed "51 Days in the Life of the New York Friendship Association" (October 1 through November 20) was distributed at the November membership meeting, listing activities such as a new members tea (101 new members during that period), a China weekend at a mountain resort hotel (with Jim Lee teaching Chinese cooking to 60 guests), a China-oriented in-service course for teachers, Sunday outreach seminars, health seminars, plus film shows and speaking engagements. On October 4, 1,600 people filled Town Hall to celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. In addition, 18,000 flyers were distributed to explain the Taiwan and Tibet issues during the New York appearance of Taiwanese acrobats and Tibetan dancers from India.

**Boston** Three mid-November screenings of *Freedom Railway* attracted a broad spectrum of Bostonians. The first was at the Hennigan Community School for residents in the surrounding minority neighborhood. Other showings were at the Boston USCPFA and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

**Detroit** Motown became NEW CHINA country during an all-out pre-Christmas drive that reached hundreds of new people. Sub blanks were inserted into all magazines

distributed to stores, while sub letters were sent to doctors (to place NEW CHINA in waiting rooms), professors of East Asian studies (to put the magazine into schools), and libraries (to add NEW CHINA to racks and reading tables). A fund drive was initiated to obtain free subs for financially straitened libraries. In a related outreach project, a coloring book for children was designed around the play "Little Colt," which appeared in the Fall issue of the magazine. Next step in Operation NEW CHINA: selling it all over town at church bazaars.

**Cincinnati** A major media breakthrough was made by the growing USCPFA. Andrea Price discussed the Association's position on Taiwan during a seven-minute TV interview on a major station, which led to a request from a popular children's radio program for a talk on children. The *Cincinnati Post* (circulation 214,339) published an editorial-page article on Taiwan by Ms. Price, and several radio stations in the area aired information from press releases.

**Madison** An in-service education course on China was so enthusiastically received by the local public school system that the Madison USCPFA has been asked to present an advanced course next semester. The final session of the course featured a Chinese

dinner prepared with the help of local Chinese students.

**Chicago** Mortgage banker Erwin A. Salk is coordinator of a course on the People's Republic of China at the University of Chicago, offered in cooperation with the Chicago USCPFA. Lecturers include a broad section of recent visitors to China from the fields of business, education, health, and the media.

**The South** The USCPFA's new region grows and grows. New groups are now forming in Houston and Durham-Chapel Hill. Koji Ariyoshi spoke in New Orleans, Austin, and Houston on a November tour. Roland Berger, well-known British economist and expert on China trade, is due in the spring on a southern circuit including Birmingham, Atlanta, Tampa, Miami, Nashville, and New Orleans.

**Knoxville** Recent visitors to China circulated among the 240 people who gathered in November at Knoxville's Baptist Church for food, culture, and discussion. Some 50 members of this new and growing Association chopped vegetables, cooked, served, and cleaned up, all under the general supervision of the Chinese Cultural Club, which did the basic cooking. Children of Chinese couples sang, a Chinese friend played the flute, and a

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local Chinese student introduced himself and described his happiness at such good signs of friendship.

**Atlanta** City Councilman James Bond, brother of Julian Bond, was guest of honor at a December 12 USCPFA banquet following his return from a visit to China. Councilman Bond, eager to speak about his China experience, has been booked for press conferences, speaking tours, and banquets.

**Nashville** November and December programs gained wide press coverage. In the first, on health care, Dr. Ralph Dale spoke on acupuncture at Meharry Medical College. In the second, also at the college, a panel of health workers and others, all recent visitors to China, had a round-table discussion on health care in the People's Republic.

**Miami** The USCPFA's southernmost group, the Miami Association, sponsored a film by China visitor Lea Jaffe at the YWCA in December.

**Gainesville** A series of study sessions has been initiated for prospective visitors to China and those who are interested in China. Slide shows, discussions, readings, speakers, and films are planned.

**Sarasota** Ida Pruitt spoke in November to the USCPFA membership at New College.

**Eastern Alabama** The USCPFA is sponsoring an eight-week course on China at Auburn University.

*We welcome news of local activities from Associations around the country.*

## Letters

NEW CHINA is really great! I have bought over 20 copies for my friends, doctors, dentist, and attorney. If each USCPFA member would put a copy in his or her doctor's office, the outreach would be terrific.

Margaret Nee  
Long Beach, Calif.

Having received my first copy of NEW CHINA today, I showed it to the librarian on the bookmobile and he wanted to read it right away. I told him he'd have to wait until I read it, but it shows what interest there is. Perhaps we could get the library to subscribe. What measures are you taking to get it in the libraries where it ought to be?

I particularly enjoyed the interview with Chou En-lai, which I read right after his death. I have been quoting what he says about how long it is going to take to reach

all the people and his citing of backward customs among so many of the population yet. Americans don't realize that China's leaders recognize this.

I would like to read some articles about the lives of older people in New China.

Helen B. Anthony  
Seattle, Wash.

*We encourage readers to ask their libraries to subscribe. Many have given subscriptions to their favorite libraries (at the individual subscriber rate) and to local community groups that would be interested. This helps to increase our circulation and to build friendship.*

I hope you continue to give a wide variety of stories covering the current lives of people in China – what their goals are, what they have achieved since Liberation, and some of their history before Liberation.

Gladys Fong  
San Francisco, Calif.

At a time of crisis in the United States, NEW CHINA is particularly important for its view of socialist reconstruction. The example portrayed by the Chinese in struggling with their educational problems (Winter 1976) should set an example for all Americans who sometimes find problems intractable.

Steve Leberstein  
New York, N.Y.

The Chou interview is a real "seminar" on Chinese politics and is so real that it casts light on our own problems in the United States. Hinton did it remarkably well, with accuracy and simplicity.

Jean Davidson  
Paris, France

As I read the review of *A Death with Dignity: When the Chinese Came* (Winter 1976) I knew I had to read the book. Death is such a difficult time and such a painful experience in Western culture that one wants to learn more about the dignity and strength that the Chinese helped to bring to the life and death of Edgar Snow.

N. J. Sokoloff  
New York, N.Y.

You are certainly to be congratulated. NEW CHINA compares to major leading national magazines and is a very handsome, substantial product – really a beautiful job with a superior purpose.

Mary Clark Dimond  
Kansas City, Mo.

In the article "Inside the Laboratory" (Fall 1975), Dr. Yang gives us a lot on the higher-powered physics. I want to know how much

math and science is learned in the grade schools and undergraduate schools. Please give details and be specific!

Thomas Abdelnour  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

*Chapter 5 of China: Science Walks on Two Legs by Science for the People (Discus, 1974, \$1.75) includes some discussion of science education in the schools.*

I liked "Inside the Laboratory" because it was written by someone born in China who returned as a visitor. The most valuable features of *NEW CHINA* to me are its currentness (compared to books) and the suggested reading list in each issue. I'd like to see more articles on women, current political struggles, and education.

Rose S. Katz  
Madison, Wis.

I would like to see articles on the *how* of agriculture, of soil and water conservation, and about barefoot doctors. What about the population explosion - what is Chinese thinking and practice in that regard? Are agricultural practices the same throughout China? The diversity as well as the size of China appears to me to be an important part of its strength. How is diversity used to the overall advantage?

Mrs. A. B. Lipkin  
Philadelphia, Pa.

I believe the readers of *NEW CHINA* . . . would like to read more of individual *people* who have been to China and their experiences [rather] than *topics*. People are most interested in who is going to China and who has been on the most recent trips. I think the *NEW CHINA* magazine puts too much emphasis on articles written by people who have been on USCPFA tours rather than by people who have gone to China on their own. I think this kind of self-serving publicity of the USCPFA is really unnecessary and does not provide the readers with a broad enough range of perspectives about New China where the motto is to "serve the people."

Yvonne Cheng  
Bethesda, Md.

I would like to see factual and analytical articles on China's foreign policy published in your magazine. Unfortunately, there is no magazine which brings us that kind of information. You could fill that gap. It is on the question of China's foreign policy that there is the most confusion and lack of knowledge on the part of Americans.

Pearl Tress  
Valley Stream, N.Y.

*Letters to NEW CHINA have been excerpted for publication.*

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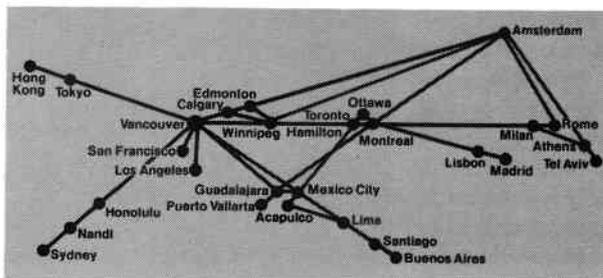
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# Chou En-lai

## 1898-1976

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### "His Lasting Influence Transcends the Frontiers of His Own Country"

Susan Warren

The profound truth of these words spoken in tribute to the late Chinese Premier Chou En-lai by the President of the United Nations Security Council, Tanzanian Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, was demonstrated in the moment of silence observed by the Council, the press corps, and all present in the Council chamber. There is no mistaking the difference between tributes which are "official" and those which come from the heart. No one present could fail to sense the deep wave of emotion which swept the hushed Council chamber. Many of the delegates, and particularly those representing Third World countries, had personally experienced Chou En-lai's warmth, solicitude, and understanding.

"Mr. Chou En-lai's character and personal qualities," said UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, "inspired the greatest admiration and respect in those who were privileged to know him." Almost without exception they appreciated his vast knowledge of world affairs and respected the unshakable adherence to principle combined with the utmost flexibility that was the hallmark of this already legendary revolutionary leader. He was one who "dared to scale the heights." He believed in the heroism of the revolutionary people who, in the words of Mao Tsetung "can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." The people of China and the world knew this and loved and revered him. His death, said Secretary-General Waldheim, is an inestimable loss "not only to the Chinese people but to the world at large."



Chou En-lai, 1971. (Photo: A. Topping)



In North Shensi at the end of the Red Army's 12-month, 6,600-mile Long March which he helped organize and lead. (Photo: New China News Agency)

## A Great Revolutionary Leader and Statesman

William Hinton

There is a Chinese saying that "the times bring forth heroes." Truly, the crisis of Chinese civilization in the twentieth century produced a group of leaders whose heroic stature has few parallels in history. Next to Mao Tsetung, who formulated a victorious strategy as early as 1927 and has led the whole Revolution as Party Chairman since 1934, no one played a more important role over more years than Chou En-lai. First elected to a national post in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1924, he remained a key member of its leading core until his death in January 1976.

American "China-watchers" and academicians have characterized him as an

opportunist who retained high office by always holding a finger to the wind. Nothing could be further from the truth. At each turning point in the Revolution he contributed to a basic reassessment of the situation and helped regroup and redirect all available forces toward the main strategic goal of the new period. Each shift was tenaciously opposed by those who failed to see that the struggle had entered a new phase.

No one did more to implement the first alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1924-27 than Chou En-lai. But in 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek turned on the Communist-led forces and drowned the alliance in blood, Chou En-lai led the military uprising at Nanchang that for the first time established an independent army under the CCP. It is clear today that without such an army the Revolution would have been imperiled, but at the time some Party leaders called the uprising adventurist.

Ten years later, when Japanese aggression threatened the very existence of China as an

independent nation, it was Chou En-lai who brought a decade of internal warfare to an abrupt halt by rescuing Chiang Kai-shek from execution by Chiang's own generals and by working out the concrete terms for united national resistance against Japan as called for by Mao Tsetung. Thus the Chinese people were eventually able to expel the invaders. This dramatic creation of a new united front was at first misunderstood and even opposed by revolutionaries in China and abroad.

When the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the American government adopted a policy of embargo and military encirclement to isolate new China and bring it to its knees. Chou En-lai, now Premier, mobilized China's Third World allies for resistance and negotiated favorable agreements with industrial powers in the Second World (France, Canada, and others) who would dare to defy Washington's lead.

In the end it was the U.S. government that was isolated, defeated in its objective, and forced into an agonizing reappraisal of its China policy. At the same time the Soviet Union emerged as a new imperialist power and began to rival the United States as the primary threat to the independence of countries, the liberation of nations, and the making of revolution by people the world over.

Taking into account this new emerging situation, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai startled world opinion by agreeing to receive Nixon in Peking. Chou personally negotiated the 1972 Shanghai Communique with Nixon, setting the stage for a normalization of relations between the United States and China.

The record is clear. Over and over again Chou En-lai, together with Mao Tsetung, anticipated realignments both at home and abroad, moved the cause of the people forward from one stage to the next, and re-fashioned China's foreign policy to accord with major shifts in the world balance of forces. Chou En-lai was too astute, too attuned to reality, to fight today's battles with yesterday's consciousness or yesterday's weapons - whether political, economic, or military. In judging phenomena it is better, he said, to leave out the "absolute" part. "You can travel 10,000 *li* looking for a magic method but you will never find one."

Chou En-lai also judged himself and the work he led with equal realism and freedom from dogma. His roles in the 1927 Shanghai workers' insurrection and the Nanchang military uprising the same year made him a legend in his twenties. From the Long March (1934-35), the Anti-Japanese War (1937-45), and the Liberation War (1946-49) through 25 years of socialist construction and the Cultural Revolution, legend was

spliced to legend to create an epic, but Chou never lost his modesty, his eagerness to learn, his sense of humor, or his ability to communicate with ordinary people.

In a Fall 1971 interview, he advised my China-born daughter who was about to depart for a new life in the United States: whatever cause you support, whatever work you undertake, "do not fear to make mistakes. The important thing about mistakes is to learn from them. It is unlikely that you will ever make mistakes as serious as those that I have made."

At a banquet in the Great Hall of the People on March 8, 1973, Chou made a public apology to several foreign friends employed in Peking who had been falsely accused and unjustly detained at the height of the Cultural Revolution. Charges had been made against them for factional advantage by people over whom the Premier, at the time, had little or no influence. He nevertheless courageously assumed responsibility and saw to it that their names were cleared and that they were reassigned to useful work.

Courageous also was his opposition to xenophobic tendencies rooted in the past that contradicted the large-minded internationalism which he upheld as the standard for new China. One Peking family sent their daughter far away to stay with relatives — she had fallen in love at her factory with a young man born of a Chinese father and an American mother. When the Premier heard of this he arranged for the girl to be brought back. She eventually married the young man of her choice in spite of the cultural bias against "half-breeds" and the reluctance to enter into "entangling alliances" with "foreigners" that still influenced many in her community.

Engaged to the limit of endurance by the state affairs of the Chinese people, Chou En-lai was never too busy to respond to individual appeals for support. He often dropped everything to study the details of some obscure case. He took the principles of socialist morality seriously, cared for people not in the abstract but in the flesh, and made warm friends wherever he went. When we parted for the last time after the 1971 interview he gave us each a hug, not just a handshake.

The life story of Chou En-lai constitutes a central strand in the history of China's transformation from a stagnant, semi-feudal "geographical expression," invaded almost at will by imperialist powers, into a united, self-reliant socialist country, continental in scale, advancing on the frontiers of human experience.

With Chou En-lai's death the Chinese people have lost a great and wise leader and the American people have lost a compassionate friend.



In 1957, at the height of the Cold War, 42 Americans risked their passports by visiting China. Chou En-lai met with them to encourage their initiative, and that of the Chinese youth organization which invited them. (Photo: courtesy of W. McKenna)



Peasants from Tachai share a joke between the Premier and young brigade leader Kuo Feng-lien. Also seated on the bed are national leaders Li Hsien-nien and Chen Yung-kuei. (Photo: NCNA)



American author Edgar Snow first met Chou En-lai in a Yen-an cave in 1936. In Peking, after three decades of friendship, they discuss new China's changing role in the world. (Photo: NCNA)



With Chairman Mao, cadres, and Red Guards on May Day 1967. (Photo: NCNA)

## USCPFA Message of Condolence

Telegram sent to the People's Republic

We are deeply shocked and grieved to learn of the death of Premier Chou En-lai. His contribution to the liberation of the Chinese people and nation, to the building of a new socialist China, to the unity and progress of the entire Third World, to relations of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems, and to the development of friendly relations between the Chinese people and all other peoples, including the American people, is well known and admired throughout the world.

The American people are particularly indebted to Premier Chou En-lai for the important role he played in re-establishing the long-severed relationship between our two governments as set forth in the Shanghai Communique, thus creating favorable conditions for the rapid growth of people-to-people friendship.

The Chinese people have lost a great and wise leader. We have lost a true and compassionate friend. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the people of China, to their leaders in the Party and Government, and to the bereaved family members.

