

Special 17-Page Full-color Feature:
The Peasant Painters of Huhsien

Spring 1978
\$1.25

New China

My Sisters: A Family of New Women
Recipes from Chinese Kitchens
The Anti-China Watchers



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yǒu yì

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

wǒ hěn xǐ huān yǒu jī huì rèn shì 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 ma?
您说英语吗?
This is my first time here.
zhè shì wǒ dì yī cì dào zhè er lái?
这是我第一次到这儿来。
To your health.
zhù nín jiàn kāng.
祝您健康。
Thank you, I had a wonderful time.
xiè xiè, wǒ wán 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 guó dà xiǎo shì...

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

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

Transportation

qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?

Where is the train to Nanking?
qù nán jīng de huǒ chē zài nǎ er?
去南京的火车在那儿?
I want to see the Great Wall.
wǒ yào cān guān cháng chéng.
我要参观长城。
Taxi.
jì chéng chē.
计程车。
Take me to the airport, please.
qǐng nǐ sòng wǒ qù fēi jī chǎng.
请你送我去飞机场。

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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 rye/C as the ss in hats.

New China

Spring 1978

Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association

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New China

Spring 1978 Volume 4, Number 1
41 Union Square West, Room 721
New York, N.Y. 10003

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The opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of NEW CHINA or the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. 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.

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

In this issue, the special section on "Peasant Painters of Huh sien" employs only the familiar form of romanization being used in connection with the peasant painting exhibition now touring the U.S.

Fourth National USCPFA Convention

Growth, enthusiasm, and a new mood of planning marked the fourth annual convention of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association which met in Atlanta, Ga., over the Labor Day weekend.

Delegates from some 100 locals representing over 7,000 members met in workshops to share experience and discuss friendship work, came together in plenary sessions to debate and pass resolutions for the coming year's work, and elected members-at-large to the National Steering Committee. The Convention was further stimulated by the invited speakers and the almost constant flow of film showings. The enthusiastic decision, after debate on the floor, to continue holding conventions yearly was a clear sign of their value to the membership.

The urgent need for the establishment of

diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China ranked high among the delegates' concerns. A detailed plan spanning a year of action and evaluation was approved. It includes a month of concerted build-up culminating in varied activities on February 28 - the date that marks both the signing of the Shanghai Communique in 1972 by the U.S. and the PRC and the 1947 island-wide uprising on Taiwan against the Kuomintang (Kuomintang - KMT) government in China. The current upsurge in the Taiwan regime's lobbying and propaganda efforts in the U.S. was noted, and a resolution was passed urging local friendship associations to counter this trend by leafleting KMT-sponsored events in their areas. A goal of 30,000 signatures was set for a national petition campaign urging the U.S. govern-



The Eastern Region of the USCPFA mobilized several hundred people for a day of activities in Washington, D.C., on August 20, 1977, calling for full diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the PRC. The occasion was U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's departure for the first state visit to China by a high-level member of the Carter administration. The day began with nearly 20 banner- and placard-carrying activists at Andrews Air Force Base as Vance's plane was leaving, calling on him to set a timetable for full normalization. At noon a press conference was held at the Friends Meeting House in which USCPFA members and other supporters of normalization gave their reasons for wanting normal relations between the two countries.

At 2 P.M., a spirited demonstration took place in front of the White House, with a 30-foot-long banner in English and Chinese calling on Carter to "Normalize Relations between the U.S. and the PRC." A popular chant was "Hey, hey, hey, it's plain to see! There's only one China - the PRC!" After the demonstration, approximately 10,000 petition signatures supporting normalization were presented to the Executive Office Building staff on duty, to be conveyed to President Carter.

At 5:30 a lively educational panel on some of the controversial questions surrounding normalization was held. Among the issues discussed were the recent positions on normalization taken by the *New York Times* and Senator Edward Kennedy; the myth of prosperity and freedom on Taiwan; and how ordinary Americans have been and can be won to support the demand for normalization. The day ended with a pot-luck dinner for over 100 people put on by the Washington, D.C., USCPFA, followed by a fundraising raffle and cultural performances by local overseas Chinese and Americans.

