

New China

Summer 1975 Published by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association Volume 1, Number 2

Medicine: How China Keeps Healthy

Shirley MacLaine on China

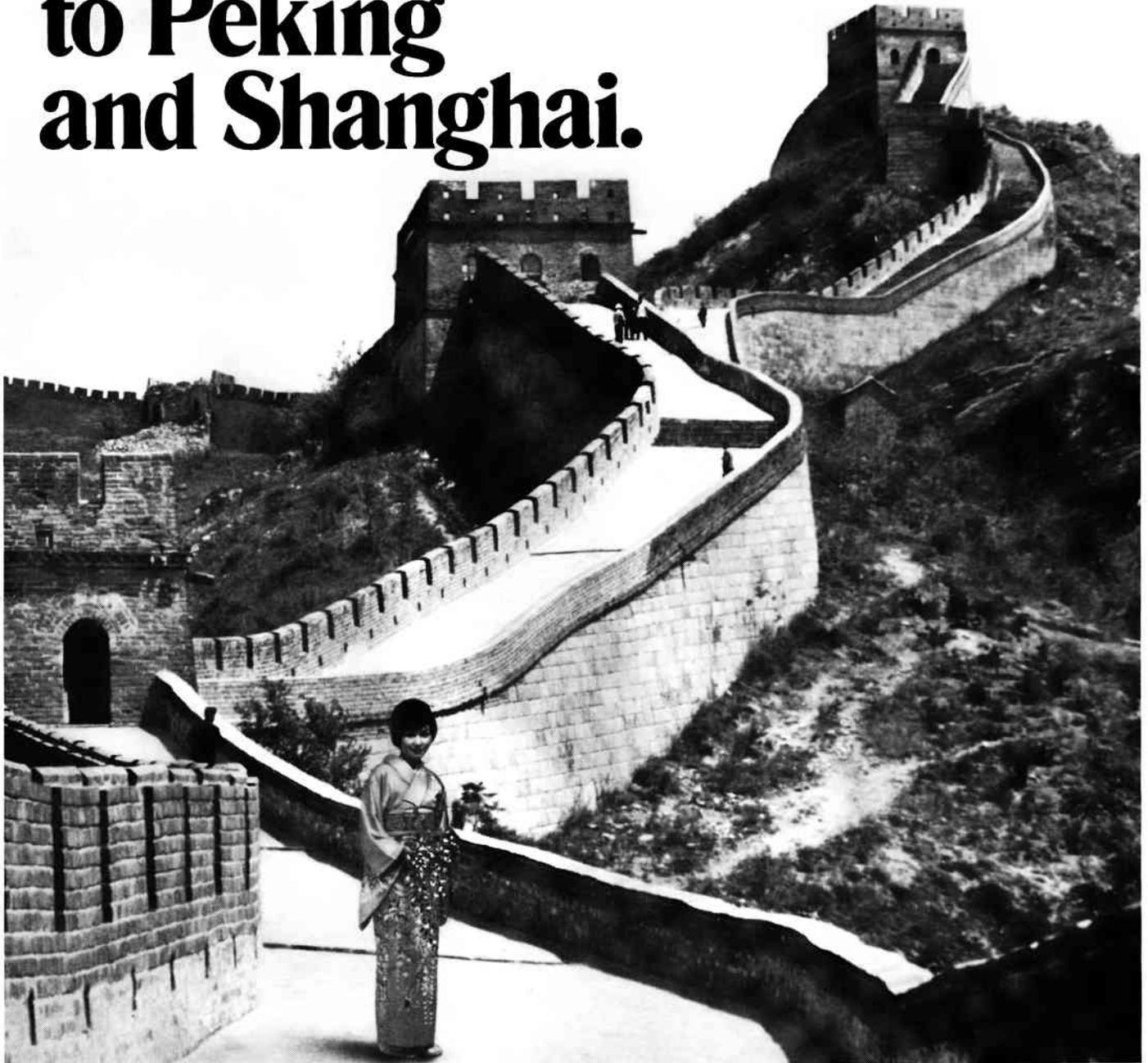
Religion

A Chinese-American Returns "Home"

Chou En-lai Interview, Part 2



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CHINA PAPERBACKS FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

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USCPFA News

Chicago Mr. Roland Berger, a trade consultant from London who has visited the People's Republic 25 times, spoke at a February 10th luncheon organized by the Chicago USCPFA and a group of business executives. Eighty people from a wide cross-section of the Chicago business community heard him talk about U.S.—China trade potential.

Mr. Berger suggested that American businessmen can demonstrate their desire to be friendly trading partners by using their influence to bring about the full implementation of the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué. He stressed the need for full diplomatic relations between the two countries if trade is to increase. Trade between Britain and China took a sharp upturn following the establishment of relations at the ambassadorial level in 1972.

Another suggestion was that salesmen should have the most up-to-date and detailed knowledge of their product and that every sales team should include technical experts to answer searching questions.

The Kwangchow (Canton) Export Commodities Fair, held every spring and fall, is when most purchases are usually made. At the last fair, in fall 1974, over 25,000 visitors attended from over 100 countries. The Chinese are anxious to deliver a good product; as an example, Berger cited the changes made in certain canned foods being exported to Britain to create a product more appealing to British taste.

Princeton "China and the Third World" was the topic of discussion on March 15 at Princeton, N.J. Paul Lin and William Hinton were featured speakers in a program sponsored by the Friendship Association and the Chinese Student Association that drew over 500 people. Two hundred copies of *New China* magazine were sold at this event.

New Haven Seventy-two people turned out for the first program of the New Haven Organizing Committee. The program featured Dale Galston speaking on education in the communes and Felix Greene's film *Eight or Nine in the Morning*. In the following week the film was shown to more than 800 people at high schools, two community colleges, and a women's center. On February 25, Helen Snow showed slides from her recent trip to China at a membership meeting. The International Women's Day event included two films, *Sisters of the Grasslands* and *Red Detachment of Women*.

New York City Seven hundred people attended the Association's "Women in China" program on March 9 in celebration of International Women's Day. The cultural presentation included singing by the "Friendship Chorus," dances by the Chinese Cultural Dance Group, and a playlet by the South Bronx Adult Education Group. The speakers were Susan Warren, author of *China's Voice in the United Nations* and founding chairperson of the Association in New York City, and Shirley

Corrections for Vol. 1, No. 1 Elizabeth Moos is a retired educator and long-time peace activist. She visited China in 1973.

The unidentified person in the photo on p. 13 is Chen Chi-hung, an official of the American and Oceanian Department of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China.

New China Volume 1, Number 2 Summer 1975

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

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

Graham DuBois, author of numerous books, including an upcoming book on women in China. Members of the Association's Media Committee videotaped the event for future showing on cable TV.

The South The USCPFA has been growing in the South, as in other parts of the country. Beginning with one Association in Atlanta in early 1972, the number expanded to three with the addition of Tallahassee and Birmingham by the time of the National Founding Convention last Labor Day; Nashville and Gainesville followed shortly after.

Sixteen people from eight southern cities visited China as a Friendship Association delegation in the fall of 1974, and in January 1975 people from ten cities met in Atlanta to plan a Southern Conference of the USCPFA.

The conference took place in Birmingham in mid-May. The guest speaker was Adele Rickett, co-author of *Prisoners of Liberation*, who spoke in several cities before the conference. Edgar Snow's movie *One-Fourth of Humanity* was shown, and there was a demonstration of the famous Tai Chi Chuan exercises. A number of workshops took place on building and broadening local associations and doing outreach work among various groups in the community.

Ithaca During April the Association held an exciting ten-day "China Week" on the Cornell University campus and in the Ithaca community. Speakers and visitors came from about ten other friendship associations to participate in the events. Workshops on the "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" campaign, the Taiwan question, national minorities, education, and China's foreign policy encouraged lively discussion. Lectures, slide shows, photo exhibits, an arts and handicrafts fair, a concert, and a Chinese dinner were among other activities.

Philadelphia In February 1975 the Association arranged a weekend visit to the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, for a group of high school students and their teachers. They spent the afternoon talking in small, informal groups with students from China who are attending Carleton University. For many of the American students, this was their first time out of Philadelphia. The Embassy hosts and the Chinese students were gracious and put everyone at ease. The American students' questions ranged from "Does everyone in China practice *kung fu*?" to "What is the role of the Red Guards?" The most popular topics were sports and politics, in that order.

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Three students and their teachers presented a slide show about life in the inner-city of Philadelphia, gang warfare, and the problems of being Black, contrasting those slides with pictures of a cross-country trip some of the students had taken. The Embassy showed a film about the National Day celebration on October 1, 1974, and then invited the students to a delicious "light" dinner with an astonishing variety and quantity of food.

The students were greatly impressed by not only the warm and friendly reception they had received, but also the careful and

serious attention given to their questions and the genuine interest of the Chinese people in the people of the United States.

This trip was a result of outreach work done by the Association Curriculum Committee. For more information on planning trips of this kind, contact Janet Costner or Victor Gonzales, Curriculum Committee, Philadelphia USCPFA.

*

"A New Look at New China," held on the University of Pennsylvania campus, March 21-23, saw a lively weekend of speakers, films, workshops, and panels that

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drew people from as far away as Georgia, Vermont, and Michigan. Participants included Lois Snow, Gerald Tannebaum, Chen Yuan-chi, Sam and Helen Rosen, Erica Jen, Carma Hinton, Neville Maxwell, William Hinton, Shirley Graham DuBois, and Clark Kissinger. Among the subjects covered were the transformation of China, theater, health care, education, women, communes, China and the Third World, and Chinese foreign policy. One highlight of the weekend was the debut showing of Felix Greene's new movie, *The Freedom Railroad*, about the building of the Tanzania-Zambia railway with Chinese aid.

BRIEFLY NOTED

Los Angeles In order to better understand how China's economy works, the Association sponsored Paul Sweezy, economist and editor of *Monthly Review*, speaking about his recent trip to China.

Tucson Members of the Tucson Association have made special efforts to increase their outreach efforts by appearing on local television.

Nassau County (New York) In February the Nassau County Association sponsored a speech on "Science and Education in China" by Dr. C. N. Yang, Nobel Laureate, Einstein Professor and head of the Institute of Theoretical Physics at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Orange County (California) The Orange County Association has formed chapters in Long Beach, at the University of California at Irvine, and in South Orange County. The prospects for even more activity in this southern California county are promising, with over 300 people already on the mailing list.

Hawaii During January and February, the Hawaii Friendship Association arranged numerous showings of the film *Han Tomb Find—The 2100-Year-Old Woman*, and has been successful in broadening its outreach to include not only libraries, schools, civic centers, and hospitals, but also an archeology society, a society of mechanical engineers, and the Hawaiian Telephone Company.

Associations are encouraged to send news of interesting or unusual activities to New China for inclusion in USCPFA News.

Archaeological Exhibit Held Over

The Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of The People's Republic of China, originally scheduled to end its U.S. tour June 8, 1975, has had its stay extended. The exhibit will be on view at the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, June 28–August 28.



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Health Care for 800 Million People

Helen Zia

In the busy provincial city of Sian, Gao Han-lan works at a tool-and-die cutting machine in a precision parts factory. The young mother of a three-year-old, Ms. Gao is expecting her second child; soon she will switch to lighter work within the factory. Each month she receives a pre-natal gynecological examination for a nominal fee at the local health center and as her pregnancy progresses she will be examined once each week. The baby will be delivered in a city hospital under medical supervision, and when Ms. Gao returns home, she will be visited by a neighborhood health worker who will advise her on birth control.

Born a few years before the Communist Liberation in 1949, both Ms. Gao and her

husband have witnessed great changes in the health care system. Their children will benefit from these changes by having a clean environment to grow up in, without fear of injury or death from preventable diseases. Already the three-year-old has received most of her immunizations at her day care center.

It has only been since the Communist Revolution that the Chinese have had any medical treatment available. Before 1949 China had no organized health services for its people. The few hospitals and doctors were pathetically inadequate. Of the 10,000 doctors and 500 hospitals of all descriptions, most were located in big coastal cities, and were accessible only to businessmen, foreigners, officials, and others who could afford the cost of good health. Epidemics ravaged the country and whole villages were wiped out by diseases arising from poverty and malnutrition. Ms. Gao would certainly not have received any pre-natal care; if she were lucky, she might have been helped at childbirth by a more experienced

woman. Her baby would probably not have survived the traumas of birth, and Ms. Gao herself might well have perished.

Even if Ms. Gao and her child had survived, the hazards of living would have posed a significant challenge. With the vast population of China weak from malnutrition and the ravages of war in 1949, tens of millions were victims of malaria, schistosomiasis, and venereal disease; tuberculosis, kala-azar, hookworm, and leprosy were unchecked. The complete lack of sanitation resulting from poverty and ignorance brought with it heavy tolls from diseases such as typhoid, cholera, dysentery, and worm infestation. The people lived on the fringes of starvation, which so lowered their resistance to disease that epidemics carried off thousands every year. One humanitarian association alone reported that, in a single year, it cleared the streets, alleys, and vacant lots of Shanghai of more than 23,000 dead infants and 400 adult corpses.

In view of this incomplete though startling list of devastating ills, it is amazing

Helen Zia, an American-born Chinese, visited China in 1972 to study the health care system. She is a graduate of Princeton University and presently attends medical school in Boston. This article is reprinted, with some changes, from China: People—Questions (Friendship Press, 1975).



"Medicinal Herb Station in a Mountain Village" by Liu Zhi-de

that the incidence of disease and death was not higher. Many of these diseases could easily have been prevented through a little public education, and many people could have been cured by simple and inexpensive treatment. Yet even minimal public health efforts were not undertaken by the Kuomintang government. Except for a few minor projects, conducted primarily as political showcases to influence international opinion, investment in training programs or other health activities was directed to the army, not to the general populace.

When the Kuomintang government was overthrown in 1949, the Communists faced a monumental challenge. Merely to improve health conditions would be an overwhelmingly complex task. Not only would epidemics have to be crushed and the people educated in basic hygiene and sanitation, but a whole network of health facilities was also needed, with adequate personnel trained to implement public health policies. Even more difficult was the problem of re-educating the existing handful of medical personnel whose skills were precious but

who had been taught a very different value system in medical care. Such people would have to learn to work not for material and purely self-satisfying rewards, but for the people.

Instead of embarking on separate programs for each problem, the Communist government first established a set of guidelines for all health work. At the First National Health Congress, four basic principles were set forth: (1) health work should primarily serve the laboring people, the workers, peasants, and soldiers; (2) the main emphasis should be placed on preventive medicine; (3) close unity between Chinese and Western-trained doctors should be fostered; and (4) wherever possible, health work should be conducted by mass campaigns with the active participation of medical workers.

With this statement, health is explicitly defined in a political context. Under the new government, health care would also advance socialist construction by being geared toward the majority of the Chinese people, not to a wealthy minority. If viewing medical care in an openly political and economic context seems unfamiliar or wrong to us, it may be that we are overlooking the economic terms underlying our own medical system. In the West, we speak of "providers" and "consumers" of health care, which clearly expresses our conception of it as a commodity to be bought and sold. The Chinese chose to make adequate health care not only a right for all, but also a responsibility of all, by demanding cooperative efforts to promote public sanitation and health education.

Given the devastating effects of the diseases that ran rampant through China before 1949, it was clear that the first effort had to be directed toward eradicating these illnesses. The first health campaigns were conducted on a massive scale and used many approaches. Curative treatment and inoculations were performed, but education played a significant role. Teams of health workers and cadres visited villages and put on dramatic performances to illustrate how diseases are transmitted and how the villagers could alter the conditions that fostered disease. Microscopes were set up so that people could see the micro-organisms that made them ill.

Improving conditions also meant changing people's life styles, and this was actually done by going from home to home, noting conditions and explaining to families what had to be done and why. If a drastic adjust-



Pre-Liberation army hospital patients sunning themselves on beds made from a table, a stretcher, and a door. (Photo: AFSC)

ment was necessary—digging a new latrine or locating a new source of well water, for example—help came from the health workers and other community people. If a household continued to have problems, cadres would return to study the problem.

Some diseases were more difficult to handle than others. As destructive and as widespread as syphilis was, people were still reluctant to request treatment because of the social stigma. But when they learned how syphilis had made them victims of the former society, they brought their family members to be cured. Prostitutes, many of whom were forced as young girls to sell themselves in order to survive, were especially encouraged to “speak bitterness” and examine the reasons for their situation. Moreover, they were given other work so that they too could contribute to building a new China. In this way syphilis was completely eliminated. By bringing information to the masses and thereby winning their confidence, the Chinese Communists obtained the support of the people in eradicating other health problems, such as the “four pests”—rats, flies, mosquitoes, and bedbugs—and ensuring cooperation in maintaining public health.

Another remarkable achievement of the new government was the elimination of

drug addiction. Opium and other narcotics such as morphine and heroin had been widely used among Chinese. Opium smoking, first introduced by British traders, had become deeply entrenched as a social and economic institution. For the poor, it created a cycle of poverty, despair, and addiction, while for the rich it was a luxury and status symbol. Morphine, known as the “Jesus drug” because missionaries dispensed it as a cure for opium addiction, was widely used as a cheaper alternative to opium. Early attempts to eliminate drug use were completely ineffective, because narcotics traffic was a major source of revenue for foreign imperialists such as England, Portugal, the United States, and Japan, and later for the Kuomintang.

But since 1949, drug addiction has been eradicated. The Communists had the will and organization to campaign against cultivation of the drugs even in the most remote areas of China, and poppy growers were persuaded to produce other crops. Penalties against drug merchants were strictly enforced by a government that had no economic and political ties to those in the trade. Drug addicts were given medical treatment to end their addiction and political education to expose the historical nature of their oppressive habit. Most im-

portant, the addicts were given a more meaningful life through participation as first-class citizens in building a dynamic and hopeful China.

