

**Special 28-Page Bonus Pull-Out:  
1978 Chinese Woodcut Wall Calendar**

*Winter 1977*

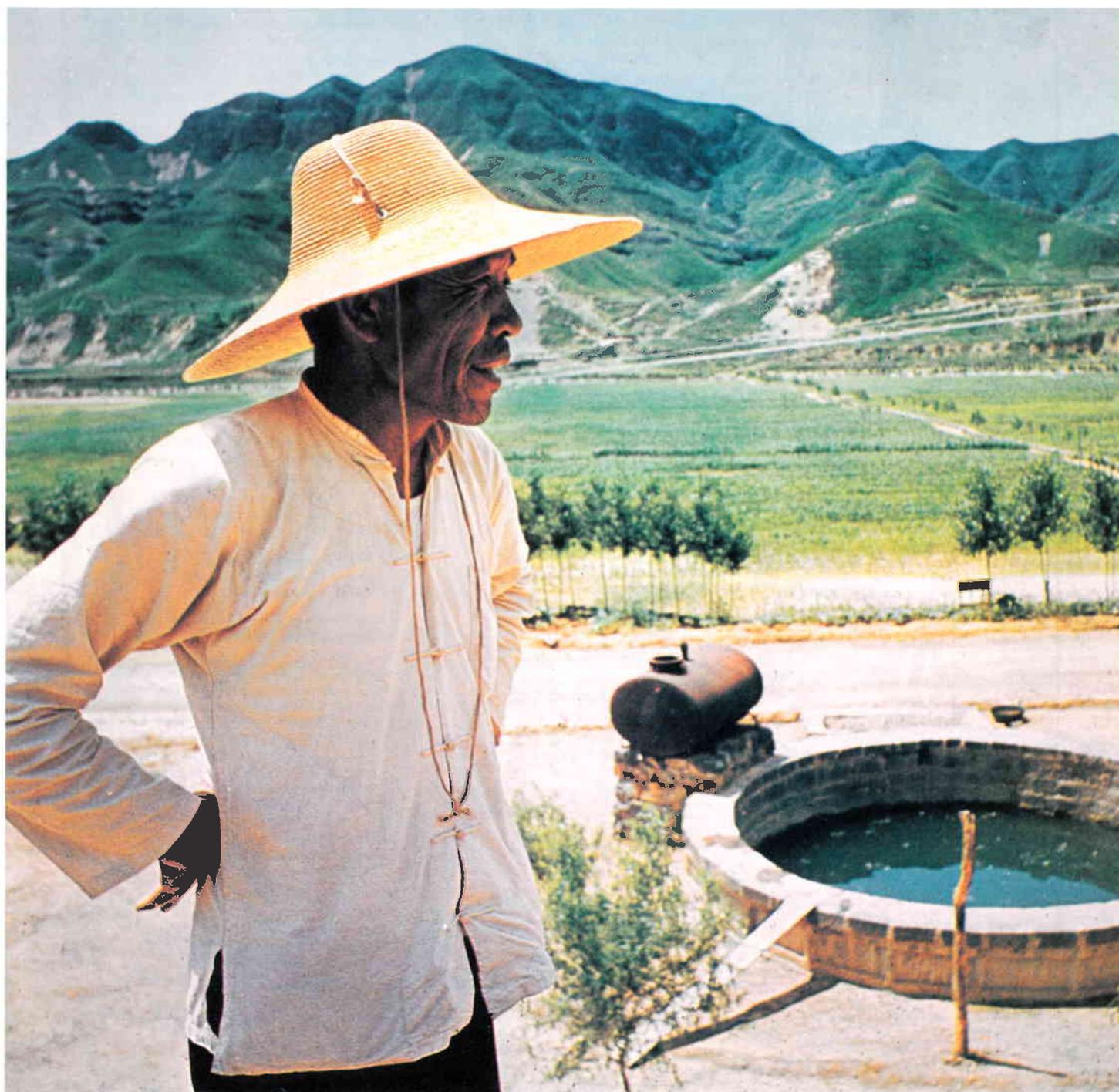
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# *New China*

**The Fall of the "Gang of Four" – China after Mao**

**The Population Explosion Myth**

**Interview with a Vice-premier – Part III**



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yǒu yì

### Meeting the Chinese

wǒ hěn xǐ huān yǒu jī huì rèn shi nín.



I'm delighted to have this chance to meet you.  
wǒ hěn xǐ huān yǒu jī huì rèn shi nín.  
我很喜欢有机会认识您。

What is your name, sir?  
xiān shēng nín guì xìng?  
先生,您贵姓?

I like your country.  
wǒ hěn xǐ huān nín de guó jiā.  
我很喜欢您的国家。

Do you speak English?  
nín shuō yīng yǔ mā?  
您说英语吗?

This is my first time here.  
zhè shì wǒ dì yī cì dào zhè er lái?  
这是我第一次到这儿来。

To your health.  
zhù nín jiàn kāng.  
祝您健康。

Thank you, I had a wonderful time.  
xiè xiè, wǒ wán dé hěn yú kuài.  
谢谢,我玩得很愉快。

### Accommodations

qǐng nǐ zǎo shàng qī diǎn zhōng jiào wǒ.



Please call me at seven in the morning.  
qǐng nǐ zǎo shàng qī diǎn zhōng jiào wǒ.  
请你早上七点钟叫我。

I want a room for a week.  
wǒ yào yī gè fáng jiān zhù yī xīng qī.  
我要一个房间住一星期。

Here is my passport.  
zhè shì wǒ de hù zhào.  
这是我的护照。

Any mail for me?  
wǒ yǒu méi yǒu xìn?  
我有没有信?  
Come in, please.  
qǐng jìn lái.  
请进来。

### Dining

qǐng zài lái yī diǎn er.



A little more please.  
qǐng zài lái yī diǎn er.  
请再来一点儿。

A table for two please.  
wǒ yào liǎng gè zuò wèi.  
我要两个座位。

The menu please.  
qǐng gěi wǒ yī fèn cài dān.  
请给我一份菜单。

Rice, beef, pork, vegetable.  
fàn, niú ròu, zhū ròu, qīng cài.  
饭,牛肉,猪肉,青菜。

The check please.  
qǐng nǐ bǎ zhàng dān gěi wǒ.  
请你把帐单给我。

It was very good.  
hěn hǎo.  
很好。

### Shopping

wǒ de měi guō dà xiǎo shì...



My size in America is...  
wǒ de měi guō dà xiǎo shì...  
我的美国大小是...

I would like to buy this.  
wǒ yào mǎi zhè gè.  
我要买这个。  
I am just looking around.  
wǒ zhǐ shì kàn kàn.  
我只是看看。  
I will take it with me.  
wǒ yào dài zhè gè.  
我要带这个。  
Show me porcelain, please.  
qǐng nǐ gěi wǒ kàn kàn cí qì.  
请你给我看看瓷器。

### Transportation

qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?



Where is the train to Nanking?  
qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?  
去南京的火车在那儿?

I want to see the Great Wall.  
wǒ yào cān guān cháng chéng.  
我要参观长城。

Taxi.  
jì chéng chē.  
计程车。

Take me to the airport, please.  
qǐng nǐ sòng wǒ qù fēi jī chǎng.  
请你送我去飞机场。

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

# New China

Winter 1977

Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association

Volume 3, Number 4

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# NewChina

Autumn 1977 Volume 3, Number 4  
41 Union Square West, Room 721  
New York, N.Y. 10003

Cover: Photo by Frank Kehl. *Vice-Premier Chen Yong-gui surveys crop on reclaimed river bed, Xiyang County, 1971.*

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The staff and volunteers wish to thank Margot White for her two years' service as General Manager.

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

NEW CHINA welcomes manuscripts and ideas for articles. Authors should first submit a brief description of their subject and indicate what material will be used to develop it. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

## USCPFA News

The national USCPFA campaign to get China admitted to the 1980 Olympic Games has been taken up energetically by the Chicago local. Last spring an Ad Hoc Committee for China in the '80 Olympics was formed, including both USCPFA members and others who want to see China restored to its rightful place on the International Olympics Committee (IOC), thus enabling Chinese athletes to compete in the 1980 winter games in Lake Placid, N.Y., and the summer games in Moscow. The Ad Hoc Committee has had several internal educationals. At one, Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet and president of ARENA (the Institute for Sport and Social Analysis) and of SAN-ROC (South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) spoke about his experiences in the successful effort to have South Africa banned from the Games because of its apartheid policies, and the history of China and the Olympics.

As a result of this discussion, the Committee sent a telegram to the IOC's annual meeting, June 10-19 in Prague, urging the IOC to admit the People's Republic as "the sole representative of the Chinese people" and noting that "China's athletic excellence and spirit of 'friendship first, competition second' will make outstanding contributions to the Olympic Movement." Identical telegrams were sent by the Chicago USCPFA and the USCPFA National Steering Committee, and similar messages by other groups and individuals.

Locally the Committee has sponsored a number of film showings on sports in China and the Olympics issue, several of them at YMCAs and summer camps. Committee members took petitions and a big banner reading "Admit China to the '80 Olympics" to a Chicago 20-kilometer distance race, set up a table close to the finish line, and collected 250 signatures - mostly from runners who lined up to sign the petition after the race.

Two ambitious series of programs on China and Africa, using Felix Greene's film *Freedom Railway*, were held in late spring and early summer at opposite ends of the country - the Los Angeles area and Providence, R.I.

The West Side Los Angeles local participated in or set up a total of 19 programs featuring the film, a short introduction, discussion afterward when possible, and appropriate literature, including 300 reprints of "China and Angola" from NEW CHINA which were distributed free.

The idea for the programs came from activity in many Black communities and on campuses around African Liberation Day,

May 25, and from the tremendous interest in Africa among Black people. Initial contacts were set up through USCPFA members and people whom the Health Care Committee met at a health fair in a Black community. The showings took place at African Liberation Day events at several community colleges, a university, and a trade technical school, and also in classes at community colleges, a community center in a Black neighborhood, and junior and senior high schools. Audiences ranged from six (a small class) to 90, with the average about 50-60. More contacts were made in the course of the work, many new names added to the mailing list, and a number of additional programs set up.

Similar success was reported by the Providence local, which showed *Freedom Railway* seven times in one week to a variety of audiences - at the Quaker Friends' Meeting House, the Third World Center at Brown University, a progressive storefront church, the Longshoreman's International Union Hall, and in the social rooms of three bars, two of them in primarily working class and Black communities.

Before embarking on this series, Providence activists previewed the film and discussed the points they wanted to cover. Most had done little if any public speaking, so in order to develop their skills while practicing self-reliance, they set up teams of two to handle each showing. One person described the work of the USCPFA, encouraged signing the petition, pointed out the book table, and briefly introduced the film. After the film, the other member read China's "Eight Principles of Economic Aid," concretizing them in terms of the movie, then led a discussion during which all members present helped answer questions.

"As a small local," the chapter summed up, "we feel we made great strides with this program. The long-range planning of so many showings was a feat of cooperation, team effort, and organization. We boldly began to move our programs to new sections of the city and new audiences."

An innovative Children's Day program was put on by the New York City local June 27. Held at a public school, it drew 250-300 children and grown-ups of different backgrounds and nationalities, and many people new to friendship activities. An auditorium program included a panda film from China, folksongs by Jim Hely of Metropolitan New Jersey USCPFA, a Tibetan dance by teenagers from the Chinese community, and the Philadelphia high school students' slide show of their China trip.

The puppet show "Little Sisters of the Grasslands" was performed several times during the day. Children - and some adults - had their names written in Chinese charac-

# If You Can't Send a Friend to China Send *New China* to a Friend

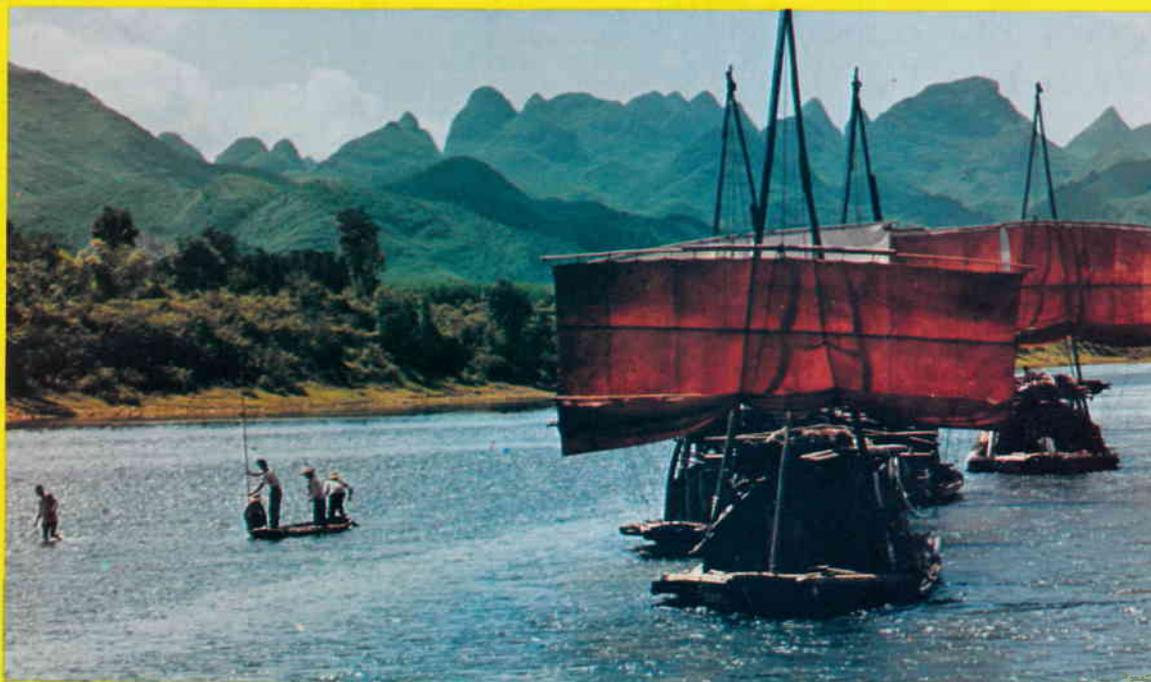


Photo: A. Topping

Peking's Tian An Men, beautiful Kweilin, the magnificent Great Wall—places you and friends have long awaited to visit. Unfortunately, until we have full diplomatic relations between our countries, travel to the People's Republic of China will be extremely difficult. But there is a way that you can share the China experience with your family and friends. No movie camera or slide projectors needed. And you need not apply for a visa.

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ters (one of the most popular activities), silkscreened their own panda posters, played ingenious games designed by Chinese engineering students from Rutgers University, and drew "friendship pictures" to be taken to Chinese children by the next USCPFA activists' trip. All this plus balloons, panda T-shirts, arts and crafts, food, and books for adults and children. Forty USCPFA members helped out. Thirty new people added their names to the mailing list and several joined Association committees.

A packet on how to put on a Children's Day program, including the puppet show script, can be obtained from the NYC local.

At Antioch College, a three-day symposium honoring the late Edgar Snow was held May 5-7. Organized by Min-chih Chou, with the assistance of Yellow Springs USCPFA members and others, the program's aim was "to help build friendship and understanding and to reach beyond the academic community" in the spirit of Edgar Snow. It was noted that Snow "was a middle American who wrote for other middle Americans" in plain language, without jargon, and therefore could reach both specialized China scholars and the general public.

Speakers included Victor Nee, who

studied at Peking University and the Foreign Languages Institute; Paul Lin, Director of East Asian Studies and Chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature at McGill University; James Peck, co-author of *China: The Uninterrupted Revolution*; Mark Selden, professor of Chinese history at Washington University in St. Louis; John Service, member of the U.S. Foreign Service in China, 1935-45; and Edgar Snow's widow, actress and author Lois Wheeler Snow.