# Cities with a Future

by Foster Stockwell

*China closes the gap between urban and rural life*



Since 1949, Peking residents have planted millions of trees to reduce dust, noise, and heat. (Photo: courtesy of J. Caldwell)

Since the days when the first city was built and the first philosophers began to envision a better tomorrow, people have dreamed of the "city of the future." Their visions have encompassed a blend of city and countryside with the advantages of both. They have pictured garden cities that produce their own food, manufacture their own industrial

goods, recycle their own waste materials, and do not pollute. They have described places where people are close to nature yet not far from friends, schools, stores, and theaters. In working out these schemes, proponents have often disagreed. Some have idealized the city, while others have glorified the countryside; most have overlooked the practical necessities of interdependence between them.

The Chinese too have dreamed of heavenly kingdoms and cities of the future and now, through revolution, they are turning some of their dreams into reality. Though still a poor and developing country, China

has made impressive gains in urban planning and industrial development – gains which have improved the quality of life for everyone – the urban 20 percent *and* the rural 80 percent of the population. (In most developing countries, industrialization has come at the expense of the farmers.)

The model for industrial development is the Taching oil field, just as the model for agriculture is Tachai Commune, but every city is planting trees and gardens while every commune is developing small-scale industry. In both the city and the countryside the Chinese people have made conservation into a powerful tool for increasing production as

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*Science writer and editor FOSTER STOCKWELL, the son of missionaries, grew up in China. After returning to the United States he worked with Maud Russell's Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy during the red-baiting days of Joseph McCarthy. He visited new China in 1975.*

well as for improving the quality of life. The returning traveler will see progress everywhere and evidence that more will come is visible even to the casual observer.

### **Peking – First Impressions**

The trees were the first thing I noticed when I returned to Peking after 34 years. They are growing everywhere. Peking also no longer has beggars, rickshaws, or dogs; I was expecting that. But no one prepared me for this sight: the beginnings of a garden city.

I had remembered China as a virtually treeless country. It had been denuded by 3,000 years of Chinese civilization. Where there were trees before Liberation (other than in the mountains or around the homes of the rich), they were without bottom branches. The bottom branches were used for firewood. Where famine held sway, as in Honan, trees died after starving peasants stripped their bark for food.

Now, along the route from the airport to Tian An Men and the Friendship Hotel, and everywhere in Peking, we seemed always to be in a park. The boulevards are lined with

single, double, sometimes even triple rows of myrtle, maple, willow, and Chinese elm. Six hundred and fifty thousand trees were planted in Peking in 1974 alone, and millions since Liberation (1949). City planners tell me that “wherever there are streets, there will be trees.”

Peking now buzzes in the summer months with the high-pitched sound of dog-day cicadas, insects that live in the trees and make noise to attract mates. Trees keep down the city dust and clamor. They also provide shade and beauty and a feeling of closeness to nature that you seldom find along the big-city streets in the West. (The trees can also irritate the candid camera buff by intruding into most of his distant shots of people and buildings!)

Peking is not alone in the drive to erase the differences between city and country. Nor is planting trees the only means of doing so. After spending three hours deep in a Tangshan coal mine, we joined the miners in their large and well-tended peach orchard for a discussion of what we had seen. We soon forgot how near the mines were. Workers from the Changchun Truck

Factory (which turns out 70 medium-sized vehicles a day) impressed us with their vegetable farm, but then workers at the Harbin Electrical Parts Factory showed us theirs, too. There are farm plots at almost every city factory in China, and every agricultural commune has its complementary manufacturing and repair shops. The best example we saw of integration between city and country life, however, was the Taching oil field.

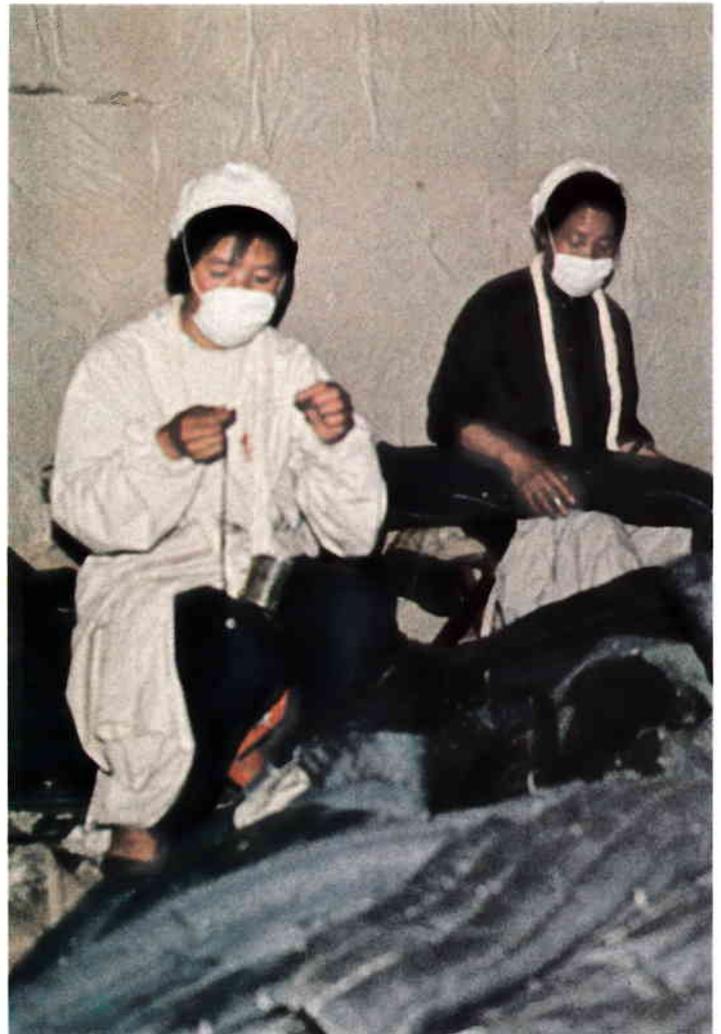
### **Taching – City of the Future**

About 90 miles northwest of Harbin, what only 15 years ago was part of a desolate wasteland haunted by wolves is now a garden city of 400,000 people spread over an area several counties in size. It is an industrial complex with a modern petrochemical plant and enough oil wells pouring out their valuable crude to make it one of the largest fields in Asia. When fully developed, some say, Taching will produce as much as the fields of the Middle East.

Facing in any direction, one sees corn, millet, and vegetable fields with scattered low-lying buildings. The buildings, as in any



Oil worker at Taching. (Photo: S. S. Lanzilotti)



Garments are recycled and repaired free of charge at the Taching sewing factory. (Photo: S. S. Lanzilotti)

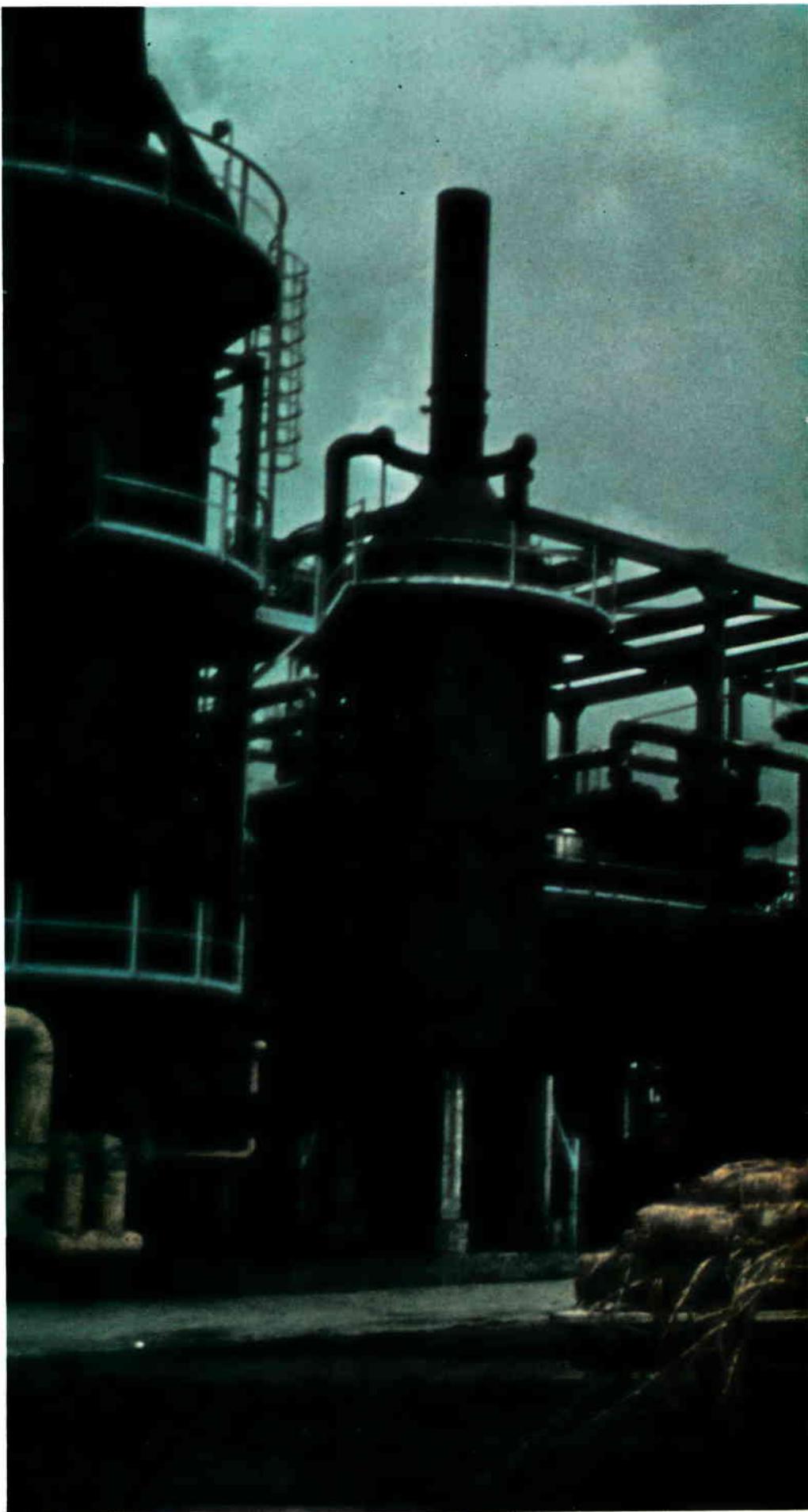
city, include living quarters, clothing and appliance stores, schools, grain shops, post offices, medical clinics, bathhouses, barber shops, movie theaters, meteorological stations, tractor stations, flour mills, and repair shops. Taching has 280 schools, including primary schools, middle schools, and colleges, and a population larger than that of Omaha, Nebraska. For administrative purposes, officials describe Taching as three towns, 41 villages, and three people's communes. But the residents call it an "urban town" or sometimes a "rural city."

The producing oil wells, hundreds of them scattered throughout the complex, are enclosed in small concrete boxes that stand just a few feet higher than the corn stalks. Oil is heated and pumped through underground pipes to the railroad station, where it is loaded in tank cars to be shipped where needed in China. Another pipeline runs south to a large refinery and on to the seaport of Dairen, where tankers from Third World countries and Japan load up.

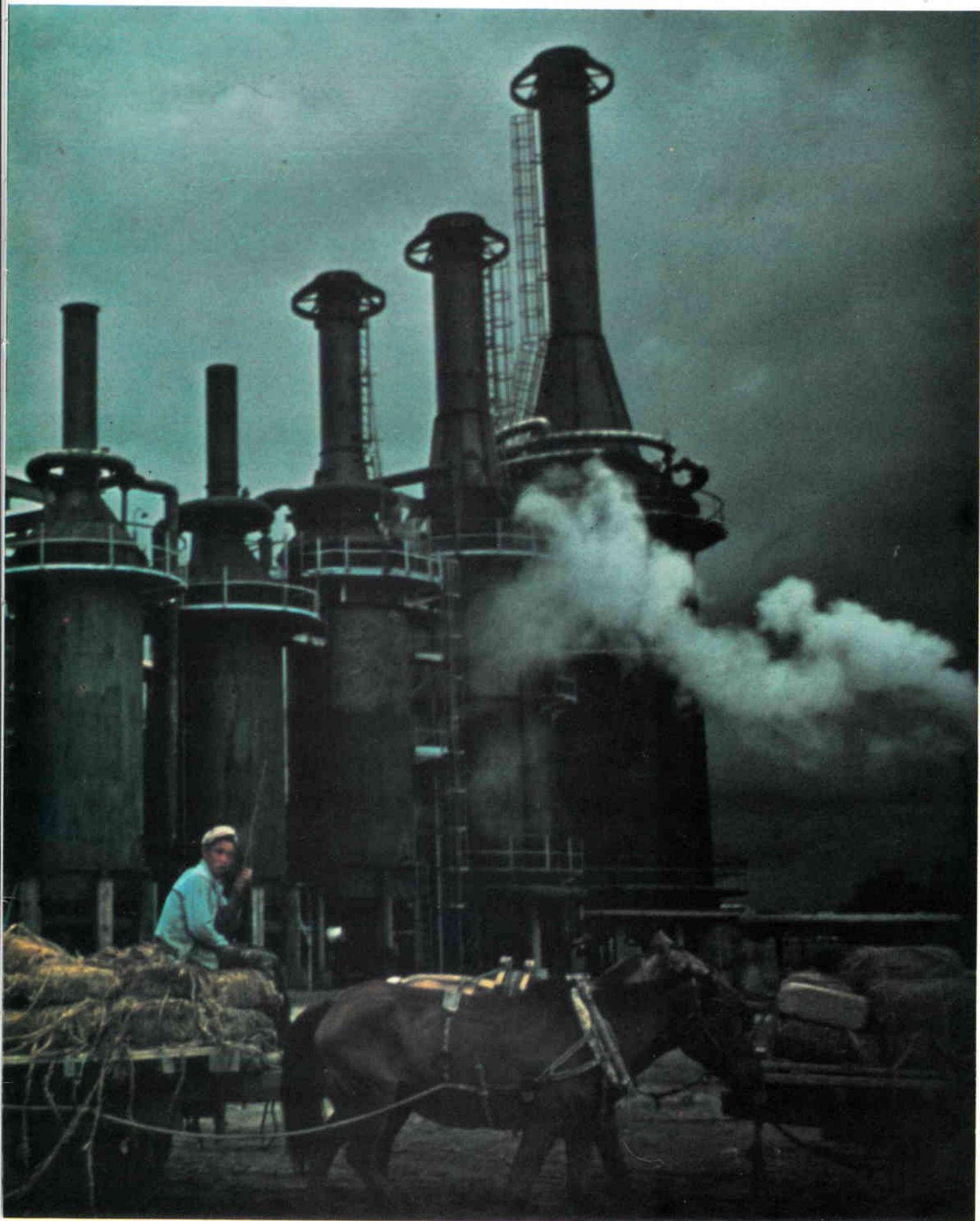
Taching was organized during years of natural calamities and economic disaster (1959-62), the time when the USSR withdrew its economic aid. Situated in the bitter-cold north (in the same latitude as Montreal), its conditions demanded self-reliance and frugality - qualities which the workers of Taching have in extra measure. From the very beginning, Taching has striven to be self-sufficient and to integrate urban and rural life, agriculture and industry, and mental and manual labor. The wives, children, and parents of oil workers constructed houses, plowed the fields, and set up factories. During the harvest and at other times when nature's demands are heavy, the oil workers help the farmers till the land, raise pigs, and gather vegetables and grain. During slack periods the farmers aid the oil workers in building houses and roads.

The mutual cooperation is gradually erasing the distinctions between agricultural and industrial labor - and advancing the women's liberation movement, too, as oil workers' dependents take on jobs in oil production and processing. About 30 percent of the oil field workers are now women; there are no all-male teams, and some women have formed all-women teams. (Taching's all-women drilling group has surpassed most of the other teams in speed.) There are now also over 1,900 women cadres (administrators) at Taching. To close the gap between mental and manual labor, managers work along with workers, consulting them regularly on management decisions, while the universities hold classes in the factories where workers can both study and put what they learn into practice.

All of these things have been necessary to make Taching a garden city, and still they were not enough. Self-sufficiency and prac-



At this Taching refinery and elsewhere, the Chinese call it "walking on two legs" - creating



new technology while continuing to use the old when necessary to get the job done. (Photo: V. Gonzalez)

tical maintenance of the environment demanded strict conservation measures as well. Taching would not be a garden city today if the residents had not begun to recycle waste and prevent pollution.