Implementation of these health policies required many more trained health workers than the few thousand Western-trained doctors who remained in China. Instead of postponing major health work by several years until new personnel could be trained, the Communists enlisted the help of the traditional Chinese doctors. This decision to integrate the two types of practice raised some old controversies. In the past, Western-trained doctors and Chinese traditional doctors had remained completely separate. The traditional doctors relied on old techniques, such as acupuncture and herbal medicine, and were thus regarded as witch doctors and charlatans by modern doctors. Yet the traditional doctors had served for centuries, and for most Chinese they were the natural ones to turn to. The estimated 250,000 traditional doctors in China were therefore an immediate resource to be tapped.

Out of necessity, then, the Western-trained doctors worked with the traditional doctors and soon learned from them. The highly technical training and separate social status of the Western-trained doctors

had kept them in many ways aloof from the people they treated. Ignorant of the people's needs, they often prescribed treatment inappropriate to their patients. For example, Western-produced drugs or surgical procedures are extremely expensive and beyond the means of the vast majority of Chinese. On the other hand, traditional medicine relies on locally grown herbs and an inexpensive set of needles for acupuncture, as well as being culturally more consistent with the Chinese way of life. Acupuncture and herbal medicine have proved to be extremely effective for common illnesses.

Innovative methods for treating chronic problems such as arthritis are constantly being tested in China today, with results superior to those achieved by Western medicine. Cooperation between Western-

trained practitioners and traditional healers has provided an essential scientific exchange. In the long run, this policy has led to the integration of knowledge from both schools of medical education.

But blending the practices of Western and traditional personnel was significant not only for the economic and cultural advantages in the medical field; it also represented an essential development in socialist construction. Throughout China many age-old traditions were re-evaluated for their relevance in a modernizing country, while modern approaches were scrutinized in the light of China's conditions and people. The medical profession participated in this broad struggle by bringing together two groups with very different training and philosophies. In working to improve the people's health conditions, each group

learned the advantages and disadvantages of the other's approach. Through criticism-self-criticism and a common desire to build a socialist China, the useful elements of both disciplines were maintained while the impractical and inappropriate ones were discarded.

As the number of health personnel grew, the health network also expanded. Since most of the existing resources were in the cities, organization began there. Residential areas were organized into small units. Every few city blocks would have a centrally located infirmary, staffed by local residents with some training in health care. These health workers, who were often housewives, knew their neighbors well and were responsible for promoting good sanitation, dispensing health education and birth control information, organizing health campaigns, and generally watching out for their neighbors' health. Similarly, each factory and work-place had workers specially trained in industrial health who were responsible for the health and safety of their fellow workers. Schools had health workers available not only to maintain public health and provide medical care but also to conduct immunization programs for all children.

While the neighborhood and factory health workers had knowledge of basic first aid, they were not prepared to treat severe or complicated illnesses. In such cases, they would refer the patient to the next higher level of treatment, the street health centers, which generally had several fully trained doctors, in-patient hospital beds, and facilities for minor operations. Several neighborhoods would be served by each street health center; a single city might have a dozen or so street health centers. For still more major medical care, patients could go to city or district hospitals, comparable to city hospitals in the United States and often affiliated with medical schools. A large number of doctors and health workers would always be present and most types of surgery could be performed.

The pre-Liberation health facilities of the cities did not, however, exist in the countryside, where health care had to be developed from nothing. Direction for the construction of the rural health network came from cadres and health workers from the cities. As the urban health network became better organized, doctors and other health workers went to assist in building rural health services for the peasants.



Children with kala-azar—a parasitic disease of liver and spleen—line up at outpatient clinic in late 1940s. (Photo: AFSC)



Students in Kwangchow deaf-mute school enact playlet portraying PLA use of acupuncture in treatment of their deafness. (Photo: D. Louie)

Known as mobile health teams, these groups would visit rural villages and communes for perhaps several months. During this time they provided medical treatment and immunizations and led sanitation and

health education campaigns. Often they were the peasants' first contact with medical care.

While in the countryside, these urban workers lived the lives of the peasants—

they helped harvest crops, dug ditches, and participated in the activities of commune life—an experience crucial to the overall development of a health system to serve the people. By understanding the struggles and difficult life of the peasants, skilled “professionals” like doctors could better understand their own role in socialist construction and were less likely to consider their work superior to that of the masses.

Village and commune hospitals, comparable to the urban neighborhood clinics and street health centers, were gradually constructed with the cooperative efforts of the mobile medical teams and local people. But most important was the development of the local health force, the barefoot doctors.

As with most innovations in China, the barefoot doctors did not come into being without struggle and many different attempts to see what would work best. They emerged primarily out of the complexities of the Cultural Revolution, when the entire nation sought to resolve the conflict between technical skill and political consciousness. In the medical field, many questions were raised: How much medical knowledge is needed to adequately care for people? At what point does such medical expertise make medical workers feel that they are “professional” and “better” than other workers? Can a health worker really treat illness effectively without considering the other needs of patients, such as ability to pay or obligations to jobs and families? Many of these questions were answered through the training of the barefoot doctors.

These new health workers were chosen from among the communes' own peasants, on the basis of their political attitude and selfless spirit. After being trained by the mobile medical teams in basic care, such as prescribing drugs and performing minor operations, they would assume responsibility for the health of their fellow peasants. Training the barefoot doctors gave the urban doctors even more opportunity to work closely with and learn from the peasants.

Barefoot doctors are integrated with their fellow villagers in one additional and highly significant way. They receive no special financial rewards for their medical service. Their incomes are calculated as a share of the collective income, on the same scale as other villagers. Their future prospects lie not in “moving up” to urban hospitals and research institutes, but in



American Friends Service Committee personnel fit patient with artificial leg made from odds and ends, 1947. (Photo: AFSC)

advancing the interests of their entire brigade and commune by both providing improved health care and working in the fields.

By working with the people and considering their real needs, the Chinese Communists have helped to change a weak and disease-ravaged people into a productive nation. Prevention and a healthy environment are emphasized; medical care is readily available and is provided by people who understand the needs of the patients. These services are financed by very modest fees—usually less than 1 percent of a family's monthly income, though there is regional variation.

Financial limitations have not constrained the Chinese in their efforts to establish an equitable and comprehensive health care system. Through mass support and participation, the pooled resources of the people allow enough efficiency and

flexibility to establish programs that would otherwise be impossible to implement. And the Chinese are always actively seeking inexpensive ways to achieve their goals. As a result, a new low-budget, labor-intensive technology is evolving in China. Research is directed toward developing medicines from locally grown herbs, which are culturally more acceptable and far cheaper than factory-synthesized drugs and just as effective. Inexpensive portable equipment such as X-ray machines and entire surgical theaters have been manufactured to better meet the needs of a budget-conscious, dispersed population.

These efforts have produced some surprising new techniques. For example, China today stands at the world's forefront in treatment of severe burns and the reattachment of severed limbs (both very important for occupational health) and the development of acupuncture anesthesia, which permits major operations to be performed with the patient fully conscious. The reattachment of arms, legs, and fingers demonstrates how China has taken its available resources and used them to the fullest advantage.

The Chinese have clearly made great strides in health and social welfare, but these remarkable achievements point to even more fundamental changes. To try to alter one facet of a society without overall changes in values and attitudes is futile and will only result in substituting one inequitable system for another. Major improvements in health care can take place only as part of a broader social change, just as true reform needs the participation of large numbers of people, not a chosen few. The Chinese Revolution, like social development anywhere, is a continuing process of basic transformation which ultimately relies on the political awareness and involvement of the people.

As China so eloquently shows, contributions from all levels of social and political life are needed to effect change, and the efforts of each individual are a valuable part of the collective struggle. But as socialist construction also shows us, even an overwhelming call for change will not produce true reform unless power lies in the hands of the majority, a majority guided by the principle of serving the people. □



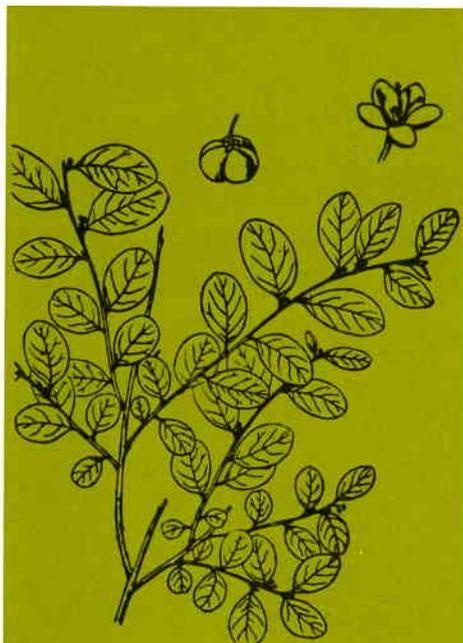
Removal of ankle tumor at Chung Cun Medical School. Control panel regulates mild electric current to acupuncture anesthesia needles. (Photo: S. Sandroff)

Two
American
doctors explore
traditional
medicines

Gertrude Copperman
with Reuben Copperman

New Uses for Ancient Herbs

All botanical sketches are taken
from Zhongguo Gaodeng Zhiwu Tujian
(*Illustrated Classification of
Advanced Chinese Botany*),
Science Publishing House,
Peking 1974.



Securinine

Securinega suffruticosa

Stimulant to central
nervous system



Sour plum

Prunus mume

Relieves fever, pain,
and nausea

The dramatic success of Chinese acupuncture anesthesia as observed and reported by all visitors to China has made the term acupuncture virtually synonymous with Chinese medicine. Many American patients inquire about the possibility of being treated by an acupuncture specialist when standard Western medical techniques fail to produce a cure. By contrast, people rarely inquire about other aspects of Chinese medicine, such as traditional Chinese drugs. Although these medicinal agents, derived from animal, plant, and mineral sources, may be less well known, the history of their use and their importance in Chinese culture makes them worthy of attention.

Many purified drugs in use today, such as ephedrine and morphine, were known as medicinal plants in ancient China. The preference of the Chinese peasants for these ancient remedies stems not only from familiarity with them, but also from mirac-

ulous cures attributed to their use. Dr. Joshua S. Horn, in his book *Away With All Pests*, tells of a patient who was bleeding excessively because of a blood disease. To stop the bleeding he removed the patient's spleen, a surgical procedure frequently done in such cases. When the patient continued to bleed, a doctor skilled in traditional medicine was called in. Within 12 hours after he prescribed an herbal remedy, the bleeding stopped and the patient recovered. Dr. Horn writes:

"Of course, it is possible that it was just a coincidence; that she might have been on the point of recovering when she took the herbalist's medicine. Doubts of this kind are inseparable from every new form of treatment and in fact it is extremely difficult to prove the efficacy of any drug. But my impression is that such cures happen rather too frequently to be explained by coincidence and it is more likely that Chinese herbal remedies may sometimes succeed where modern drugs are ineffective."

My husband and I were first introduced to the potential importance of Chinese medical practices in January 1972, when we were desperate for a medicine for a friend with a fatal paralyzing disease,

Gertrude Copperman and Reuben Copperman are physicians and staff members of the Presbyterian-University of Pennsylvania Medical Center.



Camphor

Cinnamomum camphora

Relieves cardiac and circulatory disorders



Leaves and bark of mulberry tree

Morus alba

Diuretic, relieves asthma



Ginseng root

Panax schin-seng

Cough remedy, restorative

amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* we found a reference to a drug called Securinine, which the Chinese were researching as a treatment for the paralysis caused by poliomyelitis.

A search of the literature revealed that Securinine was extracted originally by the Russians in 1958 from *Securinega suffruticosa*, a shrub which grows in China and the USSR. With the help of many friends and contacts, we were able to translate the literature and obtain a small quantity of the drug from Japan and the USSR to administer to our patient.

I wish that we could claim a dramatic cure of our patient, but unfortunately this did not occur. Nor did the drug stop the devastating paralysis of this dreadful disease. But it did make living more tolerable for him and his family. About half an hour after a morning injection of Securinine, he would feel a "surge" in his muscles and his strength would be increased for several hours. Since then, other patients have received relief from their symptoms through Securinine, and we are still studying other possible clinical applications.

In the course of this research, we made

contact with the Chinese Medical Association of the People's Republic of China. My two daughters and I spent three weeks touring China, gathering information with the help of members of the Chinese Medical Association and the staffs of the various hospitals and institutes we visited. My purpose in visiting China was to learn of their experience with Securinine and of the history and use of traditional drugs.

Traditional Chinese drugs are probably as old as China itself. In December 1972, a tomb unearthed in Kansu Province revealed wooden slips on which were inscribed the names of ancient Chinese medicines, some still used today. Archeologists date these from the early period of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.).

Over 4,000 traditional remedies are known in China today, and the list is continually growing. The first listing of 365 drugs was compiled about 2700 B.C. Additional drugs were described over the course of centuries, and by 1600 A.D., almost 2,000 drugs had been classified.

In a recent article in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* disparaging Chinese traditional drugs, unattractive-sounding items such as ground deer antlers, dried sea

horses, rhinoceros horns, lizard parts, toad secretions, etc., were listed without explanation, apparently to inspire disgust. By contrast, a medicine as strange-sounding as hen's egg shells is described by Dr. Y. P. Chen, in the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare publication *Medicine and Public Health in the People's Republic of China*, as "composed of calcium carbonate, calcium phosphate, as well as bits of animal colloidal matters" and "an inexpensive source of calcium for use in pediatric rickets, adult tuberculosis, and for females during pregnancy." Dr. Chen lists such items as wax gourd, corn silk, earthworms, toads, grasshoppers, and locusts, but with a respectful description of how each drug works.

One medicinal fruit listed by Dr. Chen is the sour plum (*prunus mume*), which is used to treat vomiting, diarrhea, nausea, fever, pain, and other disorders. (My daughter and I were given a refreshing drink derived from sour plum and were told of the medicinal value of this fruit juice. I said that I would like to take some home with me, but none was immediately available for purchase. Later that week our hosts arranged to have the largest depart-



Peony

Paeonia suffruticosa

Affects endocrine system



Magnolia

Magnolia officinalis

Restorative



Maidenhair tree

Ginkgo biloba

Sedative, external cure
for cataracts

ment store in Shanghai reopened at night so that we could buy the juice of the sour plum.)

The center for modern Chinese research on traditional drugs is at the Institute of Materia Medica in Peking, which I visited. When we recall that insulin (which might be considered a "traditional" remedy in that it is derived from natural sources) was completely synthesized for the first time in China, we can appreciate the sophisticated techniques and the skill of the researchers in this field. The Institute is under the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, involving more than 300 scientists in seven research departments: (1) Organic Synthesis, (2) Phytochemistry, (3) Pharmacology, (4) Analytic Chemistry, (5) Herbal Plants, (6) Agriculture (medicinal), (7) Antibiotics. The task of the Institute is to look for new medicinal agents and drugs and to study their effects and chemical structures. Purification and synthesis of drugs originally extracted from natural sources are frequent accomplishments; such drugs are distributed in pill, capsule, or vial form in the same way that we market synthetic digitalis, ephedrine, reserpine, and other "herbal" drugs. New plants are constantly being

cultivated and studied as possible medicines by many research teams throughout China as well as at the Institute of Materia Medica.

One of the memorable moments of the trip was meeting the workers and physicians who had researched "our" drug, Securinine. I could not help feeling a kinship with these people who were dedicated to the task of trying to develop a drug to help the paralyzed patient. I had experienced their disappointment when the drug failed to produce the desired response, and I knew of their joy and satisfaction in seeing a patient function better after getting the medication. It was exhilarating to know that despite 8,000 miles of oceans and continents, and despite our different cultures and political systems, we were sharing our knowledge, united in a common effort.

Here, as elsewhere, our Chinese hosts had prepared an attractive display of the *Securinega suffruticosa*. It included photographs to illustrate the extractive and purification procedure, the chemical formula and properties of the drug, and illustrations of its clinical applications. The Chinese use the drug primarily for the treatment of paralytic polio and other paralytic conditions, such as Bell's palsy. However, they

inject the drug directly into the acupuncture points for the muscles involved! Facts and figures describing the effect of treatment with the drug alone, acupuncture alone, and both combined were not available. One disease whose symptoms Securinine might help, multiple sclerosis, is not too common in China, so that I was not able to get information about its efficacy. Neither do they have a drug for the effective treatment of our friend's disease, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, although they are much more active in trying to help their patients' symptoms than we tend to be.

The Chinese are trying to combine the best of Western medicine with the best of Chinese traditional medicine, including acupuncture and traditional drugs. Scientific techniques are being applied to an art thousands of years old and containing thousands of ancient remedies. We in the United States are just beginning to benefit from the exchange of medical and other personnel with China. Perhaps through joint effort we can discover and encapsulate the active principle of that ancient herbal remedy, the apple—then everyone will be able to take a capsule a day to keep the doctor away. □

Friendship Has A History: Ida Pruitt



Ida, age 18 months, with her mother in a sedan chair, traveling in 1890 to Penglai where her mother will give birth. With them are Ida's father, a cook, tutor, amah (nursemaid), and neighbor. (All photos courtesy of Ida Pruitt.)

"I'm a resource person, shall we say. People come to talk to me. Yesterday there was an editor from the Philadelphia *Enquirer* who's going to China in a month or two. And a student came this afternoon. So there is something valuable I can do, still. I think it's terribly important that people know something about old China. Because China didn't just jump out of Jove's head like Minerva. New China comes out of old China—not only the sufferings of old China, but its structure and the determination of the people to live as well as possible."

Ida Pruitt, 88 years old, one of the founding members of the Philadelphia USCPFA, actively encourages friendship between the Chinese and American people by sharing the knowledge she has accumulated in a lifetime of bridging the two cultures. Daughter of one of the earliest missionary families in China, Ms. Pruitt was born in Penglai, Shantung Province, on the North China sea coast. Her father, a Baptist from Georgia, spent most of his time in China studying and translating. Her mother, from



Talking with Ning Lao Taitai, about whom she wrote *A Daughter of Han*, in Ida's courtyard, Peking, 1938.



With members of Peanut Brigade and friends, Penglai, 1972. Talitha Gerlach is third from left. In background are harvested corncobs.



With Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), Peking, 1972.