The **Midwest Region** sponsored a conference June 3-5 in Cincinnati entitled "New China: Toward a Deeper Understanding of Friendship." Called as a means of strengthening friendship work throughout the region, it involved 100 people (a number of them new) from 21 cities, helped deepen ties between locals, and aided in developing resources for the use of all chapters. Some of the topics of Saturday's presentations were Education and Human Development; Art for the People; Socialist Construction - the Red Flag Canal; Minorities; Recreation; Workers; China and Africa; and Women and Revolution. On Sunday panel discussions on "Freedom in China" and "The Continuing Revolution: China after Mao" were followed by workshops for the exchange of ideas and experiences.

Both people new to the USCPFA and those already active were enthusiastic about the usefulness of the conference in building friendship work.

A fair and a feast kept **St. Louis** USCPFA members busy in May and June. On May 30 the local participated in the "Gypsy Caravan," an antiques and crafts fair. Their sales booth brought China and the Association to the attention of many, while also raising some funds for future work. The "China Feast" was held on June 27 at the Lantern House Restaurant, where the owner and chef put on a cooking demonstration and then served a delicious multi-course meal. The evening also included a slide show with background music, a film from China, and a literature-and-gift table.

USCPFA members in every part of the country attended weekend regional conferences during the spring and summer to prepare for the fourth annual National USCPFA Convention, held in Atlanta on Labor Day weekend, Sept. 2-5. The next issue of *NEW CHINA* will carry a report on the convention and the names of the newly elected USCPFA National Steering Committee.

*NEW CHINA* welcomes news of Association activities around the country.

## Eight Books

**China's Industrial Revolution: Politics, Planning, and Management, 1949 to the Present.** By Stephen Andors. Pantheon Books, New York, 1977. 344 pp. \$6.95. How do Chinese workers participate in the management of the factories they work in, and how much "say" do they have? How have the Chinese tried to resolve the contradiction between local factory management and centralized national planning? In exploring these questions for Western readers, an author has the none-too-easy task of first explaining the new, diverse, and often unfamiliar forms of organization that have been developed in China's socialist enterprises. Andors, who became interested in some of these problems in the mid-1960s and is now a research associate at the East Asian Institute of Columbia University, does this well. He also describes the struggles that produced these new, democratic forms. China rejected the Soviet system of "one-man management" and has gone on to "enlarge the scope of worker participation" in factory management beyond anything seen in the West. — CC

**Commune: Life in Rural China.** By Peggy Printz and Paul Steinle. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1977. 192 pp. Illus. \$6.95. Paul Steinle, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's bureau chief in Hongkong, and Peggy Printz, freelance journalist, had the rare opportunity of filming a TV documentary at Kwang Li People's Commune in 1973. This book is a look into rural China based on that visit. It provides fairly comprehensive coverage of different aspects of life on the commune and contains a wealth of statistics that could have made this book a valuable study of China's countryside. However, the authors' attitude toward the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which is portrayed as completely authoritarian, colors their description. Their image of the CCP makes it difficult for them to present the evolution of the communes without contradicting themselves, since the CCP worked together with the people and led them to realize the advantages of higher levels of collectivization. The authors dispose of this in less than a page and repeatedly imply that the communes are a result of the CCP's whimsical decrees. The book is amply illustrated and the lives of the Chinese people do come through despite the authors' bias. — PC

**Toward a New World Outlook: A Documentary History of Education in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1976.** Ed. Shi Ming Hu and Eli Seifman. AMS Press,

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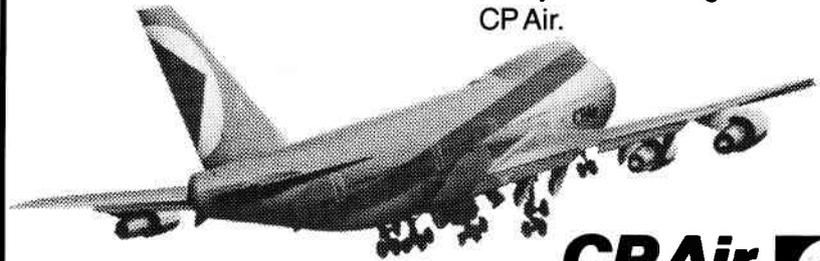
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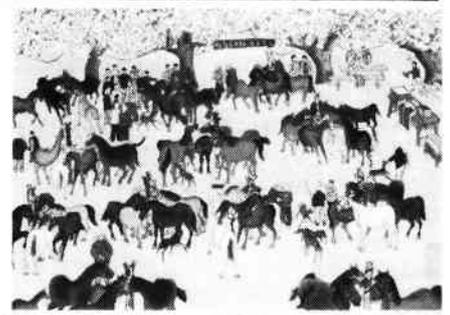
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New York, 1976. 335 pp. Cloth, \$21.50; paper, \$9.95. To answer the question "Whom does education serve?" two State University of New York professors have assembled an important and varied collection of documents on educational change in China. The book includes directives, speeches, announcements, investigative reports, and news-commentaries from Chinese publications or monitored newscasts. Especially interesting are short excerpts from a middle school science text and interviews with two recent high school graduates who have left China, one with permission and one without. The authors also provide transcripts of their 1974-75 interviews with educators in primary and secondary schools, universities, and May 7th cadre schools. A valuable contribution is the periodizing of the history of education since Liberation. Each group of sources is preceded by the editors' analysis of that period, making this text a handy resource for educators as well as a mine of information for the general reader. — AL

**Blue and White: The Cotton Embroideries of Rural China.** By Muriel Baker and Margaret Lunt. Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1977. 102 pp. Illus. \$14.95. These simple cotton folk embroideries, made by the peasants of China, were used as bed

valances, door hangings, and decorations for clothing. The beautifully worked designs, not found anywhere else in Chinese art, tell stories, depict myths, and even make puns. The finest are from Sichuan (Szechuan) Province. As a tradition, however, these embroideries died out about 40 years ago; the majority of the pieces depicted in this book were collected in the 1930s by Dr. Carl Schuster, a student of folk motifs. For the student this book details the interesting history and distribution of a little-known folk art. For the amateur or professional craftsman the book includes all the information necessary to recreate or adapt these unique embroideries. — PS

**The Boehm Journey to Ching-te-chen, China: Birthplace of Porcelain.** By Frank J. Cosentino. Edward Marshall Boehm, Inc. Trenton, 1976. 159 pp. Illus. \$9.50. Ching-te-chen, a small, almost inaccessible, walled city in North China, has been a mecca for porcelain for thousands of years. In 1712 a Jesuit missionary described the city of 3,000 kilns and 18,000 families of potters: "approaching at nightfall, the scene reminds one of a city in flames." In 1974, members of the Edward Marshall Boehm Studios, one of the most renowned creators of porcelain in the United States, visited Ching-te-chen to exchange techniques with

Chinese craftsmen. This book is a diary of their journey, which included visits to studios and factories and discussions with craftsmen in six cities.

While the *Boehm Journey* provides an introduction to the crafts of China and sketches the fascinating history of Ching-te-chen, it offers little on the role of these crafts in new China or on the changes that have occurred in this famous city of artisans during the last quarter-century. Most of Ching-te-chen's 20 factories have been rebuilt since 1949, and the first railroad to join the city to the rest of China will soon be completed. The author chooses to concentrate on artistic techniques and dinner menus. — PS

**China's Minority Nationalities: Selected Articles from Chinese Sources.** Red Sun Publishers, San Francisco, 1977. 257 pp. Illus. \$3.95. The Olunchun people of the Khinghan Mountains wore animal skins, slept under birch bark, and warmed themselves by campfires. The "mountain-hopping Yaos" were so called because in times of drought they abandoned their homes for better farmland. Feudal oppression, dwindling populations, Han chauvinism, and in some cases primitive life-styles, characterized the conditions for China's 54 national minorities before the founding of

the People's Republic. Today, Pan Mei-ying, a Yao woman whose father died when she was 16, introduces a superior strain of rice to get a higher yield of rice from her village's poor mountain slope. Tibetans, formerly one of the most oppressed peoples, use solar energy to heat water for bath houses, and their industry, non-existent two decades ago, produces coal, electricity, machines, building materials, paper, and textiles. *China's Minority Nationalities* gathers documents and articles from China's English-language publications to trace this historic development from 1930 to the present. In the course of showing the dramatic changes in the peoples' lives, it also deals with two important questions: the significance of the Cultural Revolution for China's minorities and the meaning of regional autonomy in relation to overall socialist development. — ps

**Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives.** Ed. K. C. Chang. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1977. 429 pp. Illus. Cloth. \$20.00. Did you know that the tomatoes and chili peppers which make Sichuan (Szechuan) cuisine so distinctively hot were introduced into China from the West less than 100 years ago — and that chop suey really *is* an indigenous dish, from a city a few miles south of Guangzhou (Canton)? This excellent series of scholarly essays by ten leading historians and anthropologists relates food — its gathering and preparation — to the history and culture of China from ancient to modern times. The authors have examined primary and secondary sources, as well as the latest archeological findings. The famed discovery of the 2nd-century B.C. "Han Tomb No. 1 at



Illustration from the book

Ma-wang-tui" provided a virtual culinary history of Han times, with dozens of cases containing remarkably preserved foods and bamboo slips describing eating habits and food preparation. The chapters on the period since Liberation are weak in history and economics, but the essay on present-day

southern China is superior in describing the availability and preparation of food in that area. As a whole, this pioneer work is an indispensable addition to China studies. — JN

**The Chinese: Portrait of a People.** By Alain Peyrefitte, trans. Graham Webb. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., Indianapolis/New York, 1977. 419 pp. Illus. \$15.00. Peyrefitte gives with one hand and takes back with the other. "Anyone who would dispute that in the past quarter of a century there has been a vast improvement in the lot of China's peasants, workers, youth and old people," he says, "is neither honest nor sincere; his opinions are worthless." The people of China are eating. China is governed. But he then goes on to include a long section called "The Price of Success," devotes undue attention to those Chinese who have swum over to Hongkong (although he would have to admit that the relative number is minute), and asserts that "like all totalitarian regimes, the People's Republic depends on a powerful repressive apparatus."

Such myths about "totalitarian China" have circulated in the West for as long as the People's Republic has existed. They are once again reaching a high pitch in 1977. One might speculate that as Western countries find themselves in ever-increasing economic difficulties, the established press (Peyrefitte is a leading European diplomat) has launched a campaign to remind us of the "terrible price" to be paid for change.

In the beginning of *The Chinese*, Peyrefitte cautions: "Let us beware of being Europe-centered — non-Chinese should as far as possible see China through the eyes of the Chinese." But does he heed his own words? Comments like "the Chinese do not feel deprived . . . because they never experienced real freedom," and his calling the Cultural Revolution a "palace revolution" and criticism-self-criticism "collective psychotherapy," show that he doesn't. One searches in vain for some fresh insight to break through the rind of prejudice. Even Peyrefitte's good fortune in interviewing Chou En-Lai and Guo Mo-ro (Kuo Mo-jo) is squandered: this valuable material is diffused through the book so the continuity is lost.

Western readers need a good book on freedom in China — one that explores the real problems in this socialist country and how the Chinese are struggling to solve them. Peyrefitte does not fill that need. A final caution: the book is advertised as new, but most of it was written in 1973. — KC

*Book Reviewers: Kathy Chamberlain, Peter Chau, Charles Coe, Anthony Lentini, James Nesi, Peggy Seeger.*



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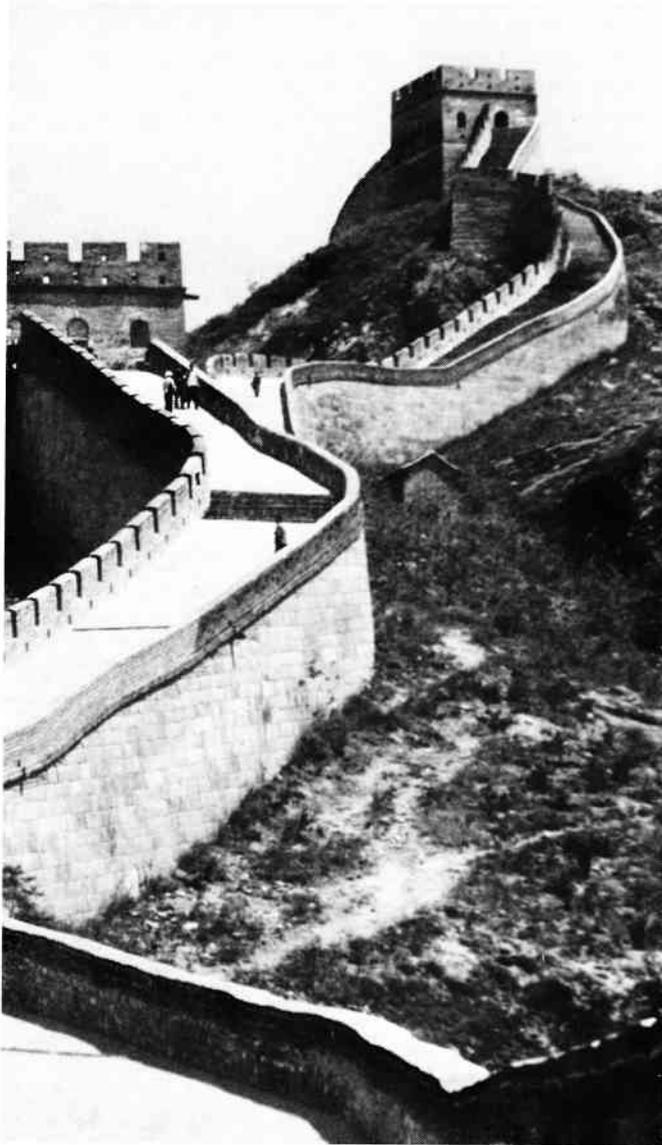
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## The Politics of Population Planning

by Norman Chance

*For every mouth to feed, there are two hands to work*

Is there going to be a worldwide, catastrophic "population explosion"? Yes, say many population experts. Newspaper and magazine articles have made these predictions a matter of common knowledge. Novels, movies, and television shows have popularized doomsday scenarios in which a degraded humanity – elbow to elbow and dog-eat-dog – totters ignobly into the sunset.

The modern doom-sayers owe something to Thomas Malthus, who in 1798 set out to prove "scientifically" that the democratic ideals of the French Revolution were contrary to nature. "Population," he wrote, "increases geometrically [2, 4, 8, 16], while food increases arithmetically [1, 2, 3, 4]." Thus, there always had been and always would be more people than the means to feed them, and it was going against nature to fight for "the existence of a society, all of the members of which should live in ease, happiness, and comparative leisure." If the starving were allowed to live and breed, things could only get worse. Although Malthus had very much in mind the lower classes of

Western Europe, his major example was China – which, he said, couldn't support a "single person more." Malthus's solution was to let nature take its course.

Malthus's predictions, of course, were dead wrong. World population in 1798 was about one billion; today it's four billion. All areas of the world, including China, have experienced huge population growth. But world food supplies also grew beyond Malthus's wildest dreams – particularly with the introduction of modern mechanized agriculture and the opening up of new food-producing areas such as North America and Australia. Nevertheless, beginning about World War II, some scientists began to worry again about population problems, refining and updating Malthus's theories to fit the modern world.

The new Malthusians argue that the world's major problem is simply *too many people*. Too many people to feed, clothe, house, educate, employ, and keep healthy – given the fact that the earth's resources are finite. Although these analysts sometimes view with alarm differential birth rates within industrialized nations – where the poorest, least educated, and minority-group segments of the population often have the highest birth rates – their real concern is the non-industrialized, Third World countries.

The examples most often cited are India

and the developing nations of Africa and Latin America. The argument that overpopulation is the major problem goes like this.