The message throughout the day was clear and spirited - normal relations at the earliest possible date, with the USCPFA fully committed to helping achieve that goal.

ment to normalize relations with the PRC; candidates for office in the 1978 U.S. elections will be asked to take a stand in favor of normalization; locals were encouraged to join with overseas Chinese to achieve full diplomatic relations. The National Normalization Committee will coordinate this campaign, encouraging local initiative and drawing on the resources of a paid staff person in Washington, D.C., who will emphasize liaison with local associations in the campaign. The results of the campaign will be evaluated at next year's convention.

Closely linked to normalization work but also a campaign in its own right is the Association's commitment to getting the PRC admitted to the 1980 Olympics. In the 1950s, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) recognized Taiwan as representing all of China, thus forcing China to withdraw. Plans for the 2½-year campaign to reverse this ruling include the formation of a National Ad Hoc Committee of former Olympic and sports figures, local programming around sports in China, and Association presence at local and regional amateur sports events.

Art, health care, and education were pinpointed as three other areas through which the Association can involve more Americans in friendship work and spread the news of developments in the PRC. (1) Maximum outreach is planned around the exhibit of peasant paintings from Huhsien (Hu County) which China has loaned to the USCPFA for a year and which will be shown in museums across the country. (2) The practice of medicine in China, already known to be of great interest to Americans, will be an increasingly important area for work. (3) Also adopted was a resolution calling for a National Schools Coordinator and a Center for Teaching about China, to be linked closely to the regions in their ongoing work with schools, teachers, and educators.

Two Association publications were given a boost by the delegates. The *U.S. - China Review*, a four-page bi-monthly, now under the auspices of both the National Publications Committee and the National Executive Committee, will continue publication. *NEW CHINA* was voted funds for 1,000 library and institutional subscriptions and for sending staff members to the conventions of several national organizations in order to publicize the magazine and win new friends for China.

The concern for better organization and planning to help achieve national impact for friendship work was evident in the workshop and plenary discussions on the question of paid staff. Recognizing the need to have some areas of friendship work coordinated by full-time workers, the

delegates voted to provide funds for a normalization coordinator and an organizer in each of the four regions. But the desire of the basically volunteer membership to retain close control over Association activities was expressed by several stipulations emphasizing that organizational work is to be done in careful consultation with local chapters and regional committees.

The Convention's keynote speaker was Robert Williams, the well-known Black activist who lived in China for three years from 1966 to 1969 and also spent much of the past summer there. Describing the support he had received from China during a difficult period in his own civil rights activity, Williams emphasized China's continuing concern for the struggles of Black people. U.S. Representative Les AuCoin (D.-Ore.) gave a warmly received speech on the need for normal diplomatic relations and trade relations with the PRC. Joan Hinton, back in the U.S. for a speaking tour after 30 years in the People's Republic, gave some vivid examples of how socialism affects the daily lives of ordinary Chinese people. Her son, Fred Engst, spoke at a workshop about his recent visit to the factory in China where he used to work and his impressions of what the overthrow of the "gang of four" meant to his former co-workers.

A great source of enjoyment during the convention was the showing of numerous films about China at the Maud Russell Film Festival. Two outstanding color documentaries, *A Woman, A Family* and *The Football Incident - High School 31*, by European filmmakers Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan were shown. Part of a series of 12 they shot during a year and a half in China, the films contained many sensitive, intimate, and humorous portraits of Chinese work groups and neighborhoods. *Tibet*, a new film by British writer and filmmaker Felix Greene, recorded the fascinating experiences of the first Western filmmaker to visit Tibet in many years.

An additional seat on the National Steering Committee (NSC), for a representative from Hawaii, was approved at the Convention because of the state's distance from the mainland, its large Chinese-American population, and its continuing increase in Association membership - from one to four locals since the founding convention.