Marching in anti-war rally in Washington, D.C., 1967.

a colonial Connecticut family, founded a large primary school for boys. Ida Pruitt attended the China Inland Mission School for Girls in Yentai (Chefoo), Cox College in Georgia, and Columbia University Teachers College. From 1912 to 1918 she taught school in China, then returned to the United States and took up social work.

"As a child I lived in the village of Shandong. The main struggle was to raise crops and raise a family and continue to live. To us in the village, the government was the tax collector, and we disliked him excessively. A farmer was a farmer in the summer, but in the winter he was an artisan. I used to see the men walking along the street with their coat pockets stuffed with wheat straw they'd be braiding. A great many of the straw hats worn by the men in America were made with braid from Shandong."

After several years of social work in the United States, Ms. Pruitt returned to China. "I had been working in an Italian community in Philadelphia," she recalled, "but I didn't know the language. That seemed wrong to me. I did know Chinese, though, and so I decided to go back to China and use what I knew." For 20 years she was head of the social service department at Peking Union Medical College Hospital, which was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation.

"When the coastal factories were developed, they manufactured things more cheaply than people themselves could make them. So the people had to buy most of what they used to make, and they were getting poorer and poorer. The factories were terrible places. Boys and girls worked from dawn to dark, slept in the factories, and were never let out. I used to feel that whatever we did in our social service department was putting on patches. And if you put your patches onto rotten fabric, everything just tears right up."

In 1938 Ida Pruitt met Rewi Alley, a New Zealander who was organizing industrial cooperatives in China to help the war effort, provide jobs, and teach skills. Ms. Pruitt was asked to go to America to raise money to finance the cooperatives. From 1940 to 1951 she managed the American Committee in Aid of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, which sent \$3.5 million to China. "We were fighting with China against the Japanese so everything I said was welcome, welcome, welcome." At first the cooperatives blossomed, with over 2,000 formed in the first year. "But the Kuomintang government said that anybody who was that interested in the common people must be communistic, so they began to shut us down."

From 1949 to 1959, despite the U. S. government ban on travel and information which followed the Chinese Revolution and the Korean War, Ms. Pruitt remained an active friend to the Chinese people. She worked informally with Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) sending medical supplies to China through the China Aid Council. In 1959 she traveled again to China and was deprived of her passport for seven years because of this trip.

Ms. Pruitt contributed to the understanding between our two peoples through her translations of *The Flight of an Empress* by Wu Yung (Yale University Press, 1936), the story of a friend who held a minor post with the empress dowager when she fled in 1900, and *Yellow Storm* (Harcourt, Brace, 1951) a novel by Lau Shaw. Her own book *Daughter of Han* (Yale University Press, 1946; Stanford University Press, 1967) transcribes the autobiography of a Chinese working-class woman, Ning Lao Taitai, whom she employed for six years.

"It's still on sale. It's been going for twenty years, I guess. I think it's a real contribution. I'm not blowing my own horn. Except that I had the wit to see when this old lady was talking to me that those stories were too important for me just to enjoy personally and that I must record them so the world could see them."

In 1972 Ida Pruitt returned to the People's Republic for a three-week trip. What struck her most were the changes in the everyday lives of the majority of China's people. "Everybody has somewhere to live. The roof doesn't leak. And they've not overcrowded. Everybody's busy, busy doing things. Fundamentally they are people who have built a great culture. They built a great agricultural handicraft culture; now they are building a great industrial culture." □

New Constitution

Philip C. Huang

China adopted a new constitution in January 1975 to replace the original constitution of 1954. The document was ratified by the 2,864 deputies attending the Fourth National People's Congress, held in Peking's Great Hall of the People, January 13-19. The deputies were elected from all parts of the country and represented people from all walks of life; almost three-fourths of them were workers, peasants, and soldiers, and over one-fifth were women.

The new constitution grew out of the Cultural Revolution and the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The Cultural Revolution itself, as we now know, was a gigantic mass movement that shook the entire structure of the Chinese Communist Party, subjecting every part of it to thorough re-examination. The major theme of the movement was the assertion of the power of the people, to prevent a new elite and privileged class from taking power.

The pre-1966 practice of concentrating administrative power in the hands of one or two individuals was abolished during the Cultural Revolution; instead, Revolutionary Committees were established which included not only cadres but also representatives of the mass movement. Also dating from this period is the requirement that all Party cadres take part in productive

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labor, and that all high school graduates spend at least two years in productive labor before going on to college. The aim was to erase distinctions between mental and manual labor and guard against the emergence of a separate class of educated elites. The insistence, stronger than ever before, that all culture must "serve the people" was meant to enhance and protect the new socialist morality. The more recent campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao echoes these same themes.

The new constitution, adopted after more than five years of public discussion at all levels of Chinese society, reaffirms the major changes that resulted from the Cultural Revolution and makes them the law of the land.

Article 22 affirms the Revolutionary Committee structure and renders it even more powerful by making it not only the local administrative organ, but also the standing body of the local People's Congresses. On the national level, in accordance with Mao Tsetung's wishes, the post of Chairman of the People's Republic, held by Liu Shao-chi from 1959 to 1966, has been eliminated; its powers will now be exercised by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Collective leadership has replaced individual administration.

Article 11 stipulates that "Cadres of all levels must participate in collective labor." Articles 11 and 12 stress the importance of putting politics in command of all spheres of economic and cultural activity. "Serve the people" must be the guiding principle.

Article 13 makes the wide-ranging and free-wheeling expressions of opinion that characterized the Cultural Revolution a constitutional right. "Big-character posters" are now a constitutionally guaranteed mode for criticizing the powerful. Articles 5 and 7, while acknowledging the continued existence of small private plots in the countryside and limited individual labor in the cities (such as bicycle and household repair), reaffirm the intention to socialize all production. (The 1954 constitution had similarly pledged socialist transformation while

acknowledging the temporary, transitional existence of capitalist enterprise.)

The new constitution, then, supports and reinforces the Cultural Revolution and the central principles with which Mao has been identified. Problems still remain and the class struggle continues, but the direction is unmistakable.

Women

Since the beginning of the anti-Confucius/Lin Piao campaign, the attack on "old customs" in marriage and family relations has been the subject of lively articles in the Chinese press. Two customs currently up for criticism involve the place of residence of a newlywed couple and the traditional custom of giving a "bride-price" to the bride's family.

In the Chinese countryside, older and younger generations normally live together as one family unit. Traditionally, a new bride would be uprooted from her own family (and often her native village as well) to join the household of her husband and his parents. But in Linhsi County, Hopei Province, events have taken another course. The newlyweds Yang Yu-o and her husband decided to break with local tradition and live with Yang's parents instead of her husband's.

"For centuries," reported an article in *People's Daily* (February 6, 1975), "it has been the custom that when a woman married, she moved to her husband's house. If the husband lived with the wife's family, he was viewed as 'incapable.' The Women's Committee of the Beixingyuan

Production Brigade was determined to transform the old maxim 'Esteem the male and despise the female.' They encouraged and supported young women who did not have brothers to invite their husbands to enter their own homes. On the day that the young woman Yang Yu-o was married, the Women's Committee invited the leaders of the commune and women cadres of the 30 production brigades to participate in the festivities. Many of the masses of Zhouwei village also came to celebrate. The old people happily said, 'When a daughter can be a "daughter-in-law" in her own house, this really shows that in the new society men and women are the same.' With Beixingyuan taking the lead, the number of men who come to live in their bride's household is daily growing."

In the Xiaogunzhuang Brigade near Tientsin, the custom of the bride-price has met a similar fate. "When the issue was first brought up during the anti-Confucius/Lin Piao movement, some young women were reluctant. Some said: 'All the girls who already married into the family have received a bride-price, and if I refuse, I'll be losing out.' 'The bride-price is already given and if we turn it back, it would hurt feelings.' 'It's a loss of face to refuse the bride-price. Who would be stupid enough to give away their daughter for nothing?'

"So three members of the Women's Committee took the lead in writing a big-character poster titled 'Make a determined break with traditional ideas.' They said they would immediately return the bride-price and bring a new socialist style into their husband's families. . . ."

But "when Wang Xiang-ping was engaged, her mother accepted a bride-price. Later, during the anti-Confucius/Lin Piao movement, Wang Xiang-ping wanted to return it. But her mother refused, saying that it was a small one, and the money was already spent. . . . Returning it would be an insult to the man's family. Zhou Ge-zhou, head of the Women's Committee, visited Wang's house and talked with her mother. Zhou told her, 'The bride-price represents marriage by purchase. Accepting it means

you're selling your daughter like a commodity. This is part of the reactionary poison spread by Confucius that women are inferior to men. We working women should not burden ourselves with the Confucian ways. We all should be masters of our socialist society.' Wang's mother then supported her daughter's returning of the bride-price."

The example of these young women spread all over the county. Now more than 8,000 women have returned their bride-prices. (*People's Daily*, December 4, 1974.)

Carma Hinton

Jane Wheeler

Initiative from Mao Tsetung

The recurring restless forward motion of Chinese society repeatedly attracts the attention of the people of the world and signifies to those in sympathy that revolution in China remains alive and well. Periods of summing up and consolidation have invariably been followed by new movements and new struggles aimed at a deeper transformation of society. The current period is no exception.

After the tremendous upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, its victories and achievements were consolidated by a Communist Party Congress in 1973 that produced a restructured Party leadership and a new Party constitution. This was followed by a meeting of the National People's Congress in 1975 that produced a reorganized government and a new national constitution. Now Mao Tsetung has called on the Chinese people to carry the revolution for-

ward by a further transformation of basic social relations.

This time the target is what remains of *bourgeois right*. Even though private capital no longer exists in China, the inherited system of graded wage labor, commodity production, and commodity exchange through the medium of money perpetuates bourgeois right under socialism and is now clearly seen to be the soil from which new capitalist elements emerge "from among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members." Newly emerging capitalist forces, exemplified by certain members of the Lin Piao group, put forth political demands around which all the left-over backward forces in Chinese society rally. These backward forces include expropriated landlords, a section of the bought-out capitalist class, and certain of the professional and intellectual elite that formerly served them. Only through transforming step-by-step and finally abolishing all that remains of bourgeois right can this form of class struggle be controlled and finally brought to an end. Without a firm grip on state power by the working class and its party, this difficult task can never be carried out.

Such is the essence, as we understand it, of the argument now being put forward by Mao Tsetung. It represents, in theory and in practice, a major step forward along the line originally laid out at the start of the Cultural Revolution that "Party people in authority taking the capitalist road" are the main obstacle to progress in China.

Mao's position has been defined in a brief statement, backed up by quotations from Marxist classics and clarified in a long article by Yao Wen-yuan. This is the same Yao who wrote the critical appraisal of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* that initiated the Cultural Revolution in 1965. All this is contained in Nos. 9 and 10 of the *Peking Review* for 1975. Those interested in the next steps in the transformation of Chinese society will benefit by reading these articles closely and by observing the policies and political movements which will flow from this new initiative of Mao Tsetung.

William Hinton

Politics

Reports on recent developments

A Chinese-American visits the village of his grandparents



Taishan countryside watchtower, formerly used to spot bandits, now stores grain. (All photos by David Louie.)



250 COUSINS

David Louie

"There's one! Catch it!"

The sparkling metal handle of a small fish net flew in a short arc and splashed into the shallow water. There was a flurry of white water and darting hands. The boy turned with a smile and proudly held aloft a wriggling fish. With our pants rolled up to our knees, we waded in the foot-deep water of the rice field, combing it for fish.

Fishing in the rice field? If someone had told me a few months earlier that I would be harvesting fish and rice in the fields of China where my grandfather had once worked, I would never have believed it. Yet one bright morning in November 1972, after a night of torrential rains and whipping winds, that was exactly where I found myself. The storm had come at a bad time, for we had harvested only half the rice from the paddies that lay around the South China village of Zhongshe. Yet we kept right on making the best of the situation. Indeed, the spirit and vitality of the people in dealing with the problems confronting them was one of the many things that impressed me about China.

With nine other Chinese-Americans, I visited many parts of the country. In factories, communes, and hospitals I found tremendous advances and saw a vivid picture of what has become possible in new China. When I went to live in my grandfather's village, nestled against low hills in the Taishan countryside of Kwangtung Province, I found another picture, one that was downright backward compared to the technological and social achievements seen in other areas of China. Yet it was not hard to see that the achievements elsewhere were being used as models to improve the lives of the people in my village. Somehow I felt

almost relieved that everything was not quite as "perfect" as the tour had led me to think, for it made everything much more real to me.

*

I was the first in my family in America to return to our ancestral village in 40 years, and was unprepared for the revelation that all 250 people in the village were my "cousins"! Although directly related to only two families, I still shared a common ancestry with all the villagers, traced to a single man in some distant age. Only with time did I get used to calling all my elders "Uncle" and "Aunt."

Though I am Chinese, a life in suburban America is a far cry from the world of rural Asia. I had never even learned to speak Chinese, and three months of study in Hongkong were barely enough to get me through the first five minutes of conversation when I arrived at the village. But my relatives met my desire to learn with a patient willingness to teach, for they were just as curious about me as I was about them and the only way to find out about each other was to get me to talk. By working in the fields alongside the others, I shared their lives for a while and we never lost the opportunity to exchange experiences. I soon found myself dreaming and reacting in Cantonese. When I went to visit a friend who taught English, I started speaking English with Chinese grammar patterns!

*

Much of the life in Zhongshe today is still as my grandfather left it in 1882, when he journeyed to the mythical land of America. Many things in the village are still done by hand. Planting and harvesting still involve much tedious, backbending work. Loads are still balanced on the ends of split-bamboo shoulder poles. And my cousin's wife still cooks on the same brick stove that my great-grandmother used, slowly

David Louie is a law student at the University of California, Berkeley. He spent four and a half months in China in 1972.

feeding straw to the flames beneath the food.

But in the last 25 years village life has also changed with astounding rapidity, as if to make up for much lost time.

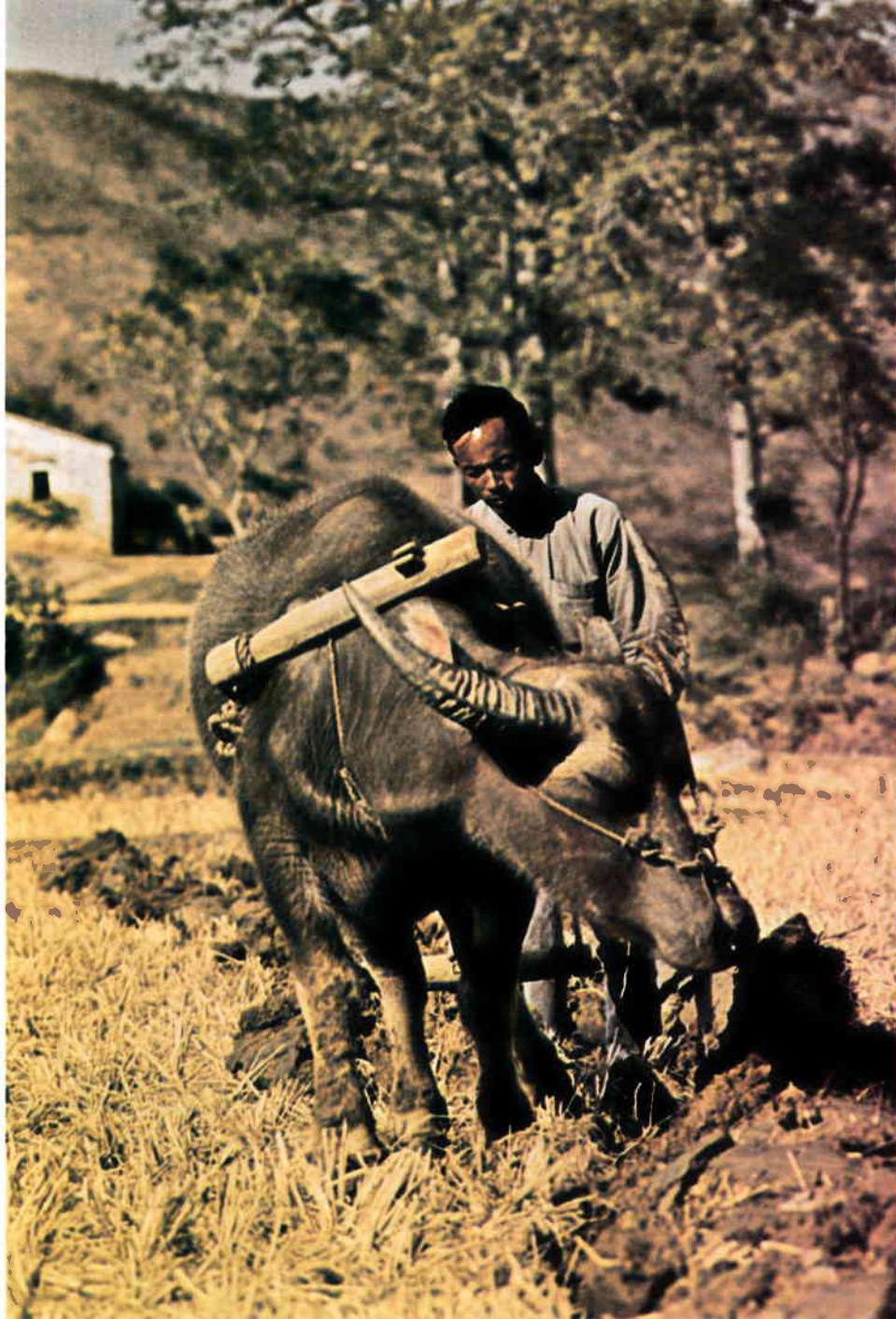
What was new to me was the chance to work with the peasants and experience their lives. What was new to my relatives were the recent improvements in technology and the standard of living, symbolized by new factories and hydroelectric plants. People were eager to show me how such changes made a difference in their lives that they could see and feel, that could be measured day by day simply in the amount of food they ate, compared to what they had had in the days when starvation and famine were common. My cousin raised a pig to provide what little meat there was in his family's diet, yet the normal fare of rice, vegetables, and fish was still adequate and nourishing.