Before the industrial revolution, overpopulation wasn't a problem anywhere in the world. High birth rates were everywhere balanced out by high death rates from famine and disease because of the backward state of medicine, public hygiene, and agricultural technology. With the industrialization of the Western nations and Japan, and improvements in medicine and agriculture, these nations experienced great leaps in population. But at the same time, reliable methods of birth control were developed, and married couples who were part of an industrialized, better-educated labor force began to make the rational decision to limit their children to the number they could support and educate. Thus, population growth in these nations was slowed through voluntary choice.

But in Third World countries, the argument continues, modern medicine and food imported from nations with agricultural surpluses, such as the U.S. and Canada, have significantly lowered death rates, while birth rates remain very high. The doubling and even tripling of these basically agricultural, ill-educated populations makes it much more difficult for these countries to

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develop modern industries and mechanized agriculture on the Western model, since so much of their limited capital must be spent on importing food and other necessities.

For many years, educating Third World people to limit their families through modern birth-control methods was seen as the solution to the whole problem – along with some “miracle” strains of wheat and rice which might ease the food problem long enough for populations to stabilize. Today, however, with Third World populations still outstripping industrial and agricultural production, many experts have concluded that educational campaigns are *not* the solution – that the traditions and superstitions which make for large families are too strong, and the people too ignorant to be trained in scientific birth control. And if voluntary population limits are not the answer, then enforced limits come to seem the only possible solution.

In the early seventies, the government of India instituted a system of small cash awards to all those who agreed to be permanently sterilized. But too few people responded. So, in 1975, the Indira Gandhi government legalized *forced* sterilization. The government’s own figures suggest that over seven million Indians were sterilized in 1976.

Although many Westerners deplored this kind of coercion as a violation of basic human rights, many population experts applauded India’s actions as a regrettable but perhaps necessary model for Third World countries. And for those countries which could not or would not adopt stern measures, some experts began to discuss enforcing population limits through external restraints. According to their reasoning, the industrialized nations must not allow themselves to be dragged down to ruin by the backwardness of the Third World. They must stop sending food and other necessities to those nations with the worst population problems. They must face the inevitable, close their ears, and harden their consciences to what happens next: mass starvation, sweeping epidemics, riots, and civil war. Thus, by selectively letting “nature” take its course, the overall population will be reduced and the “lifeboat” of civilization will not be swamped with the excess population of the poorest nations.

However, there is one glaring fact which sharply challenges the entire argument. The People’s Republic of China cannot be made to fit the pattern. This Third World nation, with the world’s largest population and constituting about one-quarter of the human race, *has no problem of overpopulation*. Before 1949 China was a classically backward nation, with very low levels of industrial and agricultural development, high birth rates, and high death rates due to



A calendar reminds workers of the importance of family planning and recommends a two-child family. (Photo: S. Dickler)

famines and epidemics. But in 1949, years of revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party climaxed with the founding of the People’s Republic of China. And things began to change. Modern medicine and hygiene, and the elimination of famine, brought about a rise in population from around 500 million in 1949 to somewhere near 800 million today – an increase of over 50 percent.

But at the same time, annual grain production has more than doubled, from 110 to 240 million tons. Not only are the Chinese people fed, but China has become a food-exporting nation. All this in a country with only 10 percent of its land under cultivation! Meanwhile, industrialization has proceeded steadily and rapidly. There is no unemployment. Basic needs are met – food, housing, clothing, medical care, and education. Living standards are a little higher every year. And while China is by no means completely industrialized, birth control on a *voluntary* basis has significantly slowed population growth.

How do population experts explain the fact that China does not fit into their accepted theories? Some simply disregard the new data on China. Many popular and some scientific magazines and journals that focus on the “worldwide” population crisis make no more than passing reference to the PRC.

Others, who find it a little dishonest to ignore one-fourth of the world’s population, try to reinterpret the data in order to save their hypothesis. One way to do this is to suggest that China’s economic development

excludes it from the Third World category – and thus from the scenarios of disaster which are supposed to apply only to the Third World. But, despite China’s rapid economic development, *80 percent of the people are still engaged in agriculture*. By the very standards set up by Western economists, China cannot be considered anything but a Third World country.

Another way the data are reinterpreted is by questioning the voluntary nature of the Chinese birth-control effort. Leo Orleans is the U.S. government’s best-known expert on China’s population. In a recent book, *Every Fifth Child: The Population of China*, Orleans acknowledges that China has seriously addressed itself to population control, and even suggests that it hasn’t done too badly. But, he wonders, at what expense have they dealt with the problem?

Efforts to persuade the Chinese people to participate voluntarily in population-control programs have not gone very well, he says, due in part to “. . . the ignorance of Communist propaganda,” including that put out by “politically pure barefoot doctors.” If propaganda has not been successful, what has? “Most Chinese have a well-founded . . . fear about any contact with authorities. . . .” According to Orleans, the people act out of fear of the government and the Communist Party – “a regime which strives to control the minutest details of an individual’s life. . . .”

If this interpretation is accepted, then China can be lumped with India as a country which uses coercion to limit population. Thus the theory is saved. Over-



Fresh greens in a Shanghai produce market. Unlike most Third World countries, Socialist China has been able to increase food production and distribution to keep pace with population growth. (Photo: B. Barry)

### Some Comparisons of Annual Crude Birth Rates, 1970-72 Data

	Per thousand
Southeast Asia as a whole	43.0
People's Republic of China	30.0
Agricultural counties of Shanghai	18.0
Shanghai City proper	6.1
United States	18.2
New York City	
White	17.1
Non-white	24.7
Federal Republic of Germany	13.3
West Berlin	9.5

Data from Victor W. and Ruth Sidel, *Serve the People*, 1974, pp. 252-53.

population is inevitable in Third World countries, and only force can solve the problem.

What do the Chinese say? Again and again, in the United Nations and at international conferences about food and population, the Chinese have argued that "too many people" is *not* the problem. They completely reject the view that there is some natural law which dictates that food production inevitably falls behind rising populations. A popular Chinese saying is that "A person has a mouth, but also two hands to produce." The Chinese emphasize humanity's ability to transform and control nature to meet people's needs. Is more food required? Then wastelands can be transformed and made fertile. Crop yields can be doubled, or tripled, by means of modern farm machinery and fertilizers. Even more important, people can do away with social and economic systems which hold back human production and creativity. Finally, the Chinese argue, human beings can transform themselves - through education and rational thought, not through coercion - and make decisions based on their own objective needs and the needs of their society. And that includes the decision to practice birth control.

Yes, says China, there are millions of people in Third World countries who are jobless, hungry, and without hope. But the problem is not "too many people." Rather, the problem is that a hundred years of colonialism and imperialism in the Third World countries have warped their economies toward the production of agricultural raw materials and luxury crops for European, North American, and Japanese markets, instead of staple grain crops, which are the basis for most of the world's diet. Thus,

instead of growing wheat, rice, corn, millet, sorghum, or soybeans to feed their own people, Third World countries have increasingly become growers of cocoa, coffee, bananas, tea, rubber, or cotton for export to the industrial nations. And the returns on these cash-crop exports are less and less able to cover the cost of importing food grains.

In India during the last 50 years of colonial rule, per capita agricultural production stagnated; cash-crop production grew slightly while food-crop production declined. The eastern region, once the "granary" of India, experienced a decline of 38 percent in rice production between 1901 and 1941. By the end of World War I, India for the first time became a net importer of food, and by now

the problem has become much worse. Each year India must spend more and more millions to import food grains, mostly from the U.S. and Canada.

The end of colonialism and the achievement of political independence have made little difference in the economic life of many Third World countries. Their role as suppliers of agricultural raw materials to the developed nations has continued. With a few exceptions, feudal and backward classes have continued to dominate the agricultural life of these countries. The feudal landlords who own most of the land can be counted on to keep on growing cash-crops, or to invest in other non-agricultural activities if that brings them bigger profits. In India and elsewhere, the vast majority in the countryside - the poor peasants - find themselves less and less able to scratch a living from their tiny plots. Or else they are pushed off the land altogether, to become wage-earners. And with plenty of cheap labor available, landlords have no interest in modernizing farming methods or in reclaiming infertile lands. So agriculture stagnates, or declines, while populations rise - except when periodic famines help "thin" the surplus.

Prior to 1949, China suffered in exactly these ways from imperialist domination and feudal relations in the countryside. And perhaps the best proof of the correctness of China's emphasis on the relationship between population and production lies in China's history before and after 1949. In a recent article, "Population Dynamics and Modes of Production in China," Dan Carlin points out that, under both feudalism and capitalism, peasants had large families in response to the actual economic and social conditions they lived under.

"Under feudalism," he writes, "peasants

### Birth Control Figures, China-Rumania People's Friendship Commune, 1972

	Percent	Percent
Total number of commune members	46,000	100
Married women of childbearing age	5,777*	12
Women using pill		1,323 23
Women using IUD		1,035 18
Husbands using condom		526 9
Total using contraception		2,884 50
Women who have had tubal ligations		458 8
Husbands who have had vasectomies		126 2
Total sterilized		584 10

\* Note that 2,309 (of which some have just gotten married and some have only one child) use no form of birth control. The current birth rate is 26 per 1,000, a dramatic reduction from the old estimated rate of 45 per 1,000 but still above the commune's goal of 15 per 1,000. (Author's note, adapted from Sidel, pp. 92-3.)

Source: Victor W. and Ruth Sidel, *Serve the People*, 1974, p. 92.

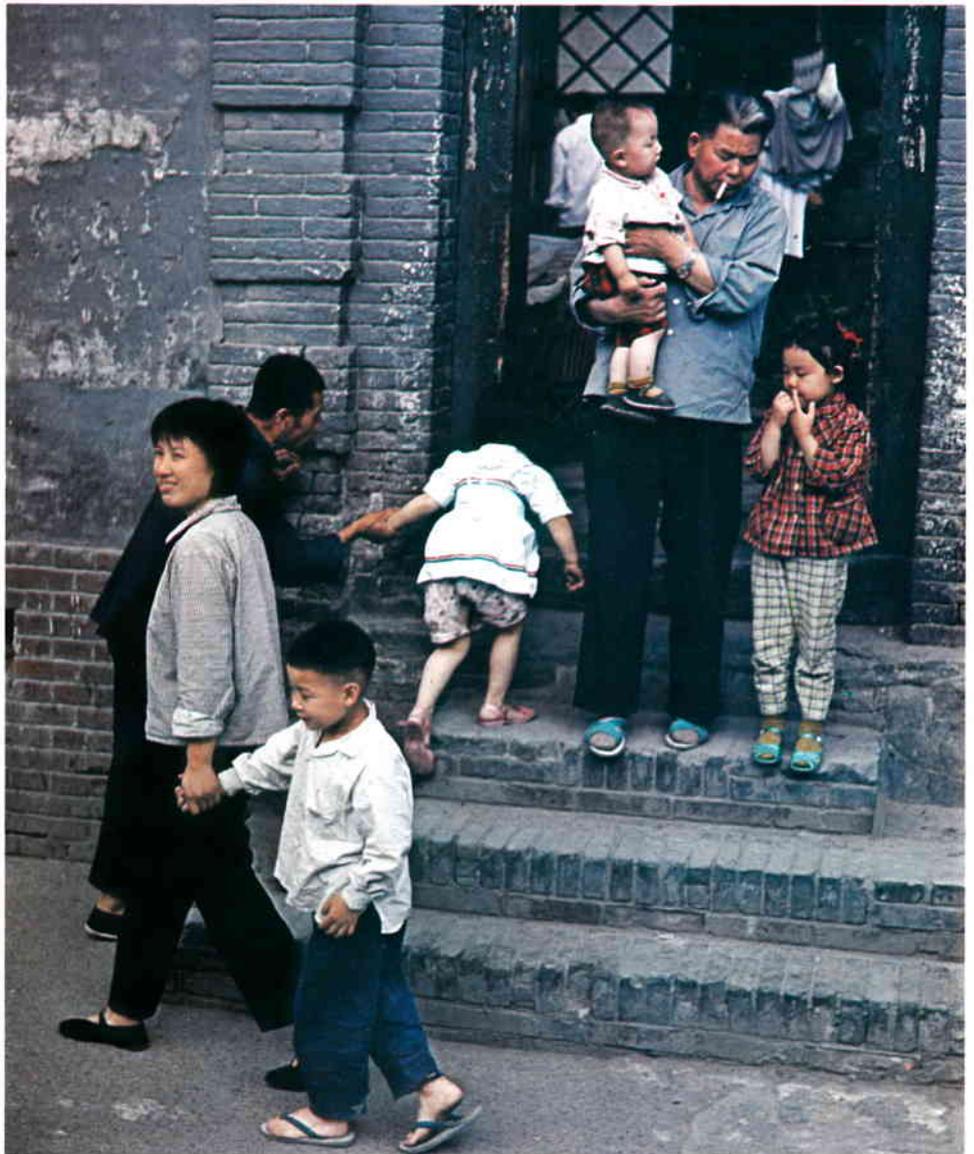
in China had high birth rates for four main reasons: (1) due to exorbitant rents and taxes, the peasant farmer needed a continuous source of cheap labor; (2) children—especially males—were needed to support the peasant adult males in their old age; (3) since the landlord had the quasi-legitimate option of claiming peasant-mothers (for fresh milk) or children as houseworkers, concubines, or soldiers, children were needed to *replace* the ones the landlord had [taken] or might yet take; (4) without adequate medical care, and given the marginal subsistence patterns enforced on the peasants, death took many children—thus more children were needed to replace the ones who had [died] or might yet die.” Many aspects of this feudal pattern, he notes, still characterize India and other Third World countries today.

Carlin then comes to his main point: “. . . if these peasants had actually controlled production, this response of high birth rates would not have been necessary. But, of course, this is the point of feudalism: peasant relations with landlords necessitate large families, yet these same relations prevent the development of the technology which might enable the peasants to meet the needs of increasing family size. Feudalism therefore destroys itself, and capitalism emerges.”

Even with the rise of capitalism in China, feudal relations continued in the countryside and forced the birth rates to remain high. But, as suggested earlier, human beings don't just adapt to their conditions, particularly when these conditions are highly oppressive. By fighting back with tremendous effort, people can also do away with their oppression. And this the Chinese people did. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the soldiers, peasants, and workers struck down feudal relations, threw out foreign imperialists, and began building a new society in which control over production was transferred from the few to the many.

When production became organized for meeting human needs instead of private profit, the energy and creativity of the Chinese people were released in a vast effort to transform the economic and social life of China. Increased food production, medical care for all, full employment, and guaranteed security in old age meant a rapid increase in population. But at the same time, these changes eliminated the individual family's need for a large number of children. Thus, the basis existed for a rational birth-control program. On a society-wide scale, such a program was in fact needed, since even under the new system a continually expanding population would strain economic resources. Economic planning, therefore, had to include individual family planning.

But establishing an objective basis for



Peking street scene: healthy, well-fed children and parents—free of the economic pressures that made large families a form of security in old China. (Photo: B. Barry)

smaller families does not mean that people will automatically have fewer children. Traditional ideas against birth control remained strong in China, particularly in the rural areas. Furthermore, an assured food supply plus newfound security and stability eliminated any economic pressure to restrict family size. Han Suyin, in her article “Population Growth and Birth Control in China,” tells of visiting a commune in Sichuan (Szechuan) Province. The peasants sang a song called “Better produce a little flesh dumpling [baby] than produce work-points.” In this area, each baby receives a full adult share of grain from birth—an incentive for more, not fewer, children! It is not difficult to imagine the Chinese people's sense of joy at the thought of bringing children into a society where people are the most precious resource.

And so, in the mid-1950s, the government started a large-scale educational campaign to encourage population control. Propa-

ganda and medical teams traveled throughout the country organizing meetings and exhibitions and showing films to increase general knowledge of birth control and to break down traditional barriers against discussion and use of contraceptives. This effort had some effect in the cities. It often failed in the rural areas. Not only was the peasants' sense of modesty offended, but the idea of birth control was associated with female infanticide and other features of the bitter years of landlord oppression.