The Convention elected four at-large members of the NSC: Fred Engst (Philadelphia); Esther Gollobin (New York City); Frank Pestana (Los Angeles); and Unita Blackwell (Mayersville, Miss.). They join the following members elected at regional meetings: *Western Region* - Susan Becker, Seattle, Wash.; Tien Ni Fang, Honolulu, Hawaii; Junella Haynes, Albuquerque,

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N.M.; Don Porteous, East Bay, Calif. *Midwest Region* – Sylvia Fischer, Chicago, Ill.; Inuka Mwanguzi, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseleyne Slade Tien, Lansing, Mich. *Southern Region* – Elaine Budd, Miami, Fla.; Bill Funk, Atlanta, Ga.; Bob McFarland, New Orleans, La. *Eastern Region* – John Dove, Boston, Mass.; Roy Johnson, Washington, D.C.; Jan Ting, Philadelphia, Pa.

At the first meeting of the new NSC, Frank Pestana and Unita Blackwell were elected co-chairpersons, Esther Gollobin vice-chairperson, and Don Porteous secretary-treasurer.

The 1977 Convention unanimously named James Veneris an honorary member of the National Steering Committee. Veneris won the affection and admiration of Association members during his U.S. "vacation" last year when he worked tirelessly to share his 23-year experience in China with American audiences.

Maud Russell received the Koji Ariyoshi Memorial Award for outstanding contributions to building friendship.

The 1978 Convention will be held in San Francisco. Hopefully, delegates to it will look back on this year's meeting as the time when bold, detailed planning launched a year of successful friendship work.

Letters

I have enjoyed such NEW CHINA articles as "Knucklebones and Marbles" and "Fire!" (Fall 1975). This very personal approach shows that an author is feeling the pulse of the country.

Why, though, is everything so positive toward China? I know they are making strides, but what about the other viewpoint, too, to show their struggles and difficulties? "Everything is coming up roses" and it's a little hard to digest.

Betty Kokarev
Rafsanjan, Iran

I must admit it was with serious trepidation that I decided to submit an article to your magazine. I wanted to portray the China that I saw, the experience that I had in its entirety. But I assumed that such a picture, replete with both good and bad shots, would not survive the black pen of the editorial board; the good would stay, but the bad, I was certain, would get chopped. To me as well as to many of my friends and colleagues, NEW CHINA's policy was to show to the American people a glossy China, a cardboard caricature, utopia arrived. To

my pleasant surprise my impressions proved wrong. The story was printed in its entirety as I wrote it.

The importance of an honest portrayal is crucial. A magazine which portrays a somewhat false image cannot reach the vast masses of American people who know little about China, but who are interested in learning. As the Chinese grow more comfortable with and trusting in foreigners, they are willing to show the real China – a country with problems but determination to solve them; a country that in certain terms is among the world's most advanced and in other aspects still faces a long struggle. This is the real China. Surely this is the China that NEW CHINA wants to portray to the American and Canadian people.

David S. Zweig
Ann Arbor, Mich.

I have been a China fan ever since Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* and William Hinton's *Fanshen*. I wrote letters to Congressmen during the China Lobby (1950 on) and got answers from the State Department which seemed to approve of me but didn't act that way!

I do have a feeling that China is a new great democracy in the making – certainly

Woodblock Prints from the Peasant Paintings of Huh sien County

In 1958, for the first time, untrained farmers began to paint in China. With no sense of obligation to the art of China's past, the peasant painters of Huh sien County set out simply to make pictures of their daily lives with bright color and bold design. Their efforts have been received enthusiastically all over the world, 2,100,000 people saw the first major exhibition of the work in Peking in 1973 and reviews for the 80 gouaches sent by China to the '74 Paris Biennale applauded their new, daring and unofficial style.

These are the first woodblock prints made of the Huh sien paintings. The flat color and design of the paintings are perfectly suited to the woodblock, and the pictures lose none of their vitality in the translation from one medium to another.