### Conservation

At first it was the custom to dump a certain refinery catalyst into a stagnant pond some distance from the plant; this is what is done at most refineries throughout the world, even though it can cause chlorine poisoning of people and animals. Taching workers have now transformed this former waste material into a "valuable treasure," using it to produce a highly efficient phosphate fertilizer for the Taching vegetable fields. Through land reclamation and the use of fertilizers, the farmers and factory workers of Taching now grow all the grain and vegetables they eat. They have also built a candle works, soap plant, electric bulb factory, pharmaceutical plant, and factory to renovate waste machine oil, all of which use the refinery's waste gas, water, and slag.

No one throws away old cloth at Taching. If clothing is torn or needs patching, the 450 workers at the sewing and patching factory make repairs free of charge and return the garment to the owner. The workers in these jobs get work-points and are paid out of Taching's collective income. If clothing is too far gone to be redeemed, it is shredded and turned into lining for the gloves used by oil drillers and refinery workers. Scraps and bits of threadbare cloth are collected from every corner of the complex to make into padding for new clothes. Since the cotton clothes of the oil drillers were not keeping them warm enough in Taching's brutally cold winters, the sewing workers thought of a way to make warm vests lined with scraps of sheepskin from worn-out work caps.

The sewing and patching factory also practices self-reliance in its best tradition — their slogan is "if a machine breaks, we repair it; if a house needs repair, we do it ourselves." This attitude, which is very common in Taching, is what has made it a garden city and a model for all of China's industries to study. Over 3,000 model workers there have received public recognition for selfless devotion to the good of the community. Unlike oil and mining centers in the West, Taching is no boom town and will never become a ghost town. It will be a thriving healthy community long after the oil runs out.

Taching is more advanced than most of China's cities at this time, but throughout the land the people are determined to transform their way of life and overcome "the three big differences": between city and country, between agriculture and industry, and between mental and manual labor. In

the process they are creating urban farms and rural cities that are both pleasant and practical. In fact, the most impressive thing about China's developing integrated communities is their down-to-earth practicality.

They have been created by ordinary people struggling together to solve common social, political, and economic problems. They are cities with a future. ●



In what was a wasteland fifteen years ago, oil workers' families grow food for the petroleum city. (Photo: NCNA)

## Taching: Oil from a Dry Lakebed

"China is poor in oil" was the conclusion of an extensive survey by U.S. geologists in the 1930s and 40s. Russian geologists in the 50s came to the same conclusion. Western observers told the Chinese, who had drilled one of the world's first oil wells in the sixteenth century, that China's only hope for industrial development lay in getting oil from Russia.

One Chinese geologist, however, Li Si-guang, who returned from Europe after Liberation to head the newly created Ministry of Geology, pointed out that the real problem in finding China's oil might be a Euro-American mindset, rather than geological limitations.

Oil found in Europe and America has always come from ocean-deposited rock formations of the Tertiary Period, a relatively recent period of geologic history. China has few such deposits. But, Li pointed out, there is evidence in China of vast, prehistoric lake deposits of the ancient Ordovician Period (435-480 million years ago), particularly in the

northeast. He suggested that nothing but the prejudices of Western geologists, who cannot conceive of oil in any but Tertiary rocks, was holding back Chinese oil production. He urged that a test well be sunk in the Taching area, and, after long debate, the government backed his proposal. The Russians, who withdrew all their advisers from China not long after, thought the plan crazy and advised against such a foolish use of equipment and resources. Determined not to be fettered by tradition, the Chinese revolutionaries went ahead and found oil.

Taching oil is of good quality but has a high paraffin content. The paraffin can be removed in refining and used in various chemical products. The distinct advantage of Taching crude is that it is lower in sulfur content than most U.S. oils, which is quite a boon in a pollution-conscious world.

The Taching wells now produce 50-80 million tons of oil a year. By 1980 they may produce as much oil as all of Iran.

# HARRY BELAFONTE

by Helen Rosen

## *An exception wants to change the rule*

*"Shanghaied.* We used that expression when I was young. It meant kidnapped, lost forever. Shanghai itself was a corrupt city owned by many foreign nations. China was a place of filth, disease, decadence. When I saw Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* on film, I was shocked by the role women played in old China. Women were something worse than second-class citizens. Tenth class!

"When Alassane Diop, Guinea's former Minister of Communications, came back from a visit to the new China in the early 60s, he told me that the city of Shanghai was clean and beautiful, that its citizens had a decency and spirit unequalled anywhere else in the world. I asked myself how a nation devastated by war and riddled with hunger, disease, and illiteracy was able to order the lives of 800 million citizens. I erupted into an insatiable curiosity about China."

Harry Belafonte, the singer known for his calypso and folk music from many parts of the world, speaks passionately about how his personal experiences as a Harlem youth, a laborer, a World War II sailor, and a singing star on a cultural mission to Africa led him to an interest in China. As a young man he was hardly aware of China's existence until just before World War II.

"After the Japanese invaded China, the United States and China were allies in a unified front against Japan and Germany. Our government did many things to propagandize a favorable attitude toward the Chinese people. These favorable accounts were the seeds of my interest in this great big place called China with its thousands of years of rich culture.

"As a seaman in the Second World War I developed a more intense awareness. I gained insight into the nature of fascism and

imperialist Japan. By the end of the war, I realized there was a double standard in U.S. government policy. We dropped the atom bomb on Asian people but protected the industrial might of Germany. And although the U.S. government claimed to support democracy and free expression abroad, it

Americans and other people of color, I came back at the end of World War II as part of the conquering force. We had defeated fascism. We were now ready to participate in this new spirit of democracy. A new energy was in the world.

"But we were not accepted as equals.



After a day as auctioneer at a New China fund-raiser, Harry Belafonte finishes up with a song for the guests - "Jamaica Farewell."

(Photo: M. Sandroff)

suppressed the rights of Black people at home and unleashed McCarthyism. I no longer believed what I'd been told. I began to seek my own truth."

Belafonte stretches his very tall, very slim frame over the armchair. He's involved in what he's saying as he traces the growing awareness which eventually drew him into the people-to-people friendship movement.

"My first sense of truth came not from any great academic thought but through real experiences. Like many other Black

Democracy did not prevail. As a matter of fact, the U.S. government was tenacious in its effort to reconquer our spirits. But you cannot send us into battle to fight fascism and then bring us back and try to contain us! I rebelled against this wave of discrimination.

"After the defeat of Japan I began to understand that the U.S. government was highly opposed to one side of the civil war taking place in China. Why was Chiang Kai-shek an ally of the U.S. government?

HELEN ROSEN recently traveled to China with a delegation of the USCPFA National Steering Committee. An audiologist, she has assisted her husband, Dr. Samuel Rosen, in many research projects on deafness, including one in China on the use of acupuncture in the treatment of deaf children.

What was our government deriving from this association? Why were they very much opposed to a group led by a man called Mao Tsetung?"

Belafonte waves his arms toward the wall of his office, which is lined with books about Black history, Africa, and the Native American movement. There is a large framed picture of Paul Robeson on the wall. He indicates that his curiosity about China is now part of his total world outlook.

"I was fortunate to know men like Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a great Black intellectual, and Paul Robeson, another giant of political thought and social consciousness. They helped define for me what was going on.

"Because you have to understand, I didn't graduate from high school. Social conditions forced me to go to work when I was young – as a janitor, a laborer in the New York City garment center, and a 'go-fer,' a rather derogatory term meaning you would go for anything anybody wanted.

"But at this time I was coming into a new sense of consciousness. I resented what America was doing to the Black citizens of this country and to the poor white people. I saw the United States embracing Franco in Spain – fascist forces I thought we had defeated. I saw America supporting colonial forces against the liberation forces in Asia, Latin America, and Africa."

The black and brown velvet drapes in Belafonte's office have an African motif and there are several pictures of African scenes on the walls. I ask if he's been to Africa and he says yes, quite often, to many countries above and below the Sahara. It was in Africa that Belafonte had direct contact with the Chinese socialist spirit in action.

"I was there on a special cultural mission several years ago with actor Sidney Poitier, and in Tanzania I watched the Chinese engineers and workers sent by the People's Republic to help build the new Freedom Railway between Dar Es Salaam and central Zambia so that the Zambians could ship their copper ore without going through Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or through territory then held by the Portuguese.

"This was a unique experience. I became very conscious that the Chinese were not imposing their point of view on the African people. They believed in something; they were there for the purpose of helping a new society fulfill its hopes and aspirations. They came quietly. They stayed quietly. They did an incredible job quietly, and they left quietly.

"Later I heard that on the day the Freedom Railway opened in that area the Tanzanians ran the train and the whole

show. The Chinese did not seek to make any great play on this. I became very conscious that there was not one ounce of propaganda in the Chinese being in Tanzania. This was devastating to me. Almost every other power in the world seeks to capitalize on what it does and propagandizes so heavily. But the Chinese were ready to be of help on an intense human level.

"When I was in the Republic of Guinea in West Africa I had a similar experience. I saw a team of people from the People's Republic of China teaching farmers how to grow rice. The government of Guinea – which had been spending a large portion of its budget on importing rice – had found it difficult to persuade people to give up the rice diet the old colonialists had introduced, and to go back to their native cassava roots and other local starches and proteins. The people had to have rice. So the Chinese were there helping to grow rice and tea. And they built a theater for the people of Guinea to use as their own national theater. I saw it – a magnificent structure."

Belafonte told me he has a strong desire to visit China, "to go and feel and know first-hand." He has read a great deal about China, including material on Mao's philosophy. And, most significantly, he is active in the movement to strengthen the friendship between the peoples of the United States and China.

Last June Belafonte put in an exhausting, inspiring day as an auctioneer at a garden party in Larchmont, New York, whose purpose was to spread the word about China and raise money for NEW CHINA magazine. In a program which included singer Anita Ellis, Belafonte, in an entertaining but serious way, auctioned off the Chinese art objects that had been donated. Although not scheduled to perform, Belafonte capped the afternoon by saying that if enough dollars for people-to-people friendship were tossed into the guitar case being circulated among the guests, he would sing. The songs, "Jamaica, Farewell" and "Matilda," thrilled the audience.

Belafonte's wife Julie, a dancer, actress, and painter, and his 15-year-old daughter Gina also participated in the fund-raising party. In his office six months later, I ask Harry Belafonte what values he wants his children to learn from China.

"I would hope that not only my children but all children in our country could wake up one day and not feel they must win or be number one at the cost of sacrificing another human being. But rather that they could be part of something working toward a com-

mon end, working toward a better society where our aim is not economic profit but human profit. I say very clearly: I have been the victim of a materialistic society!"

We had been talking over the hum and toot of musicians recording in nearby rooms. People have been going in and out of the office which is stacked with cassettes, records, taping and stereophonic equipment. A traveling trunk with costumes is in one corner – Belafonte is leaving soon on a six-month tour around the world.

I can't avoid saying it. "But you're a man who's 'made it' in this materialistic society!"

"That is true," Belafonte agrees, "but as an artist I became a citizen of privilege. There's nothing in my Harlem childhood that suggested I should become what I am today. I was an exception to the rule. Society uses this to falsely develop the hopes of others. 'Belafonte could do it; therefore you can do it.' That's not true. I was lucky. I hit upon certain coincidences. I was a mistake of my time."

I ask Belafonte if he would want to plant rice as well as sing – as artists do in the Chinese countryside.

He nods, enthusiastic. "If I were told tomorrow that part of my life was to be spent growing food so that not another American would die of diseases caused by hunger and malnutrition, I would not hesitate one minute to go spend that time."

Belafonte is an artist who has not shirked involvement in politics. "Politics is the energy and force that shapes people's lives. The artist has a great vehicle to attack or embrace social concepts. Norman McLaren, a Canadian artist, an animator, went to the People's Republic of China and helped to make animated filmstrips to teach villagers to be vaccinated. He came back with glowing reports of his experiences. People who resisted vaccination because of ignorance were able to change. They soon ran out of vaccine and had to order more. This is the power of art!"

Belafonte would like to visit China and translate his experiences in artistic terms. He asks: "Why haven't we moved to intensify the cultural exchanges between our peoples? What happened to that magnificent document they call the Shanghai Communique which Nixon signed when he went to China? Why are we still in Taiwan? Nobody here answers that. The United States spent so long dismissing the fact that 800 million people exist and is still delaying full diplomatic relations with China. If we are not playing games, why isn't the Shanghai Communique being lived up to?" ●

# Worker Woodcuts

## A Revolutionary Tradition

by Susanne Cohn and Ruth Nesi

In 1974 worker-artists from the industrial cities of Luda, Shanghai, and Yangquan exhibited their work as part of a major show of fine art in Peking. It was the first national exhibition of worker-art since the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s.

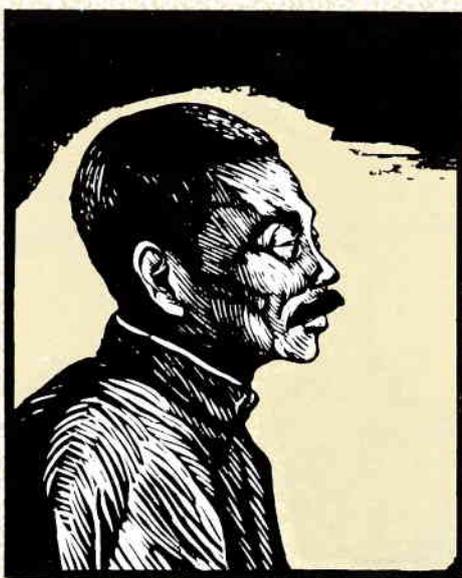
A striking feature of worker-art is the popularity of woodcuts, a form widely practiced by workers who create art in their spare time, like Sui Gui-min, maker of "The Refinery in the Morning Sunlight." The bold, vigorous woodcut art reflects the spirit and accomplishments of workers in the struggle to develop a modern, industrialized state; the urban environment, with men and women building the future, is sharply in focus. Woodcuts have an important place in today's revolutionary culture.

The form has had a long history in China. The earliest examples are Buddhist images from the Tang Dynasty of the ninth century. For a thousand years after that, woodcuts made by the common people served as popular book illustrations, playing cards, New Year's pictures, and decorations on writing paper used by the scholar elite. But by the nineteenth century, this ancient art was stagnant, a part of a dying feudal culture.

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SUSANNE COHN is a painter and printmaker who had an exhibition of her work in New York City's Soho last spring. She visited China in 1974 where she met and interviewed several worker-artists at the National Exhibition of Worker-Art in Peking. RUTH NESI has been a working textile designer for many years and a student of art history with a special interest in Chinese art. She visited China in 1973.

In the late 1920s, the prominent writer and cultural leader Lu Hsun realized that a new art form was needed in the rising



Lu Hsun by Ch'en Yen-Ch'iao.

struggle against feudalism and the reactionary forces of old China. He especially admired the bold, simple woodcut style seen in print series like "Der Krieg" (War) by Käthe Kollwitz, the German socialist artist.

"In a revolutionary age, woodcuts have the widest use," Lu Hsun wrote; "they can be quickly produced by busy people." Using only the simplest tools - a block of wood, a sharp knife, and paper and ink - and a new simplified technique that did not require years of training, many prints of

each design could be made. Lu Hsun encouraged young artists to develop the new woodcut art, and published albums of old Chinese and modern Japanese and Western prints. In 1930, in Shanghai, he organized the first woodcut class, with a Japanese friend as instructor.

Woodcuts soon became a revolutionary cultural force with rapidly growing influence. In the early 1930s, they were banned by Chiang Kai-shek as "dangerous"; prints were destroyed and artists imprisoned. Despite such obstacles, the Woodcut Movement, as it came to be known, spread, and in 1934-35 the first All-China Woodcut Exhibition toured Peking, Jinan, and Shanghai. In his preface to the *Album of Works* from the Shanghai exhibition, Lu Hsun wrote that from early Chinese woodcuts "we can see this art belonged to the common people; in other words, it was 'vulgar.' . . . We cannot say that the new woodcuts which have sprung into being in the last five years owe nothing to our ancient culture; on the other hand, they are certainly not just dry bones from a sepulcher decked out in new costumes. They reflect a common need in the hearts of the artists and the mass of our countrymen. . . ."

While associations of woodcut artists continued to work and flourish in the eastern cities, it was Yen-an in the rural north that became the center for the development of woodcuts as an important tool in the service of the Revolution and the people. There, in 1935, those who completed the Long March led by Mao Tsetung created the major base from which Communist forces built toward the victory of 14 years



An early example of the new style, a woodcut by Ku Yuan.

later. A Yen-an school for cultural workers, named after Lu Hsun who died in Shanghai in 1936, had a special section devoted to woodcuts, where both artists and non-artists from all over China came to learn and teach. Once they mastered the new techniques, professional artists, peasants,

and urban propaganda workers formed woodcut groups and went out from the Lu Hsun Academy to spread the new art through the liberated areas. Woodcuts became powerful weapons in the War of Resistance Against Japan, encouraging millions to fight and popularizing the new ideas among the largely illiterate common people.