In the early 1960s, the government introduced a second campaign, this one conducted by cooperative medical groups working with women's federations and trade unions. This program, too, met with much greater success in the cities than in the countryside.

During the Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960s, the campaign for population control—like many other endeavors—was set aside as the people tackled the main



Fish hatchery at Wuxi. Planning plays an important part in increasing overall food production for a growing population. (Photo: B. Barry)

problem: how best to build socialism. One of the most important lessons of the Cultural Revolution was the realization that the change from capitalism to socialism in production does not necessarily insure the emergence of socialist political consciousness. By 1970, family planning in many rural areas was still making slow progress. As Mao Tsetung said in a talk with American journalist Edgar Snow, "In the countryside, a woman still wants to have a boy child. If the first and second are girls, she will make another try. . . ."

The current differences in success between rural and urban areas, however, may not be due entirely to the persistence of old traditions in the countryside, on the one hand, and increased political consciousness of the working class in the cities, on the other. One of the important factors operating is that in cities, where livelihoods are industry-based, state ownership, or "ownership by the whole people," prevails. The economic security of the industrial worker is considerably greater than that of the rural peasant, since it rests on nationwide levels of development. The peasants, by contrast, depend upon the security offered by collective ownership of a

smaller complex – the commune – where the standard of living is determined by local conditions and productivity. So long as the prosperity of the commune depends upon the direct physical labor of the commune members, an extra pair of hands will always be welcome, and the peasants will probably give less than wholehearted support to birth control. The current drive to increase farm mechanization and productivity – part of the long-range effort to make state ownership possible in the countryside, too – will certainly have a positive effect on attitudes toward birth control.

The most recent family-planning campaign began in 1971. Reflecting the struggles of the Cultural Revolution, less emphasis today is placed on medical teams, more on the people themselves taking up the issue of population control. Family-planning committees have been established in every commune, brigade, and production team, where they make house-to-house visits and circulate questionnaires. Block clinics have wall charts indicating who needs what kind of contraceptive device and when. All the devices are free. To break down the barriers still further, the men on the committees often

speak on the shop floor in factories about the importance of family planning. In rural areas, older cadres are the most active family planners, since barefoot doctors are often young, unmarried, and therefore less acceptable to the more reserved peasants.

Although there is considerable variation throughout China, the best statistics now available suggest that over 70 percent of urban people and 60 percent of the peasantry practice some form of birth control. Four methods are used: sterilization (both sexes), the IUD, the pill, and, to a lesser extent, monthly injections. Abortion is available on demand, usually by the vacuum method. In most areas of the country where birth rates are high, late marriages are encouraged. In the cities, the recommended marriage age is 25 years for women and 28 for men; in the countryside, it's 23 and 25 years respectively.

One important exception to the birth-control effort deserves to be emphasized. In national minority areas with small populations, assistance is given to *increase* the population. Why? Because under the old society, minority populations were severely diminished through famine and through oppressive practices which amounted to genocide. And the Chinese recognize that these people have the right to catch up with the rest of China before even thinking about *reducing* births.

China's overall goal for population growth was set by the late Chou En-lai several years ago: one percent by the year 2000. Certain conclusions can be drawn from China's progress toward this limit in contrast with the lack of success in other Third World countries.

First, educational campaigns can be successful only to the extent that they have the full support and participation of the people involved – a condition that cannot be achieved in a country characterized by feudal relations or the exploitation of working people.

Second, forced sterilization and other oppressive forms of population control will only heighten the people's efforts to liberate themselves and their country. The recent resounding electoral defeat of India's Indira Gandhi, whose oppressive measures included forced sterilization, is a case in point.

Mao Tsetung summed up one of the Chinese Revolution's most important lessons when he stressed that "just as reason cannot take the place of weapons in the overthrow of political power, so too weapons or force cannot take the place of reason in changing human consciousness."

When people are able to rise up and destroy the old constraints, then and only then can they use reason to develop family-planning programs that involve all the people in building a more humane society.

# Power Play . . . or Continuing Revolution?

*Paul T. K. Lin answers questions about the "gang of four"*

The momentous events in China since the death of Mao Tsetung have given rise in America to much speculation and many sharp questions.

NEW CHINA has culled the most frequently asked questions and put them to Professor Paul T. K. Lin, a person uniquely qualified to understand the politics underlying the events. Professor Lin, a highly regarded scholar and a leading member of the Montreal Canada-China Society, has followed events in China closely for a long time and interpreted them thoughtfully for

both Chinese and English-speaking audiences in North America. He is a frequent visitor to China; most recently, in January 1977, he met with Chinese from different walks of life, among them Deng Ying-chao, the widow of Premier Chou En-lai. While there he analyzed the struggle against the overthrown "gang of four" which included Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching), Mao Tsetung's wife, and three others: Zhang Chun-qiao (Chang Chun-chiao), Yao Wen-yuan, and Wang Hong-wen.

Readers of the American press have been

presented with a distorted picture of the last year's events in China. The press has talked about "palace intrigue," "a power struggle between 'moderates' and 'radicals.'" "the beginnings of the de-Maoification of China." A cartoon in the *New York Daily News*, published shortly after the fall of the "gang of four," epitomized this distortion: a Peking billboard with a revolutionary theme was being repainted. The replacement? A giant Coca-Cola sign.

That was how it was billed in the U.S. How did the Chinese see the events? A recent American visitor to China has written us: "The Chinese refer to the fall of the 'gang of four' as a second liberation. They say that the struggle against the 'four' is the eleventh of the major life-and-death struggles over what road to follow that have occurred in the Chinese Communist Party since its founding in 1921. (The ninth and tenth were the Cultural Revolution struggles against Liu Xiao-qi [Liu Shao-chi] and Lin Biao.)

"We were cautioned that these struggles should not be interpreted as signs of weakness in the system. On the contrary, each major struggle deepens the understanding of the people and strengthens them for difficulties to come. They say that the successful weathering of these many difficult times is a tribute to the strength and understanding of the people as well as the leadership of the Party.

"They also said, many times, that class struggle continues under socialism, and that future struggles will be waged during the entire period of socialism—a transition period during which classes are gradually eliminated."

This interview with Professor Lin provides background on the "gang of four"



A workers' study group at Daqing discusses Mao Tsetung's "On Practice." The "gang of four" accused leaders at Daqing of emphasizing production and technical efficiency at the expense of political study. In fact, from the beginning the Daqing Party leadership stressed mastering both political theory and technical knowledge — participating in both revolution and production. This is what Mao meant by saying that Chinese workers must be both "red and expert." (Photos: Hsinhua News Agency)

and clarifies some of the ongoing developments of the Chinese Revolution.

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**New China:** The Western press has characterized the struggle in China as “moderates” versus “radicals.” According to this interpretation, what we are seeing now is a rejection of Mao Tsetung’s emphasis on revolutionary struggle—supposedly represented by the “gang of four”—in favor of a “pragmatic” emphasis on technology, production, and the building of China’s economy—supposedly represented by such



Chou En-lai atop Tian An Men gate at the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949.

Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai were “comrades-in-arms” from the early days of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Revolution. Mao and Chou were both thinkers and men of action, but in the division of labor worked out by the CCP, Chou was among the leaders who took on the day-to-day administration of the government while Mao was among the leaders who focused more on long-range and theoretical questions. This division of labor gave rise to characterizations in the Western press that Mao was the “radical,” the “visionary,” while Chou was the “moderate,” the “organization man.”

Opponents of the Chinese Revolution – both within and outside China – have always tried to counterpose the revolutionary contributions of the two men. But, in fact, for 40 years Chou En-lai shared Mao’s outlook and worked to implement his policies and leadership.

leaders as Chou En-lai, Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-ping), and Chairman Hua Guo-feng.

**Lin:** This is of course a gross distortion of the nature of the struggle and of the roles various people played in that struggle. In the first place, it’s absurd to classify Chou En-lai as a “moderate,” if by that is meant some kind of middle-way, compromise position between “left” and “right.” The late Premier was greatly loved by the Chinese people precisely because he was always in the forefront of revolutionary struggle, and because of his role in helping to translate Mao Tsetung’s ideas into concrete programs and policies. And, as the Chinese see it, revolution and production are not opposed to one another, but related, in the sense that finding and pursuing the correct revolutionary line should enhance production by releasing the creative enthusiasm of the masses of workers toward building up the socialist economy.

But perhaps the gravest error of this interpretation is to identify the “gang of four” with Mao’s revolutionary ideas. It seems increasingly clear, as more and more of their activities are uncovered, that everything they stood for was a gross distortion, almost a caricature, of Mao’s ideas. For all their revolutionary rhetoric, they succeeded only in inflicting heavy damage both to production *and* revolution. Chairman Mao had singled out Dazhai (Tachai) and Daqing (Taching) and countless other commune and factory units for praise because they had made great advances in production by following the socialist principle of eliminating exploitation and special privileges and relying on the initiative of the workers and peasants. The “gang of four,” on the contrary, labeled as counterrevolutionaries almost anyone who wanted to discuss technological developments or who was concerned with production, while promoting incompetents and politically questionable careerists whose only virtue was that they echoed the “gang of four’s” empty revolutionary rhetoric.

The “gang of four” created disruption and confusion throughout China’s economy. At Daqing oil field, for instance, an ally of the “gang” charged that having rules and regulations governing production was counterrevolutionary—a very serious charge in China. It was counterrevolutionary to have rules setting the hours of work, or quality-control standards. So the leaders of Daqing were attacked as “bureaucratic revisionists.” The workers at Daqing fought back. Daqing’s regulations had been set up only after complete discussion and debate among the workers. They were good rules, necessary rules. They helped insure production efficiency and the safety of the workers under dangerous conditions. If the rules



Hua Guo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Chairman of its Military Commission, and Premier of the State Council.

Hua’s work in the Party included leadership at the prefecture and provincial levels in Mao’s home province of Hunan before becoming a member of the Central Committee of the CCP during the Cultural Revolution. As Minister of Public Security, he played a major role in investigating the Lin Biao affair. He was made Acting Premier in February 1976 after Chou En-lai’s death, and Premier and First Vice-Chairman of the Party in April of that year after the controversial Tian An Men incident. (“First Vice-Chairman” was a title never before used in the CCP; it carried implications of being Mao’s chosen successor.)

After Mao’s death, the political situation in China came to a head; Hua stopped the plans of the “gang of four,” and the Political Bureau of the CCP named him Party Chairman. On July 21, 1977, the full Central Committee confirmed the earlier decision.

were coming down from the top, from bosses or bureaucrats, that would be a bad thing, a dangerous tendency. But that wasn’t the case. At Daqing the workers were proud of the fact that they participate in management, that they control their own enterprise. So at Daqing, though some production time was lost in the struggle over rules, the “gang’s” ally didn’t get very far with his accusations.

But in other places the situation became more serious. The “gang” were able to find allies who saw opportunities to enhance their own position by attacking local leadership. Many honest people were confused. Nobody wanted to allow revisionist ideas to creep in. For a socialist country to “take the capitalist road” or to “turn revisionist”

*continued on page 55*

# Bucking the 'Exaggeration Wind'

by William Hinton

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

Jia Cheng-rang, Dazhai's (Tachai's) brigade leader in 1971, told me that in the difficult year 1960, many brigades were selling wheat cakes (a form of tortilla) at a county festival for exorbitant prices. When Chen Yong-gui found out about it, he sent several people down to the market with some of Dazhai's surplus wheat flour. They set up

WILLIAM HINTON, a writer and himself a farmer, first met Chen Yong-gui outside a Dazhai cave in July 1971. Chen came striding up after inspecting storm damage to the corn crop, greeted his guests, sat on a low wall outside the cave, and began to chat. Hinton said it was too bad the corn had been blown down. Chen said, no, we get that every year this time. Better to have rain and fallen corn. The fallen stalks can always be propped up with a mound of earth around the base.

The two farmers then moved into the summer cookhouse, sat around a table, and continued their conversation.

Parts I and II of Hinton's interviews with Chen (NEW CHINA, Spring and Fall 1977) dealt with Chen's life as the son of a landless laborer and the situation in Dazhai during and after the Japanese occupation. With land reform, Chen organized a mutual aid team of old men and children to till the soil, only to be ridiculed for his unprofitable foolishness by the Stalwarts' Team of able-bodied men. Though he thought that there wouldn't be any more class struggle after the landlords were overthrown, it turned out otherwise: ex-landlords spread rumors, rich peasants went in for black-marketeering, both tried bribing cadres, and the transition from elementary to advanced co-ops — where income was based on labor — aroused sharp antagonisms. Through it all, simple things like evaluating the price of a donkey or a sow became teaching material for building the new society.

a booth and sold cakes at prices that were in line with the prices paid by the state for grain. This was less than a third of the price other people were asking and made their profiteering impossible. Some people became so angry at this "correction" from Dazhai that they dug up the road leading into Tiger Head Mountain so that Dazhai people could not so easily interfere with the "free market." But Chen Yong-gui and

his followers persisted in putting "public first, self second" regardless of the outcome and in the end won the support of the whole county and the whole country.

As a farmer selling corn, beans, wheat, and hay on the market, I know how intense the pressure is to get all that the traffic will bear whenever supplies are short. That Chen saw the "collective" not simply as his own brigade but as a system which included the county, and beyond that the whole country, and acted in line with this vision is remarkable. It is one thing to talk about "keeping the country and the world in view" and another thing to sell the product of your own sweat and toil at a fraction of the price it can command in order to consolidate a new social system. Because there were people like Chen all over China who were unwilling to compromise their commitment to building a society without exploitation, laboring people won battle after battle as they pioneered on the socialist road.

Some of the battles were quite complex, as the latter section of this installment demonstrates. During the Great Leap Forward (1958), when the "communist wind" began to blow, the struggle centered for a time on telling the truth, on resisting pressure to exaggerate yields, and on resisting all orders aimed at "leveling and transferring" property in the name of reaching communism quickly.

**Hinton:** You fought for the socialist road in production. What about distribution and marketing?

**Chen:** Taking the socialist road means struggling against profiteering. Even to this



Chen Yong-gui helps set the pace in transforming Dazhai hills into useful farmland.

day [1971] in our county there are people black-marketing grain on the quiet. Even though they are a small minority, the influence of their example is very bad. Just day before yesterday we called on the standing committee [of the county Revolutionary Committee] to check on all 400 brigades to see if they are really studying Dazhai or only pretending to study it. If there are still some people secretly carrying on as profiteers, even though it may seem like a small matter, from the point of view of learning from Dazhai it is a big matter, a serious matter.

Our Dazhai Brigade never went in for profiteering or speculation with grain. If there are people in the county still doing it, they not only are not learning, they are wrecking. On this point we stand firm. From individual to collective, none of us at Dazhai has profited with grain or anything else. Not that some don't want to! There are a few, especially in the hard years, who felt like doing it. They wanted to do it.

But we educated these people. This education was linked to the sufferings of the past. We also said that, as a member of Dazhai Brigade, one should not take advantage of the state when it is in trouble. We repudiated speculation as getting rich off the country's misfortunes, just as collaborators got rich when our nation was under attack by the Japanese – *fa guonan cai* [get rich off the nation's trouble]. In years of short crops we should try to help the whole country solve problems and overcome difficulties. We should strive to lay the foundations for increased production. We should help maintain order in the country and should not go around breaking down law and order. This is the responsibility of every citizen. Don't just look on while people get rich through speculation. Make them feel ashamed. Speculation is not a glorious thing, but a stain. It is immoral. The only reason that speculation can occur at all is that some have too little while others have a surplus. That is why it can take place. We have an old saying – “the colder you are, the more you shiver; the hotter you are, the more you sweat” (poverty leads to more poverty, wealth piles up more wealth). In the past the rich always exploited those who were in a tight spot. Landlords and rich peasants did the exploiting. Poor peasants and lower-middle peasants were always on the spot. In bad years the rich always increased their exploitation, oppression, and control. We've suffered under that. We should never forget that past bitterness. At that time the system was different. Now that we have socialism and a collective economy, if others are in trouble and you sell them grain at a high price, you make their trouble worse. It is exploitation in another form. But whatever the form, it is still exploitation pure and simple.