A stable economy and improved growing techniques have helped the people of Zhongshe produce most of the food needed. One remarkable achievement has been an increase of 100 percent in the yield of rice. Though hand tools and the backs of peasants remain the basis of the economy, mechanization has begun. Electricity was introduced relatively recently. Motorized threshers, electric water pumps, and pressurized chemical tanks are some of the innovations. Plodding water buffalo still help plow the fields, yet village leaders can foresee the day when rice paddies will be transformed into broad acres cultivated by communal tractors.

Medical services are greatly appreciated where none had existed before. Our "bare-foot doctor" provided medicine and advice to supplement the services offered by the hospital in the nearby town. I found Western "shots" and pills available, as well as Asia's herbs and acupuncture needles, when I came down with a sore throat.

The people of Zhongshe know very well how much they have gained from technological advances. But they also realize that these strides have been brought about through cultural and social changes reflecting the emerging philosophy and attitudes of new China. These changes are more difficult to effect than changes in the standard of living, for they deal with fundamental behavior and the role of the individual. Yet they are more far-reaching in their implications for the future, since they are the basis for such material changes and the means by which this progress will continue to benefit the people.

Many of the new attitudes were to be found in the people with whom I worked on a daily basis. National themes such as



Plowing with a water buffalo.

"self-reliance" and "serve the people" took on dynamic meanings in the context of my village.

Take the "self-reliance" concept, for example. "In agriculture, learn from Tachai!" is a national slogan extolling the successful commune that raised itself from abject poverty to the heights of production. By effectively using its own resources and not waiting for a helping hand from the government, it transformed its land into fields of bountiful crops. The lesson was not lost on Zhongshe.

I vividly remember one conversation. A village cadre told me, "We try to make the changes that people want. Take those shoulder poles that you see everyone using. They're a great burden on the people. We

held district-wide meetings to find out what the hardest part of the people's work was, and the unanimous answer was carrying everything on the ends of those poles. Right now we're trying to encourage the construction of hand carts to take over some of the hauling. One day we hope to dispense with those shoulder poles."

As soon as we finished the rice harvest, we turned to action on this idea. A group of us felled trees behind the village, hand-sawed them into boards, and fashioned seven carts. We ordered wheels from Canton and made iron fixtures out of old scrap reworked over a charcoal urn. Soon this spirit of self-reliance bore fruit, for the task of moving large amounts of straw came our way. Had we been equipped only with

shoulder poles, it would have taken many hours and much muscle; with our new carts it was done in a short time. This was but one example of the speed with which decisions were reached and carried out.

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In Zhongshe the people have found that by working to strengthen the collective, by "serving the people," they also serve themselves and make their own lives better. One day, clutching a hoe, I bicycled with a group along a dirt path through fields of golden rice. We were late, and much work remained for us to do. Bumping and bouncing, we flew along the meandering path, but suddenly we stopped.

"Look at that big pothole," my cousin said. "We'll have to walk our bikes around it. We can't ride over it, especially later when we come back with our baskets loaded with yams."

"We really ought to fix it," said another. And fix it we did, even though we were late and far from our village. We took the time to rework the ground so that others

wouldn't have to climb off their bikes. That was what "serve the people" meant to my cousins: taking the time to repair a path that needed fixing, fulfilling a need that had to be met.

Collectivity, self-reliance, serving the people, education—they are some of the more important changes. Of course, there are still many old ideas around, for not everyone has accepted the new way of life with the same degree of enthusiasm. But the majority favor these new elements. So there are traces of both in many aspects of life. This blending of old and new provided some of the most fascinating experiences of my stay in China.

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"Come with me," my cousin Han Cheng had said with a look of quiet solemnity. "You won't want to miss this." And so at dawn the next day we joined the crowd slowly moving toward a meadow. Women carrying bundles on split-bamboo poles, children laughing and playing. It seemed everyone was turning out for the event.

Far off, I could see the focus of the crowd. A wooden stage had been erected. Flanked on both sides by the bright red of China's flag, a huge picture of Chairman Mao smiled out upon the crowd of peasants.

The program began. A man talked into the microphone about Chairman Mao but I was too far away to tell exactly what was going on. Finally I got close enough to determine what was commanding so much attention.

"Chairman Mao tells us that it is wrong to steal!" exclaimed the speaker into the microphone, as he waited for the man standing next to him to speak. Dressed all in black, head bowed in shame, a cardboard sign hanging around his neck to proclaim his crimes, the other moved listlessly forward and mumbled something into the microphone.

"Why did you steal?" demanded another

Overleaf: Grain is spread to dry in sun.



Women take enriched soil to fields.





man, probably a local cadre. "Speak louder!" (All this accompanied by a sharp shove or two.)

"Why? Why? Tell us!" shouted voices from the crowd.

Beneath the picture of Chairman Mao

and over to one side stood six others awaiting their turns before the crowd. This was no less than a court of justice.

"This happens very rarely," said my cousin. "Perhaps only once in two or three years."

These men, the worst offenders, he told me, were being tried in a large public meeting so that others would know what their crimes were and have a chance to criticize them. What were their crimes? One was a thief. One cheated people. Next to him was a vandal. And over there was a gambler.

These were the worst offenders? My thoughts flashed back to the United States, whose courts were filled with trials for crimes of violence and corruption; murder and robbery were everyday occurrences. Yet here stood the worst offenders in this rural area of China, being tried for petty thievery, burglary, and cheating!

The court continued for the entire morning. The sayings of Chairman Mao filled the air as each man was lectured on his crime. The people criticized and tried to make each understand that what he had done was a crime against all of them.

"What happens to the criminals?" I asked. Perhaps they'd be taken to the district jail, said my friends. Or they might be permitted to go home, though they would be watched closely. For it wasn't so much that they were punishing the criminals as attempting to educate them and let them see how their criminal acts hurt society.

There were other ways of dealing with crime and undesirable behavior in the village, such as using big-character posters to criticize actions and ideas. Used extensively since the Cultural Revolution, they are another way of calling attention to wrongdoing, usually of officials and administrators. They also provide a lively exchange of ideas about the direction of society and attitudes that people should take.

Examples such as these of criticism and self-criticism take place all the time in China, for there are many things yet to be resolved. Many aspects of the bitter past, however, have been firmly laid to rest.

Dotting the Taishan countryside are tall watchtowers, relics of an era in which crime and lawlessness were a way of life. These gray brick structures, with their narrow windows and heavy doors, were built by villagers to protect their homes and families. Bandit gangs roamed the area in such numbers that even relatives in America, like my grandfather, sent back money to help build the towers.

Tall and forbidding, from a distance they seem to be survivals of the old China. Yet they are no longer manned by riflemen waiting to warn against thieves. Today they are storehouses filled with grain and vegetables, tools and machinery. Now they stand in mute testimony to the changing quality of China's life, symbols of the vast progress of this new society.



Putting the final touches on an assembled cart.

China's Premier talks about slogans and hero-worship

Chou En-lai

William Hinton

During my trip to China from May to November 1971, I participated in five long interviews with Premier Chou En-lai. One of these was attended by 75 Americans then in Peking. Others were smaller affairs that included long-term American residents in China, or in one case, only members of the Hinton family.

In each instance Premier Chou En-lai spoke to American friends at length about conditions in China, certain major political problems, the Cultural Revolution, China's foreign policy, the impending Nixon visit, and two-line struggle in the ongoing socialist revolution.

For lack of a suitable vehicle these interviews were never made public. With the launching of *New China* it seemed to me that the time and place for publication had arrived.

In the first installment Chou En-lai explained the turbulence of Chinese politics in terms of class struggle. An industrial working class numbering only about 30 million, allied with several hundred million peasants, many of them still influenced by their small landholder's past, is struggling under Communist leadership to transform completely the old society. Feudal ideology, latent throughout the inherited culture, is tenaciously propagated by millions of expropriated former landlords and rich peasants. Bourgeois ideology is propagated by many ex-capitalists and a segment of the intellectual and professional elite that once served them. Continuing social and economic differences, impossible to abolish quickly, still generate pockets of privileged managerial and technical personnel who tend to crystallize out as a new ruling class. Recognizing the existence of class struggle

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against these left-over and newly emerging reactionary elements is "a question of political principle . . . if we didn't admit class struggle, how could we direct our work? What would be our guiding principles?" asked the Premier.

In this article I have brought together Chou En-lai's remarks on categorical or absolutist thinking typical of the old feudal society, but often appearing today draped in "red." The slogan "all public, no self" which was so widely used and abused during the Cultural Revolution was adapted from Mao Tsetung's description of the spirit of the Canadian surgeon, Dr. Norman Bethune, who died at the front during the War of Resistance against Japan. Mao praised his "utter devotion to others without thought of self." As a standard for the behavior of Communists, this concept is widely upheld in China. But those who have tried to make it the basis for agricultural and industrial policy have practiced extreme equalitarianism which leads to the expropriation and transfer of the property and earnings of laboring people, with adverse influence on social cohesion and production.

A third article to follow in the next issue of *New China* will focus on Premier Chou En-lai's analysis of the Cultural Revolution and especially the Cultural Revolution in the Foreign Ministry where the Premier personally confronted an ultra-left challenge. A preview of the Lin Piao affair and some questions of foreign policy will conclude this four-part series.

Part Two of a Series

Hinton: Did Mao Tsetung describe himself as a monk with an umbrella? It sounds mystical.

You have all read Edgar Snow's article in *Life Magazine* [April 30, 1971] about his

interview with Mao Tsetung. Generally speaking, the material in that article is correct. Snow reported what Mao said but there are a few mistakes that are due to misunderstandings, such as Snow's phrase about a "lone monk walking the world with a leaky umbrella."

Mao said, "I am like a monk under an umbrella, *wu fa, wu tien* [without hair, without heaven]." It is a double pun. A monk has a shaven head, hence no hair. A monk under an umbrella is cut off from the sky, hence, no heaven. But *fa* also means "law," and *tien* also means "heaven" in the sense of supreme ruling power. Thus a monk under an umbrella is a man without law or limit—a rebel like Monkey [who accompanied the monk Tripitaka on his legendary journey to India], unbound by established rules, institutions, or conventions, whether earthly or divine.

Mao Tsetung talked with Snow on December 18, 1970. The background for his remarks was the success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We mobilized the masses and they rebelled against the capitalist roaders. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought they dared to criticize and express their views, put politics in command, developed production, made preparations against war, and moved everything forward. This was the positive side, the main current, but at the same time some adverse currents arose.

The worst thing, what Mao disliked the most, was the trend toward absolute statements, absolute ways of thinking and speaking. For example, the use of the "four greats"—Great Helmsman, Great Leader, Great Teacher, and Great Supreme Commander—when speaking of Mao Tsetung. The "four greats" were first put forward by Chen Po-ta. He had been head of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Communist Party Central Committee, but was

removed from all posts during the second session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party in August 1970.

Chairman Mao said that "teacher" ought to be enough, but to do away with these "four greats," to cut the four back to one, is not easy. Demanding it once did not work. It took us a long time. We expended a lot of effort. Now we have been able to reduce the designation to "Great Leader" or "Great Teacher." Mao Tsetung would like to drop the "great" as well. Just plain "teacher" would suit him. But this is not easy. The masses won't approve of it. Hundreds of millions repeat these phrases every day. We can't do away with them all at once.

Then there is the slogan "Go all out to establish the absolute authority of Mao Tsetung Thought." This is entirely wrong. How can there ever be absolute authority? Mao Tsetung may be an authority on some questions, but as to questions that are not in his field, how can he be an authority on them? There is also a question of time. There is the whole future to consider. You may be an authority today, but does that mean you are an authority tomorrow? If you make Mao Tsetung Thought an absolute, how can there be any development? Such a theory would freeze all social progress. It is quite wrong. We would end up in a passive position.

Furthermore, authority can only be recognized and supported by the masses of the people who test its validity through struggle. How can anyone set up such an authority? It can only come out of the struggle of the masses. All ideas about establishing authority are wrong.

Then there are those Mao Tsetung pictures and Mao Tsetung statues that have been put up all over the place without regard for time or circumstance. This is also wrong. This turns a good thing into its opposite. There is much too much of this. Mao considers it *tao yen* [a nuisance]! All this display is not genuine, nor is it respectful. Chairman Mao and Edgar Snow joked about this. Mao said, "Look at me standing there blown by the wind and washed by the rain. What a pity!" And Snow replied that he too could not think through why Mao should be standing there all alone in the wind.

In the Peking Hotel, at the counter where they sell merchandise, there is a big portrait of Chairman Mao. I asked the clerks, "Is Mao here to serve at the counter for you?" In the elevator there is also a portrait of Mao. "Is Mao watching the elevator for you?" I asked the operator. All this has been overdone and it is harmful.

There are too many statues. They must be done away with. As you can see, inside

the Great Hall of the People, they have been removed.

Hinton: One can still see plenty of them elsewhere.

Yes. Too many have been put up and if people refuse to take them down the only thing we can do is issue orders that they be removed.

Of course, this question of leadership



has two sides and Mao's views on it differ from those of the revisionists. A class has its rank-and-file, its party, and its leaders. Lenin spoke of this in his "*Left-Wing Communism*." The masses of any class need leadership. But all this has been negated by Khrushchev. He lumped the whole problem under one label, "personality cult." His goal was to overthrow Stalin's influence. Though Stalin made mistakes, his merits exceeded his faults. I talked about this with Reston [James Reston, *New York Times* columnist]. No doubt he did not approve of Stalin. But I asked him, when Hitler marched to the east, could he have been stopped without Stalin? Under Stalin the Soviet Union carried on a war of resistance for three years. Without this resistance there could not have been any landing in Normandy. England might well have fallen. How could the Russian people have been mobilized like this without Stalin?

Reston could not deny this.

What enabled Stalin to play this role was that after Lenin died he fought against many wrong tendencies and led the way in socialist construction so that the Soviet people and Party became powerful. Only thus were they able to carry on the anti-fascist struggle. Of course, in his theoretical work and in his method of leadership Stalin made mistakes. But his merits outweigh those mistakes. Khrushchev's opposition to Stalin was based on personal ambition. When Stalin was alive he called him

"father." But when he died Khrushchev made a secret report that was soon published in America. Even if we disregard the question of Party spirit and speak only of personal morality, Khrushchev showed up very badly.

We cannot get rid of veneration and respect for leaders just because Khrushchev opposes these. The first question one must ask of a leader is: Do you deserve respect or not? The second question is: Are you recognized by the masses as a leader or has your image been artificially created? In the American War of Independence, Washington was the leader. This cannot be denied. Without him could you Americans celebrate 200 years of independence in 1976? Nixon wants to be President on the 200th anniversary of the United States. If Washington had never lived how could Nixon accomplish this?

Talking of veneration, Washington's name is used a lot. The capitol is Washington, there is a state of Washington, and many other places and things bear his name, but you can't say that this is artificial. It is a natural development. The American working class taking power in a revolution, when reflecting on history, would still not be able to deny Washington's role. The same is true of the French Revolution of 1789. Robespierre was executed, but his contribution was still very great. It can never rust away.

So Mao Tsetung has discussed this question of the cult of the individual in a matter-of-fact way. A leader should always be modest and this means to proceed in a matter-of-fact, down-to-earth way.

Hinton: "All public, no self" seems to be rather absolute. At least it has been used that way by many people.

"Public" versus "self" describes two opposite sides of a single phenomenon. Without "self," where is the "public"? This is the same thing as without small there is no big, without low there is no high. "All public, no self" makes no sense at all. For instance Lei Feng, Li Wen-zhong, and Ouyang Hai [three exemplary Communist youths who died young, the latter two while saving the lives of others], these heroes who forgot themselves completely at the moment of death—they still have a self. Without that personal self, what showed their selflessness? If they had no self how could they demonstrate a public spirit?

Bourgeois society makes fun of us, saying, "You Communists only talk about public as if there were no self." But this is not true. We hold that without individuals there is no collective. *What we advocate is putting the collective first.* The action of each individual should be merged into the collective. Are we not individuals here to-

night? We get together but each of us has different thoughts and different words. In the end we may agree on a few basic things and for these goals held in common we should fight together. But as soon as we go into action each will arrive at his or her own personal explanation again, so that our unity is temporary and our differences protracted. In spite of this we may make agreement our main direction and set our differences to one side as exceptions, as individual variations.

For example, I doubt very much if the members of the Hinton family all think alike. The old mother will not have the same thoughts as her son Bill, and his wife Joanne thinks in still another way. Young Carma won't think just like her mother either, will she? There are and always will be individuals. A collective only becomes possible when there are individuals.

The bourgeoisie curse us and say we only want the collective and no individual expression, but that is not correct. In fact it is the capitalists who carry the thing to extremes by stressing only the individual and no collective responsibility. This creates anarchy in production. Take pollution, for instance. This problem cannot be solved under capitalism. You have seen our East Is Red Refinery [a petrochemical complex southwest of Peking where the waste from each process serves as the raw material for another so that only clear water flows away]. There we have solved the problem of waste. We raise ducks and fish and we irrigate crops with the left-over water. But still we are not satisfied. We want that waste water to be pure enough for people to drink. So we have to add still another precipitation process to our refinery.

But in America things are not going so well in this respect. The fish in the Great Lakes are all dying and the fish offshore are dying too. So Americans are fighting over the fish off Peru. In self-defense Peru and her neighbors have set up a 200-mile limit. Our government supports this. It was one of the conditions we agreed to in setting up diplomatic relations with Peru. Monopoly capitalism not only pollutes its own shores, but it goes after other peoples' offshore wealth as well.

Japan also has serious pollution problems. The mayor of Tokyo came to visit recently. He is a progressive who belongs to no party. The mayor of Yokohama, who belongs to the Socialist Party, also came. They went to the East Is Red plant to have a look. I asked them what they meant to do about pollution. They said that under the system they have now there is no way to solve the problem. Luckily, old and small enterprises predominate in Tokyo. Japan's capital city does not generate a whole lot

of waste water and there are no big oil refineries. Nevertheless, cars create a problem of air pollution. Tokyo residents are helpless in the face of smog. Their mayor envied Peking with all its bicycles. But he said he couldn't do anything to change things. The monopoly capitalists all want to sell cars. In order to make a profit they want a big market for cars and they want people to exchange their old cars for new ones.