After Liberation in 1949, the people were absorbed in the enormous task of rebuilding their devastated country and starting to construct a socialist society. In 1958, during the Great Leap Forward, people's communes were formed; increased food production and industrialization became the major goals. Woodcut art reflected these struggles, and working people could see themselves depicted as the leading force in the new society. Moreover, woodcuts, which at first imitated Western techniques, had by this time fully incorporated Chinese tradition as well, developing into a national art in which "the past serves the present, and foreign things serve China," in the spirit of Mao Tsetung's 1942 *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the industrial workers of China have begun to take a more active role in the arts. Now they are creating a culture that belongs to the people, in which art is a source of

inspiration to workers in the struggle for production. Crowds gather at workplaces and exhibition halls to see their lives and activities reflected in woodcuts designed, cut, and printed by their co-workers. In today's revolutionary age, woodcuts have the same appeal as in Lu Hsun's time. With bold, straight strokes, strong diagonals, and sharp contrasts, worker woodcuts use factories and machines as design elements. "The Refinery in the Morning Sunlight" is the statement of a Chinese worker-artist who views the future with optimism and is proud of the accomplishments of his co-workers. Its aesthetic effect flows from its composition and its vision of the refinery as a monument to the workers who built the petroleum industry.

In the port city of Luda today there are more than 20 amateur art groups and over 600 workers participating in workplace art activities. Often aided by professionals and veteran worker-artists, these men and women are constantly developing their technical skill. And from co-workers and daily experience in production they are sharpening their artistic perception. As the young worker in Luda's Granary No. 2 who made the woodcut "New Grain" expressed it: "My workplace is like a big school; it provides excellent conditions for creative work. Our life and struggle as workers have enriched my art." ●

## The 1930s



Teaching New Midwifery by Kuo Chun.  
Lu Hsun Academy of Art, Yen-an, late 1930s or early 1940s.  
Early barefoot doctors learn how to deliver  
and care for babies.

## The 1940s

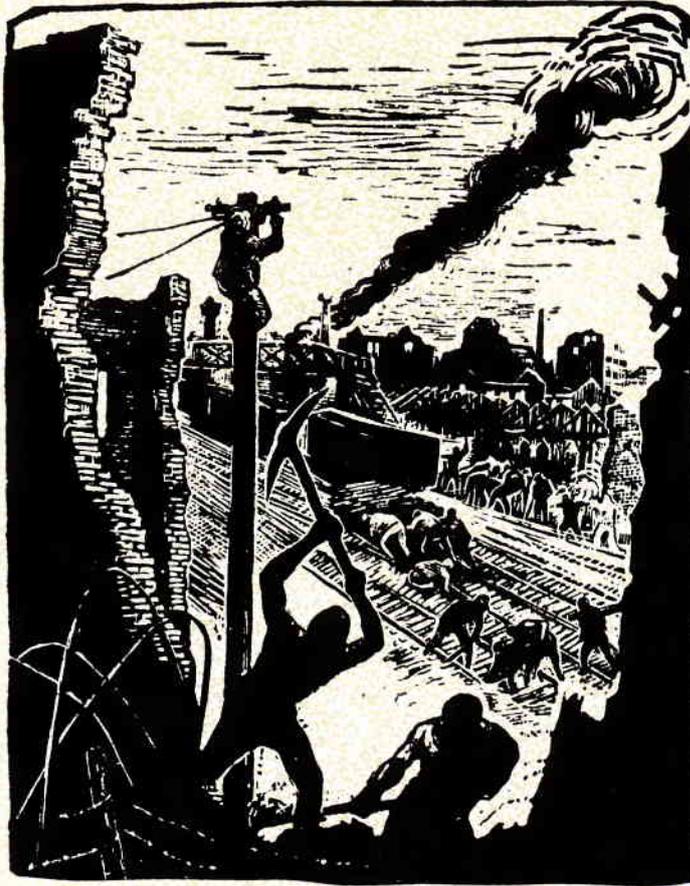


Farewell by Chao P'an-pin. Lu Hsin Academy of Art, Yenai, late 1930s or early 1940s.  
The common people join the fight against the Japanese invaders.



Peasants Defending Their Grain Against the Invading Japanese by Yen Han.  
Lu Hsin Academy of Art, Yenai, late 1930s or early 1940s.

## The 1950s

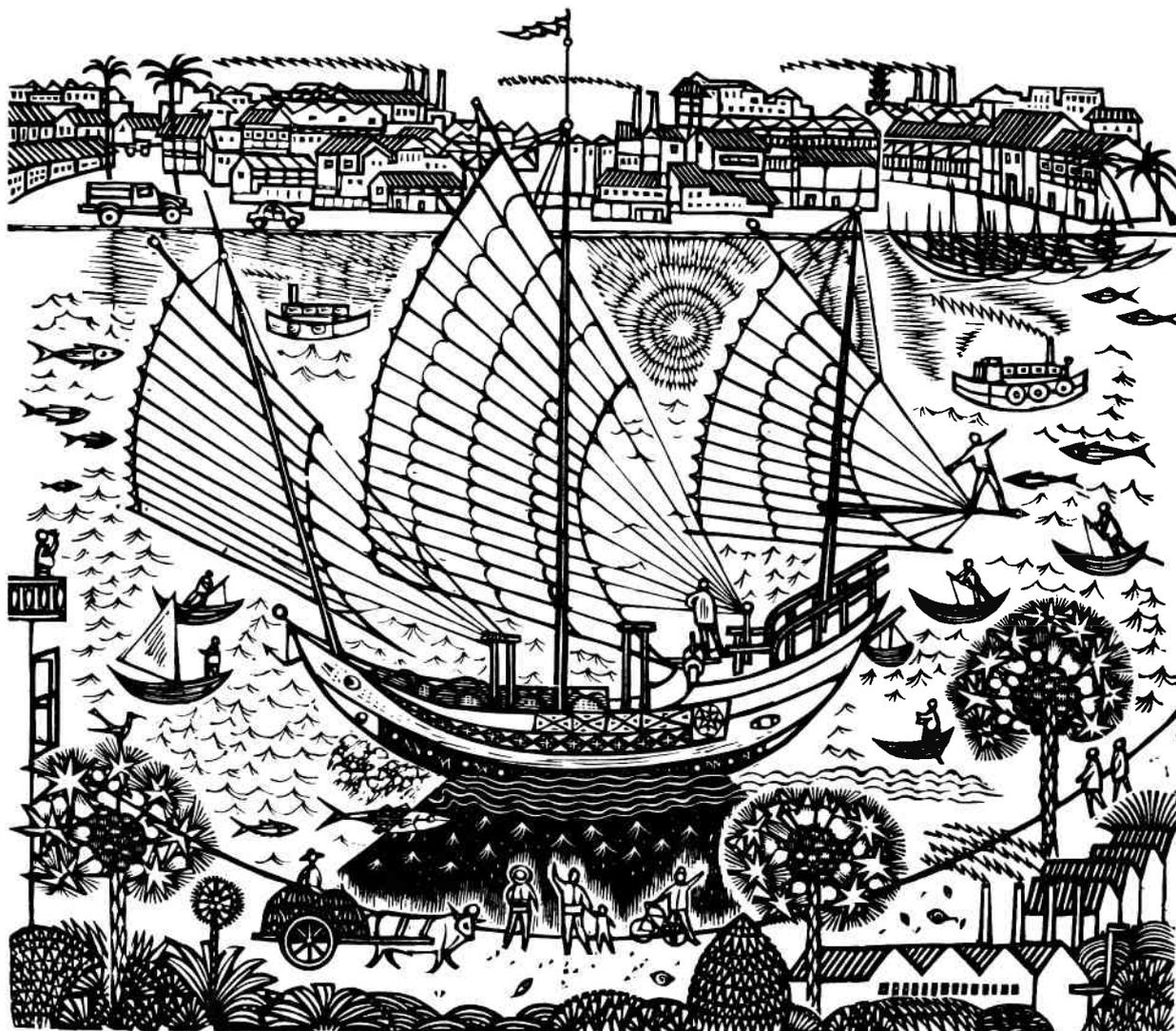


Reconstruction  
of the War-torn Land  
by Ku Yuan.  
Early 1950s.



Developing a Production Plan in a Newly Formed Commune by Lui Chien-an. Late 1950s.

## The Great Leap Forward (1958)



East Wind  
by Huang Yong-yu.  
Peking, 1958.  
Combining Eastern  
and Western  
styles, this  
woodcut reflects  
the optimism  
of the Great  
Leap Forward  
which helped  
China forge  
ahead in  
industry and  
agriculture.

## The 1970s *Overleaf: The Refinery in the Morning Sunlight by Sui Gui-min. Luda, early 1970s.*

In Luda in August 1975 I met Sui Gui-min, a worker-artist whose woodcut "The Refinery in the Morning Sunlight" was on exhibition there. I got the impression of a gentle man who loved what he created. He was proud that he had been able to say in a visually artistic manner what he felt about his fellow workers. Yet his demeanor was modest; he thought of himself as a worker serving his comrades in a workers' society. When I asked about his life and art, he answered:

"I am a worker at the Dairen Mining Vehicle Plant. My love for art began in my student days and I took part in

activities at the People's Art Palace in my spare time. Before the Cultural Revolution, our methods of learning and teaching art were divorced from practice. I did only research work and I did not create a single piece of art.

"Now we still study the techniques of fine art, but we also create art that is closely linked with the struggles of the workers. We select the subjects from our daily lives, subjects for which we have a deep feeling.

"To give you an example, let me tell you about the woodcut 'The Refinery in the Morning Sunlight.' I am a worker. Every day I go to work on my

bicycle and I see for myself the spirit and vigor of the working class building socialism in our country. In China, the petroleum industry is developing very rapidly. We have discovered one new oil field after another and I wanted to create a woodcut that would depict these great accomplishments but, as Mao Tsetung said, on a higher level, with sharper focus and greater intensity than real life.

"All the art materials I needed were supplied by the factory. Veteran workers and also my comrades gave me support and criticism. For example, I cut 'The Refinery in the Morning Sun-

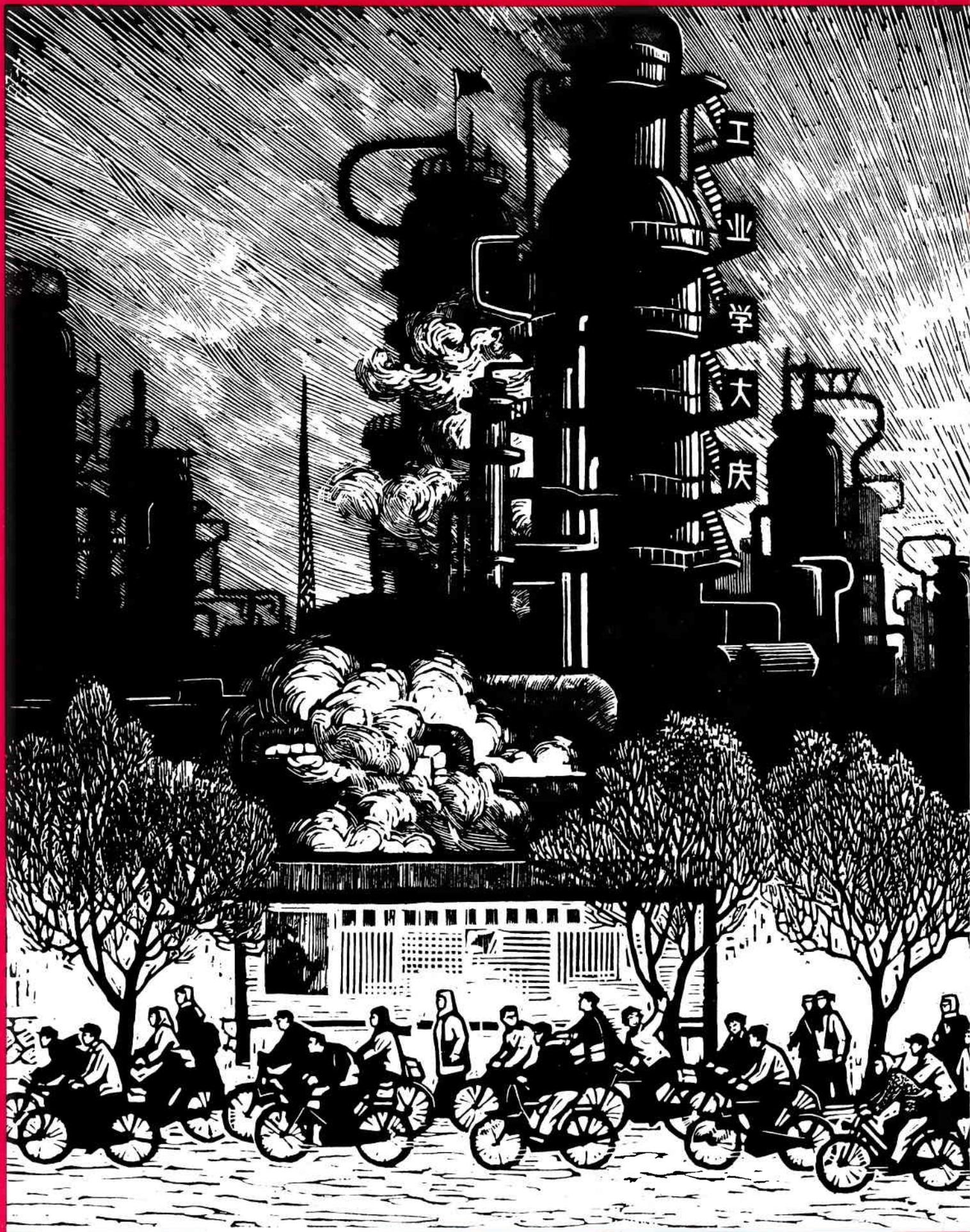




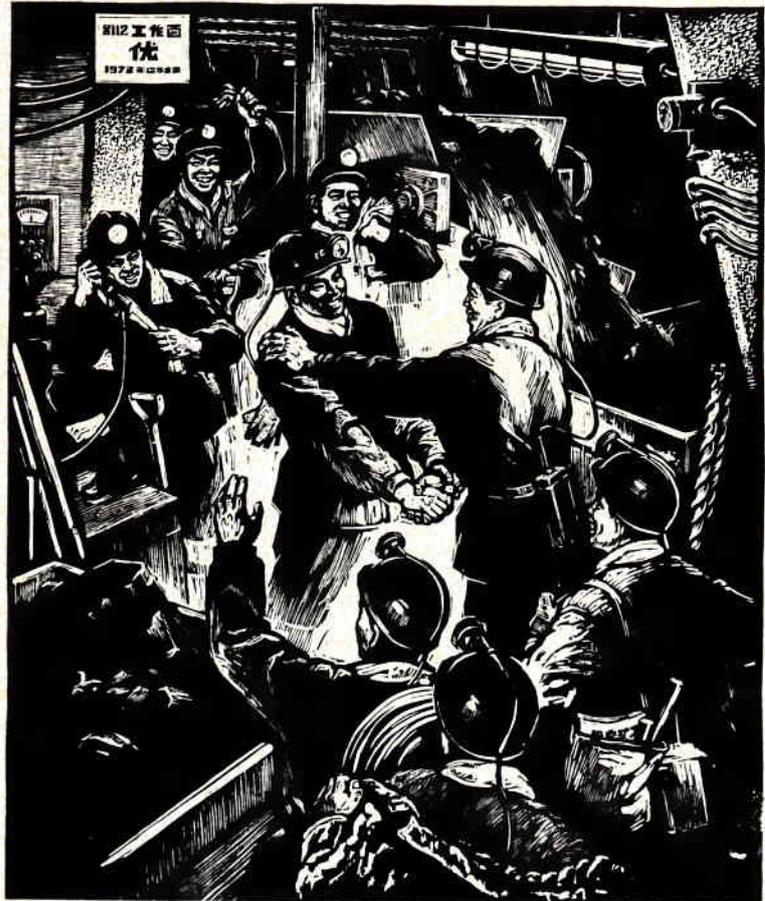


Photo: S. S. Lanzilotti

light' twice. In my first cut I colored the sky much darker. But when the workers saw it, they said the dark sky did not reflect the development of our petroleum industry, and it did not encourage them very much.