If there is a community that is short of



A Chinese-made bulldozer makes the job of terrace-building at Dazhai infinitely easier. (Photo: C. Parris)

grain, that community is also short of money. If our community has grain, our community also has money. If we sell our grain outside at a high price, it amounts to some people in the collective economy exploiting others. So what kind of a collective is that? To have a collective economy means that everyone prospers together. How can one part exploit the other?

On this question we never stopped educating people. The village discussed it over and over again. Our people finally decided that neither our brigade nor any individual in it would ever profiteer. And we decided that we would sell grain to places short of grain at prices set by the state, or we would lend grain, or we would give grain, but we would not profiteer with grain. We decided that we should help other individuals and collectives overcome their difficulties so that they could lead a good life like ours. We severely repudiated the old system based on the exploitation of man by man. We decided that this should not happen again. Thus we raised collective consciousness and learned to look at the matter in the light of “the difficulties of others are our difficulties.” So from that time until today everyone in our brigade has been clear on this and nobody has gone in for profiteering or speculation. Today when we repudiate such practices, we have the initiative. We have a solid foundation. Our record is clear and unstained.

And even though we have not profited, our whole collective and all its individual members have prospered. All our wealth is created by our own labor. We do not depend in any way on exploitation. To depend on one's own labor to create wealth is glorious.

But to speculate and exploit others is shameful.

I always said to our people, “When you see those landlords and rich peasants holding their heads down as the people struggle against them – are they admirable?”

“No.”

“Why?”

“Because they exploited the poor peasants.”

“So now if you profiteer with high prices, is that admirable?”

“No.”

#### “10,000-Entries-Clear”

Thus from the beginning we grasped education tightly in regard to speculation and at the same time educated our cadres in regard to graft and corruption. None of our Dazhai cadres have ever taken advantage of collective property. We have always been very strict about this principle. In the beginning, when we screened them so closely, some of the cadres were not too happy. They felt that we suspected them. But then through the big movements – the Four-Cleans Movement,\* the Anti-Corruption Movement, and the Cultural Revolution – these cadres gained a very deep understanding and feeling about all this. They saw how some grafters

\*Part of the 1963 Socialist Education Movement, it called for all cadres to be clean – uncorrupted – in four spheres: economics, politics, organization, and ideology. Followers of Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shao-chi) tried to use this movement to divert attention away from high-level cadres who were capitalist-roaders onto low-level cadres who had engaged in petty corruption. (Eds.)

were punished. Then they felt that the tight discipline, all the work we had done to help and educate cadres, really showed concern for the cadres. Before that, some of them felt that we were finding fault, that we were riding them unnecessarily.

Jia Cheng-rang served as our accountant for ten years before he became brigade head. When he was our accountant the masses liked him very much. They fully supported him. He studied to be an accountant in 1953. He had very little education. He went to primary school only a few months and never graduated. The days that he missed school numbered more than the days he was able to attend. But when we started our co-op in 1953 we didn't have anyone who was literate. There was one rich peasant who was a primary school graduate, but to have a rich peasant as our accountant would not have been good. Among the poor and lower-middle peasants, only Jia knew how to read a few characters. But he didn't know how to keep accounts and he wasn't very accurate with an abacus. We decided to give him 40 work-days as a subsidy and let him do the accounting work. He never depended on this subsidy. He earned his living by joining our collective labor. He did his accounting work in the evening, during our noon break, or on rainy days. He never used regular working time for this. There are five people in his family. The grain he earned through field labor not only supported the whole family but even provided them with a surplus. Some accountants in other places, if you gave them

credit for 100 work-days, not to mention 40, they would not find it enough. And they always shout that they have too much to do, that there isn't enough time to do it.

But Jia, even though he had little education, always did his accounting work so neatly and carefully that our members called him "10,000-Entries-Clear." They were well satisfied with him. Actually his work wasn't that good. With such a low educational level he could hardly help making some mistakes. But the people supported him just the same. Why? Because he took part in productive labor like everyone else. He lived off what he earned in the fields and he never stole a cent or grafted anything that belonged to the collective. Thus the people were relaxed and at ease. They thought, "He may not get all the numbers just right, but the meal is always in the pot where it belongs and doesn't end up anywhere else. Even if he doesn't add things up right, the money is here at the village office and not in his house."

If Jia hadn't supported himself by labor and had taken only the 40-day subsidy, he wouldn't have had enough to live on and would have had to take the road of cheating the collective. But since he took part in labor, everything was safe. He had no need to graft. By doing his work well and by winning support from the masses, he also created unity among the cadres. Grafting and stealing became hard for anyone to do. When there is grafting there is always a clique, with one person covering up for another. It is very

hard to do it alone. If Jia hadn't taken part in collective productive labor he would have thought of grafting and then he would have had to draw in someone else and this could have messed up the whole leadership.

So in our brigade there is no individual grafting, no collective grafting, and no grafting by leaders. The masses are happy and the cadres are happy. As a result we are standing firm not only economically but politically and can survive all kinds of tests. Because we set a good example ourselves and stopped all forms of advantage-taking, we are on solid ground and can convince others. We have the initiative and can lead. And we have a deeper understanding of why it is that now when Dazhai cadres speak they have prestige. For cadres to take part in productive labor is in accord with Mao Tsetung Thought. Also, since they are not divorced from the people, have no privileges, borrow nothing from the collective, and consult with the people on all problems, they have the support of the people. This is also in accord with Mao Tsetung Thought. If you want to wage revolution you must first have revolution in your head. If you don't get rid of selfishness, you can't win mass support. People who want to educate others must first get educated. Now all cadres have a deep understanding of the connection between productive labor and personal integrity. At the start, when we set such strict standards, they complained, but now they feel that we really trust them and care for them. In contrast, in the course of class struggle our



Two Dazhai veterans break for lunch and conversation. (Photo: R. Gordon)



Corn stalks are pulverized for use as pig feed. (Photo: R. Gordon)

cadres have seen many other cadres and accountants who have got into trouble.

Standing against selling grain at high prices has a lot to do with cadre policy. Once you start profiteering it is easy to slip into graft and corruption. Now our cadres feel that it is completely correct not to have embarked on this road.

#### The Ox That Wouldn't Work

In 1953-54 we had an ox. This was a beautiful ox. It looked like a strong, able work animal. But it wouldn't work. We decided to sell it. I took it to market. People interested in buying surrounded this animal and wanted to bid on it. A man in the market named Chao Yu-yuan served as middleman in all sales. He was the broker. We knew each other well. At the start of the elementary co-op period he was the one who set the price for all our work animals. We asked him to set a price and sell this ox for us. He set 70 yuan [\$28 at that time]. Many wanted to buy the ox at this price. Since many were interested, one bid 75, another 80. Chao didn't know what to do.

Then I spoke up. I said, "Seventy is high, 75 and 80 are higher still. If you go that high, we won't sell it. Don't quarrel over it."

Then I went and found a butcher. I asked him to look the ox over. He offered 29 yuan.

"OK," I said. "Take it away."

This was one-third the price others had offered. A big crowd gathered then. Word went round that a big fool had come to sell an ox, turned down 80 yuan, and sold it for 29. Everyone started to talk about the crazy man who sold the ox. People were asking where this fool came from.

But I explained that I was not out of my head.

"I am not a fool," I said. "The problem is that you all want to pay too much for this ox. I'm from Dazhai. This ox looks OK, but you can't make it work. If it was any good, we wouldn't sell it. Why should one collective cheat another? The best thing to do is to send it to the slaughterhouse. I'm not only responsible to the collectives, I'm responsible to the whole country. If the government itself spent all that money to buy an ox that wouldn't work, what kind of deal would that be? Now we have Communist Party leadership and a collective economy. It's not like it was before with people cheating and getting rich off others' misfortune. In the old society, before Liberation, everyone looked after themselves first, but now it's not like that."

This was right at the start of the collective economy. Some were convinced by these words, but others still thought there was

something wrong. I thought even the people back in my own village might complain because I had taken so little. We hadn't yet repudiated the old idea that "men die for money, birds die for grain." So when I came back I called a mass meeting.

"Maybe you think I have made a mistake," I said. "I don't think so, but maybe you think so."

Then I told them why I sold the ox at one-third the price that was offered. When I explained it, the poor and lower-middle peasants were satisfied. They all thought what I had done was OK. If I had sold the ox for 80 yuan and it didn't do any work, the people who bought it would have cursed us. In the new society people should be honest and not cheat one another. This was talked about for days afterward.

Another example: in 1958 there was a tremendous market for straw. The official price for one catty [1.1 pounds] of millet straw was three cents. But on the black market straw was selling for 20 cents a catty. As it was, people came from far and near offering 20 cents a catty for our straw.

We had plenty of straw but I told them, "We don't have any of the 20-cent kind. If you want the three-cent kind, we have plenty of that."

One buyer was so embarrassed that he

ate lunch with us and left empty-handed. Then he sent someone else to buy the straw. This second man didn't talk price. He only asked if we had straw. He asked if 3,000 or 5,000 catties would be all right. We said he could have 30,000 catties if he liked. He went home with 10,000.

Moral: Dazhai doesn't have any 20-cent straw, but they have plenty of three-cent straw.

This news quickly spread all over the county. Former rich peasants and landlords were saying, "Look at those Dazhai fools! Are they afraid of a better life?"

Mao Tsetung says the most serious problem is the education of the peasantry. If you don't educate the peasants in collective ideology, the collective cannot be consolidated.

Take the upper-middle peasants. I'm not about to put a big hat on them [a hat is an adverse political label or a criticism escalated to unreasonable levels], but they do have petty-producer instincts. Once they see money they forget everything else. In regard to such people we say they have a peasant ideology. But when former landlords and rich peasants express the same ideas, we tell the people that this is what the enemy thinks and that we must take the opposite view. Why do we make an exception for upper-middle peasants? Calling them the enemy too would only enlarge the scope of attack and make re-education difficult. On the basis of correct policy and tactics, we bring them the line of the Communist Party. Educating people to break with petty-producer ideology has been our policy all along. It was correct before, it is correct now, and it will be correct in the future.

#### Revolution Is Not a Dinner Party

**Hinton:** When a wrong line came down and criticism of village leaders went too far, did they waver?

**Chen:** Every time that a wrong line came down, people wavered. In 1966, for instance, there was a period when village cadres in our county were under wholesale attack. Some said, "If I'm going to be treated like this, I swear I'll never wage revolution any more. If I should ever be so foolish as to try making revolution, just shoot me in the chest."

At that time I visited Anping Commune. All the cadres there had been set aside [suspended from public duty pending investigation and settlement of charges]. Many wanted to quit. They said, "Every movement hits us. Why shouldn't we just be ordinary commune members like anyone else? We don't want to be cadres any more. We'll just be active rank-and-filers."

But I criticized such ideas.

"This is a revolution," I said, "not a dinner party. As soon as people struggle against you, you can't stand it. You think

your prestige is harmed. But you should look back and investigate – how many people died to win this revolution? These people knew they might die. When they mounted an attack, they never knew if they would get out alive. If they had been worried about dying, they would never have started up the mountain. Why were people willing to die then? Because they knew they were facing the enemy. If they didn't attack, they would be attacked. If they didn't kill, they would be killed.

"Political struggle is the same. Judge yourself by the correct line. If you think you have done wrong, accept the decision that you should be set aside. If you think you are correct, keep struggling. Why complain, lie down, and stop working? This only shows that you don't want to carry on the revolution, it shows that you are a coward. At the

very least there is selfishness here. If I wanted to put a bigger hat on your head [criticize you more sharply], I'd say you were a renegade. The hat might fit. This is longing-for-peace thinking, not-daring-to-struggle thinking."

When people wavered under the wrong line I talked to them like this. I tried to convince them to stand up and to continue fighting. If the leadership wavered like that, what should one expect of the rank-and-file? The idea that "men die for money, birds die for grain" is deeply embedded. Therefore at all times it is important to have firm leadership. Whether or not the leaders are resolute, that is a serious question. The freight cars can't run along at the head of the train. They depend on the locomotive to pull them.

In 1957-58-59 things finally began to look



Before the introduction of mechanized farming, draft animals were the only source of power besides human labor. (Photo: C. Parris)

like something around Dazhai. In 1957 we had “*daming, dafang*” – a great debate. This debate played an important role. We grasped revolution and promoted production and in 1957 harvested 320 catties per mu [one-sixth of an acre]. We had been doing basic construction in the fields ever since 1953 when we began to fix up Cooperation Gully with dams and terraces, but production didn’t really begin to roll until 1957. After that it went up very fast. In 1958 we got 540 catties per mu. The Big Leap that year played an important role in Dazhai. In the fall a regional meeting was called for advanced units. I went to the meeting representing Dazhai. The people were happy to send me because they all felt that we had outstanding achievements – we had increased our per-mu production by over 200 catties in one year. Our total production for 1958 was 150,000 catties above that of 1957. Each person had produced 500 catties more grain than the year before. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Dazhai were very pleased, their happiness was like *Jiang Fei de huzi manlian* – their faces were as full of happiness as Jiang Fei’s face is full of hair. [Jiang Fei is a legendary hero who had a bushy beard].

#### Exaggeration Wind

But as it turned out, the meeting was not at all what we expected. The wind of exaggeration was blowing very hard. Anyone who had actually harvested 100 catties would report 1,000. I had no idea that things like this were going on. As a result of the all-out effort we made we had harvested 540 catties per mu. Yet all the others reported more than that. There were “sputnik” brigades and whole counties with over 1,000 catties per mu. They said to us, “You Dazhai people call yourselves advanced. But you only harvested 540 catties per mu. That’s not even enough to get on the list! There is nothing good about you!”

One “sputnik” brigade reported 33,000 catties per mu. There was a 1,000-catty county and a 10,000-catty commune. Truly, Dazhai was not even on the list. “Who cares for your 540 catties?”

The old Party Committee of the county and the region tried to come to our aid. They urged us to change our figures to 2,000 catties per mu. Only by such a move could we hope to get on the list! What should we do? Should we change the figures or not? If we changed them, we could get on the list. I thought about it very hard. I thought, “I am a peasant. Don’t I know how much the land can produce? If we change our figures, we can hold up the flag of an advanced brigade. But if we change them, all the class enemies in our village, landlords, rich peasants – what will they think of us? They all know that we got 540 catties. If we go off to a meeting and claim that we got 2,000 catties,

what effect will that have? If I tell a lie, how will that sit?”

I didn’t think at that time of Chairman Mao’s saying, “Never forget class struggle” – but in the course of actual struggle my consciousness was raised. I knew the enemy always used our weak points to try and wreck us, so we had to get more and more vigilant. Later on when we studied Chairman Mao’s words, “Never forget class struggle,” we remembered all those things that had happened in the past. There were bad people in the Party then. They blocked Chairman Mao’s voice. We could not hear what he was saying. If at that time it had been like it is now, Chairman Mao’s directives would have come straight down to us, to the people, and our consciousness would have been higher. We study what he says now, recall what happened, and realize the truth of this teaching.

At that time I only thought, “If I lie, if I make an empty boast, what will the landlords get out of it? They know we only harvested 540 catties.” And I also thought about myself – over 40 years old already. If I reported 2,000 catties, how could I ever make things square with the poor and lower-middle peasants? Even by the time of my death I would never be able to do it. I also thought, “Communists can’t tell lies. I can’t do that.”

The members of the Party Committee were angry. They said, “If you don’t change your figures, you can’t get on the list.” I said, “If you make a false report and get on the list, you will still fail.” They demanded that I go and learn from those “advanced” units. I said, “Fine. I’d love to learn from them.” These leaders believed that these “advanced” units had really produced such yields. They said we must learn from others, but actually they were just trying to make people change their figures to please the upper leadership.