Conditions around Yokohama are worse. The fish near the sea coast have all died. This is due to the big refineries. Individualism developed to such a high peak causes people to crush and harm one another. It leads to pollution. Only large increases in investment can do away with pollution but these add to costs. It is possible to lose money, so the owners won't do it. Thus capitalism at its highest stage damages its own national environment and is inhuman. Our socialism, on the other hand, puts individuals and the collective into an appropriate relationship, but it is not "all public, no self." Socialism cannot so transform things that there is no personal interest and only public interest. Our aim is



to have people subordinate their personal interest to the public interest and to bring collective and self into harmony.

The Tachai Brigade [a model farming collective] is a good example of this. They no longer cultivate private plots. The people live side by side in community housing. Their actions are more or less unified, that is, they get up in the morning at about the same time, but not everyone. Little children don't. Sick people don't. Old people don't. Also, those people who work all night—they don't get up, they have to rest during the day. So there are always differences in behavior and this shows up in the difference between public and self. The collective sets

up a discipline, or a system, but there are always variations.

Carmelita Hinton: Some peasants plant one kind of flower, others plant different kinds, while some don't plant any flowers at all.

[Delighted, claps his hands.] Very good. Yes, some people like one sort of thing, while others like something else. Also, if Joanne's children want milk while at Tachai, they should have it. If I were there I would see to it that they get milk. You can't force them to bear unusual hardships.

During our Long March, when we got to the north, the soldiers from the south were not used to millet. We cooked thorn-dates with it and gradually they got used to it. North Shansi people, when they kill a chicken or a pig, throw the innards away. It is a strange custom. People from the south like all these things. So we rescued the innards, the liver and sweetmeats, and cooked them for the southerners and gradually they got used to eating millet. If, on the other hand, you want North Shansi people to eat liver and sweetmeats, they won't touch them. So we can't demand that boys and girls accustomed to milk adjust to life without milk all at once. [Chinese customarily do not drink milk.]

Tachai, then, is a good example of "public first, self second." At harvest time they first set aside the public grain [tax grain and grain for sale to the State]. Then they set aside seed for the next crop. With some of the money from State grain sales they set aside investment capital, capital for next year's production and for construction such as housing. They also store away some grain reserves in case of disaster. What is left they divide as per capita shares, as individual income. Of course, this final portion should increase a little each year. If it remained the same year after year people could not maintain their enthusiasm, their interest in production.

If a brigade can so arrange "public" and "self" in this all-around way, that's not bad. You become a model for the whole country. So what we must stress about Tachai is "public first, self second." If the whole country can follow this example it will be much better off. We take such a place as a model because it is advanced, but also it is because people can study and copy this advanced experience. If it was so advanced that nobody could hope to reach such levels, how could it be a model? Am I right?

Li Wen-zhong and Lei Feng can only be a minority. If everyone set out to die, as they did, what could we do? No one would be left alive. That's not necessary. It certainly would not do for everyone to find a way to die gloriously. Such heroes can only be a small minority. There aren't so many

chances to make one's death as "heavy as Mount Tai," and if you go around looking for such a death it would still only be as "light as a feather" [phrases from Mao's funeral eulogy, "Serve the People"]. That would be a form of fascism, of militarism. It wouldn't do at all. That isn't serving the people. So, generally speaking, it is "public first, self second," and that everyone can learn from.

In Tachai during the Cultural Revolution people quarrelled about this many times. Some ultra-leftists insisted that Tachai people followed only public interest and had no self-interest. Others said that underneath all the rhetoric, Tachai people, too, were out for self. When Xie Zhen-hua, chairman of the Shansi Province Revolutionary Committee, went to Tachai, he challenged both views, saying that Tachai was in fact an example of "public first, self second." This upset many Tachai people. When Chen Yung-kuei, leader of the Tachai Brigade, came to Peking, we talked it over. Chen supported our view, which was the view of the Central Committee, and we had good reasons for it.

Hinton: What about self-reliance? How far can that be carried?

Tachai expresses self-reliance in the main, but this is not an absolute either. During a year of very serious natural calamities the State gave Tachai peasants loans. They paid the money back the very next year. One year later Chen Yung-kuei went to the conference of the People's Congress and talked with Mao. It was a disastrous season, first drought, then flood. But that time Chen refused all State aid and Tachai people solved the problem themselves. But in any case they were still short of water.

It was 1965. Mao Tsetung had already issued his call, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai!" I went there and saw this problem. The terraces had all been built on the north slope of Tigerhead Mountain but there was no reservoir for water, no source of supply for irrigation.

"What if there is a drought? What if it doesn't rain?" I asked Chen.

"It always rains a little every year," he said.

"But what if a year comes along when no rain falls?"

Well, I arranged for them to get a pump to lift water up from the base of the mountain. After they pumped for a while there was not much water left in the river, so they dug wells. Ever since they dug these wells and put into operation the pump that the State helped them buy, they have done better. But you can't say they didn't get *any* help from the State. Take chemical fertilizers: the State allocated some to them

first. Of course they had to pay for it with their own funds.

So it is self-reliance *in the main*. You can't be completely self-reliant. You should not say things in such an absolute way. It is much more appropriate to leave out the "absolute" part. Then the whole country can learn from you.

Just because Tachai is advanced, does that mean it has no shortcomings? No. It



has some shortcomings. If we are able to see these shortcomings, does it mean we are more able than they? No. It is only because we have seen many more places, so we can make some comparisons. For instance, there are very few trees on their mountains. If they had started earlier to plant trees, especially oil-bearing trees, they would have achieved much more. Also walnut and thorn-date trees—all these are very suitable.

Carmelita Hinton: I saw many places in the north where there weren't as many trees as there should be. Why? Is it because brigades are short of labor power?

There could be a problem of labor power, but there is also a problem of custom, of habit. There is an old Chinese custom and it is a bad one—people cut more trees than they plant. It is hard to change this and cultivate a habit of planting trees.

Well, we have to advocate a direction, establish an example like Tachai. But this has to be an example that many people can reach. It wouldn't be any good if they couldn't attain it, if they couldn't accomplish the same things. When you have a proper example that people can aspire to, you need to propagate this example and push for people to study it. But in your publicity you have to be flexible and take into account different conditions and different places. You can only advocate a direction. As to the concrete details—these have to be decided by the people in each locality who take into account their own special conditions. If everyone ran to study

Tachai as if it were scripture, they couldn't help but lose out and suffer harm. *We must never study mechanically.*

Hinton: Could you give us some examples?

Tachai has brigade accounting [village-wide sharing of per capita income]. But there are only 80 families and about 400 people in Tachai, which is about equal to the size of an ordinary production team [the smallest collective unit in most villages] on the Hopei plain. If large teams in Hopei all got together to do brigade accounting it would not work. It would lead to *ping diao* [leveling and transferring of property]. Those who produced a surplus would lose out to those who fell behind. The activism of all rural producers would be affected.

In other areas we have the opposite problem. In the mountains of Southwest China there are teams with only a few families, perhaps ten or a dozen. To merge all these small account units into one brigade like Tachai would not be good either. The people would be running up and down the mountains all the time keeping track of each other. In some parts of Yunnan, the mountains are very high. Up above, the climate is cool. Down below, it is hot. The above and below are very different, so you can't merge these units even though they are on the same mountain.

Tachai's accounting system should not be copied mechanically, nor should Tachai's stone houses. Originally all Tachai people lived in earthen caves. Most of these caves were washed out in a big flood. After that Chen Yung-kuei led his people to build stone caves in long rows. This style of construction leaves no room for privately owned gardens nor is there any place for the family pigsty. If all villages were to apply this method, things would be in an awful mess. In most places popular consciousness is not high enough to do away with privately owned gardens and pigsties.

So what we really want to learn from is none of these concrete details such as the accounting system or the housing but the way the Tachai people have carried out a living study of Mao Tsetung Thought and the honest, practical, down-to-earth application of this to their own community. What we want to study is the way Tachai people carry out a policy of "public first, self second" and "self-reliance in the main."

There is no such thing as a perfect example, a perfect model. There is no place about which one can say "everything there is good." Long Bow Village, Xigou, Shashiyou all have their strong points. We want each county, each province, each municipality to create its own Tachai. You can travel 10,000 *li* looking for a magic method but you will never find it.



Kenny's China Diary

*An
eight-year-old
discovers
ping-pong,
pancakes, and
Peking duck*

Canton—Saturday, March 10

Today we took the train to Louwu. A man went to get our passports in China. Then we crossed a bridge into China. And Mr. Li, our guide, took us to a room to wait. After that marvelous food awaited us. We had about ten courses. Then we took a train to Canton and saw lots of rice fields.

We are staying at the Dong Fang Hotel. Tomorrow we are going to Wuhan.

Wuhan—Sunday, March 11

Today we left Canton for Wuhan by

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plane and we stopped in Changsha to re-fuel and then three people from China Travel took us to our hotel. And it is very! very! very! good! And then we had a great lunch. Then we had a meeting.

Then we went to the Yangtze River Bridge and about 500 people clapped at us and followed us. Then we had a great dinner and went to an opera-play called *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*. About 100 people clapped at us.

Wuhan—Monday, March 12

Today we went to an iron and steel factory and then to the factory's housing and to a school. Then we had lunch and went to Wuhan University. It was really fun. Then we had dinner and saw some children

from a middle school do a marvelous act with lots of dancers and some little plays.

We saw people who could play two or three instruments. We saw a nine-year-old boy who could play just as good as the best pianist in the world.

When we went to the school I got two Chinese swords from the children. Everybody clapped at us again and I felt like the president or something like that.

Tomorrow we are taking the train to Zhengzhou. It takes six hours. There are archeological caves in Zhengzhou and a museum.

Wuhan—Tuesday, March 13

Today we went to a hospital and saw people getting acupuncture. Then we saw someone getting a cyst taken out. She was smiling all through it. After that we saw someone getting a thyroid taken out.

Then we had lunch. After that we went on a train to Zhengzhou. We had a little room that had four bunks and I went on top. When we had dinner I got sick.

Lin Hsien County—Thursday, March 15

Today we left Zhengzhou for Lin Hsien County by train. Then we took a two-hour bus to our hotel. I was still feeling sick from two days ago and a doctor came and said to have chicken soup.

After that we went to the Red Flag Canal. Before they built the canal people were starving for water and food because they had to have water for their crops.

After that we saw a movie about building the canal. About 75 people clapped at us.

Lin Hsien County—Friday, March 16

Today we went back to the Red Flag Canal to see the rest of it. Then we saw the place where the Red Flag Canal and the river from the mountain joined and they made an enormous splash. Then we saw a rock bridge and the water goes under the bridge. Then my camera broke.

Peking—Monday, March 19

Today we went to No. 35 Middle School. At first we had a meeting with some teachers. Then we went to a Russian language class, a geography class, and an English class. Then we went to the school factory. They make headlights. I got a try to make an easy part. After that they gave us a performance and my father was beaten two times in ping-pong by a fourteen-year-old boy.

Peking—Tuesday, March 20

Today we went to the zoo. We saw lots of animals. My favorite was the panda. The cages were very small for the animals.

Then we went to the Friendship Store where I got a hat with earmuffs. Then we had lunch.

After that we went to the Forbidden City. It was enormous. We saw throne rooms. Then we saw the living quarters. Then we saw the place where the emperor kept his ex-wives. He must have had a lot of ex-wives because there were so many rooms.

Then we had dinner. After that we went to the Peking acrobatics group. They were fantastic. The first act had 11 men each standing on the other with one man's finger holding them all. Up at the top there was the Chinese flag. Then they had a magician do some things you could see being done and others that were impossible. Then we saw 11 people on one bike.

Peking—Wednesday, March 21

That night we saw most of the people from the All-China Sports Federation and from the Foreign Ministry who had been in the U.S. last year with the Chinese ping-pong team. We saw the world's best ping-pong players, Chuang Tse-tung, Liang Ke-liang, and Cheng Min-chih. We went to have Peking duck.

I can't beat Chuang Tse-tung in ping-pong and I never will—but in eating, any time! I ate ten duck pancakes. Everybody thought it was fantastic. Liang Ke-liang said he had 11 but everybody knew he had five. Chuang Tse-tung had five, so I was the world champion eater!

Peking—Friday, March 23

Today we went to the Great Wall. We climbed about 1,500 feet. My little brother Daniel and Mr. Luo, our guide in Peking, stayed down. It could kill you if you slipped down.

Then we had a picnic at the Ming Tombs. It was really fun. When you go down the road there are stone animals to protect the emperors from evil spirits. When an emperor died people from all over China had to make his tomb and lots of people starved to death because people from the fields had to come.

They only found one tomb because it is hard to find the entrance to the tomb. They have a good idea where the stairs are, but if they try to find them they have to knock down a temple that the emperor had.

Shanghai—Sunday, March 25

Today we left Peking for Shanghai by plane. When we got to Shanghai we went to the Peace Hotel. It is really nice! Then we had lunch. After that we went to a Children's Palace which is a place like the YMCA except much better. First they clapped. Then about ten hosts and hostesses led us to a meeting room. Then me and Dan went out the other way and went to some games like trying to pull a stick so a little light goes to the top. Then they have a game where there are three pretend boys trying to pull a pretend rope but you are really pulling it. And one where there is a bazooka gun and you fire lights at pretend tanks.

They have sports equipment outside. They have music, dancing, ping-pong, painting, and lots more.

Shanghai—Tuesday, March 27

Today we went to the place where the Communist Party was founded. We got some Mao buttons. Then we went to an industrial exhibit. We saw lots of machines and things from stories. We saw medical things and we saw models of ships. On one the girl who was our guide lit up a ship that was a dirt ship. It sucked up some real dirt.

Canton—Wednesday, March 28

Today we must have had the bumpiest flight in history. At 8:15 we had breakfast in Hangchow. We had lunch at ten o'clock in Nanchang. Lots of people on the plane got sick. I went to sleep so I didn't have to see it.

When we got to Canton we stayed at the Dong Fang Hotel again. After that we went to a park for the people who died in a massacre.

Canton—Thursday, March 29

Today in the morning we went to the Peasant Institute. It is a place that Chairman Mao founded. It is a place to train peasants from all over China to learn how to fight in the army and learn other things too. There are 316 people from 20 provinces of China.

Canton—Friday, March 30

Today we left Canton for Hongkong. I had my favorite food for breakfast—dumplings. Then we went on the train to the border. We saw oxen and fields.

When we got to the border we changed money and went through customs. Then we crossed the bridge and said good-bye to Mr. Li.

One China

Taiwan and U.S.-China Relations

In this issue, *New China* begins an ongoing examination of the question of Taiwan. The recent postponement of the American tour of the Performing Arts Troupe of China because the State Department objected to a song about liberating Taiwan, as well as the continued reluctance of the American government to fully implement the Taiwan provisions of the 1972 Nixon-Chou Shanghai Communique, have highlighted the fact that the Taiwan problem is the central obstacle to improved Sino-American relations.

China and Taiwan Island: A Chronology

230 A.D. First specific reference to Taiwan Island in Chinese documents. Sporadic settlement follows until the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when steady migration begins in earnest, especially from Fukien Province. Thus Taiwan is settled by Han Chinese later than some provinces, but earlier than others, e.g., those provinces in the northeast and southwest of the mainland.

1590 Portuguese mariners designate Taiwan on their charts as "Ilha Formosa," Beautiful Island. It is this name which is frequently used in Western languages in place of the Chinese "Taiwan," Terraced Bay.

1624 The Dutch invade southern Taiwan.

1626 The Spanish invade northern Taiwan.

1641 The Dutch are victorious in their contention with the Spanish.

1662 Chinese peasants on Taiwan, led by Cheng Cheng-kung (Koxinga), oust the Dutch.

1683 The Ch'ing dynasty, which replaced the Ming dynasty in 1644, finally consolidates its feudal control over the whole of China and defeats the Cheng-led peasant rebellion on Taiwan.

1840 The British defeat Ch'ing dynasty forces in the Opium War, marking the beginning of a series of military defeats and unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese government by foreign powers.

1850 Outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion in South China, the largest of many rebellions to rock the Ch'ing dynasty. As in other parts of China, on Taiwan there are many revolts—over 40—against the feudal system during the two-and-a-half-century rule of the Ch'ing.

1885 The French fleet declares the Penghu Islands to be French territory. An unequal treaty stipulates that the French will evacuate in return for other concessions elsewhere in China.

1887 The Ch'ing government upgrades the administrative status of Taiwan and Penghu Islands (Pescadores) to that of a full province.

1895 Defeat for the Chinese in the Sino-Japanese War leads to the unequal Treaty of Shimonoseki ceding Taiwan to the Japanese along with other concessions.

1895-1945 During Japanese colonial rule, there are over 100 local uprisings against the Japanese authorities on Taiwan. After

the island is "pacified," Taiwan's economy is geared to serve the needs of the Japanese empire, e.g., supplying 90 percent of the empire's sugar requirements.

1943 The wartime Cairo Declaration by China, the United States, and the United Kingdom states: "...The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan... all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria [the Northeast], Formosa [Taiwan], and the Pescadores [Penghu Islands], shall be restored to the Republic of China."

1945 The Potsdam Declaration of the same three allies declares the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out. Two months later, the Japanese officially surrender to the Allies and accept the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. The people of Taiwan greet the Republic of China troops arriving on the island as liberators.

1946 The civil war between the U.S.-supported Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist-led People's Liberation Army breaks out again after an eight-year wartime united front.

1947 On February 28 there is an island-wide revolt on Taiwan against the corruption and plundering of the KMT authorities. Several towns are briefly liberated. Chiang Kai-shek is forced to withdraw 50,000 troops from the mainland to suppress the revolt, weakening his ability to make war on the mainland and thereby directly assisting the liberation forces.

1949 After a series of quick victories of the People's Liberation Army in the north,

the KMT armies flee southward and across to Taiwan in a rout. On October 1, 1949, Mao Tsetung declares the founding of new China, the People's Republic of China. Most of the mainland is liberated. On December 8, the KMT shifts its "capital" to Taipei. Over a million KMT soldiers and civilians cross over to Taiwan.