"I realized their criticism was absolutely correct. I observed the morning scene myself, and I also did much more research on woodblock carving. At last, after much experimentation, I used my knife to cut the sky color brighter than before. My artistic work does not belong only to me - it is the achievement of the people as a whole, the whole collective; it belongs to our society."

S. S. Lanzilotti



Learning From the People by Yeh En. Yang-guan, early 1970s.  
Workers help to develop technology.



The New Grain Overflows the Bins by Lui Bin. Luda, early 1970s.

# People's Justice

## Judge George W. Crockett, Jr., looks at China's legal system

*What were your reactions, as a lawyer and judge, after you had explored China's legal system?*

When I applied for a visa, I emphasized my desire to meet legally trained people and to watch China's judicial system at work. I was eager to study the constitutional framework, court procedures, problems of evidence, sentencing practices, and so on, and to make comparisons with my own experience in America. I discovered that this comparative approach was impossible. It was a whole new experience.

To my considerable amazement, I found that crime just isn't a problem in China today, that lawyers are practically unknown, at least as advocates, and that there are few legally trained judges. This is partly due to the fact that Chinese society has eliminated most private ownership. I don't mean personal possessions, but land, factories – the means of production. Actually, every citizen is in effect a policeman, lawyer, and judge. Once you abolish private property, you create an altogether different situation; every citizen owns everything. Therefore, a person is as conscious of an injury to a public building as to his or her own home and will call it to public attention.

What I actually encountered was a scarcity of formal legal proceedings, with the people themselves tending to solve both civil and criminal conflicts.

*The people themselves resolve conflicts? What's the basis for that?*

First, the Chinese have traditionally favored face-to-face resolution of conflicts. Second, all the people I talked with stressed

the importance of Chairman Mao's 1957 speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." In it, he divided all controversies (contradictions) into two categories – those arising among the people themselves, and those between the people and their enemies, meaning the



Judge George W. Crockett, Jr.  
(Photo: courtesy of G. Crockett)

forces resisting and sabotaging the Revolution. Mao concluded that the crimes committed by enemies must be dealt with by compulsion and severe restraints, while disputes and crimes among the people themselves should be resolved by democratic processes involving criticism-self-criticism, self-education, and social and political rehabilitation. The Chinese Constitution adopted in 1975 recognizes the two kinds of contradictions and the two types of defendants in defining the basic freedoms guaranteed to individuals.

*What is the procedure for dealing with disputes and crimes among the people?*

The process starts with a Conciliation Committee organized from among neighbors and fellow-workers of the parties to the dispute. They conduct the investigation

– the entire process. There are no formal rules for giving evidence. It is a real search for truth. Anybody who knows anything about the case or about the parties involved, or who can contribute anything to the resolution of the matter, is entitled to be heard. The defendant has the opportunity to present his or her own side. He's entitled to represent himself or he can get a family member or a friend who is a little more verbal than he. The defendant can also request a trained lawyer. But this is rare.

The proceedings are conducted "on the spot" – a sort of neighborhood affair in a place that is convenient and familiar to everyone involved, so everyone can be there and have his or her say. Since the trials sometimes take place in a backyard, they are called "sunflower courts." The aim is to find out what in fact was done, who did it, and, most importantly, why. If the accused is found guilty, the Conciliation Committee then judges the extent to which he or she recognizes the harmful consequences of the action.

After blame is established and counter-revolutionary factors ruled out, next comes an effort to resolve the problem through mediation and conciliation in civil disputes and, in criminal cases, through criticism-self-criticism and the re-education of the defendant. The Conciliation Committee may call upon members of the family for help in impressing upon the defendant how his or her crime impedes socialist reconstruction in China.

Everything is in the hands of the people themselves. They make the decisions on a level they can understand completely, without the legal trappings that Americans have come to associate with the dispensing of justice.

*If a Conciliation Committee is not able to make a defendant see his or her mistake, what then?*

The Committee would report the facts to the appropriate Revolutionary Committee – that of the neighborhood, the workplace, or the commune. The Revolutionary Committee then decides whether the defendant should be sent to a work camp to be re-

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GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR., has been a judge of The Recorder's Court in Detroit, Michigan, since 1966, and its Presiding Judge since 1974. His articles on law have appeared in the University of California at Berkeley Law Review, Michigan State Bar Journal, The American Scholar, and other publications. He visited China in Spring 1975. Much of the information Judge Crockett supplies here can also be found in his article in a recent issue of *Judicature*. The interview is by Mary Heers of Detroit.

educated through supervised labor, or should be considered an enemy of the Revolution and be turned over to the prosecutor's office and treated as a counter-revolutionary. But nearly all cases, both civil and criminal, are settled by conciliation and re-education.

*In other words, the process is one of rehabilitation rather than punishment.*

I discovered that the entire process, starting with the Conciliation Committee inquiry, is viewed by the Chinese as an educational experience as well as a means of determining innocence and guilt. With the people sitting in judgment of each other, they become acutely aware of the extent to which a wrongdoing can damage their socialist efforts.

In answer to one of my questions, I was told that the courts are "important instruments for exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat" and that they function to "implement Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought by carrying on struggle against counter-revolutionaries and serious criminals, protecting the legal rights of the people, and defending the socialist revolution."

*What happens if a person has committed a serious crime such as murder, rape, embezzlement, even some form of treason?*

The defendant is treated as an enemy and is turned over for prosecution under formal charges. After further investigation, there is a trial, usually by a three-judge court which includes one legally trained judge and two lay "assessors" who are peers of the accused, chosen from among his or her neighbors and fellow-workers.

*Earlier you mentioned the new Chinese Constitution. What do you think of it?*

Well, first and foremost, I was impressed by its brevity, and secondly, by its commitment to a particular, theoretical, political ideology. I was also impressed by how detailed their constitutional guarantee of free speech is. It's far more detailed than ours. It includes the right to put on a public bulletin board your own little proclamation, your own little complaint.

It also states that "the mass line must be

applied . . . in trying cases." When I expressed curiosity about the recurring phrases "go to the masses" and "follow the mass line," I was told that the meaning was "to consult with and be guided by what you Americans call the 'grassroots' and try to resolve all contradictions among the people at the grassroots level."

The basic freedoms listed in their constitution are more or less the same as ours, with the addition of the freedom to strike and the freedom *not* to believe in a religion and to propagate atheism. It also guarantees that "The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ."

*How did you gather all this information?*

I was able to participate in extended discussions with two professors from the Peking Political and Legal Institute, and also had the good fortune to meet an American-born lawyer, Sydney Shapiro, who practiced law in China before Liberation and has remained there. Furthermore, I plied our interpreter-guides with countless questions, and talked to the chairmen of many Revolutionary Committees.

*When did the changes in China's legal system occur?*

My American-born lawyer friend informed me that from 1949 until about 1956 there were still lawyers and the usual legal organizations. The changes then began to eliminate formal procedures, and law

### **The Chinese Constitution also guarantees the following:**

**"All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.**

**"Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.**

**"Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.**

**"Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.**

**"The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.**

**"The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese."**

cadres were sent out to advise the people of their legal rights and obligations, their right to be heard in court, and their right to defend themselves.

Previously, the Peking Political and Legal Institute, China's largest, offered 30 courses for a degree that took five years to obtain. Today there are about ten courses and it takes either one year or three for a student to be trained, depending on the type of work to be done after graduation: three years for a government lawyer or law professor and one for a legal cadre who will go among the masses as a legal adviser.

It was surprising for me to see how many of the courses had to do with political philosophy and political economy – Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought – as distinguished from the law of rights and remedies. There are also classes in regular subjects, such as criminal law. But you don't have a lot about property and contracts.

*What is the attitude of Chinese legal authorities toward crime?*

I can best illustrate this by quoting from written answers to our questions provided by the two Peking Institute law professors:

"Crime is an expression of the existence of the class struggle. So long as classes exist in a society there will be crime. In old China, crime was a very serious problem. There were gangs, robbery, prostitution, opium, etc. But the reforms brought about by our socialist society have changed all of this, and crime has been greatly reduced because the people feel more secure. There still are some crimes, but for the most part they are counter-revolutionary cases involving persons who have been influenced by the old exploiting class's ideas. We do not rely upon our courts to reduce crime; we rely upon the masses. Only a very small percentage of criminal cases comes to the courts."

The professors commented that juvenile offenders are treated primarily by education rather than by punishment, but "we punish and hit hard at those behind the scenes who influence the juveniles."

*What about the prison system?*

It also relies on education and productive labor. The law professors said that "we combine punishment with ideological transformation. . . . We regard all criminals as human beings and treat them in a human way."

The jails themselves are few and operate more or less like a small commune. They have their production quotas, just like the regular communes. And they are just as concerned about meeting their quotas. The prisoners are able to earn money for their useful labor, and they go through a process of education, schooling, and so forth while they are there. And it's quite possible that, notwithstanding the severity of the sentence, if a prisoner demonstrates enough effort at rehabilitation to be judged able to go back into society, he or she will be released. Even where the death sentence is imposed, they don't execute it right away. They wait for about two years to see if there is any possibility of rehabilitation. If there is, the sentence will be commuted. If not, the prisoner is executed.

*Do you think the legal system in China provides justice?*

Yes. I think perhaps more so than our system does. It's closer to the people. We claim that we are dispensing "people's justice" by virtue of the fact that our judges are elected and we have juries that are supposed to represent a cross-section of the community. But, in practice, I'm not persuaded that it always works out that way. We have all sorts of rules and regulations and exemptions that keep poor people – ordinary people – off juries because we make it so difficult for them to serve even when they're called. The amount of compensation we pay them, for example, means that if they serve, they lose money, and so they would rather be excused. You end up with a lot of retirees, or a lot of well-to-do people who can afford to suffer financial loss. That's a far cry from a cross-section of the community.

In China you would actually get a cross-section of the neighborhood sitting in judgment of a defendant. Then, too, the defendant wouldn't be – how shall I put it?

– frightened by a maze of legal lingo. It would just be an ordinary conversation, like we're having now, in search of the truth. No rules, no privileged communication, no exclusion because of hearsay. If it is relevant to the case, the Conciliation Committee wants to hear it, and does hear it.

*How would you sum up your impressions?*

I would say first that China is creating a society unlike anything we have ever experienced. This comes as a total shock to anyone whose life has been subjected to an ideology of private property, free enterprise, production for profit, and intense competition. Even for those who have studied Marx's and Mao's writings, the actual contact with China today is staggering.

To comprehend the virtual non-existence of serious crime, lawyers, and judges, one must constantly be aware that all property, except, as I said before, for personal possessions, is owned collectively, that there is work for everyone, that every citizen is an owner and partner in a common enterprise, that children are brought up in a setting of deep social concern and solicitude.

Honesty is universally assumed in Chinese society. The police are hardly visible, except to direct traffic. They dress casually, carry only small sticks, are courteous and relaxed.

The characteristics that so many of us have accepted as being expressions of instinctual behavior – greed, selfishness, the urge to get ahead in competition with others – are not granted any rational basis for existence in China. The trappings of a restrictive government are absent. These observations are not only those of casual visitors, but have been authenticated by every authority I have consulted or read in recent years.

Crime and legal systems are products of a society. In China, socialism has produced a new society so vastly different from our own it defies comparison. If you want to understand China and its criminal justice system, you have to be willing to learn its profoundly different social structure and ideology. I think China has a lot to teach us about coping with crime in America. ●

# Can Nice Guys Finish F

Batting practice was over on a hot August day. The last warm-up pitches had been thrown and home plate whisked clean. Flinging up one red-stockinged leg, the left-hander on the mound came in with his first pitch – a fast ball that just missed the corner.

Play ball! was a new cry heard when Chinese baseball teams made their appearance on the diamond for several weeks last summer in Peking.

Watched by thousands, the greatest number yet, baseball arrived in a brand-new ball park about half an hour by car from downtown Peking. Fengtai Stadium is the first in China built exclusively for the game.

Unveiling the new stadium in August, Chinese teams hosted a Japanese nine from the Aichi Institute of Technology. In September Chinese teams competed against each other in the Third National Games baseball competition.

As an old-time fan who once shuttled between Ebbets Field when the Brooklyn Dodgers were in their heyday and Yankee Stadium in the autumn of Babe Ruth's feats, I'd have to say the ball played at Fengtai Stadium is about fair college ball. In a game against the visitors from Japan, the Peking squad did pretty well, losing 6-5 at a sport the Japanese take very seriously. Tientsin finished as the champs in the National Games, with Shanghai runner-up and Peking third. Tientsin also won the women's softball event at the National Games.

The games at Fengtai Stadium, on warm, sunny days, recalled youthful bleacherite days in New York. There was the Chinese coach fielding some hot foul balls, and even the familiar drone of a jet plane overhead. Something new, however, in line with the Chinese way in sports – friendship first – was the second baseman helping dust off a runner who had just stolen second. Or a pitcher hustling off the mound to help a batter to his feet after he hit the ground to avoid a pitch that got away.

Grandstand and bleacher seats cost the same: five cents in U.S. money. Foul balls hit into the seats were thrown back onto the field, but not put back into play. No peanut, hot dog, or beer vendors went through the aisles. There was a refreshment stand downstairs. There were no scorecards, but spectators could tell the players without one



Japanese batter lets a low one go by in a game with the Shanghai team at Peking's Fengtai Stadium last August. (Photo: courtesy of J. Schuman)

since they were introduced by name and number before the game.

There were some big differences between fans here and their American counterparts: the Chinese don't idealize top players. Nobody boos. And there is no such thing as trying to rattle the pitcher. The crowds, including a good number of soldiers and women and a sprinkling of youngsters, are far quieter than in the United States or Japan.

Most spectators were watching their first game. Baseball has been played in China a good many decades, but limited to a handful of colleges, schools, and the armed forces. Few Chinese are familiar with it and baseball is not a general spectator sport. Yet, as I listened in around the first-base line, there were a few who really knew the game. A man in his mid-40s was explaining the finer points of play to a friend alongside. Chat-

ting between innings, he told me he had played at college in Shanghai.

Before the game got under way, the names for each play and position were announced: homer, *ben-lei da*; grounder, *di-mian qiu*; steal a base, *tou lei*; pitcher, *tou shou*; catcher, *jie shou*; and shortstop, *you ji shou*. The last means "guerilla" or roving-hand-without-a-permanent-base.

During the play the loudspeaker explained what happened and enumerated the rules of the game. This was interspersed with comments like "that was a well-hit ball," or "the fielder made a fine catch." While the teams were changing sides, the announcer gave facts like "China's first national baseball tournament took place in the city of Sian in 1974 with 23 teams taking part," something the media had not reported.