They got all the “advanced” units together, dozens of them. Those of us from the so-called backward units who couldn’t get on the list went to learn from them. Some of the supposedly backward units had much respect for these “advanced” units. They studied them enthusiastically – how they plowed, how they planted, how many seeds, etc. But I had *qingxu* (I felt upset). I didn’t ask anything. I just sat with my head back and kept my eyes shut. One corn “sputnik” claimed that they planted 3,000 plants per mu and harvested 33,000 catties – more than 11 pounds per stalk. I thought, “That kind of production – no matter how you study, even if you kill yourself, you can’t get it. I’m not a *wai hang* – a novice outside the profession – I’m a peasant. I may not know much about other things but at least I know something about corn.”

So they criticized me. They saw that I was

not learning and they said I was too proud to learn. They didn’t actually name me. They just said, “There are some people who are too proud to learn. While some study enthusiastically, others are so proud they don’t know how high heaven is.”

All the “advanced” brigades got *te deng jiang* – special awards. Twelve trucks were awarded in our county. Tractors were given out in even greater numbers. And all these units sent delegates to Peking to join the heroes’ meeting. All those with awards went – such excitement! But I wasn’t even on the list. I felt very gloomy [*hui liu liu di*, a streak of gray]. I wanted so much to see Chairman Mao. I had never met him. But I was left behind. Leaders of Xi Cai Commune in our county, who claimed that they had produced 3,300 catties of oats per mu, got to go. They were called the “Oat Kings” and they went to Peking to the heroes’ meeting. To comfort the “backward” units who were left behind, a get-together with city workers was organized – a “*gong nong lian huan*.” They elected me as head of the peasant delegation to go and celebrate with the workers. I wouldn’t go. I wanted to be on the delegation that went to Peking to see Chairman Mao, but our merits were not enough. I had to go back to Dazhai to earn more merit so our delegate could see Chairman Mao in the future. I was very dispirited. One of the cadres tried to reason with me. He said, “You shouldn’t be so disgruntled. Those units have achieved things, that’s why they were chosen.” He was a member of the old Party Committee.

I said, “It’s all false.”

“Don’t say that,” he said. “You’ll mess things up.”

I knew him well, so I said, “Well, I’m only telling you. Don’t tell anyone else.”

Clearly I didn’t always resist wrong things as well as I should have.

In April 1959, some people from the provincial level came to Dazhai. They said all those 1,000-catty “sputniks” were empty and false. “You in Dazhai, way up here in these mountains, claimed you got 540 catties. How much did you falsify your reports?”

I said, “All our grain was distributed to our members and it is still here. As to the grain we sold to the state, we have the receipts and the grain is there in the storehouse. You can check up.”

I paid no more attention to these people. That made them angry. They said I was not warm to them. There was no Cultural Revolution then. If there had been I would have rebelled against those cadres long ago. Such bureaucrats! This one went back to report on me. He said my problem was a problem of attitude toward the Party.

They only considered our attitude toward them. They never considered their bureaucratic attitude toward those at lower levels.

# Friendship Has A History

# Koji Ariyoshi

by Hugh Deane

Koji Ariyoshi, president of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association of Honolulu and a member of the USCPFA National Steering Committee, died in Honolulu on October 23, 1976, after a valiant struggle against cancer. Ariyoshi's life was decisively shaped by his friendship with the Chinese people. And, like Edgar Snow, Agnes Smedley, Anna Louise Strong, and Evans Carlson, he was able to tell the China story to his countrymen.

"Only a few times in my life have I been moved so deeply by the sight of land as I was when I saw China for the first time from the sky," Koji wrote. Descending to Kunming in the spring of 1944, he looked down on a scene of beauty, but also one of "scarred land . . . showing every mark of human toil." Ariyoshi was moved partly because China had long been in his consciousness. At the University of Hawaii he had helped to raise money for Chinese students fleeing westward from the Japanese invaders and had written an article for the student paper about a university in caves in Yan'an (Yenan). But he was moved for deeper reasons, because of what he was.

He was the son of an indentured sugar plantation worker who became a small coffee farmer — one of the victims of Japanese feudalism who knocked at Hawaii's golden door and found waiting a life of toil so hard that strong men gulped soy sauce to induce a fever that would give them a day of rest. And he was the son also of a small woman with calloused, grass-stained hands who ended every day prostrate with exhaustion.

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HUGH DEANE, a trade-union newspaper editor, worked in China as a journalist during the 1930s and '40s. He has been co-chairperson of the New York USCPFA and is co-editor of its publication *China and Us*. A longer version of this article appeared in *Eastern Horizon*, XVI, No. 3 (March 1977).

As a child, Ariyoshi picked ripe coffee beans. As a teenager, he scrambled for any sort of job, handicapped by the Depression and his Japanese extraction. "Because I have worked almost all of my life with my hands,



A drawing of Ariyoshi made shortly before his death. (Artist: G. Deane)

even while a student," he wrote, "my loyalty has always been with the down-trodden, the workers and farmers." He pulped coffee, was a store clerk and a bricklayer's helper, did WPA road work, drove trucks, and worked in a pineapple cannery. Finally he found steady work as a longshoreman on the docks in Honolulu and later in San Francisco, becoming a militant member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union led by Harry Bridges. He attended the University of Hawaii and received a scholarship to the University of Georgia.

Ariyoshi was back working on the San Francisco docks when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor. He was one of the 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry — many of them citizens like him — who were confined behind

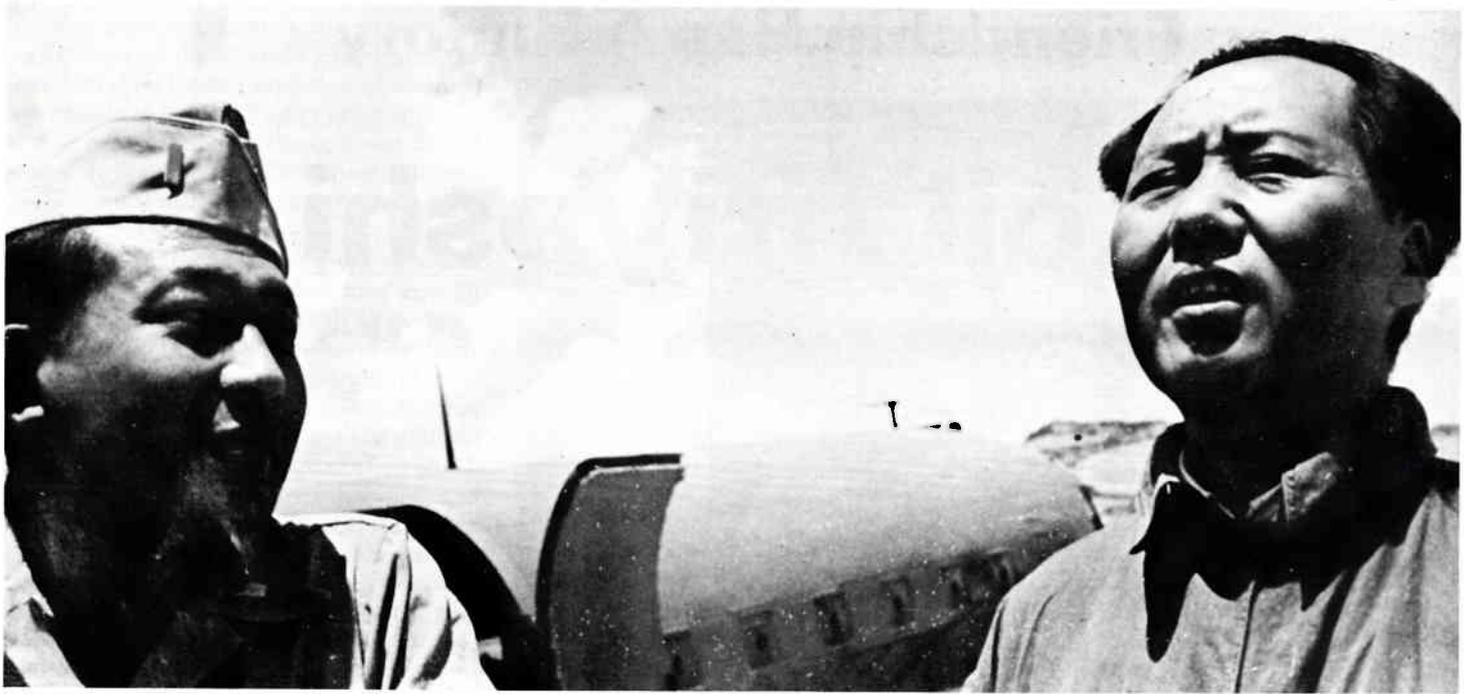
the barbed wire and watchtowers of Manzanar. Scores of thousands, including his wife Takeo, were in the detention camps until 1945. The gate opened for him earlier because of the need of Idaho beet farmers for people to do stoop labor, and they stayed open because of the U.S. Army's need for Japanese-speaking personnel.

The Army sent Ariyoshi to China, where he worked for over two years, until 1946. He came as a sergeant, was commissioned a lieutenant, and wound up as a civilian attached to the State Department.

His first assignment was to study the political re-education of Japanese POWs and take part in psychological warfare activities. That task took him first to Chongqing (Chungking), the war capital, and then, in October 1944, to Yan'an — the headquarters of the Chinese communists. A cave there remained his base until the Dixie Mission (the American Army Observer Group) was withdrawn some 18 months later. His work broadened to include propaganda tours and other tasks for the Office of War Information, interrogations, special investigations, and general intelligence evaluation.

In Chongqing he talked with Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), whose steadfast courage he admired until the end of his days. That she reciprocated his esteem was revealed dramatically at the time of his Smith Act trial in 1952-53 when she sent him her mother's wedding dress in the hope it could raise money for his defense.

And in Yan'an, he became a friend of the leaders of a people's war that was changing the balance of political power in China. He visited the communist-held areas in north-west China and the Anhui-Jiangsu border region in central China. He made two trips to Kalgan in Inner Mongolia. The onrush of impressions and long hours of talk put many things in place for him, about Hawaii and all America as well as about China.



As an American soldier assigned to liaison duties between American and Chinese Communist forces during World War II, Koji Ariyoshi met Mao Tsetung a number of times. (Photo: courtesy of H. Deane)

Ariyoshi kept a sharp eye on his fellow GIs in China. He cringed to hear GIs call Chinese “slopes” and in various ways demonstrate prejudice and ignorance. But he found too that some Americans were getting at the truth, that some genuine and lasting Chinese-American friendship was in the making. Ariyoshi told the story of Edward Rohrbough, head of an Office of War Information branch in Fujian (Fukien), who staged a one-man, one-week sitdown strike in a prison in a vain effort to save the life of Yang Zhao, an OWI employee who was arrested and tortured by the Guomindang (Kuomintang) police.

Ariyoshi saw the turn in American policy. When he arrived in Yan’an, Washington was hesitantly moving toward cooperation with the communist forces in North China in an effort to defeat Japan. When he sailed from Shanghai, the U.S. was engaged in massive intervention to sustain Chiang Kai-shek’s crumbling regime.

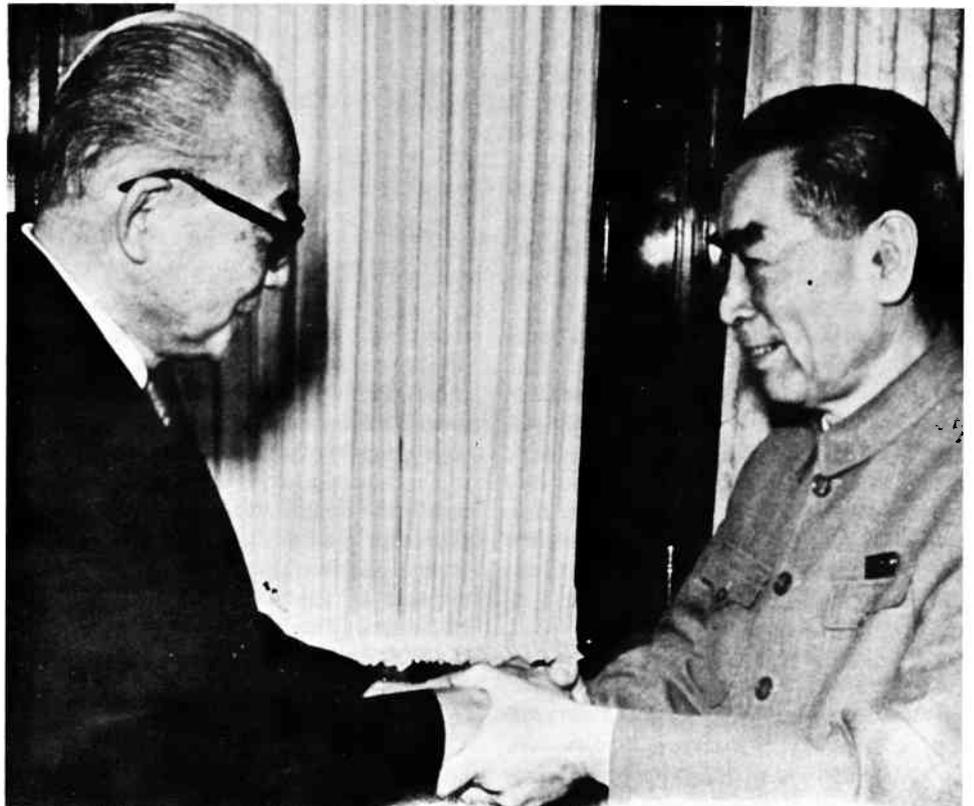
In April 1945, Ariyoshi proved by direct investigation that Chiang’s troops were using U.S. arms in raids on communist-held areas. He toured border villages heavily damaged by mortar fire and then looted by Guomindang soldiers who raped the women, cut the well ropes, and mixed manure into the grain they couldn’t take. Scrawls on the walls boasted that the Reds wouldn’t last long because “we have U.S. arms.” Villagers collected U.S.-made mortar shells and fins for him.

After he returned to Yan’an, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, and Ye Jian-ying (Yeh Chien-ying) called on him in his cave and questioned him about his findings. Chou asked

him to urge Washington to withdraw its lendlease equipment from China as a deterrent to civil war.

Ariyoshi’s convictions led him into conversations with General Albert C. Wedemeyer, Stillwell’s successor as the U.S. commander, and U.S. Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley. In hours-long private sessions

with them in Chongqing, he explained exhaustively why he felt U.S. intervention against the communists would fail. The people were increasingly on the side of the communists, and for American troops to attempt what the tough Imperial Army had failed to accomplish in North and Central China would be folly, he said. Wedemeyer’s



In 1971, Ariyoshi returned to China, where he was warmly greeted as an old friend by Chou En-lai. (Photo: courtesy of H. Deane)



## Lin

continued from page 18

means to go back to a society in which the few exploit the many for their own benefit. But what was revisionist and what wasn't? Were specialized technical or research teams elitist—even if they included workers as well as technical people? Was the entire older generation of leaders "tainted" because they had been born and raised under the old, bourgeois society? People argued, and factions formed. Slanders and intrigues started by the "gang" and their allies inflamed already bad situations. In some places violence between factions replaced rational discussion.

Meanwhile production stagnated as factional dispute soured relations between workers. Under heavy attack from the "gang of four," some people stopped trying to move ahead on production lest they be accused of being counterrevolutionaries. Zhengzhou, the major junction of the Peking-Wuhan railway line, one of China's main rail arteries, was virtually paralyzed through internal strife, a breakdown that seriously affected the whole economy. Fine, said the "gang of four"—"Better a socialist train that's late than a capitalist train that's on time!" For those who stood up to the "gang of four," this was nonsense. Why not a socialist train that ran on time? Revolutionary struggle was supposed to make economic life better, not destroy it! Mao had said, "Grasp revolution, promote production."