1950 The rest of the mainland is liberated along with Hainan Island. The final push to liberate Taiwan is readied, but the U.S. government uses the outbreak of the Korean War as a pretext to put the Seventh Fleet in the Taiwan Straits and the U.S. Air Force on the island itself. (Simultaneously, Harry Truman increases U.S. military forces in the Philippines and U.S. military aid to the French in their Indochina war.) On June 28 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai responds to Truman: "... the fact that Taiwan is a part of China will remain unchanged forever. ... All of the people of our country will certainly fight singlemindedly and unceasingly to liberate Taiwan. ..."

1954 With the Korean War ended, a new rationale has to be worked out to justify further U.S. military occupation of Taiwan. This is done through a "Mutual Security Treaty" signed by John Foster Dulles and Chiang Kai-shek. On December 8, Chou En-lai points out that it has "no legal basis whatsoever and is null and void."

1971 China's seat in the United Nations is finally restored to the People's Republic of China and the Chiang group is expelled, despite much pressure by the U.S. delegation to establish a "one China, two governments" precedent.

1972 On February 28, Richard Nixon and Chou En-lai sign the Shanghai Communiqué. The Chinese side reaffirms its longstanding position on Taiwan, and the U.S. side declares: "The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States does not challenge that position."

Performing Arts Tour from the People's Republic Cancelled

Shortly before we went to press, the State Department abruptly postponed the American tour of the Performing Arts Troupe of China because the Troupe's program included the song "People of Taiwan—Our Own Brothers." Popular both throughout China and among overseas Chinese,

the song has the following text (translation by the editors of *New China*):

Standing on the sea coast,
I gaze at our Taiwan Province.
The blue-green waves of Sun Moon Lake
ripple in my heart,
The swell of the forest on Ah Li Mountain
roars in my ears.
People of Taiwan, our own brothers,
our own flesh and blood,
Day and night you remain in our hearts!

People of the whole nation, united as one,
Striving together toward one goal:
Liberate Taiwan, unite our motherland,
Let the radiant sun shine on Taiwan!

The torrent of revolution cannot be
held back.
Our Taiwan compatriots will reunite
with us under one roof.
We are determined to liberate
our Taiwan,
Let the radiant sun shine on Taiwan!

When the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, sponsor of the tour, learned that the song was on the Troupe's program, it objected, and immediately informed the State Department. The Department, claiming that the song's "political content" was "inappropriate for a cultural exchange," asked that the song be dropped from the repertoire. The Chinese refused. After two weeks of negotiations, Secretary of State Kissinger made a final decision: if the song remained, the tour was off. Just three days before the Chinese troupe was scheduled to arrive in California, the trip was "indefinitely postponed."

The postponement brought an immediate response from the US-China Peoples Friendship Association (USCPFA). At press conferences held in Washington, Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis and other cities, members of the USCPFA made public a telegram sent to Secretary Kissinger by the executive committee of the USCPFA:

"The US-China Peoples Friendship Association strongly protests the State Department's last-minute cancellation of the U.S. tour of the Performing Arts Troupe of China. The State Department's insistence on the right to censor the content of the cultural program is not in keeping with the spirit of the Sino-U.S. Joint Communiqué of February 28, 1972, which established the cultural exchange program between our two countries.

"The fact that your department objects to the inclusion of the song "People of Taiwan—Our Own Brothers" raises great questions as to the sincerity of the U.S. government's recognition in the Shanghai Communiqué that Taiwan is an integral part of China. This song is an expression in the field of culture of China's century-long struggle for reunification and independence.

"This entire regrettable incident serves to show once again that the continued presence of U.S. military installations on Taiwan and U.S. recognition of the Chiang Kai-shek regime remain major barriers to the normalization of relations between the United States and China and to the growth of economic, cultural, scientific, and people-to-people contact between our two countries.

"The US-China Peoples Friendship Association, with over 45 local associations throughout the United States, urges you to request the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations to re-extend the invitation to the Performing Arts Troupe of China to perform in Los Angeles, St. Paul, Chicago, New York, and Washington.

"We further urge you to take immediate steps to implement both in letter and spirit the Shanghai Joint Communiqué."

Senator Mansfield Urges Implementation of the Shanghai Communiqué

Mike Mansfield (D.-Montana) has visited the People's Republic twice since 1972. Senator Mansfield is one of a growing number of American political figures who have recently called for full implementation of the Shanghai Communiqué and a speedy normalization of relations between China and the United States.

The US-China Peoples Friendship Association has from the outset urged the establishment of full diplomatic relations in order to further our primary purpose of developing active people-to-people friendship. We therefore feel that calls at the state-to-state level for normalization of relations deserve the attention of our readers.

The statement reprinted here is excerpted from "China: A Quarter Century after the Founding of the People's Republic," a report submitted by Senator Mansfield to the U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January 1975.

"Where does rapprochement stand today?

As one Chinese official put it: 'Generally speaking, our relationship is good and moving ahead. But are we satisfied? I cannot say so.'

"The basic reason for this mixed evaluation is the problem of Taiwan, which has remained at a stalemate. Prior to the Nixon visit our China policy was founded on the proposition that the Chinese who fled to Taiwan from the mainland spoke for the hundreds of millions in China. Even today the government on Taiwan still claims to be the government of China, the only legitimate Chinese government. Technically that claim is still recognized by the United States. Moreover, we remain allied with that government, presumably against the Chinese People's Republic with whom we are attempting to normalize relations.

"The provisions of the Shanghai Communique relative to Taiwan read:

'The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U. S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that the "status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

'The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as tension in the area diminishes.'

"Three years after the Shanghai Communique, conditions in the western Pacific are more peaceful than they have been for a quarter of a century. Nevertheless, in June 1974 there were still 5,145 U.S. servicemen on Taiwan. Indeed, additional U.S. air-



People's Republic of China

power was sent to the island in 1973. Since the signing of the Shanghai Communique, we have also agreed to allow Taiwan to co-produce U.S. F-5E fighters.

"In addition to the active U.S. forces on Taiwan, there is a U.S. military advisory mission of 147 officers and men, a reduction of only 18 since 1972. The basic purpose of this mission is to advise, to equip, and to train the Chinese on Taiwan on how to best fight the Chinese from the People's Republic. The mission will cost the U.S. taxpayers about \$3.6 million for the current fiscal year. The United States also continues to provide weapons to Taiwan, purchased by means of long-term, low-interest credits. In 1973, the fiscal year following the pledge of the Shanghai Communique, the U.S. government credit-sales of arms to Taiwan totaled \$45.2 million; in fiscal year 1974 they were \$60 million; and \$80 million in arms credits are scheduled for the current fiscal year.

"All this hardly adds up to carrying out the obvious intent of the Shanghai Communique which anticipated our military disengagement from Taiwan and the Chinese civil war, a war which ended, for all practical purposes, more than a quarter century ago. In the context of the Shanghai Communique, as long as we are involved militarily on Taiwan, we are involved in China's internal affairs. In my judgment, there has been all too much evasion on this issue. It is in this nation's interests to bring our military posture in the Taiwan area into accord with the Nixon-Chou agreement of 1972. In addition to the heavy costs to the American people of maintaining the military connection with Taiwan, the current approach also inhibits our ability to gear our policies in the western Pacific to today's realities.

"Apart from the military side, there have been inconsistencies in other aspects of our policy. A few months ago, for example, a

new ambassador was sent to Taiwan. Similarly, Taiwan was permitted to open two new consulates in the United States in 1974, making a total of five additional Taiwan consulates which have been established on U.S. soil since the signing of the Shanghai Communique: in Atlanta, Kansas City, Portland, Oregon, and on Guam and American Samoa. This is hardly the path to 'normalization' of relations with the People's Republic. Government guarantees of private U.S. investments on Taiwan are still being issued and only recently the Export-Import Bank made a \$200 million loan to Taiwan at a minimal 6 percent interest and guaranteed an additional \$100 million for construction of two nuclear power plants.

"The fact that must be faced is that we cannot have it both ways. We cannot strengthen our ties with a claimant government of China's on Taiwan and, at the same time, expect to advance a new relationship with the government of the People's Republic of China. The Shanghai Communique was designed as a transitional arrangement; it did not predicate an indefinite ambivalence in our China policy. Chinese officials made it clear that there could be no normalization of relations until the United States terminated diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

"Chinese leaders emphasized that the surest way to normal relations is via the 'Japanese formula.' The Japanese, it should be noted, have been able to maintain trade relations with Taiwan, notwithstanding a shift in diplomatic relations to the Chinese People's Republic. For the United States to follow this approach would mean terminating the defense treaty with Taiwan, withdrawing all U.S. troops from Taiwan, and severing diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

"Periodically, the possibility of an independent Taiwan under a so-called two-China approach is raised publicly in the United States. Both the Taiwan authorities and the People's Republic agree on one point. Taiwan is a part of China, not an independent political entity. Nor does history give any credence to the concept of an independent Taiwan. There were various Chinese expeditions to Taiwan as early as the second century, and Chinese migration to the island began as early as the sixth century. Taiwan was incorporated as a Chinese province in the fourteenth century, and large influxes of Chinese came to the island from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, under the Ch'ing dynasty, Taiwan was incorporated into Fukien Province and later was made into a separate province. The Chinese

exercised sovereignty over Taiwan until May 8, 1895, when, under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, ending the Sino-Japanese War, the island was ceded to Japan. For 50 years, Japan exercised control over the island.

"In 1943, the United States and the United Kingdom agreed with China that 'all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.' In keeping with this pledge, the Chinese Nationalist forces received the surrender of the Japanese troops on Taiwan in 1945. Chiang Kai-shek established a provisional capital at Taipei in December 1949 following his flight from the mainland.

"There is no question that Taiwan has been a direct part of China since 1683, excluding the period of the Japanese occupation from 1895-1945. Chinese culture and civilization have prevailed on the island from as early as the second century. Although a two-China policy may appear to be an easy way out of a difficult situation, in light of the above circumstances and after the Nixon-Chou Shanghai Communique, I believe that for this nation to pursue such a course would be most inadvisable, if not improper.

"As for our defense treaty with Taiwan, it seems to me that it is properly seen as a relic of the past. Treaties are not chiseled in stone. To serve the public interest, treaties, like any other aspect of a nation's foreign or domestic policy, must be kept current. We must match our commitments, particularly those which could embroil us in yet another foreign war, to our contemporary interests.

"Whatever we may do, the Chinese are confident that one day Taiwan will be reunited with the mainland. While the Chinese leaders insist that 'as to how and when Taiwan will be returned' after the United States terminates its ties with the island is their internal affair, they also 'hope there will be a peaceful solution.'"

Uprising Celebrated

At a special ceremony in New York City on March 1, 500 overseas Chinese, about half of them from Taiwan, commemorated the island's February 28, 1947, uprising against the Kuomintang (KMT). It marked the first time that a large gathering of overseas Chinese in the United States called publicly for the reunification of Taiwan Island with the Chinese mainland. Similar meetings took place in San Francisco, Japan, and Germany.

Organized by an ad-hoc group of overseas Chinese in the metropolitan area and attended by overseas Chinese from all over the eastern and midwestern United States—including one person who had actually participated in the rebellion—the all-day meeting presented songs, films, a skit, and speeches honoring those who rose up against the corrupt KMT.

The day opened with a moment of silence in honor of the several thousands who had fallen in the bloody suppression following the uprising. The program's speakers analyzed the events leading up to the revolt, in particular the KMT policy of looting the island, force-drafting the people to fight for the KMT in the civil war on the mainland, and opening the island to U.S. military and economic penetration. One speaker commented on the succession of oppressive regimes on Taiwan: "After having driven out a dog [the Japanese colonialists], there came a pig [Chiang Kai-shek and his brutal KMT]." Another quoted Liao Cheng-chih's comments made in Peking two days earlier: "The Twenty-Eight Uprising . . . was one aspect of the new democratic revolution against the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system of that time."

A short drama, *My Home Is in Taiwan*, was produced for the occasion by a group of amateur actors. The playlet described with irony and emotion the return to Taiwan of three young Taiwanese who had been studying in the United States. The family of the well-heeled student is portrayed comically as anxious about their future and thinking about transferring their bank account and emigrating to the United States. The other two students, of humbler backgrounds, are told by an uncle who is a fisherman of an incident in which he was rescued from his capsized boat by mainland fishermen in the Taiwan Straits. What strikes him about his experience is that in the People's Republic, the cadres are chosen from among ordinary fishermen like himself. The two students are moved and determine to stay and carry on the struggle.

The commemoration also included the singing of several songs in Taiwanese by a chorus of overseas Chinese. Although most of the chorus did not speak the Taiwan dialect, they had made the effort to learn the words of a Taiwan mineworkers' song: "They risk their lives/Their lives are hard/ But they think of Peking/Of the Red Sun/Of becoming masters of their own fate."

The culmination of the program was the song "People of Taiwan—Our Own Brothers." The audience was electrified by the soloist's performance and rose spontaneously to sing it again together with the whole chorus. □

Is There Religion in China?

Donald E. MacInnis

Traveling in China, one is overwhelmed by the total secularization of a society that once was permeated with religious signs and symbols. During our visit to five cities last summer, we saw almost no evidence of a surviving religious cultic practice. Among the three major religious groups of pre-Liberation China—Buddhists, Protestants, and Catholics—the public practice of worship has dwindled, it seemed to us, to little more than token observances.

We saw no functioning Buddhist temples. Those we visited were converted to use as tea houses, hostels, and assembly halls, or were maintained as museums. Other recent visitors, specialists in Buddhism, had reported seeing a dozen or more monasteries and temples with resident monks or nuns; for an entire nation nominally Buddhist just one generation back, that was a tiny number.

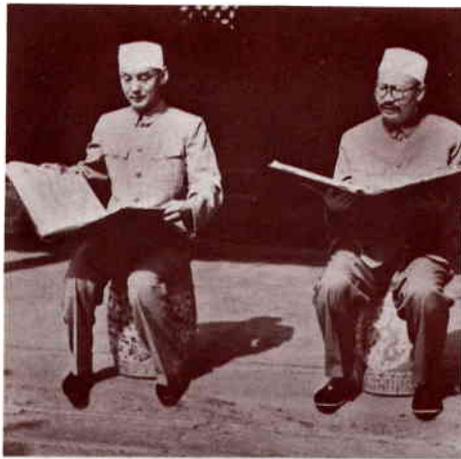
In Foshan, near Canton, we saw the 808-year-old Zi Miao temple, maintained as a museum. Many Chinese were viewing it with curiosity, as tourists like ourselves. The museum director told us the temple had been built in the Sung dynasty (960–1280 A.D.) by a local landlord-official who embezzled much of the money he raised from the people for the temple. His explanation of the temple's role in society was typical of contemporary views of the old religions we heard elsewhere.

"Before Liberation, this temple was a place for the people to worship the gods," he said, gesturing at the painted wooden idols grimacing in frozen postures. "This temple was also used by the ruling class to swindle the people with superstitious religious beliefs. After Liberation, we opened it as a museum for the people. We show on the one hand how the ruling class used the gods to fool and cheat the people; on the other hand, we display the fine workmanship and hard labor of the working people of those times."

I asked him if any people still maintain the old religious beliefs. He said that a few old people do. "But that's unavoidable," he added. "They hold on to old ideas. But they don't worship here any more. The young people, of course, see it all as superstition."

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We attended a weekly Protestant service in Peking, reputedly the first foreign visitors since 1966 to do so. Sixteen people were present, mostly members of the foreign diplomatic community. The two Chinese pastors told me later that weekly services were resumed on Easter 1972, after a five-and-a-half-year lapse during the Cultural Revolution. They are not in contact with the Roman Catholics, who hold weekly services in a church in another part of the city, nor with Protestants elsewhere in China. Since the only Chinese present for the service



Chinese Muslim Imams of the Hui minority reading a centuries-old Koran outside the Dong Si mosque in Peking. (Photo: F. Kehl)

were older people, I asked about the youth. I was told that few of them come to the services. "They are too busy on Sunday, and they have other interests now." There are about 500 Protestants in Peking now, the pastors said.

In Nanking we spent an evening in the home of Bishop Ting Kuang-hsun, a former Chinese Anglican, and his wife, Hsiu-mei. Both had been in the United States for graduate studies in the 1940s and were working for the ecumenical church in Geneva when they decided to return to China two years after Liberation. Ms. Ting teaches English at Nanking University and is deputy chairperson of the Provincial Women's Federation.

Bishop Ting, now president of the Nanking Theological College and a deputy to the National People's Congress, explained that the Anglican Church in China no longer exists. All denominations were merged into a single Protestant Christian Church in the early 1950s and the Church became independent of foreign support and influence. This was known as the "Three-

Self Movement"—self-support, self-government, and self-propagation.

Bishop Ting confirmed that none of the 38 church buildings in Nanking formerly used by Protestant congregations are now used for religious services. The Christians prefer to meet in their homes or in schoolrooms, he said, to avoid the stigma of the Western-style churches built during mission expansion and linked to foreign imperialist penetration.

He said the self-reliance of churches, which parallels the self-reliant development model of the nation, is one of the two important changes in the Chinese church. "We have severed our dependence on materialism. We have a strong point of view regarding the relationship between the missionary movement and imperialism. Since the early post-Liberation years our emphasis was to sever all dependence and relationships with mission organizations."

Bishop Ting emphasized the second important change in these words:

"Our society is not static. It is changing all the time. Our church cannot simply remain on the level of three-self autonomy. We are changing all the time too. What we are witnessing now is the withering away of organized religion. Protestantism is becoming more and more de-institutionalized and de-clericalized; more and more it is a world-view held by those who call themselves Christian, and the fellowship among them."

Bishop Ting also confirmed that groups of Christians in Nanking continue to meet for worship. The Nanking Theological College, which, like all other schools, had suspended classes in 1966, is now seeking new and relevant ways to train young pastors. Probably they will not study together as before, he said, but may live and work in their towns and villages while they study, in order to avoid becoming alienated from the people.