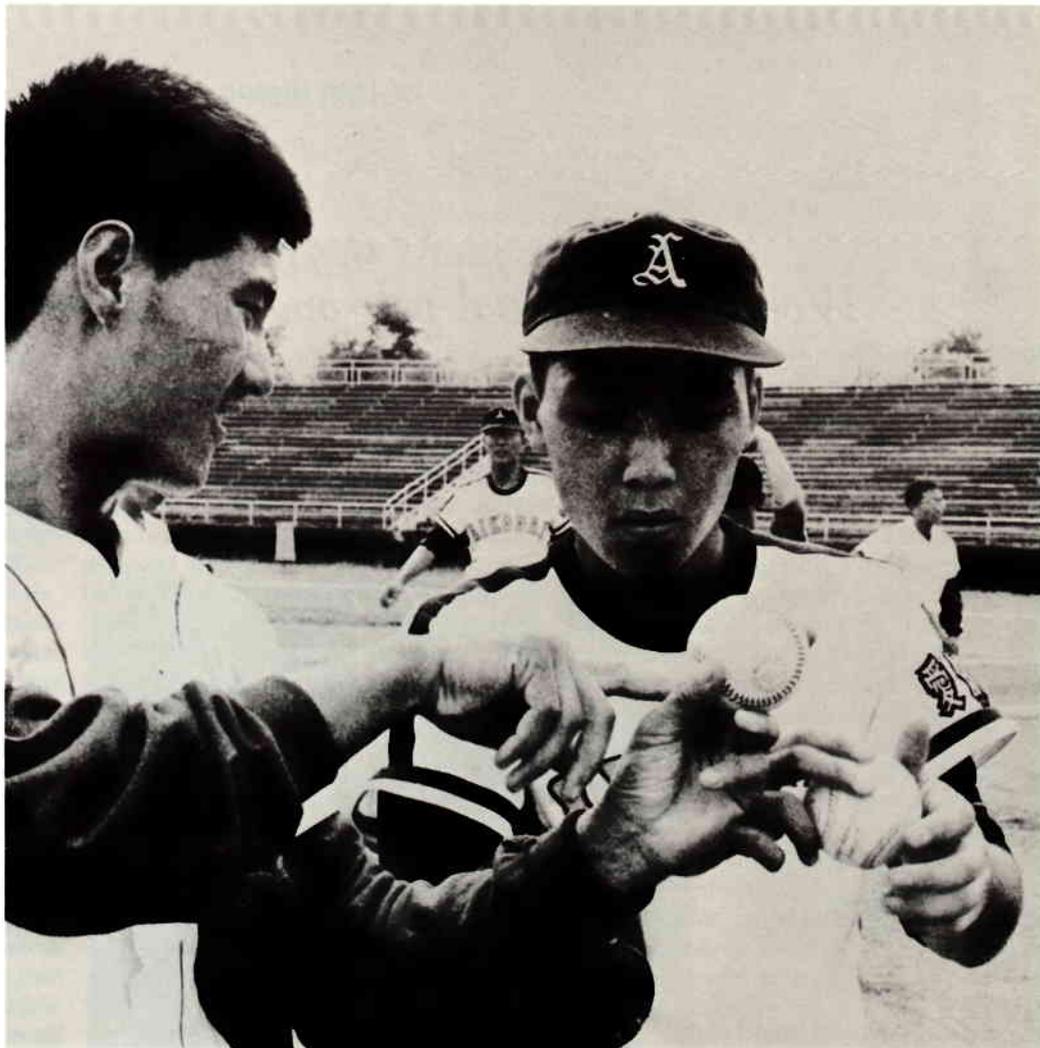
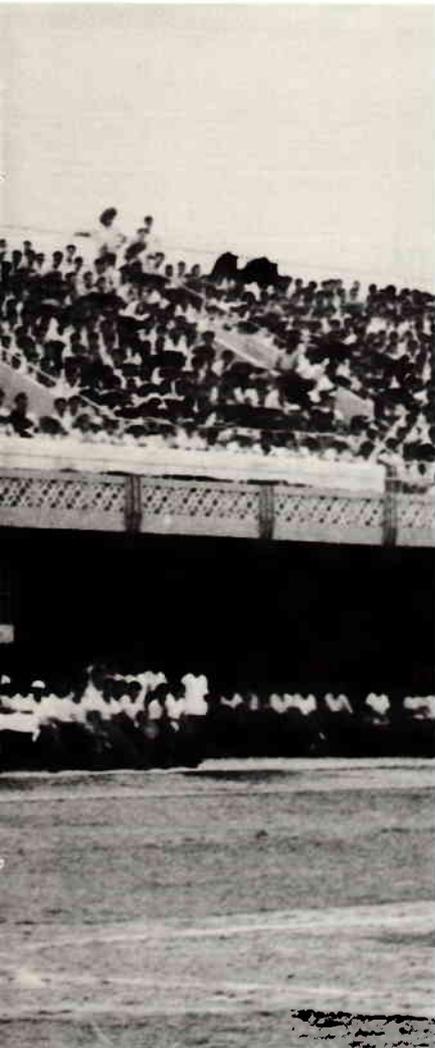
Though "friendship first" dominated by

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JULIAN SCHUMAN is a Brooklyn-raised free-lance journalist and author whose articles on the contemporary Chinese scene have appeared in a number of American newspapers. He has been living in Peking for some years.

# irst?

by Julian Schuman



Before the Chinese-Japanese exhibition game, pitchers trade tips on how to throw a curve. Rattling the pitcher is not part of the Chinese way of baseball. (Photo: courtesy of J. Schuman)

far, there was good-natured rooting for the home team, Peking. At the Shanghai-Peking game much applause greeted the visitors when they tied things up in the seventh inning. But the noise grew louder when Peking came up with two runs in the eighth. Each of Shanghai's three outs in the ninth brought loud clapping and cheers from the obviously partisan rooters.

The Taiwan team, part of the National Games contingent representing that island province of China, was a favorite at the ball park. Though it finished fifth, it probably got more applause than any of the other six teams. And Taiwan was the only one to beat the front-runner, Tientsin, handing it a 6-1 defeat.

I talked with Taiwan's rangy center-fielder who had grown up on the island and now lives on the mainland. Most of the

team lives outside China, he said, in Japan, Canada, or southeast Asia, but originally came from Taiwan Province.

Can China develop first-rate baseball teams? The fans' motto in all sports is "friendship first, competition second." That may sound pretty far-out to Americans, but it hasn't stopped the Chinese from scoring successes in basketball, soccer, badminton, archery, track and field, swimming, and, of course, ping-pong.

It is worth remembering that the Chinese entered the world table tennis competitions in 1956. It took only five years for them to win their first world championship. Baseball isn't table tennis, but the Chinese mean it when they say they are going to learn from those who play it best. As seen from the games with the Japanese team, they were eager to learn from the visiting players.

Nobody is saying the champion Tientsin team could take on the Mets at this point, or even a last-place club. Still, the Chinese seem to have decided that baseball is a game worth playing; one feature, the announcer pointed out, is that it is a team game involving lots of cooperation among the participants.

No doubt it will take a good many years before baseball here is high caliber. But the Chinese have set their minds to it, so some interesting developments can be expected.

Whatever happens, it still will be friendship first. There will be no yells of "Kill the ump!" And it's a pretty good bet that, amazing as it may be to an American fan, Chinese ballplayers will continue to trot up to the umps every few innings with cups of water to quench their thirst. That was the way it was last summer. ●

# Politics and Marriage

by Joan Hinton

## *Women gain equal pay and men share housework at Red Star Commune*

LET me tell you a bit about the movement at the Red Star Commune last winter. It has been the biggest and deepest movement for women's liberation that I have seen since the Marriage Law was passed in 1950, and it is on a much higher plane. At that time the movement was against the raw aspects of women's oppression in the old society – for example, being sold into marriage as child brides. The Marriage Law made such things illegal and gave women legal equality with men.

But old customs and habits are not eliminated all that easily. Last winter, for about three months the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius concentrated on attacking the old Confucian ideas about women that still existed in our commune. The movement as a whole, which lasted about two years, was aimed mainly at the reactionary thinking of Lin Piao and Confucius, which would protect and restore old class relations and oppose revolutionary change. Male chauvinism is an integral part of this reactionary thought, and the movement for the liberation of women was one facet of the movement as a whole.

In this stage of the movement, study classes were set up throughout the commune to repudiate the Confucian saying, "men are superior, women inferior." By keeping the arrow of attack aimed strictly at Confucius, the movement never turned into a struggle of the women against the men. On the contrary, during the study classes everyone came to realize that both women and men had been negatively

influenced by this old ideology. We came to realize the liberation of women was actually a liberation of both men and women from the burden of these reactionary ideas. A man who beat his wife would be criticized for his Confucian thinking, rather than simply being attacked as "cruel." As long as he recognized his error and changed his ways, no one held it against him.

There was, however, one case of a man who habitually beat his wife and refused to change. He was denounced at a mass meeting, arrested, and sent to labor camp for re-education. On the whole, this kind of crude oppression of women is now rare.

First to come under attack in this movement was the old custom of unequal pay for equal work. Until recently, the highest number of work-points (wages that are converted into cash, food, etc.) a woman could receive was eight, while a man could receive up to ten. In a few villages around here there was even a custom that women's work-points would be reduced after she got married, regardless of the amount of work she did. This whole idea was criticized and many women stepped forward to tell their own personal experiences.

One woman put up a wall poster to make her criticism. She was a terrific worker, but though she did more than the men doing the same job, she never got more than eight work-points, no matter how hard she worked. Then she got married, and though she continued doing the same work, she got reduced to seven points. After she put up her poster the leadership of the brigade (an administrative unit of the commune) opposed her. She was made fun of and labeled as selfish for thinking only of her own work-points. In an attempt to prove that what she said was nonsense, she was given work to do alone – hard work – but

she finished the work way ahead of others doing similar tasks, in fact doing the work of two people in one day.

The commune leadership found out about this, came to investigate, and ultimately supported her principled stand. She was held up as a model for the whole commune and appointed as a delegate to a meeting in the city. Everyone studied this case. It was not a case of being selfish, but of taking a correct stand – of fighting against old Confucian ideas.

Now in our commune, among the women, about 80 percent as many get ten points as among the men. Of course, due to housework, women are still not able to compete equally with men because it is hard for them to spend as much time in the fields. This brings up the next aspect of the movement – the question of housework. It is the first time since I've been in China that I've seen this whole question brought up for discussion.

If men and women are both working, why should housework be left to the women? Isn't this really a form of exploiting-class ideology? During the lunch hour last winter, the loudspeakers were full of stories of how one family after another had changed their ways. Previously, when the men came home from the fields they would get up on the *kang* (bed) and smoke their pipes. The women, on the other hand, would have to start making the food and taking care of the children as soon as they got home. Women began to criticize this custom.

In the past, men who did help with the housework used to be teased. In one village a man was nicknamed "Will-do-everything" Liu because he helped with the housework. Another was referred to as "Henpecked" Yang because he did whatever his wife told him to around the home.

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JOAN HINTON, an American who has lived in China since 1948, is presently a technician in the farm tool machinery workshop at the Red Star Commune outside of Peking where she has lived since 1972. This article describes events that took place during the winter of 1974-75.

In this movement, these two changed from laughing-stocks to models for all the men to learn from.

One Communist Party Secretary came home one night after a week of study classes and started right out washing the family clothes. When his wife returned from the fields, she was dumbfounded to find him there washing away. She asked in amazement, "Is the sun coming up in the west? What in the world has come over you?" He laughed and answered, "I've been to a study class. Times have changed. Men and women are the same. Whatever women comrades can do, men comrades can also do!" This is a rephrasing of Chairman Mao's often-used quotation, "What men comrades can do, women comrades can also do."

Another Party Secretary said in a study class that it was wrong for men not to help with the housework. He said he would do anything necessary in the house except for washing the baby's diapers and emptying the chamber pot. This remark spread like wildfire through all the study classes, and much discussion ensued. "Why shouldn't he wash diapers and empty the pot?" Everywhere people criticized this remark and it had an effect on many men. When I came home from Nanking, a worker friend of mine said to me, "I've improved a lot. Now I'm helping with the cooking and taking care of the kids. And" – laughingly – "I'm even emptying the chamber pot!"

I never would have dreamed that the liberation of women from housework would be attacked first by educating men to do their equal share. Instead I would have expected the struggle to start with a call for more and better nurseries, day care centers, community cafeterias and the like. Then I expected the mechanization of household jobs, with washing machines, refrigerators, gas stoves, and so on – all to lighten the burden on women.

But again the Party under Chairman Mao's leadership jumped a step ahead of me. How are we to get more nurseries and washing machines? As long as men rely on women to do this kind of work, then the demand to change the situation would always have a low priority. On the other hand, if housework is shared by everyone, women would no longer be overburdened by such chores, and both men and women will understand the need for solving the problem in a more fundamental way. So, the educational campaign about men sharing housework should help to speed up the process of socializing and mechanizing housework.

But the movement didn't stop here. Many other old customs were attacked; for example, the practice of the woman having to go to the man's family upon marriage.



What did Confucius say about "equal pay for equal work"? (Photo: A. Topping)



As long as men rely on women to do this work, the demand for washing machines will always have a low priority. (Photo: J. Zobel)

This custom has caused women untold misery for centuries. Confucius preached that women must obey their fathers before marriage, their husbands after marriage, and their sons when they get old. This system is the root of many bitter family quarrels. Not only did the husbands oppress their wives, but the old grandmothers, having been oppressed all their lives, finally let out years of pent-up frustration in endless attacks on their daughters-in-law. A local saying expresses this: "Years of use wear a dirt road into a river; years of misery wear a daughter-in-law into a mother-in-law."

As a result of understanding the basis of these longstanding internal frictions, many families have developed new relationships based on mutual help and equality.

To break the old custom, young men in one village after another voluntarily moved to their wives' villages when they got married. This was particularly important

for another reason as well. In the past, many brigades didn't like to train young women for leadership positions or for technical work because they would leave the village upon marriage. "Why train them? Just when we have them trained they will fly off somewhere else and then we will have to start all over again. It is better to train a young man: he will have his heart in the job because he knows he is going to stay here a long time."

The trade names for two kinds of Chinese bicycles were used to describe people in the village. Some were referred to as "Flying Doves" – those who fly away upon marriage. Others were called "Everlasting" – those who will stay around. "Only the 'Everlasting' are dependable," many people said. Now that young men often volunteer to move to their wives' villages, one of the obstacles to training women has been removed.

Of course, the attitude of not training

women because they were "Flying Doves" was also criticized because it was a localistic way of thinking. What's wrong with training someone who will help to build socialism in another village? Why just think of our own village? However, the possibility of having either the man or woman leave the village makes education against localism much easier.

Another thing obstructed by the inequality of the sexes was family planning and population control. Because of the inferior social and economic position of women, and because upon marriage women became members of another family, people preferred sons to daughters. Many couples who had only daughters wanted to keep having children until they had a son. Only a son could be relied upon to be a breadwinner in the family and keep the parents in their old age. After repudiating these old ideas and seeing the changing position of women, one couple admitted that the wife had just become pregnant with a seventh child, even though they already had six daughters. "We felt we must have a son," they said, "but now we see that daughters are just as good as sons." The couple decided that the wife should have an abortion.

In the past we had women on the Revolutionary Committees but they were usually in charge of the Women's Committee. We even had one Women's Committee that was headed by a man! But now in 50 days this winter 187 young women have been taken into the Party and 229 women have been given responsible posts of leadership. One 22-year-old girl has become head of the Revolutionary Committee of a brigade. Before we had some women Party Secretaries, but she is the first woman in the commune to be directly in charge of agricultural production.

The movement has broken down the barriers to the last jobs traditionally closed to women. For the first time we have women electricians, carpenters, masons, and even mule-cart drivers.

I keep thinking that an extremely profound thing happened here last winter. Of course, the thinking of 2,000 years cannot be destroyed overnight. The important point is the tremendous progress that has been made in just three short months. Seeing the women's new surge of enthusiasm for their work, it has suddenly dawned on me that the struggle for the liberation of women is not just a moral matter, a matter of right and wrong, but is also an integral part of the Revolution, bringing ideology and interpersonal relations into line with the socialist economic base. It unlocks the shackles on women, releasing tremendous productive forces and giving a great impetus to socialist construction. ●

# Second Chance at Friendship

## *Korean War POW Pete Jones sees the PLA from a new perspective*

*How were you treated by the Chinese when you were a prisoner of war?*

To tell you the truth, I think the Chinese people were very fair with us. They were very nice to most prisoners, providing the prisoners were cooperative. We all participated in chores around the camp like hauling logs for firewood or working in the mess hall and warehouse. I had a leg wound so they gave me the job of keeping the blankets folded and cleaning up the barracks. Being a prisoner was no picnic, but the Chinese could have been a lot rougher than they were.

*Were you subjected to any kind of "brainwashing" while you were a prisoner?*

At first we would get what we called the "brainwashing treatment" every night, but later it decreased to once or twice a week. They told us that we had been tricked into fighting a war that benefited a few in the United States but that wasn't in the interests of most of the American people. Only a few of the American POWs actually listened to what the Chinese were saying, and the rest of us called them "turncoats." I don't call them "turncoats" now. They weren't as blind as the rest of us because they had sense enough to think and to realize that there are two sides to every story. Most of us could see only one side.

I didn't pay attention at these meetings and I went because I had to. Most of it went right in one ear and out the other, and I was totally turned off by the whole thing. I didn't care what they were telling me; I

just wanted to go home. I thought that everything would be all right once I got back to America, but that's when my big problems began.

I was liberated in 1953 through the Panmunjom armistice treaty, and immediately after I came back I was put in a parade of POWs in Alabama. I wasn't even sure why

I had been fighting the Korean War in the first place, and I was put in a parade. The very next night, I went downtown and was refused service in one of the hotels. We went over to Korea to defend our country and those of us that survived got kicked in the teeth when we got home.

I didn't realize it at the time, but now I



The PLA unit that captured American GI Pete Jones during the Korean War welcomed him back in friendship in 1974. (All photos: J. Zobel)

*PETE JONES, a Black Korean War veteran and winner of three Purple Hearts and two Clusters, spent 14 months as a prisoner of war in China in 1951-53. He became a community organizer after the war and returned to China for a visit in 1975. The interview was done by Michael Howard of the Albany, N.Y., USCPFA.*



The 3,000,000-strong PLA has no bases outside China.

know that what the Chinese told us wasn't brainwashing. They were just laying the truth on us and *we* had been so brainwashed that we were blind and couldn't see it.