Revolutionary struggle was also not supposed to set workers at one another's throats. But here again the "gang of four" completely distorted the principles of revolutionary struggle which Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and other leaders had practiced for so long. Mao had said that 95 percent of the Chinese people favored socialism. The few genuine counterrevolutionaries—Liu Xiao-qi, Lin Biao, or agents of the Guomindang (Kuomintang), for instance—should be struggled against and placed in situations where they could do no more damage, particularly if they were in positions of authority. That was the way to deal with antagonistic contradictions, that is, contradictions which involved proven and incorrigible enemies of the people.

But one should be very careful in labeling someone an enemy of the people. Honest people, revolutionaries, also made mistakes, even serious mistakes. That didn't make them enemies. Wrong ideas should be struggled against through rational argument and debate, through open discussions involving as many people as possible. People who make mistakes should be helped to correct

This rare 1940s photograph of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and Chu Teh was taken by Ariyoshi.

face turned cloudy and he made evident his total disbelief. Hurley said, and repeated it, "Young man, you have been fooled by communist propaganda."

Ariyoshi flew to Shanghai to brief four newly arrived U.S. generals in an Air Force map room. Later he reported at length to General George Marshall, who was starting a doomed effort to keep the Guomindang regime in power. Ariyoshi's words to his superiors achieved nothing. But in later speeches and writings, he added directly to the understanding of the American people.

After the war, Ariyoshi became editor of the *Honolulu Record*. In a highly publicized trial in 1952-53, Ariyoshi and six other Hawaiians were convicted of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence in violation of the Smith Act. ("We're trying you for what's in your head," the prosecutor snapped at him once.) Appeal proceedings won a reversal after dragging on for five years. After his initial arrest and release on bail, Ariyoshi began a series of 59 articles for the *Honolulu Record* under the title "My Thoughts: For Which I Stand Indicted," an act of resistance to McCarthyism. In 32 of these articles he told about his experiences in China and the story of how the Chinese people stood up to their oppressors and began the transformation of their ancient society.

The ping-pong opening that culminated in Nixon's China visit of February 1972 brought great changes in Ariyoshi's life. From the "Red Florist" (he had opened a flower shop after the *Record* foundered), he became a sought-out authority on China. He was among the first to be invited to the People's Republic, in the fall of 1971, and in this first of several visits he found the new China of reality even more impressive than he had imagined. The *Honolulu Star-*

*Bulletin* published a series of articles by him, and schools and organizations that once shunned him now invited him to speak.

Ariyoshi played a major role in the formation of the Hawaii-China Peoples Friendship Association (now the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association of Honolulu) and served as its president from the beginning. He was chief editor of the Association's *China Newsletter*. He played a leading role in the formation of the national U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association and was elected an at-large member of the National Steering Committee at the 1974 founding convention in Los Angeles and at succeeding conventions in Chicago and Philadelphia.

In April 1976, a few months before his death, the Hawaii House of Representatives unanimously adopted a resolution honoring him. It cited his courageous resistance to McCarthyism, his founding of the USCPFA of Honolulu, and his commitment to social progress. Typically he devoted the ebbing strength of his last days to his duties in the USCPFA. In a hospital bed interview, published in the *Star-Bulletin*, he joined in mourning the death of Mao Tsetung, assessed his tremendous achievements, and explained why he was confident that the forward course of the Chinese Revolution would not be reversed.

When he worked on the docks in the green of his years, Ariyoshi was a member of one of the star teams—teams of especially strong, agile, and alert men capable of handling the trickiest and heaviest loads. He left the docks for other things, but he never left the star team.

The National USCPFA has chosen to honor Koji Ariyoshi by establishing an award in his name and a memorial fund to finance publication of some of his writings.

them through education, criticism, and persuasion. Never, never through force.

Revolutionary strategy, as Mao conceived it and practiced it, was to “unite the many to defeat the few.” In the civil war leading up to the founding of the People’s Republic, Mao had succeeded in uniting the vast majority in China, hundreds of millions of people, against the relative handful represented by Chiang Kai-shek and his followers. Mao had also said, “...unite and don’t split; be open and aboveboard; don’t intrigue and conspire.” But split and conspire is exactly what the “gang of four” did.

NC: Why would they want to take the chance of damaging production?

Lin: By now, we can see something of the “gang’s” strategy for seizing power in China. Apparently one of their private slogans was “Foment disorder all over China, keep Shanghai orderly.” Shanghai, which the “gang” and its supporters thought of as their stronghold, was notably free of the factional disorders which the “gang” incited in the rest of China. They hoped, apparently, that people all over China—sick of the factional strife, and not realizing that the “gang” was behind most of the trouble—would ultimately turn to Jiang Qing and her followers, who were supposedly doing a good job in Shanghai, as the only possible saviors of the situation.

But perhaps the most important part of the “gang’s” strategy was their attempt to attack and overthrow the regular leadership at all levels. Again, this was a corruption of Mao’s position. During the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, Mao had called for the removal of the few revisionists in positions of Party leadership. Again, he distinguished between real enemies of the people, such as Liu Xiao-qi, and those officials who had made mistakes but could be rehabilitated through a period of hard work and study in the countryside. The “gang” tried to extend this into an attack on all leaders—except those they could turn into allies and supporters.

Like Lin Biao before them, the “gang” identified Chou En-lai as their chief target. Not only was he the Premier and chief administrator of the far-flung organs of the Chinese government, he also enjoyed enormous popularity among the people and the support of countless officials who had known and worked with him over many years. Since 1935 he had been one of the strongest supporters of Mao’s ideas, and a firm opponent of intrigue, conspiracy, and the maneuvers of those who would seek power for their own ends.

The 1974 *Pi Lin Pi Kong* movement, which was supposed to be for the purpose of analyzing and criticizing the similar ideas of Lin Biao and the ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius, was turned into an

attack on a number of experienced leaders who were then being “rehabilitated” after being removed from office during the Cultural Revolution. Though they did not say so openly, the attack was also partly directed at Chou En-lai, who was in charge of the rehabilitation process. Without the approval of Mao or the Party Central Committee, the “gang” convened two large mobilization meetings in Peking featuring inflammatory calls to “seize back power” from the reinstated leaders. When Mao heard of it, he vetoed the nationwide circulation of tapes of the meetings prepared by the “gang of four.”

The “gang’s” hatred of Chou En-lai continued after his death. Through their control of the media, they banned most



The “gang of four,” shouting the slogan about preferring a socialist train that’s late to a capitalist train that’s on time, attempt to stop a locomotive labeled “Grasp revolution, promote production.” (Cartoon by Wu Ming, *Ta Kung Pau*, Hongkong, April 23, 1977)

memorial articles on the Premier. They stopped distribution of a documentary film on his life which ended with scenes of the vast outpouring of grief at his death. They tried to ban all memorial services for Chou. The scheme backfired. Instead of erasing his memory and influence, the “gang’s” actions helped expose their true character. Their efforts to suppress popular expressions of mourning for Chou earned them the undying hatred of great masses of the Chinese people.

This is the context of their attack on Deng Xiao-ping. It was to discredit Chou and the whole first echelon of Party leaders. They hoped that Deng’s downfall would open the field to further attack. [The interview was conducted prior to the July

21, 1977, decision of the Party Central Committee to restore Deng Xiao-ping to his posts.—Eds.]

At all levels, and with increasing vehemence as Mao’s final illness gave them less and less time to establish their own control, the “gang” attempted to discredit and overthrow experienced leaders—in the Party, in factories or communes, or in the army—and to replace them with the “gang’s” own followers. Many who saw what was happening, and protested, were arrested on orders of the “gang,” threatened, and jailed if they persisted in opposing the “gang’s” maneuvers. Because such procedures were strictly against the law and were carried out in great secrecy, and because the “gang” controlled most of the Chinese press, many in China did not realize for a long time what was happening. But at all levels there were people who defied the “gang” and stood fast on principle despite heavy persecutions by the “gang of four.” And as word spread of their activities, anger and disgust at the “gang” grew.

Some of the “gang’s” most serious disruptions were in the cultural field, in which Jiang Qing had been active since the early days of the Cultural Revolution. Mao’s basic ideas on socialist art and literature had been summarized in “Talks at the Yan’an (Yenan) Forum on Literature and Art” (1942). In it he had said that culture should serve the masses, not just a small intellectual elite. The broad masses of people should participate in all aspects of culture—as spectators, as creators of their own works of art, and as critics of what was produced. In the 1950s, the “Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom” campaign sought to nurture a variety of artistic and cultural forms by encouraging a wide range of expression. In the early years of the Cultural Revolution, artists inspired by Mao’s ideas about taking culture to the people created new art forms, new works, and new ways of spreading culture (such as the traveling theater troupes which brought plays and operas to far-flung communes in the countryside).

Mao had said the arts should serve the people, reflect the interests and concerns of the workers and peasants, and promote socialist ideals. Works that promoted revisionist ideas were not acceptable, but the best way to insure that art did reflect good things was to involve workers, peasants, and other ordinary people in its development. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, this did happen. Working people attended rehearsals and offered criticism and advice to the artists creating plays and operas. They took part in the making of films.

But when Jiang Qing became involved in the production and criticism of the per-

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forming arts, things changed. She and her allies became self-appointed tyrants of the arts—the sole judges of what was and was not politically correct in the arts. It had never been Mao's idea that a small group of bureaucrats should control the arts and determine what could and could not be shown. But under Jiang Qing, that's exactly what happened. Many old, popular works were eliminated. New films were made and then shelved because they did not meet with her approval—including *The Pioneers*, a film about the Daqing oil field, because it had the approval of Chou En-lai. Overall, very few works did meet with her approval.

Many artists who had firsthand experience of the "gang's" tactics, and tried to expose them, found themselves in deep trouble. In January 1977 I had dinner with the noted pianist Liu Shi-kun and his wife, both of whom had been imprisoned for many months because of their opposition to Jiang Qing's tyranny in the performing arts.

**NC:** If the "gang of four" were simply opportunists who used revolutionary rhetoric to oppose the Revolution, then was it all, as Western press reports have indicated, just a power struggle over who would rule China?

**Lin:** Only in the sense that every serious political struggle is of necessity also a power struggle carried on by individuals or groups. But every individual or group taking part in that struggle also, necessarily, represents a political position—a class line—which ultimately leads in one direction or another. It isn't always immediately clear what "line" is being taken. As we've seen, the "gang of four" billed themselves as ardent revolutionaries. But as the consequences of their activities unfolded over a long period of time, it's quite easy, especially for those directly affected—the Chinese people themselves—to see that objectively they did *not* represent the interests of the workers and the peasants. In fact, they represented a revisionist tendency—they wanted to revise and reverse revolutionary theory and policy; to take the guts out of them. This is the same thing Chairman Mao warned against when he said, "If we don't fight revisionism in the Party, then the Chinese Communist Party will go on the capitalist road, and China will become a fascist country."

Today's Chinese workers and peasants, only a generation from the stark oppression and grinding poverty of the past, want both revolution *and* production. The "gang," in effect, wanted neither. Their strategy called for emasculating theory by endless name-calling and causing so much confusion that the economy would fall into anarchy and paralysis.

The numerous examples which have been uncovered of the "gang of four's" appro-

priation of special luxuries and privileges for themselves and their followers is a further clear sign of what direction they were taking.

**NC:** About your reference to fascism: how is the danger posed under socialism?

**Lin:** Chairman Mao's warning about the possibility of a socialist country becoming fascist is related to the nature of the socialist political economy. What happens when a revolutionary takeover of capitalist enterprises occurs—as in China in 1949-50? At the inception of a socialist government, a lot of scattered capitalist enterprises, some of which may already be monopolies, are combined into a smaller number of state monopolies. The concentration of economic power is more intense than ever before, but now, under socialism, production and distribution are under the direct control of the masses of the people.

But continuing class struggle must go on in a socialist country to consolidate the control of the working people over their own economic enterprises. Without class struggle, if the leadership degenerates into an elite group who act like private owners—though in legal terms they are not—this elite group can take complete control of production and distribution. They can then appropriate for themselves the wealth created by the masses of the people, and when such economic control is combined with a monopoly of political power, then fascism quickly develops.

China needs, as any socialist country does, both democracy and centralism. Centralism allows for systematic planning of production and distribution for the benefit of the whole society. Democracy insures that the leadership of the country is in the hands of the workers. Both are vital. If democracy is forgotten, thrown overboard by a new group of exploiters, then centralism, acting singly, can produce a dangerous situation. One would have not just a capitalist society, but a rapid deterioration to the most extreme right-wing form of capitalism—fascism—due to the combination of high economic concentration and state power.

The Chinese point to the Soviet Union as the prime example of what can happen when a socialist country takes the capitalist road. In the Soviet Union, over the past two decades, there has been a continual reconcentration of economic enterprise, an increasing concentration into huge state combines. These are manipulated by only a few people. Perhaps the top stratum of especially privileged, high-salaried people in government and management numbers some two million out of 250 million. But control of the state and of economic enterprises is in the hands of a much smaller, powerful oligarchy. A terrorist police state

has been established internally, while external relations are characterized by aggression and competition with other imperialist powers. For the workers and peasants, who are the vast majority of the Soviet people, the results have been disastrous. It is this aspect that the Chinese are concerned about, and they are determined that China will not follow this road.

NC: What is the role of the ordinary Chinese people in such political struggles?

Lin: In a country like China, the participation of the masses of the people occurs at every level. It is encouraged by the Party. A basic principle of Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and all other real revolutionaries is to unite with the masses—that is, not to impose their own ideas on a passive people but to listen to the masses, crystallize their wishes and ideas on a higher theoretical level, and develop policies that will fulfill the real aspirations of the people at each stage of development. At the same time, they have emphasized the extreme importance of raising the political consciousness of the masses, of making them more and more aware of the political principles which lie behind this or that position, this or that policy, this or that style of political leadership. Movements such as the Cultural Revolution, or now the movement to criticize the actions of the “gang of four,” are mass movements. They ultimately raise the political consciousness of the people and get them involved in revolutionary struggle at all levels.

The Western press tries to give the idea that political struggles take place far above the heads of ordinary people. One side in the struggle may, in fact, try to make arbitrary decisions apart from the people and against their interests. This is how the “gang of four” operated. So the other side may struggle against this position, and the Western press may interpret this as a power struggle.

But there are vast differences between a group like the “gang of four” and a revolutionary group, who are genuinely concerned with the strategies and goals of revolution, and the economic development of China. The revolutionaries use struggle to establish a political line with broad-based support, and are concerned with the interests of the vast majority of the people. The opportunists are only interested in achieving power.

NC: All this raises the question of whether the “gang of four” were “ultra-left,” as some Western observers believe, or “ultra-right,” as the Chinese say. Which of these descriptions fits?

Lin: The terms “left” and “right” originated in Western parliamentary politics. Since the criteria for using them vary widely with the political standpoints of the users,

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*Addresses, inside back cover.*

they are sometimes of little help as analytical tools. If one is talking about revolutionary theory, it seems to me that the terms can be properly used to designate where a person or group stands in relation to the forward movement of history.

The "ultra-left" are those who have lost contact with reality and the masses of the people by espousing an impetuous or unrealistic course of action when the objective conditions do not exist for it. The "right" are those who have *also* lost contact with reality and the masses by falling behind and resisting or trying to turn back their struggles for freedom. Where does the real left stand? It stands *within* the ranks of the people, at their forefront, with the forward movement of social reality, participating in their struggles.

Now let us apply this yardstick to the "gang of four."

There is no point in denying that they employed an "ultra-left" rhetoric. But it is highly questionable to conclude that they or their political line were "ultra-left" in nature. Closer scrutiny would lead one to favor the Chinese analysis for two reasons.