Occasionally, driving through the cities, we saw church buildings, relics of former days, some of them broken and abandoned, some converted to new uses. In the midst of the rich green rice fields of the Xinmin People's Commune outside Shanghai we saw a huge stone building with a basilisk dome, obviously a church. Anti-Confucius slogans had been painted in white across the crumbling masonry walls. Our guide confirmed that this had been a Roman Catholic church. It appeared to be an embarrassment and nuisance to the commune residents. The only use they had for it now,

they said, was to store grain.

In a conversation with the Imam in charge of the Chinese Muslim mosque in Hangchow, I asked about the religious life of his congregation. He said that 30–50 persons attend religious services each Friday, and larger numbers come together for the three Muslim festivals each year. But most are older people, he noted. He agreed that China's youth have a new belief system which precludes religion. "They are too busy, and have new values. They believe in socialism and see no need for religion."

If this is true—and our conversations with Chinese young people reflected this view—then what is the source of communitarian values and ethics that motivate China's people today? We saw no evidence of new religious sects—no Hare Krishna, no Sokka Gakai or Children of God. Yet the youth seem as disciplined and committed as adherents of any of these religious groups.

Religion in conventional terms finds no parallel in the experience of China's youth today, at least among those with whom we talked. But the fruits of religion—the practice of a moral life, particularly with respect to concern for one's neighbor and the whole society—are in many ways more evident in China than in the West.

Everywhere we went I asked: "What are the moral values which are taught in China today, and how are they transmitted to the young people?" The response invariably began with a recitation of Chairman Mao's instruction: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." Many people I spoke to went on to develop these three recurring themes:

1. The central value is communitarian, a surrender of self on behalf of the community: "serve the people"; "fight self, repudiate revisionism"; "remember class struggle"; "learn from the workers and peasants."

2. There is a commitment to goals beyond self, a belief that one day the Communist goals for all the people will be achieved at home and for all the working people of the world as well.

3. There is the recapture of a vision of the wholeness of man, a belief that the individual can be changed, transformed, converted—and that society will be changed in the process.

After many conversations, it seemed clear that moral values are learned both in group study and in actual practice. The mandatory physical labor of all students and teachers implements the instruction "learn from the workers and peasants." This in itself becomes a powerful instrument for instilling communitarian values.

Will religion survive in China? We were told repeatedly that the Constitution guarantees freedom of religious belief. We knew that Chairman Mao had spoken against the use of coercion. A frequently quoted guideline is taken from his 1957 speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions":

"We cannot abolish religion by administrative decree or force people to give up idealism, any more than we can force them to believe in Marxism. The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression."

Although the Chinese have freedom of religious belief, said one young college woman, "the Chinese people also have the right not to believe, and the right to propagate atheism." To my question about young people practicing the old religions, she replied, "There's no need to. With the basis of scientific materialism of the new society, the old superstitions were proved to be false." Asked whether young people might not want to talk with old religious believers "to learn from the past," she replied, "Why would anyone want to discuss Buddhism? What does that have to do with our new society? It simply would not interest young people. It's irrelevant."

Some Chinese with whom we talked were curious about religion. They were amazed to learn that educated people in the West continue to believe and practice religion. For them, they said, the study of scientific materialism had exposed the logical fallacies and absurdities of religion.

Nevertheless, fundamental religious questions remain. How do the Chinese understand the meaning of life and death? Death is seen in materialist terms, as the termination of one's time of service for the people. Traditional funeral rites and customs are "vestiges of the feudal superstructure."

I asked the chief engineer at the Xingan Hydroelectric Project how they handled the question of ancestors' graves when 250,000 peasants from 40 villages were moved from the site of the new reservoir. This was a matter of political education, he said; people had to learn that graves and bones are meaningless material remains. In most cases the graves were excavated and the bones ground up for fertilizer. For the uneducable elderly people who insisted, he said, the graves were moved to new sites.

We asked three doctors at the Xinhua Hospital in Shanghai how they handled patients with terminal illness. Do they practice euthanasia if such patients do not wish to maintain life? They replied, "In China the situation is different. Few people do

not wish to live, because our social system is different from yours. We try by every means to save the patient. We do ideological work with them to raise their will to live."

What about a hopeless case, in terminal coma? "Even for them, we do all we can to save them. Medical science keeps advancing; sometimes 'incurable' cases become curable. We understand the problem of the suffering of patients and family. But doctors can't think this way. We'll try, if there is only 1 percent of hope."

Life and death, love and grief, human sin and finitude, ultimate mysteries—I asked the Muslim Imam in Hangchow whether religious needs will persist in a socialist society. He said that religious faith, for him, was essential. He agreed there are basic religious needs in any society, but hastened to add that he is "half new, half old." His faith provides strength, comfort, and meaning in times of personal loss or grief. For others, who have grown up under socialism, "there are contradictions" with religion.

But he himself does not believe there is an insoluble contradiction between religion and socialism. "The integration of religious faith with social reality can be resolved by an understanding of social and scientific progress and development. We acknowledge God as omnipotent. Our religious teaching will confirm, then, that the progress and development of society is also under God's guidance. The history of social development is inexorable. You can't turn it around, but must comply with what God has set in motion."

The secularization process for China was, in part, a rejection of superstition and social irrelevance in the traditional religions, and of Western cultural imperialism and sterile pietism as perceived in the Christian churches. Secularization is a rejection of religious solutions for China's human and social problems, finding in humanity alone the source of its own salvation. This secularizing trend, based in the Confucian tradition, can be found in all the reformist and revolutionary movements that followed the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in 1911.

At the same time, there were dynamic new movements in both Chinese Buddhism and indigenous Christianity in the three decades prior to 1949. A religious dynamic was at the heart of peasant movements throughout Chinese history, based in chiliastic Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity (in the case of the Taiping Rebellion). Groups of believers in China still practice their faith under the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religious belief, and the presence of these communities sustains a religious dimension that can enrich and meliorate a culture increasingly secularized. □



Shirley MacLaine: Is the Human Race Gonna Make It?

Ronni Sandroff

"So many American intellectuals went to China and didn't understand it. 'Cause they knew too much. Their gut level reaction is, I think, too schooled. The revolution is not about education—it's about changing human nature, it's about understanding one another."

During a fund-raising party for *New China* magazine, actress Shirley MacLaine showed her film *The Other Half of the Sky: A China Memoir*, a moving documentary about the experiences of the first American women's delegation to the People's Republic. Guests at the party were eager to question Ms. MacLaine about her personal reactions to China. Her long, long fingernails (she stopped biting them in China) flashed in the air as she answered.

Before her trip to China, Ms. MacLaine said, she had been through five years of almost complete failure. Active in the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the McGovern campaign, she found her faith in the American system giving way to hopelessness. "I wouldn't have participated in any of those really hard uphill struggles if I hadn't believed in the Constitution, in the founding fathers' understanding of what was a good society for human beings. But every time things fell apart. The bottom fell out, dripping and drabbling, and getting me more and more demoralized. And the same thing happened to me as an entertainer. The roles for women—I can't even tell you what an atrocity they were, except for hookers, and I've played about 14 of them. I was a woman in her middle

Ronni Sandroff is a freelance writer and an editor of New China. Her two short novels, Party Party and Girlfriends, will be published by Alfred A. Knopf in June.

thirties who was grasping for some belief in the future. And I am an optimist. But I really felt awash in the sea of always trying while nothing was working. And in that frame of mind I asked for a visa to China. And asked these other women that I had met over the years. All of them were strangers to each other and all a little bit scared that the Communists would grab them. And so we went. Twelve American women trying to understand America.

"The de-emphasis of the individual and the emphasis on the collective is the point of the new revolution. That's why we felt so comfortable. We felt so safe, calm, relaxed. Everyone seemed kind, friendly, you never had the feeling that some deranged idiot would come leaping out and grab you. See, I had traveled a few years earlier to the Soviet Union and the Eastern satellite countries and had some experience with socialist revolutions. You could get quite paranoid in those areas of the world. Fearful, depressing, gray, and unpleasant. I didn't like them artistically or emotionally, so I was absolutely stunned in China to see a socialist revolution successful. The people were completely open. We were allowed to go anywhere we wanted at any time. Many times in the morning we would just feel compelled to go across the street or down the block or around the corner and ask if we could shoot film, talk, interview, and never were we prevented."

Shirley MacLaine was less interested in the briefings about production, agriculture, and material progress in new China than in the emotional well-being of the people. "There we were in a country where the women really were participating. They really let their children go to day care and they didn't feel guilty. They worked all day

and then went to a Revolutionary Committee meeting at night. And the husbands and wives didn't seem unhappy about it, didn't accuse each other or argue about 'you're supposed to be home.'

"I'll tell you where my values got shaken up the most in China, and I'm still in the midst of resolving this. I used to think that it was human nature to want to grab up your own little ball of stuff and be safe for your old age. And I used to think that our system of capitalism served that intrinsic need. Since my trip, I think the problem is that we believe too much in the intrinsic greed of people. I think you can make human nature whatever you want. To collectivize a society is, in effect, to teach people to share."

Other people at the party broke in with questions. "What about individual artistic freedom in China," someone asked. "Could you live there?"

"No, I couldn't; it is not my country, I don't understand the language, I couldn't handle the restrictions China would place on my personality. But I suspect that if I could live there, I would be a better human being."

"But to look at the question of individualism from an American point of view is a little off-base. Ninety-five percent of the people of old China would never have had a chance to be an individual anyway. They were governed by survival, not whether they'd be a Michelangelo or a movie star. When we went to the school where they first choreographed the *Red Detachment of Women*, I asked 'What do you do with the temperamental artist?' Because I know what it feels like to be a creative person and put your emotional life on the line every time you get up there, the

kind of emotional honesty other human beings never risk.

"Teng Ying-chau [Madame Chou En-lai] told me something I never would have thought of, something which from our point of view seems to be over-democratization of the arts. When they did the *Red Detachment* for the first time, the creative performers did it much harsher, much more real than they do now. The peasants, the people, reacted in such a sad way. They were all crying, uncontrollably, from what they saw on the stage. Then the creators asked for criticism and got thousands and thousands of 'preview cards,' and those things the masses in general wanted to change, the creators changed. This is what serving the people means. We would never do that in a million years! Our individualistic orientation toward art is a different kind of creation because the Chinese are involved in changing the future and teaching—we're involved with art for art's sake.

"Our different viewpoint comes out even in how you see the people at first. You walk down the street in China and everyone is dressed the same. Not only do all the men look alike but the men and the women look alike in our eyes—"

A man at the party interrupted suddenly. "But Shirley, isn't that dull? Doesn't the fact that they all dress alike mean they're also all thinking alike?"

Almost before he'd finished, she shook her head vigorously "no" and her lips readied an answer. "Here you walk down the street and it looks all varied, like a colossal kaleidoscope. But actually, it's a big display of pecking order. Everybody has symbols of how rich they are, what business they're in. In China you don't have to wade through the plumage of what someone dresses like. You're forced to see what people are thinking, what they're feeling, what their spirits are like. You're not diverted, you're not seduced.

"Pat [a woman from Texas] stopped taking sleeping pills. I stopped smoking. That's what happened to us. We seemed to have lopped off those parts of our lives that were agitation, the agitation we had experienced in the West as women. We saw that some of the basic Chinese experiments were working, and we relaxed. And it stuck with us. I haven't lost it. I haven't smoked a cigarette since."

What can we learn from the Chinese? "Oh—that's a big question. How can I answer that! What we can learn is that believing in unity, in kindness, in sensitivity is not naive. It's practical and wise to believe in these things when they're developed on an institutional level. I saw these things work on a mass scale. That's what gave me hope that maybe the human race would make it." □

Question and Answer: Han Suyin

How much political freedom is there in China?

I think that when you use the term "political freedom" you have to define it, for in one country it means one thing and in another country it means something else. I suppose what is meant mostly is the right to dissent—the right to express oneself. The Chinese have a different conception of what this means. You can have a society in which many things can be said, but when it comes to taking action, people find themselves powerless. Now I don't say that everything is ideal in China. I think that in China, too, we have had to learn quite a bit. A political party dedicated to socialism can become tyrannical. That is why there had to be the Cultural Revolution—in order to give a voice to the people. It is not enough to have a constitution which gives you the right of assembly, the right of expressing yourself, etc. You also have to set up a system through which the masses can utilize their rights. The important problem of socialism and democracy is having the interests of the people, defined by the people themselves, as the primary concern.

China is attempting to give true political freedom to the workers, peasants, and soldiers who make up more than 95 percent of the people—but not to the exploiters. In certain Third World countries, there is a great deal of freedom of the press, and the intellectuals can assemble and say various things. But the moment one of them tries to act, you should see what happens. Do you call that political freedom? You see, you have to be very careful to know where the power lies when you talk about political freedom. After all, everything is power.

During the Cultural Revolution, many forms evolved in an attempt to make political freedom a reality. There were mass meetings, Revolutionary Committees, big-character posters—different methods to stimulate the people to speak up, to go against the tide. In China, we have the Confucian tradition of shutting up. If you could see the efforts that are being made daily to encourage the people to speak, to make them really express themselves, you would be touched. Whereas in other countries that call themselves democratic, I have seen every effort being made to shut people up.

In the schools in France and Switzerland—I don't know about the schools in the United States—the students are still not allowed to interrupt a lecture to ask a question, or to express an opinion different

from the teacher's. In China, too, it used to be impossible for a youngster to question what the teacher said. During the Cultural Revolution this had to be taken in hand. And yet only last year the whole question came up again. A twelve-year-old girl asked a question in class and was told to shut up. She replied that in the era of Mao Tsetung we have the right to ask questions. She wrote a letter to the newspapers, it was printed, and an enormous debate began about the relation between teachers and students. You may say this is not political freedom, but I would say it is, since true political freedom begins in school.

The factory workers also have political freedom. They have the right to make decisions in their factories. They are not tied like beasts to their machines. This is true of the communes, too.

So, from the point of view I have expressed, I think political freedom in China is something quite tangible, quite concrete, though it is different from yours in many ways.

From comments at the founding convention of the National USCPFA. Han Suyin is the author of The Morning Deluge and other works.

Books

China from the Sketchbooks of Chen Chi. New York: Chen Chi Studio, 1974. 118 pp., illus. \$10.00.

China from the Sketchbooks of Chen Chi is a beautiful little volume of some 90 black-and-white line sketches and six watercolor plates. Chen Chi was born near the Yangtze River in Wuxi, a town where a network of canals and waterways serves for streets. He came to live in America in 1947 and revisited China at the invitation of the Chinese government in 1972.

For three months he traveled about freely, and his work captures every aspect of life in his homeland. Perhaps because this is his first visit in 25 years, Chen Chi's pen is especially sensitive, and the artist shows great sympathy and love for the growing new China.

For the black-and-white sketches, he relies on quick simple lines to describe the figures and convey a sense of action. In a picture of acrobats he deftly conveys the weight and poise of the performers, one climbing a pole which the other balances on his shoulder. For the color plates, Chen Chi uses traditional materials—watercolors with Chinese brush on rice paper. But using a very wet brush, skillfully controlled, he creates patterns by letting the water run and dry at different times, as in the picture of

the Great Wall, where he describes the hills and folds of the mountain in a loose and relaxed style. Chen Chi uses the Western technique of bright colors rather than the

five muted earth tones of traditional Chinese painting. This is another departure from the old style of painting.

Some of the drawings are accompanied

by a few lines in English, or sometimes in both English and Chinese brush calligraphy. For example:

NANKING

*The Yangze River Bridge
A great bridge
"We designed it, we built it.
We are very proud of it,"
Every Chinese is saying.*

ACROBATS

*Stupendous!
Success after success
Miracle after miracle!
Precise, meticulous skill
In coordination and cooperation.*

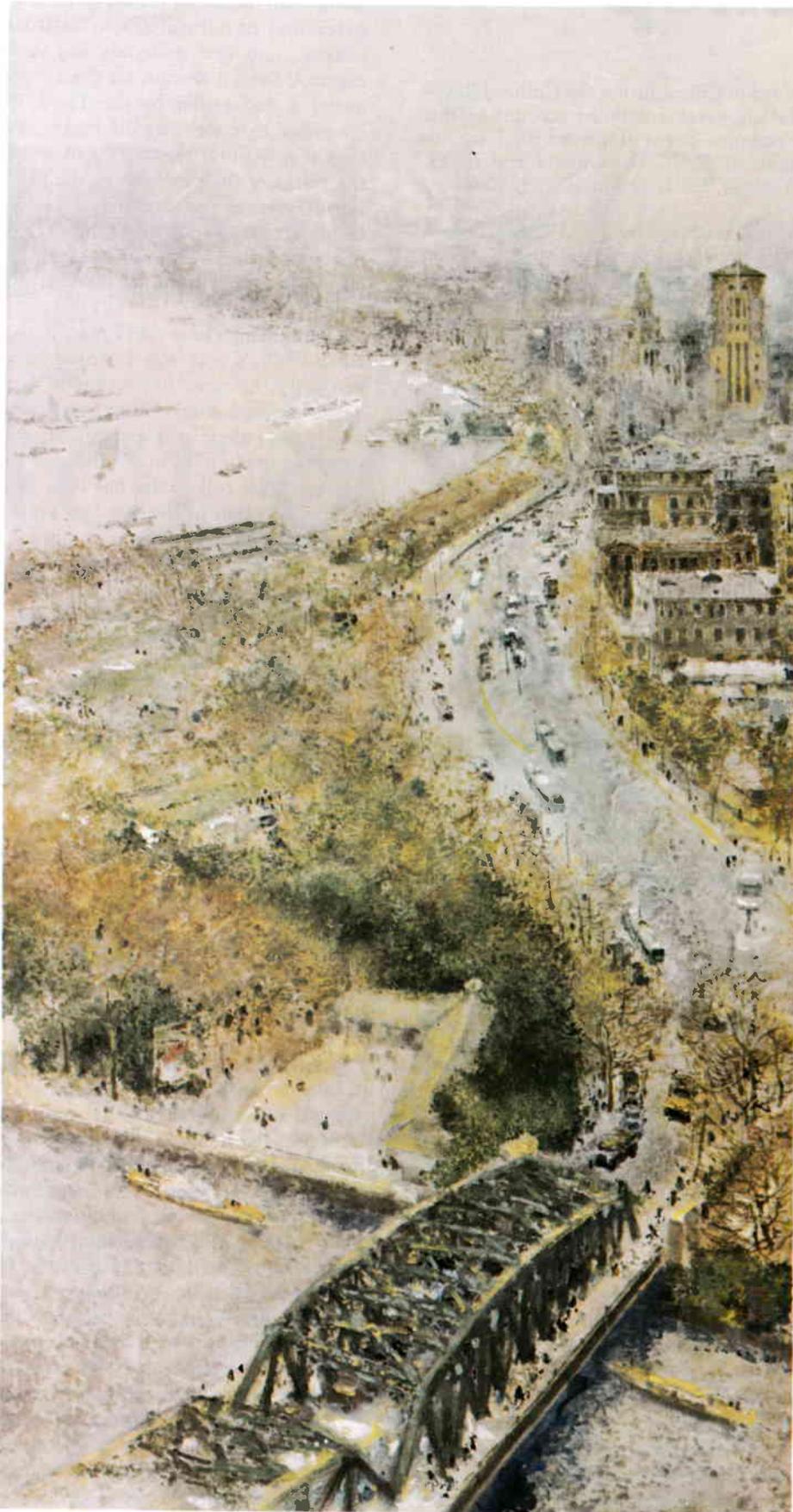
The crowds on Tien An Men Square; a bird's-eye view of Shanghai along the Bund; North China peasants cutting ice to store for summer; the morning rush of hundreds of people on bicycles going to work; building terraces in the mountainside; children riding water buffalo back from the fields; faces at a Children's Palace—Chen Chi has caught the life spirit of China's people.