Listen, don't believe all the lies that people tell you about China. If you're going to school, you should request your teachers to get some good reading material about China and to help you understand it. You shouldn't get just one side of the picture because it is very misleading. In our country we talk about propaganda this and brainwashing that, but I found out that we have been so brainwashed about China that it's pitiful.

I had always wanted to go back to China to see what was beyond the barbed wire fence of the prison camp. Also, I wanted to see if what I had been taught all these years was true. Everything I had ever read and everything that I had been told by my teachers indicated that China is a Communist country and therefore no good. So, I believed that all Chinese people were bad. I didn't even know the definition of socialism or communism.

As a community organizer in Albany, New York, I work with poor people who are trying to combat some of the bad conditions that they face. Recently, I heard some people talking about the positive

effects of the Chinese Revolution and I wanted to see firsthand how China deals with its poor. I thought that there were two levels of people in China. You know, people who were way up there and people who were way down here, with a big gap in between. Naturally, I assumed that they had rich and poor just like the United States. As you can see, I wasn't very educated about China before my trip.

I saw that everyone in China had a job, decent clothes, and enough to eat. They were getting wonderful medical service. People also had adequate housing, although some of it was kind of old. However, they could look out of the window at some of the new apartments being built and say, "I'll have better housing soon."

I did notice that some people in the government seemed to wear nicer clothes than those who worked in the factory, but that's about the only gap that I noticed. When you get right down to it, the gap between people in China is much less than it is here.

*Did you get to visit a People's Liberation Army unit during your trip?*

Yes, I visited one 40 miles southwest of Peking. I met the man who was the commander of the Chinese unit that captured my outfit during the Korean War! I told him the whole story of my capture, and

pretty soon word got around that I was an ex-POW.

Most of the soldiers were young men and women, and I apologized for fighting against China during the Korean War. I explained that I thought that I was fighting for my country in 1951, but now I know that we had no business being there.

The young soldiers asked me a lot of questions: How old do you have to be to go into the service? How long did you have to stay in the service if you were drafted? How long did it take to get your first furlough home? What kind of training did you get?

*What did you see at the PLA camp?*

They showed us the type of weapons that they used in Korea, and also the ones that they use today. They had some pretty nice weapons there! Next they took us to the rifle range where they showed us how they knock out tanks. The whole works! Then they gave us a 16-course meal.

The PLA soldiers don't just do military duty. They also work as peasants, coal miners, doctors, and nurses. They actually give something back to the community.

Soldiers even make their own clothes and raise their own food. Of course the government does provide the PLA with some money, but they're pretty near self-sufficient. They showed us big fat pigs,

about 300-400 pounds; there must have been around 500 of them, right there in the camp. They had cows, and sheep, and chicks, and eggs. Some of the soldiers were husking rice - you know, taking that brown stuff off. Other soldiers repaired trucks and

made guns and ammunition. Right there, they had fields of rice that were tended by the soldiers. They didn't depend on some agency to bring in the milk, the rice, the butter, or the clothing. Right in that camp, they make nearly everything from scratch.

If most supplies were to get cut off 200 miles away, it wouldn't bother them. This would be particularly useful in time of war.

*Did you see many women in the PLA?*

Yes, they had quite a few women there and they were on an equal basis with the



"Any soldier or civilian who likes to eat but does not like to work cannot be considered a good soldier or a good citizen," wrote Mao Tsetung. Since 1927, the army's tradition of self-support in food, clothing, and equipment has won the warm support of the people.



There is no draft in China. Army volunteers serve for three years and have the option of re-enlisting. This PLA "barefoot doctor" also serves civilians in the surrounding area.

men. I don't think there is any job in the PLA that is restricted only to men. In fact, I got that same impression all over China. Women even get equal combat training. It may take more women to move a big rock, but it *can* be moved, and by women! They learn to fight with automatic weapons, to take bayonet training, and to destroy tanks. We saw all of this. They fire rocket launch-

ers from the hip just as well as I do from the shoulder. They can shoot bazookas and throw grenades.

The PLA soldiers learn very early why it is necessary to defend their country, and that motivates them. The only time we get motivated here in this country is when we are about to go to war, and then they start that stuff about being over there to protect

your country. But they never tell you what you are defending your country from. They say, "We don't want communism to spread." What does that tell me? First you have to tell me what communism is. Then you have to tell me how it's going to spread and how it's going to harm me. Nobody has ever been able to tell me that.

*Getting back to the PLA, did you notice much distinction between the officers and the enlisted men?*

No, but I tried to find out who the officers were. I was misled by some of the people with me who said that soldiers with a red patch on the collar were officers. But I found out that everyone had some red on their collars. The commanding officer's shoes were different. He had on all-leather black shoes. The rest of the soldiers wore something like soft, green tennis shoes. Aside from that, I didn't notice any distinctions of rank. [Officers have two extra pockets on their uniforms. *Ed.*]

*What else did you see?*

Well, we visited just one brigade and didn't even get a chance to see the whole thing. We saw people being trained and doing work just as if we weren't there. They didn't stop the whole show for us, but later on they did put on a very good cultural performance. It was about the PLA before the Revolution and it showed how they didn't have enough clothes and food and how difficult life was. It all boiled down to the changes that the Revolution brought.

*So you think you learned a lot from your trip?*

Yes. The US-China Peoples Friendship Association helped give me a clear picture of what to look for and what there was to see and learn in China. And once we get educated, we can go to the school system and say, "Hey, I want to know just how much you teach my child about other countries." We can try to see that they teach people the truth, not the brainwashing that I got. I'm not putting the teacher down who gave me all the misinformation, because I think she was told the same thing. But if she is still living today, I hope that she has re-educated herself like I did.

You're really not the same after being in China because when you're there, you see and feel how people should be treated. They teach unity and dignity for all people of all races throughout the world. The Chinese people never indicated to me that they hated Americans, although that's what I was led to believe. Now I know that they want to be friends with us.

It took me about two weeks after getting home to get my head back together. "Hey Pete," I said to myself, "you're back in America now. You have to think about all the things you saw and think about how you want to deal with them." ●

# Friendship Has A History

## Evans F. Carlson

by Peter Perl

As the gunboat U.S.S. *Chaumont* steamed toward Shanghai harbor in 1927, the Marine brass distributed a memorandum to officers explaining the need for a foreign presence in China. Americans living in the strife-torn country required protection, it claimed, because human life was cheap among the "barbaric" Chinese. Foreign involvement was doubly important because "the Chinese are not capable of governing themselves."

Among those who bought the Marine line was a young officer named Evans Fordyce Carlson, who later wrote home to his Connecticut family that the only effective American policy in the Orient was "to teach the Chinese a lesson" about who was boss. He readily accepted the official explanation that a bunch of Communist "bandits" was stirring up trouble among the "normally docile Chinese."

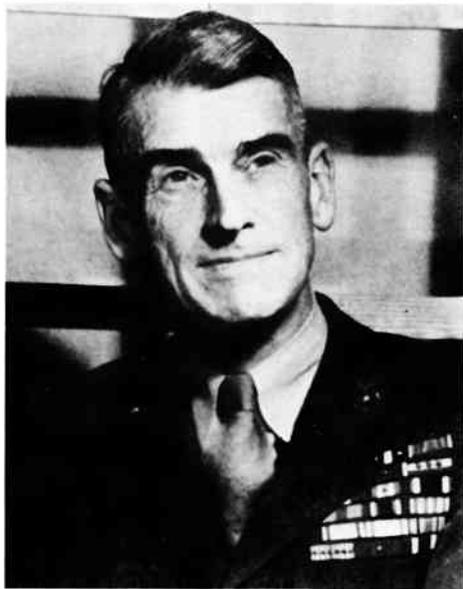
But a decade later, the formerly anti-Chinese, anti-Communist Evans Carlson, son of a conservative Yankee minister and much the conservative Yankee himself, journeyed on foot and horseback more than 1,000 miles behind the Japanese invaders' lines to the caves of Yen-an to meet these Communist "bandits." And the U.S. Marine came away describing the Chinese Communists as "brilliant, self-effacing leaders" who were developing "the nucleus of a practical Utopia" in China based upon principles he likened to Christ's.

The transformation of Evans Carlson is one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

In 1937, ten years after his first brief tour, Carlson was assigned to the Shanghai garrison as an intelligence officer. There he observed the activities of the United Front—the Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist Party in alliance against the Japanese. And there he witnessed a laggard and listless spirit plaguing the ranks of the KMT army under Chiang Kai-shek and his elite, corrupt officers. Of the KMT, Carlson noted: "The greatest obstacle to their efficiency is the concept of class privilege that prevails among the officers."

But there Carlson also heard of another kind of war and another kind of soldier battling against Japan in the north, an army

based on the broad support of the people. Convinced by his journalist friend Edgar Snow that something new was indeed happening in far-off Yen-an, Carlson left for the front to get a firsthand look at the new working style and fighting ability of the Red Army. For the next two years, the tall, tough Marine shared the hardship, fatigue, and



Marine Lt.-Colonel Evans F. Carlson in the 1940s. (Photo: courtesy of H. Deane)



On location as technical adviser to the film *Gung Ho*. (Photo: courtesy of Universal Pictures)

PETER PERL is a reporter for the *Journal Inquirer*, a *Manchester, Conn.*, daily, and contributes to *Connecticut Magazine*. He visited China in 1975.

even the diseases of the people he had once regarded as inferior.

In Yen-an, Carlson saw an army whose privates and generals were sharing the same hardships equally. He saw them abandoning the traditional idea of "saving face" and engaging instead in mass sessions of "criticism-self-criticism" to improve attitudes and performances. He saw the ongoing political education within the army, among the people of the countryside, and even among the Japanese prisoners — "ethical indoctrination," he dubbed it — aimed at making each man and woman a part of the process of building a new society.

He saw the reality of this new society in the liberated area of Shansi, where a provisional government had been set up. There he got a first glimpse of the new China: widespread drug use had stopped, goods were rationed equitably, corruption was dealt with harshly, and the people were moved by a new spirit.

Bringing word of these developments to the American people became the thrust of Carlson's effort. But the loyal Marine had a rude awakening when he learned that, despite public statements supporting the Chinese, the United States was actually supplying weapons to the Japanese. He leaked his story to the American press, outlining the victories of the Chinese Communists in the face of American aid to their enemy. He was consequently in disfavor with the military establishment and prevented from commenting further on the war. In 1939 he resigned from the Marines in order to be able to put China's cause before the American people.

For the next two years he worked tirelessly for China, speaking throughout the United States about Japanese aggression in

Asia and pleading with American bankers and industrialists to stop supplying Japan with much of its materiel. He found time, too, to publish two books – *Twin Stars of China* and *The Chinese Army* (both 1940) – that stressed the democratic character of the Communist forces and the importance of

U.S. support for the Chinese people's struggle.

After another trip to China in 1940, he campaigned among the American people and lobbied among the powerful, right up to President Roosevelt, for financial aid to the Chinese Industrial Cooperative Movement

(Indusco). With Rewi Alley, the well-known New Zealander who was one of Indusco's founders and for many years its field secretary, Carlson had visited Indusco centers throughout China and seen their efforts to keep the KMT fighting Japanese aggression instead of giving in, as many of the KMT leadership wanted to do. The 1,500 Indusco workshops were also producing much-needed goods for China and supplying thousands of jobs for war refugees. Carlson saw the cooperative movement as a basis for a new, healthy, and equitable economy for postwar China, and he called on America to help.

Japanese aggression continued to mount, however, and by early 1941, Carlson was convinced that the United States would soon be brought into the war. Eight months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, he rejoined the Marines.

Fame came to him in 1942 when "Carlson's Raiders," the small, highly motivated Marine unit he had trained, won several engagements and led the assault against the Japanese on Guadalcanal, proving that political awareness could turn American fighting men into some of the best soldiers in the world. The "Raiders" electrified Americans with their daring attacks and effectiveness, and were commemorated in the movie *Gung Ho*, with Randolph Scott portraying Carlson.

But the little-known fact behind Carlson's Raiders is that their commando style of warfare and the spirit that galvanized them into a selfless, devoted team had been learned by Carlson from Mao Tsetung, General Chu Teh, and the men and women of the Eighth Route Army. It was they who had taught Carlson the true meaning of *gung ho* – work together.

Carlson resumed his work on behalf of China after the war by organizing and leading two national citizens' groups, the National Committee to Win the Peace and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. In speaking tours throughout the country, Carlson stressed the need for people-to-people friendship between China and the United States, and argued against postwar aid to Chiang Kai-shek. He argued long and hard until his death in 1947, at age 51, during his campaign for U.S. Senate in California.

Evans Carlson's ability to come full circle from being an agent of oppression against the Chinese to being an active supporter of their genuine liberation sets an example which holds today. He summed up his experience, his conversion, quite briefly, as his biographer Michael Blankfort recounts in *The Big Yankee*: "People in this country don't like the word 'Communist.' But I've learned it's wise to go behind words and find out about action."

## Salute to Paul Robeson Friend of China

by Alice Childress



Paul Robeson, 1898-1976.

Paul Robeson was not the man to sit down to a full bowl while his brothers and sisters went hungry. Constantly under attack, because of his unrelenting fight against racism and inhuman treatment of the masses, he shouted his protests when others whispered theirs or remained silent. He so loved the American people that he dedicated his life to building a better society. Most of his time was spent in resistance against the genocidal persecution of his race as they suffered in the grasp of the first aftermath of bondage, legalized "Jim Crow."

He waged battle against unfair barriers and became a great scholar, athlete, linguist, artist, and a political activist of historic proportion. He carried the work songs, spirituals, and fighting stories of brave Afro-Americans to the world. After the government revoked his passport in

1950, Robeson, unable to travel, sang across the boundary line in a live concert to a Canadian audience. He stood firm in his beliefs through the era of McCarthyism, a time which destroyed many stalwarts on the battlefield of ideas. A government brief against him cited "his frank admission that he has been for years active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial people of Africa." The man answered that he was proud of such charges.

In a concert at Carnegie Hall in New York City, Robeson once spoke of the similarities he had discovered in Chinese and African languages, how their inflections so musically changed the meaning of one word into many others. He demonstrated by reciting in Mandarin and African tongues, and ended by saying that such cultural patterns held in common proved the kinship of humankind. He later made an album of Chinese people's revolutionary music titled *Chee Lai*, accompanied by a Chinese chorus conducted by Liu Liang-mo.

Robeson regularly petitioned and demanded that the People's Republic of China be seated in its rightful place at the United Nations, and he lived to see that moment of justice done. He spoke out against armed intervention in the Asian and African peoples' struggle for independence.

Today he is universally remembered through books, film, sculpture, tape, records, and the praises of the people. In 1952 he received the Stalin Peace Award. A lofty mountain in the Ala-tor chain in the Soviet Union is named "Robeson" in his honor. He lived to see the day when the People's Republic of China clasped hands with the African nations of Tanzania and Zambia, helping them finance and build a great railroad which further builds friendship, peace, and progress between two continents.

Paul Robeson's greatest dream – a world at peace, the hungry fed, and an end to racism – is left for us to achieve. Farewell to Paul Robeson, alive forever!

ALICE CHILDRESS is a writer-director. She wrote a column, "Conversations from Life," for Paul Robeson's newspaper Freedom.

# On the Road in Inner Mongolia

by Lois Wheeler Snow



An art troupe rehearses on its way to the next performance in Inner Mongolia. Woodcut by Chang Chen-chi.

In Inner Mongolia, “Off Broadway” is not just around the corner from the theaters and cinemas of the provincial capital, Huhhot. It stretches out to herders’ brigades on the vast steppes, to villages of wool-felt yurts fastened down in ever-changing desert sands, and to seminomadic animal husbandry camps hundreds of miles up into China’s vast northwest.

For six or seven months a year, until winter forbids travel, troupes of young actors, musicians, singers, and dancers tour this remote area by trucks, jeeps, horses – and when all else fails, on two-humped camels – which carry them and their makeup, costumes, musical instruments, sets, and props into the grasslands and desert to serve

inhabitants with eagerly received entertainment.

It’s a far cry from Broadway in many other ways. These artists are never idle, never without salary and medical coverage; they have no housing problems, no income tax to pay; and their training doesn’t cost them a cent. No admission is charged for performances and the companies are completely subsidized by the government. The actors pay for their own personal and family expenses, but are furnished extra necessities while on tour; fur coats, boots, blankets, and even after-theater supper for hungry performers are all free of charge. They create their own scripts and songs, manage the company themselves, and train the successors who will carry on when the present generation “retires” into teaching or organizational work in theater and dance schools throughout the country. A great deal of time must pass before this happens – the average age of today’s performers is 25.