First, the "gang of four" used conspiratorial and fascist-like means to seek personal power. Under no circumstances can this be properly described as anything but "ultra-right." During a visit to Peking in January, I met a young woman from Shanghai who had finally been exonerated after being jailed by order of Zhang Chun-qiao for three years, without trial. Her "crime" was to have innocently transmitted some material she had come across accidentally in the course of an investigation during the Cultural Revolution. The material implicated Zhang Chun-qiao with the Guomindang in the 1930s.

Second, the "gang of four" were political dissemblers, using "ultra-left" rhetoric as demagoguery while they themselves led lives that were contrary to their declared revolutionary ideals.

NC: In the future, what will help prevent groups like the "gang of four" from seizing power?

Lin: The primary hope of preventing this, in my view, is the political awareness of the people. This awareness is the ultimate guarantee that China will not go the wrong way. The Chinese believe that without this, there are no institutional devices—no paper guarantees—that will by themselves prevent such power seizures. Yet socialist institutions can and should be perfected and made more responsive to the will of the people. There are questions that must be clarified about the rights of the people to express themselves without fear of reprisal, about the role of the courts, the control of the media, and so on. But there is no substitute for the direct involvement

of all the people in the struggles to choose and supervise their own leaders and policies and to build socialist China at a high level of political consciousness.

These issues are high in the minds of the people after the downfall of the "four." It will take time to iron them out. But first and foremost, the ultimate goal is to see to it that political power remains in the hands of those who represent the interests of the workers and peasants, the vast masses of the Chinese people.

NC: If the Chinese leadership wants people to become politically conscious and to learn from the acts of the "gang of four," how do you explain such things as airbrushing Jiang Qing and her associates out of historical photographs?

Lin: I think to have done that is understandable, to keep those people out of the public eye, to eliminate them from any association with political respectability in the revolutionary sense. Personally, I feel this is not a good way to go about it. It seems formalistic. The historical record is there, and the critique should be made from the record. I would personally rather see it handled with a caption, or some such device, that would point out or remind people of the backward role she and the other "gang" members played.

NC: How were the "gang of four" able to gain such power, and to retain it for such a long time?

Lin: During the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, Jiang Qing and the others seemed on the face of it to be taking progressive positions. Certainly they took part in the campaign to defeat the rightist Liu Xiao-qi. And I think that gets at an important point about revolutionary struggle in China. Before 1949, and some years afterward, revisionists—those who wanted to turn the clock back—were quite open about their opposition to Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary movement he led. But for some years now, outright revisionists have been so exposed and discredited that it has been impossible for them to attack directly from the outside. Nobody would listen to anyone who openly opposed Mao Tsetung and socialism. So these backward forces emerged in disguised form.

Mao Tsetung warned of this condition in the late fifties when he reminded the Chinese people that classes and class struggle still continued, and again in the early 1960s when he pointed out that the chief danger lay not in outright opposition from outside the Communist Party, but in the few highly placed people in the Party who were still taking the "capitalist road." Liu Xiao-qi had openly opposed Mao's ideas. But beginning with Lin Biao and continuing with the "gang of four," opponents have billed themselves as the strongest sup-

porters of Mao, as "super-revolutionaries." Under these circumstances, it has not always been possible for the Chinese people to recognize the revisionists' true colors, at least not until the consequences of their activities had unfolded over a long period of time.

I think you must also remember that China is just one generation away from the old exploitative society. This means that a great many of the old, backward forces are still present in the new society. Inequalities are still present under socialism—between mental and manual labor, for instance, or between city and countryside, and workers

# China

## Everybody Be Busy

*Everybody be busy in China  
Working in the fields  
Working in the factories  
Working in the plants,  
Working in the homes  
Working in the neighborhoods  
And studying in the schools.*

*There be absolutely nobody  
Standing around doing nothing  
Hustling on the corner  
Eyeballing and checking things out  
Finger popping to the juke box  
In the Last Lap Lounge  
Or boozing at the Booty Bar.*

*Everybody be busy in China.  
There be nobody shooting pool  
In Joe's Recreation Parlor.  
There be no pool halls  
To laze around and plot in.  
Everybody be working in China.*

*There be no people unemployed  
Also there be no body on welfare  
Or on the relief rolls.*

*They say everybody in China be in  
"The service of the people."  
That means that what they be doing  
They be doing for themselves.*

DR. MARGARET BURROUGHS, writer and artist, is Professor of Humanities at Chicago's Kennedy-King College and Executive Director of the DuSable Museum of African American History. She visited China in spring 1977.

and peasants—and these inequalities can lead to the development of new backward forces who feel they should have special privileges. Despite the fact that the political consciousness of the workers and peasants is enormously greater than it was in 1949, it is still developing.

Apparently Mao Tsetung recognized the danger inherent in the “gang of four” at least by 1974. In the spring of 1974, at a Politburo meeting, he issued one of many open warnings to Jiang Qing and the others: “Take care, don’t form yourselves into a faction of four!” During the same year, when Wang Hong-wen came secretly

to Mao with faked charges against Premier Chou, he was rebuked again and sent on his way. By the end of 1974, according to most reports, Mao and Jiang Qing were living in separate residences after he had sent her a letter explaining why further conversations or dealings were useless, since she never heeded his advice anyway.

NC: Why did Mao not take more direct steps to expose the “gang of four”?

Lin: One explanation is Mao’s longstanding conviction that people can be persuaded to see the error of their ways. Mao always tried to reason with opponents, to educate them, rather than to use the power he un-

doubtedly had to suppress them—a stark contrast to the actions of the “gang of four” in dealing with their opponents. Another reason, possibly, is Mao’s belief in the importance of mobilizing the masses in any political struggle. Mao’s open opposition to the “gang of four” at an earlier stage might have effectively stopped the “gang’s” activities, but Mao’s intervention would not have raised the political consciousness of the people in the sense that the current campaign has. By the time of the arrest of the “gang of four,” most Chinese had seen for themselves that these were not true revolutionaries, but the most callous power-seekers. They had recognized the revolutionary rhetoric as a thin disguise for the basic revisionism of the “gang of four.” They had once more been presented with striking evidence of the dangers of revisionism. Mao always believed that the masses make history, not just leaders—not even Mao Tsetung. He believed that the people would ultimately recognize and defeat their enemies. And for the sake of developing their political consciousness, of helping them take an ever more firm grasp of their own destiny, Mao was willing to let the “gang of four” play out their ultimately futile attempt to seize power.

NC: The Chinese press has emphasized a number of times that Hua Guo-feng was personally chosen by Mao Tsetung as the new Party Chairman. The American press, especially during the fall 1976 elections, made much of this seemingly undemocratic way of choosing a leader.

Lin: Chinese leaders, whether in the Party or the government, are chosen by an electoral system which goes up from the basic level. At every stage, the next level of leadership is chosen from those elected at the previous level. In the case of Hua, although he was nominated by Mao, legally, as Party Chairman, he still had to be endorsed by the Party Central Committee and, as Premier, by the National People’s Congress.

Politically, though, in effect it *was* Mao’s approval that carried the day. In a moment of crisis, his endorsement of Hua prevented a political vacuum that might have put power into the hands of the “gang of four.” Even after Mao designated Hua as his choice, the “gang of four” still tried to gain power. If things had been allowed to go on, they would have used the media to discredit Hua, which might have paved the way for a coup d’état.

In the particular historical circumstance, it was important for Mao to endorse someone. What you have to remember is the enormous prestige Mao enjoyed among the Chinese people, and the unprecedented nature of the transition. Since assuming leadership of the Chinese Revolution in 1935, Mao had demonstrated, again and again

## Poems by Margaret Burroughs

### To My Chinese Sisters

Tan Ya Hsiu  
 Tai Yi Fang  
 Wei Tsui Ping  
 Wei Po Weng  
 and Chung Chih Ming  
 My Chinese sisters  
 Three weeks ago  
 I hardly knew you  
 You were to me as I was to you  
 Unknown quantities  
 To each other.  
 Even though all of us  
 Are women together  
 Each of whom has been holding up  
 Our halves of the world.  
 My Chinese sisters  
 When I was a child  
 They said that you  
 Lived on the other side  
 Of the earth.  
 And that if I would dig  
 Straight down in  
 My back yard  
 I would come to  
 Your country!  
 When I was a child  
 I saw pictures of you  
 In my geography books  
 And you looked very strange  
 To me with your different eyes  
 Looking at you  
 Made me think of  
 All the movies I had seen  
 With Mr. Moto and Mr.  
 Fu Manchu!

Tan Ya Hsiu  
 Tai Yi Fang  
 Wei Tsui Ping  
 Wei Po Weng  
 and Chung Chih Ming  
 My Chinese sisters  
 Just three weeks ago  
 All we knew of you  
 Was what Confucius say  
 And Egg Foo Yong  
 At the Chinese Restaurant  
 In Chicago’s Chinatown.  
 But all of that is different  
 Today. Three weeks later  
 The paper curtain  
 Separating the East and the West  
 Which has kept us apart so long  
 As women and as peoples  
 Has at last been torn away,  
 By the power of  
 Our combined women’s hands.  
 And our true selves, our true hearts  
 Have been revealed to  
 And shared with each other  
 Enriching us mutually  
 As we share cultures  
 From East to West  
 And West to East.  
 Is it any wonder then  
 Tan Ya Hsiu  
 Tai Yi Fang  
 Wei Tsui Ping  
 Wei Po Weng  
 and Chung Chih Ming  
 Why I must steel myself  
 Against expressing my womanliness  
 As I bid goodbye to  
 You, Tan, Tai, Wei Tsui, Wei Po and Chung  
 My Chinese Sisters.

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and in countless ways, that he stood on the side of the workers and peasants, that his ideas and policies could lead the Chinese people away from the bitter past of exploitation and forward along the revolutionary road. Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, the only leaders whose prestige even neared that of the Chairman, were dead. Mao was fully aware of the machinations of the "gang of four." Under these circumstances, the last act he could perform for his people was to give his endorsement to someone he thought could lead the Revolution forward into the 21st century.

NC: We hear a great deal these days about intense emphasis on production, research, and technological development in China, about a possible rise in the wage scale, about "labor emulation campaigns," and other things which some people claim are a turning away from the revolutionary years of the Cultural Revolution. Is it possible that the Chinese people are overreacting against the policies of the "gang of four," and there is now a tendency to neglect the revolutionary advances of the last decade?

Lin: I think the best evidence that this is *not* happening is the fact that all of the striking new movements and institutions developed during the Cultural Revolution are flourishing; they are in no sense being neglected. Examples would be the barefoot doctor movement, the movement for middle-school graduates to spend a few years in the countryside, the integration of theory and practice at all educational levels, and the "three-in-one combination" of administrator-technician-worker teams in productive enterprises.

I think this last is particularly important. Let me say again that there is nothing wrong with concentrating on production or research. The point is, who controls the productive process, who benefits from it? If workers were being shoved aside in favor of control by a managerial or technical elite, then I'd say yes, that's a very bad sign. But in fact administrators, technicians, and Party cadres are still taking part in productive labor, and workers are still participating in research and management. That's a progressive move toward eliminating the disparities between people, the distinctions between mental and manual labor.

Raising the wage scale has nothing to do with material incentives—the rewarding of some workers at the expense of others. It is rather part of the effort to raise the standard of living for everybody. All past changes in the wage scale have resulted not only in overall raises for every worker, but also in a narrowing of the disparities between the highest-paid and lowest-paid workers.

"Emulation campaigns" in China have nothing to do with the kind of competitive

productive relations—characterized by material bonuses, piece rates, and profit-making—you will find in Western capitalist societies or, now, in the Soviet Union, where productive units are in fierce competition with one another, and managers are financially rewarded for outdoing other units. Chinese emulation campaigns are a matter of comradely rivalry, designed to increase overall production in the spirit of learning from one another; no material bonuses are involved. Such friendly competitions, with a banner or scroll awarded to the winning factory unit or commune brigade (and often a party for winners and losers), are an old tradition in socialist China and add a certain spice to the daily round of work. Of course we may actually see isolated cases of questionable practices. I have heard of a Shanghai factory experimenting again with bonuses. This needs to be investigated and if it is true, criticisms are bound to take place. This is part of the overall struggle to keep China on the revolutionary path.

Let me say it would be perfectly natural for scattered revisionist forces to try to take advantage of this transition period to push their backward ideas. But from all I can discover, they are not meeting with much success. It seems to me, rather, that the serious struggles of the Cultural Revolution and against the "gang of four" have resulted in a tremendous upsurge of political consciousness, that in fact these struggles have armed the Chinese people as never before against the dangers of opportunists who use revolutionary rhetoric to hide their own goals. And the dangers were very real. Many Chinese describe the downfall of the "gang of four" as China's "second liberation."

The Chinese people are very busy repairing the damages left behind by the "gang of four" in the economy and in the political and cultural life of China. There is a firm conviction that the only way to move forward is to keep to the revolutionary road, rejecting revisionist ideas under whatever label they are packaged. In 1975 Chou En-lai, at the Fourth National People's Congress, set out a plan for the future development of China's economy. It was a revolutionary plan, involving not just great leaps in production, but the building of an economy that was firmly in the hands of the working people, which would serve their needs and guarantee a dramatic rise in the living standards of all the Chinese people. With the fall of the "gang of four," the whole population of China seems to me to be concentrating with enormous enthusiasm on the struggle to reach the goal enunciated by Chou En-lai—the building of a modern, developed socialist economy by the year 2000.



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**Philadelphia:** 1717 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103  
**Pittsburgh:** P.O. Box 10248, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15248  
**Plattsburgh:** 111 Court St., Plattsburgh, N.Y. 12901  
**Providence:** P.O. Box 6905, Providence, R.I. 02904  
**Stony Brook:** P.O. Box 707, Stony Brook, N.Y. 11790  
**Storrs:** P.O. Box 381, Storrs, Conn. 06268  
**Upper Valley:** Box 272, Hanover, N.H. 03755  
**Washington, D.C.:** P.O. Box 40503, Washington, D.C. 20016  
**Westchester:** P.O. Box 313, Main P.O., New Rochelle, N.Y. 10802

### Eastern Region Organizing Committees

**Charlottesville:** 111 Washington Ave., Charlottesville, Va. 22903  
**Emery-Glade Springs:** Rte. 2, Box 348, Glade Springs, Va. 24340  
**Keene:** RFD #2, Lane Ridge Rd., Claremont, N.H. 03743  
**Raritan Valley:** 258 Delevan St., "F", New Brunswick, N.J. 08901  
**Richmond:** P.O. Box 201, Richmond, Va. 23202  
**Syracuse:** 504 Allen St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13210

## South

**Southern Region:** P.O. Box 54664, Atlanta, Ga. 30308  
(404) 523-6078  
**Atlanta:** P.O. Box 54664, Atlanta, Ga. 30308  
**Austin:** P.O. Box 1152, Austin, Tex. 78767  
**Birmingham:** P.O. Box 3342, Birmingham, Ala. 35205  
**Charlotte:** 708 Clement Ave., Charlotte, N.C. 28204  
**Gainesville:** P.O. Box 169, Gainesville, Fla. 32602  
**Houston:** P.O. Box 6614, Houston, Tex. 77005  
**Knoxville:** P.O. Box 16070, Univ. of Tennessee Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916  
**Miami:** P.O. Box 1828, Flagler Station, Miami, Fla. 33101  
**Nashville:** P.O. Box 12474, Nashville, Tenn. 37212  
**New Orleans:** P.O. Box 15735, New Orleans, La. 70175  
**North Carolina Triangle:** P.O. Box 2598, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514  
**Sarasota:** P.O. Box 3953, Sarasota, Fla. 33578  
**Tuscaloosa:** 1630 10th St., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

### Southern Region Organizing Committees

**Broward County:** P.O. Box 553, Hollywood, Fla. 33022  
**East Alabama:** P.O. Box 1163, Auburn, Ala. 36830  
**Lexington:** 114 Woodford Dr., Lexington, Ky. 40504  
**Louisville:** P.O. Box 70382, Riverfront Sta., Louisville, Ky. 40270  
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