Ida Pruitt
Philadelphia, Pa.

China's Voice in the United Nations. By Susan Warren. New York: World Winds Press, 1975. 146 pp. Paperback, \$1.95.

China's Voice in the United Nations by Susan Warren, one of the founding members of the New York USCPFA, is an excellent, straightforward account of China's foreign policy as reflected in certain UN debates in the 1970s. The author, who has followed Chinese foreign policy closely and is the UN correspondent for *New China*, begins with an overall discussion of how the Chinese see the world situation. The Chinese analysis focuses primarily on the two superpowers—the United States and the USSR—contending for power in economically, politically, and strategically important areas of the world such as Europe and the Middle East. This first chapter is particularly helpful for those who are not well acquainted with China's foreign policy.

The next chapter deals with the attempt to restore Cambodia's Royal Government of National Union led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk to its rightful place in the UN. China and many other Third World countries supported this move, and after a series of sharp debates, the Sihanouk government lost by only two votes in November 1974. The behind-the-scenes manipulations by the United States and the USSR and the role played by China are carefully documented. (It seems that the Cambodian liberation forces have not waited for further



"Shanghai along the Bund" by Chen Chi

New China Bookshop

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

Away With All Pests by Joshua Horn. Excellent book about the development of the Chinese medical system by a surgeon who worked in China for 15 years. Monthly Review Press, 1971. 192 pp. Paper, \$3.75.

The Scalpel and the Sword by Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon. Biography of the Canadian doctor Norman Bethune, who gave his life while serving in the People's Liberation Army in 1939. Monthly Review Press, 1973. 319 pp. Paper, \$4.95.

Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung 39 articles written from 1926 to 1963. "On Contradiction," "On Practice," "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," and other writings essential for an understanding of the new China. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1971. 504 pp. Cloth, \$2.25; paper, \$1.75.

Travels in China 1966-71 by Rewi Alley. The author, who has lived in China for over 40 years, gives a lively report on what he saw on his travels throughout the country. He compares the old and new, especially changes during the Cultural Revolution. A must for visitors to China. Photos. New World Press, 1973. 588 pp. Cloth, \$7.95; paper, \$3.95.

A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution by Jean Daubier. The author, who

lived in China during the Cultural Revolution, gives a detailed account of this "complex event unprecedented in human history." Documents and index. Vintage, 1974. 336 pp. Paper, \$2.45.

China on Stage by Lois Wheeler Snow. The impact of the Cultural Revolution on the dramatic arts, with full texts of three new operas and one ballet; *Red Detachment of Women*. Vintage, 1973. 328 pp. Paper, \$2.45.

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

Revolutionary China: People, Politics and Ping-pong by Ruth Sidel. Good and popular introduction to the life in China today for teenagers, including brief background history. Photos. 178 pp. Cloth, \$5.95.

New Gateway to Chinese A basic introduction to the language. Twenty-four lessons from **China Reconstructs** Language Corner. Ideal for beginners or tourists. Paper, \$1.75.

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UN decisions on which is the lawful government.)

Korea has been a blindspot to many in the United States, just as China was until three years ago. Warren's chapter on Korea, which deals with its history as well as its present status, is therefore particularly welcome. In the UN, China has supported the call for the withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea, and the North

Korean plan for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Warren explains how China supports oppressed people throughout the world and upholds the principle that countries should solve their own problems without interference from outside powers. Her chapter on the Middle East documents both China's support for the Arab people's struggle for self-determination and its criticism of the

way in which the two superpowers have been trying to dominate this area.

The second part of the book deals with three important topics recently under discussion in the UN: nuclear arms and disarmament, the law of the sea (regulating the extraction of natural resources from the oceans), and raw materials and development. A Special Session on the latter produced a declaration by the Third World countries that they would regain control over their natural resources and would tie the prices of their exports to the prices of imports from industrialized countries. China attached such great importance to this matter that Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was sent to head the Chinese delegation.

Many changes have taken place in the UN since China's seat was restored in 1971. Probably the most important is that the Third World countries have begun to unite and resist, individually and collectively, the pressures put on them by the two superpowers. This collectivity has been demonstrated so often in the last few years that the head of the U.S. delegation has referred to it as a "tyranny of the majority." Warren discusses how China and the other Third World countries are challenging U.S. and USSR control of the UN. She feels this is a positive step.

Susan Warren's book is timely and informative. It should be read by anyone who wishes to gain an understanding of China's role in current world affairs.

Helmut Roth
New York, N.Y.

Films

The Other Half of the Sky: A China Memoir. Produced and written by Shirley MacLaine; directed by Claudia Weill and Shirley MacLaine. 75 minutes. Color.

"Women hold up half the sky" is one of Chairman Mao's most poetic, most often-quoted sayings. Poetry aside, it also has a profound meaning to the Chinese people: women, long looked down upon, hobbled by bound feet, almost a race apart according to pre-revolutionary tradition, are now fully participating, fully contributing human beings. *The Other Half of the Sky*, a feature-length film by Shirley MacLaine and Claudia Weill, is about these women of new China. Because it focuses on women, it focuses as well on daily life, work, children, education, and the family. In short, *The Other Half of the Sky* touches on many phases of Chinese society and culture.

The film approaches its subject matter uniquely. Most films about China rely on more usual methods of explanation: pro-

China in the 20th Century

Retreat With Stilwell

By Jack Belden
(New York, 1943)
368 pp. + map \$13.50

Still Time To Die

By Jack Belden
(New York, 1944)
xi + 322 pp. \$16.50

First Act in China

The Story of the Sian Mutiny
By James M. Bertram
(New York, 1938)
xxii + 284 pp., 45 photographs \$17.50

Unconquered

Journal of a Year's Adventures Among the Fighting Peasants of North China
By James M. Bertram
(New York, 1939)
ix + 340 pp., 5 illus. \$19.50

China's Struggle for Railroad Development

By Chang Kia-ngau (Chia-ao)
(New York, 1943)
vii + 340 pp. \$19.50

Report From Red China

By Harrison Forman
(New York, 1945)
iv + 250 pp., 64 photographs \$15.00

Girl Rebel

The Autobiography of Hsieh Pingying
By Hsieh Pingying
With Extracts from her *New War Diaries*
(New York, 1940)
xviii + 270 pp., 3 illus. \$18.00

Inside Red China

By Helen Snow (Nym Wales)
With a new introduction by the author
(Garden City, N.Y., 1939)
xxiv + 346 pp. \$22.50

Battle Hymn of China

By Agnes Smedley
(New York, 1943)
xxiii + 528 pp. \$32.50

The Challenge of Red China

By Guenther Stein
(New York & London, 1945)
490 pp., 16 halftones \$24.50

China Looks Forward

By Sun Fo (K'ö)
(New York, 1944)
xvi + 276 pp., 1 map \$17.50

The International Development of China

By Sun Yat-sen
Second edition
(New York & London, 1929)
ix + 265 pp., 17 maps \$19.50

San Min Chu I

The Three Principles of the People
By Sun Yat-sen
(Shanghai, China, 1928)
xvii + 514 pp. \$31.00

Thunder Out of China

By Theodore H. White & Annalee Jacoby
Introduction by the authors
(New York, 1946)
vi + 331 pp. \$20.00

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duction statistics, details of social organization, lots of information. This film creates, instead, the *feeling* of being in China: the cheerfulness, enthusiasm, and energy which are indelibly engraved in the memory of every recent visitor. Claudia Weill's photography and Weill's and Aviva Slesin's editing are particularly well suited to this end. So is much of the content: haircuts in a Chinese beauty parlor, learning to count Chinese dollars, Chinese and American women walking arm in arm. Abundant and expressive facial close-ups plus the scenes of Chinese women and the American women in the delegation interacting with each other remove some of the distance between the observer and the observed.

It is as if a door has opened and we are able to walk through it into China, if only for a short time.

The film itself begins by introducing each of the seven American women who in 1973, together with Shirley MacLaine and Claudia Weill's all-woman film crew, comprised the first U. S. all-women's delegation to visit the People's Republic. The women are from varied backgrounds: a Black Mississippi civil rights activist, a white working-class Wallace supporter from Texas, a Navajo Native American—none of whom had ever left their home territory before—a psychologist, a sociologist, a New England house-

wife, and a 12-year-old girl. While the filmmakers set out to document the impact of the trip on a group of American women, this important goal was never quite realized in the film itself, although it is discussed extensively in MacLaine's book, *You Can Get There from Here*. The film audience is left wondering: how did the thoughts and lives of these women change as a result of their experience? Did they see their own world differently when they returned, or was the Chinese experience so special that it must in the end be left in China?

Perhaps because of the film's highly visual, impressionistic, almost poetic style, quite a number of questions are raised but never really explored in depth. Some of the questions: Are Chinese children "programmed," or are they socialized? And is there a difference between the two? What would be the fate of a Chinese Michelangelo who wants to serve "pure" artistic rather than social goals? Aren't there any Chinese women who *don't* want to get married and have children?

This last question, asked of the women in an urban neighborhood association, stimulates some smiles from the Chinese women, who throw the ball back: "Why wouldn't we want to get married and have children? What about in America? Why don't you want to?" "It's complicated," an-

swers Shirley MacLaine. In the film, the exchange ends there, and so does the viewer's understanding of the issue.

When I was in China in 1972 with the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, our group had the same Chinese guide—a woman, Lao Zhang—as MacLaine's group. And we asked the same questions of some commune women in Lin Hsien County, Honan Province. But Lao Zhang added: "From what you have told us, it seems that marriage in America is an oppressive institution, part of the larger oppressive society. This was also the case in China in the past. But today in socialist China there are not so many obstacles. We are really free to marry and have children."

It is difficult to convey the sense of liberation we, as women, felt in China. There, it was easy and normal for women to have *both* children *and* meaningful work. Here in the United States, we have become accustomed to being caught in the conflict between the two. *The Other Half of the Sky* captures much of the spirit of modern China and that makes it a good film, one well worth seeing. Yet, lacking a certain depth, it does not convey some of the most powerful effects of the Chinese Revolution on the lives of both Chinese and American women.

Nancy Jervis
New York, N.Y.

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250 West 57th St. Room 1517
New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 586-6577 Marianne and Norval Welch

Letters

I liked "Pandamonium," "Kweilin," "Women," and "Growing Old in New China." I didn't like "Confucius." I thought it was a little boring. And I didn't like some parts of the Chou En-lai interview. I'd like to see articles on the working and resting day of the average Chinese family. I wonder if it is possible for me to exchange letters with a child my own age [13 years old] in China. I want to say I enjoyed reading your magazine. I wish it would be published more than four times a year.

Gary Reich
Ann Arbor, Michigan

New China needs to have articles on Asians in America because whatever America sees and hears about China directly or indirectly affects American attitudes toward Asians in this country. And I include *all* Asian groups in this country. The history of this fallout has evidenced itself in Japanese-American internment during World War II (Japan and China in American eyes become one entity), subtle institutional racism during the Korean War and during the "hot" Cold War years of McCarthy, and to some extent the racism toward Asians as a result of the hated Vietnam War. The magazine needs to expand this area if it is to be meaningful and not become another magazine telling me how sweet and quaint and *exotic* the orient is.

John Wong
Arlington, Va.

Thank you again for the ten consignment copies of *New China*. People must like it, for all the copies were sold in two days without difficulty. We hope to get from New York a number of additional copies of this issue and the preceding one. Selling the magazine seems a good way to introduce people in different parts of the city to the new realities in China and to the formation of our USCPFA chapter.

Dan and Janet Tannacito
Pittsburgh, Pa.

I do not think it helps the cause of Chinese-American friendship if you print articles about China which are totally uncritical. It wouldn't hurt for you to insist that your authors include more detail and more analysis, as opposed to simple description. There's a lot of information appearing in the American press about China now, and I don't think that people need to be told that certain institutions exist. We're now at a point where people need to be given *new* information, and quite a bit of analysis of

what's going on and how things might be relevant to Americans.

Carol Ehrlich
Baltimore, Md.

For anyone interested in new China, *New China* magazine is a must. As a journalist, I am not only impressed with the wealth of information contained in your periodical, but the variety of it. The make-up of the magazine and the reproduction of color photographs depicting life in China, as well as its ancient culture and history, are superb.

If I have a criticism, it is that some of your contributors paint too bright a picture of new China's accomplishments over the past

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25 years. Having been to the People's Republic of China twice in the last two years, I can only remind any journalist or writer on Chinese affairs of what Premier Chou En-lai said to one visiting Westerner: that some journalists tend to paint too rosy a picture of China. After all, anyone who has been to new China can tell you that the Chinese themselves not only admit their shortcomings, but ask the visitor to criticize, both to them and in print, what they find wrong.

Nevertheless, *New China* magazine has a definite place in the United States today. More and more Americans are seeking information about the People's Republic, information that is still hard to find. *New China* magazine is making a real contribution in this respect. Keep it up!

Sam Jaffe
Washington, D. C.

We were very impressed with the Spring issue of *New China*, particularly "Growing Old in New China" by Susan K. Kinoy and "No Economic Crisis in China! Why?" by Sweezy and Magdoff. Both of these articles get directly to the point. They were written with true empathy for people, as is the entire magazine. The layout is careful and artistic, and we are looking forward to the next issue.

Steve and Barbara Joseph
Cheshire, Mass.

I want to express my immense delight in having such an excellent magazine available to show my friends and neighbors interested in learning more about China. All those who have seen it express positive comments about its layout, photography, choice of topics, and content. I warmly share this view.

Sandy Mayers-Chen
New York, N.Y.

I have enjoyed both issues of *New China*. So little news has filtered through in the last 30 years on China and I've heard nothing but disparagement of the few who even took a neutral position. I enjoyed Chris Gilmartin's article in the first issue, but I still mistrusted the one-sided pro articles and wished for a more balanced viewpoint. The second issue was easier to take, and whether there was a change in the style or in me I do not know. The articles on women's roles were right up my alley and seemed to present a balanced picture.

Helen Stout
Seattle, Wash.

I'm impressed by how difficult it is for many Americans to understand China. One reason for this is a failure to appreciate where China is coming from. Some women

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

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

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

1. Which articles did you particularly like? Why?

2. Which articles did you particularly dislike? Why?

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

4. Prior to reading NEW CHINA, how much did you know about the People's Republic?

- almost nothing
- some general information, but little specific knowledge
- have closely followed developments in the People's Republic.

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

Sex_____ Age_____ USCPFA Member Yes_____ No_____

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

who have visited China expected to find answers to some of the problems the women's movement faces in this country. They were impressed by the determination and confidence they saw in the Chinese women, yet were disappointed to see some villages where women do all the housework, women on communes sometimes being paid less than men, and other inequalities. Carma Hinton's article really laid out the women's struggle in China—the advances made by women on communes and in factories, and the backward elements which remain and must be struggled against.

Betsy Kanwit
San Francisco, Calif.

My impression of the first two issues of *New China* is favorable. Clearly there is nothing around dealing with China on a popular level, and I think there is a market for a publication that explains China to people other than scholars and well-read political activists. The Hinton interview in the Spring issue is good, mainly because Chou is highly entertaining and intelligent, and an interview with him is always something of a "document." Since most Americans never do get to go to China, travel photographs such as those of Kweilin are nice.

Jon Livingston
Berkeley, Calif.

Letters to New China have been excerpted for publication.

Suggested Reading

Health Care for 800 Million People

Serve the People: Observations on Medicine in the People's Republic of China by Victor and Ruth Sidel. Boston: Beacon Press, 1974. \$4.45.

New Uses for Ancient Herbs

Chinese Folk Medicine by H. Wallnofer and A. von Rottauscher. New York: Mentor, 1972. \$1.25.

Friendship Has a History

A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman by Ida Pruitt. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967. \$2.95.

Chou En-lai

Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University by William Hinton. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972. \$3.45.

The Real Spirit of Tachai by Gerald Tannebaum. New York: MSS Modular Publications, Inc., 1974. \$1.20.

Is There Religion in China?

Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China: A Documentary History by Donald E. MacInnis. New York: Macmillan, 1972. \$3.95.

Is the Human Race Gonna Make It?

You Can Get There from Here by Shirley MacLaine. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1975. \$7.95.

All of the above can be purchased through the New China Bookshop.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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