The troupes are called Ulanmuchi – Mongolian for “Red Light Cavalry of the

Grasslands.” They perform, sometimes twice a day, before hundreds of fellow citizens in the faraway reaches of the third largest province in the People’s Republic of China. Counterparts to Ulanmuchi, with differing names, are to be found in many sections of China. They perform primarily for those people whose occupations keep them removed from city bright lights and accessible entertainment.

The Ulanmuchi troupes are a product of a concentrated drive to preserve, rather than assimilate, the different languages, customs, and cultures of what the Han Chinese call “fraternal minorities.” As a result, there has been great progress in bilingual – even trilingual – education, newspapers, and literature, and an upsurge – a resurrection in some cases – of folk theater, music, dance, and arts.

Earlier products of this drive were “Cultural Houses,” which are responsible for training and sending teams to outlying regions where they project films, tell stories, give out books, and even do spare-

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LOIS WHEELER SNOW spent five months in China in 1970 with her late husband, Edgar Snow, and has made two return visits. Among her writings are *China on Stage* and *A Death with Dignity*. A longer version of this article appeared in *Eastern Horizon*, XIII (1974), No. 6.



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CHINA...**

to see for yourself the enormous strides that the Chinese people have made since their liberation in 1949.

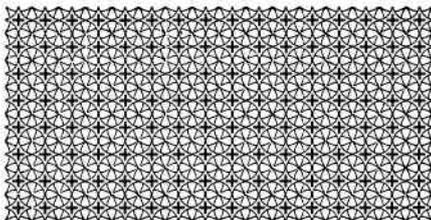
So do 500,000 other Americans who have already inquired about entry visas, but only a few thousand Americans will be able to travel to China this year.

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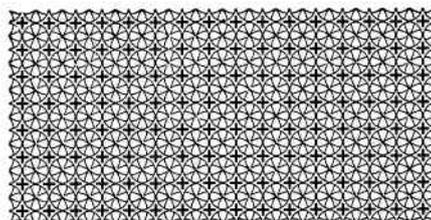
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time odd jobs such as repairing radios, clocks, and bicycles. By the early 1960s, the demand for more entertainment brought about the Ulanmuchi troupes, which are more specialized. They served as models for similar ensembles that now reach from the icy peaks of Tibet to the tropical shores of Hainan Island.

Twenty-eight-year-old Tuligar, raven-haired and bright-eyed, has been in the ranks of Huhhot's Ulanmuchi since its inception. His Mongolian ancestry zings out of his fingertips when he touches a musical instrument, whether a Western accordion, a bamboo flute, or a native xylophone. He has composed many of the songs played and sung by the troupe, using for material the people of the grasslands, their history, struggles, present joys, and past woes. His wife is also a member, and when the two of them are away on the yearly months-long tour, they leave their baby behind in grandmother's care.

Another of the five original members of the troupe is a tall, striking woman named Mulan. Her repertoire includes songs in Tibetan, Korean, and Uighur, as well as the Mongolian folk lullabies she learned as a shepherdess on the grass plains of the north. A nationwide endeavor to find and use the country's existing talents encourages thousands of young people to participate each year in local amateur contests, as Mulan herself had done.

Based in the city when not on tour, the troupe leads a busy life. Mornings are devoted to basic technique — the practice of ballet, gymnastics, acrobatics, singing, instruments, and folk dance. Afternoons are given over to rehearsing current numbers or creative work on future projects.

The future projects come from individual or collective inspiration and are carried out by group work, with the more experienced members leading the others. "We decide through discussion," Tuligar explained. "Someone comes up with an idea — usually something that's happened on tour — for example, a People's Liberation Army soldier giving medical care to a herdsman injured in a storm. Should it be a dance? Or a small play? When the form is decided upon, some of us are chosen to write the words or the music. More discussion follows before a full plan is achieved. There's not necessarily *one* playwright or *one* choreographer — several of us work on a script or the dance patterns together. We try them out and others join in with opinions and ideas."

"Is there overall leadership?" I asked. "Yes," he replied. "Five people are responsible for finishing the new works — polishing, costuming, and so forth. But everyone discusses the work throughout, so there is group participation and agreement."

There is also a director in charge of

administration, personnel, and general business. He is 28-year-old Chiremutu, a former shepherd who was discovered, like Mulan, in an amateur performance. He is good "in every field, politically and artistically," I was told. When his comrades chose him as leader, the appointment was ratified by "our superior level," which means the Cultural Bureau of the region, under the State Council of the central government.

The political instructor, a young woman, is in charge of the discussions and study that occupy eight hours every working week. This is as basic as physical training, for the artists "serve the people," not their own egos, and they are as politically conscious and motivated as any workers in the land. Political education is part and parcel of life in China. In the theater it molds dancers who carry ballet slippers onto threshing grounds and actors who put aside costumes for work clothes to labor alongside the peasants who make up the evening's audience. Inner Mongolia's traveling entertainers milk cows, shear sheep, corral herds, and help in dozens of seasonal tasks.

I spent part of my time speaking with members of the troupe on the all-important subject of minorities. China has made more than a beginning on solutions to the racial problems that still tear at the fibers of our Western world. The cultures and peoples of many nationalities are more and more able to mix with ease. A race riot is highly unlikely and discrimination is looked upon as backward. It is in China's theater that one sees clearly some of the resulting benefits, for the music, languages, and arts of different peoples are presented before multinational audiences who relish the rich mingling of their varied cultures. In this sphere, the theater has played a vanguard role.

The performance I saw was in a real theater in Huhhot. The evening's pace was set when the curtains parted on ten girl dancers swirling about in a burst of color and sound. The Mongolian language has a particular beauty, a cadence that when combined with music seems to conjure up all sorts of things, like waterfalls and bird cries and the rush of wind through trees. And behind it all, there seems to be a plaintive echo from the lonely steppes. Music and dance mingle entertainment with political education.

Back at the hotel, at the end of the evening, I let the music of Mongolia sweep out of my tape recorder for a moment. I'd have given a lot to see that performance on a moonlit harvest field, in company with the herdspeople who were being inspired politically and artistically, before the touring troupe packed up its costumes and returned the desert and plains to the long silence of winter nights.

## Books

**Huan-Ying: Workers' China.** By Janet Goldwasser and Stuart Dowty. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975. 404 pp. Cloth, \$12.50 (paperback edition to appear June 1976).

**The Chinese Worker.** By Charles Hoffman. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1974. 252 pp., illus. Cloth, \$15.

**Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China: Changes in Management and the Division of Labor.** By Charles Bettelheim. Translated by Alfred Ehrenfeld. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974. 128 pp. Paperback \$2.95.

These three books about factory life and the working class in China provide interesting and thought-provoking answers to important questions about socialism in the People's Republic: What difference has socialism made in the lives of China's working people? What is life like for the worker inside and outside the factory? How do workers exercise control over the management of their factories? And what has all this meant for China's economy?

American political activists Janet Goldwasser and Stuart Dowty, authors of *Huan-Ying: Workers' China*, traveled in six provinces during their seven-week trip in 1971, visiting 18 factories in 14 cities and also several communes. From the perspective of their grass-roots political experience in the United States, they try to make Chinese reality come alive for Americans.

Wherever they went, they received a warm and friendly welcome — hence *huan-ying* in their title, Chinese for “welcome.” Yet their language doesn't entirely convey the warmth and enthusiasm they seem to have felt among Chinese workers. When they speak of their flight to China as “jetting into 24-hour daylight,” or describe the pomposity of an American journalist they met there, they are on more familiar ground, and their words flow freely, the images seem real. But when they plunge into the unfamiliar territory of Chinese factories, their language becomes more stylized and stiff. The main reason for this may be that the welcoming interviews, though friendly, were nevertheless formal, as they are for most visitors.

The formality of the situation had one advantage, however; it enabled them to take voluminous notes — even the Chinese teased them about writing so much — from which they have provided us with rich details on

daily life and work. This is where their book excels.

From data carefully gathered in each factory, they report on many subjects of interest to American workers and union members: wages and hours, working conditions, overtime, decision-making, workers' control over the pace of production, the role of trade unions, grievance procedures, and the atmosphere created by personal relationships among people in the plant. They also describe the nature of technical innovation, the role and composition of Revolutionary Committees and Communist Party Committees, and the many non-production activities of the factories, including education, recreation, and child care. In all of these areas, *Huan-Ying: Workers' China* is indispensable.

While *Huan-Ying* focuses on details, economist Charles Hoffman's *The Chinese Worker* gives an overview, based on his 1973 trip. Hoffman places the industrial sector in the context of socialist development strategy, which he calls the “Maoist model” of society and economy. He offers a very positive view of China's ability to create and maintain highly egalitarian social relationships between workers and managers, and confirms Goldwasser and Dowty's report that steps are being taken to lessen the gap

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between the highest and lowest incomes. The book also succinctly describes urban-rural relationships, the planning process, employment patterns and problems, the process of labor allocation, the role of trade unions, and the problems facing China as a poor, mainly agricultural and technologically developing country. Although Hoffman's language is academic and specialized, it is still accessible to the interested average reader.

*Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China* by the French Marxist theoretician Charles Bettelheim draws out the theoretical implications for socialism that emerge from the planning and management practices dealt with in the other two books. After describing in depth the actual workings of the Peking General Knitwear Mill, which was a model for revolutionary management during the Cultural Revolution, Bettelheim goes on to show how changes in management and the division of labor helped to reduce the gap between mental and manual work, and how exchanges between factory managers and workers have affected the planning process in the Chinese economy as a whole.

Bettelheim also deals with the guiding political principles of Chinese economic planning which give local and provincial authorities broad initiative within the central plan and allow workers greater control over production decisions. Drawing on his studies of the Soviet economy, he compares China's performance to that of the USSR, where a very different planning and coordinative process has served to increase both inequality and reliance on profit as a determinant of economic activity.

His analysis is most penetrating in showing how political developments in China since the Cultural Revolution have influenced the process of transformation from socialism to communism. The changes in China's factories since the Cultural Revolution are without parallel, Bettelheim feels, and show how a concrete basis may be laid for communist society where the differences between managers and workers completely disappear. His postscript discusses some of the confusing events of the Cultural Revolution by analyzing the activities of the "ultra-left" groups. While those not familiar with Marxist terminology may find portions of the book difficult, Bettelheim's work is extremely important for understanding the theoretical basis of socialism in China.

Different as they are, the three books agree on several main points. First, Chinese workers are making truly serious and practical efforts to lay the foundations of communism in their country, and many have an impressive, even unprecedented, under-

standing of the numerous technical, economic, political, and psychological problems involved. Second, workers do have significant, though still not complete, control over the knowledge and technology used in production, and hence are acquiring the tools with which to preserve and extend their political control. Third, the present trend toward extending this control shows up in the new educational practices and the development of new work relationships within the factories based on a non-exploitative use and understanding of human labor.

None of these books pictures China as a perfect society or a model to be followed unquestioningly. The Chinese do not see themselves that way either. But one must agree with Goldwasser and Dowty that although there remain many political and economic problems which demand consistent and thorough attack to insure the Revolution's continued success, "China's socialism in today's world . . . not only attracts attention. It commands attention."

Steve Andors  
New York, N.Y.

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## Film

**The Barefoot Doctors of Rural China.** Produced and directed by Diane Li. 60 minutes. Color. Available for rental (\$80) or purchase (\$720) from Diane Li Productions, P.O. Box 2110, Stanford, Calif. 94305.

A horse receiving acupuncture? The horse is tied between two trees so he can't kick as a barefoot doctor administers the needles to his ear. Quite a sight! . . . A fully awake patient feeling no pain as a barefoot doctor pulls his tooth without anesthesia? The doctor presses his thumb on the patient's cheek and that's it - acupressure deadens the nerve connected to the tooth long enough to extract it. . . . Children playing with "earth turtles" - large beetles used in ancient traditional medicine and through research now known to have no medicinal value. . . . These scenes, and many others equally interesting, all drawn from the life and work of the new peasant health workers, make up Diane Li's *The Barefoot Doctors of Rural China*.

*Barefoot Doctors* - the term is Chinese, coined since the Revolution - was filmed by a team of eight Chinese-Americans, including doctors and public health specialists, during extensive visits to communes, medical schools, and hospitals throughout China. The film brings to life the most important accomplishment of the health system: its startling progress in providing basic services to the 600 million inhabitants of the Chinese countryside. Offering vivid

glimpses of the health workers, whose extraordinary self-reliance and dedication to their communities have made possible a veritable explosion of low-cost health care, the film unflinchingly links the revolution in health to the effort to build a socialist China. The result is to illuminate not only major achievements in the health field, but significant human dimensions of the Chinese road to development.

Since 1965, China has trained more than one million barefoot doctors. Selected by their fellow commune members, they are responsible for the prevention and cure of local health problems ranging from human and animal diseases to birth control, family planning, and environmental protection. These peasant doctors, most of whom initially receive four to six months training, continue to live and work on the commune they came from. They till the fields approximately half of their working hours, their medical bags always handy so they can treat illnesses and accidents on the spot. Their income is comparable to that of the other peasants. They educate and take the lead in local campaigns to overcome sanitation and health problems, and their future is bound up with the progress of the communal experiment. As the basic link in a national health system, they consult with, provide referrals to, and receive periodic instruction from better trained medical personnel at the commune, district, and higher levels.

The film is low-key, warm, personal, and often visually beautiful. Numerous scenes show what the barefoot doctors do, where they are trained, and some of the people who train them. These new health workers are responsible for many things besides taking care of the sick: inspecting and treating latrines, which provide fertilizer; growing and preparing low-cost herbal medicines; mobilizing whole villages to help eliminate disease-carrying pests and swampy breeding areas; and spearheading the family planning campaign which is presently sweeping China. One scene near the beginning of the film poignantly expresses the dual role of the barefoot doctor. It is a long-distance shot of peasants working in a field. In the foreground, off to one side, is a tree with a barefoot doctor's medical bag hanging on it.

Toward the end of the film there are scenes of a barefoot doctor dispensing information on birth control and family planning. Ultimately, in a nation producing 15 million children a year, a great deal depends on winning people away from the traditional and tenacious belief that having a lot of children, particularly males, is the key to a rewarding life and security in old age. The advance of the communes and 14 consecutive bumper harvests have created the conditions for optimism about the future which are the essential prerequisites to bal-

anced population growth. Yet the barefoot doctors, dispensing free pills and information, are an important part of China's success in family planning.

*Barefoot Doctors* brings out innumerable interesting facts. Here are a few of the more striking ones: more than half of the barefoot doctors are women; the cost of medicine in China has dropped 80 percent since 1952; barefoot doctors are usually trained during agricultural slack seasons when the peasants are not busy in the fields; some of the barefoot doctors have the chance to continue their schooling and become regular doctors; and the city of Shanghai produces more birth control pills than any nation except China.

*The Barefoot Doctors of Rural China*, the producer's first picture, is not without flaws, such as excessive reliance on a narrator with a wearily bland voice. Nevertheless, it is a beautiful film — one which breaks through many American stereotypes, revealing lively, warm, and, yes, fallible human beings as it chronicles the extraordinary saga of an entire people taking the matter of health into their own hands.

Mark Selden  
St. Louis, Mo.

## Suggested Reading

### Taching

*Taching: Red Banner on China's Industrial Front*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972. 35 cents.

"Women Oil Extractors of Taching" by Hsin Hua, in *New Women in New China*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972. 50 cents.

"On the Taching Oilfield" by Wilfred Burchett, *Eastern Horizon*, XII (1973), No. 4. 50 cents.

### Legal System

"The Evolution and Development of the Chinese Legal System" by Victor H. Li, in *China: Management of a Revolutionary Society*, ed. John M. Lindbeck. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971. \$4.95.

*Prisoners of Liberation* by Adele and Allyn Rickett. New York: Anchor Books, 1973 [1957]. \$2.50.

### Sports

*Sports in China* (photo essay). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973. \$2.45.

### Revolutionary Theater and Art

*Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* (1942) by Mao Tsetung. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967. 25 cents.

*China on Stage* by Lois Wheeler Snow. New York: Vintage Books, 1973. \$2.45.

### Women

*The Women's Movement in China: A Selection of Readings, 1949-1973*, ed. Elisabeth Croll.

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London: Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute, Modern China Series, No. 6, 1974. \$2.50.

### Friendship Has A History

*The Chinese Army: Its Organization and Military Efficiency* by Evans F. Carlson. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, Publications Office, 1940. (out of print)

*Twin Stars of China* by Evans F. Carlson. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1940. (out of print)

*The Big Yankee: The Life of Carlson of the Raiders* by Michael Blankfort. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1947. (out of print)

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