The farmers' works include paintings of their "village life" which recreate their own sense of values, environment and daily life. Though the paintings are primitive, their bold compositions are very impressive.

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Esther Gillen
Gwynedd, Pa.

We wish to commend the Editorial Committee for expanding the space devoted to Letters to the Editor in the Fall issue, and for printing criticisms of NEW CHINA articles. Such freedom of expression helps to demonstrate that friendship and criticism are compatible in our Association.

Harold L. Posner
Westchester USCPFA
New Rochelle, N.Y.

In response to your questionnaire, I especially liked the article "People's Justice" (June 1976). It showed how there's room for improvement in our legal system, and implied that we could learn a lot about justice from China. "Second Chance at Friendship" was good too, because it pointed out how brainwashed the ordinary U.S. citizen is with respect to China . . . thanks to Senator McCarthy.

I would like to see NEW CHINA try to keep its readers informed of the current situation on tours to the People's Republic, and on the possibility of corresponding with individuals in China. I think this would be a step toward further implementation of the USCPFA's Statement of Principles.

J. Reid
APO San Francisco, Calif.

As director of Library and Media at Turners Falls High School, I can attest to how deeply we appreciate this magazine, as it is our only current source on China. It is used in our social science classes very frequently. Thank you, NEW CHINA.

Patricia S. Edwards
Montague, Mass.

Letters to NEW CHINA have been excerpted for publication.

China Update

Eleventh Party Congress

The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking, August 12-18, with 1,510 delegates from all parts of China attending. The Congress is the highest policy-making body of the Communist Party.

With the death of China's top leaders, Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and Chu Teh, and the arrest and expulsion from the Party of the "gang of four," the Eleventh Congress - convened a year ahead of schedule - was a significant event, summing



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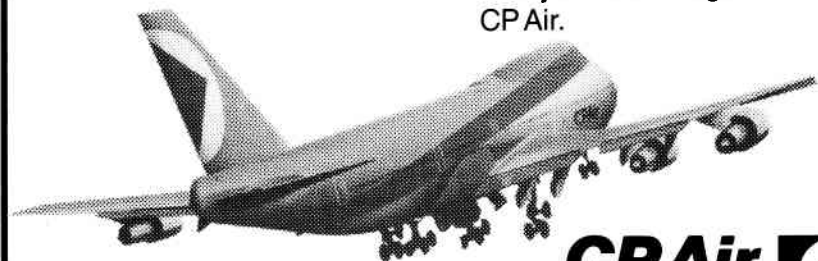
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Introduction by Bruce Cumings (Co-Editor).
The Politics and Poetry of Kim Chi-ha by Sugwon Kang.
A Declaration of Conscience by Kim Chi-ha.
Kim Chi-ha: Poet of Blood and Fire by Ko Won.
From a Korean Prison: A Path to Life by Rev. Daniel Berrigan.
Repression and Development in the Periphery: South Korea
by Don Long

Thailand (in Volume 9 #3)

Introduction by Jayne Werner (Associate Editor)
Violence and the Military Coup in Thailand by Puey
Ungphakorn, edited and introduced by David Millikin.
*Withdrawal Symptoms: Social and Cultural Aspects of the
October 6, 1976 Coup* by Ben Anderson.
*The Vietnamese Refugees in Thailand: Minority Manipulation
in Counterinsurgency* by Thadeus Flood.
*Boonsanong Punyodyana, Thai Socialist and Scholar: 1936-
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up the Party's view of the present situation
in China and the world and determining
the overall political direction for China in
the period ahead.

In his political report to the delegates,
Hua Guo-feng announced the end of the
first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
A new Central Committee of the Party was
elected, composed of 201 members and 132
alternates, with Hua Guo-feng as Chairman,
and Ye Jian-ying. Deng Xiao-ping (Teng
Hsiao-ping), Li Xian-nian, and Wang
Dong-xing as Vice-chairmen. From this
body, twenty-two members and three
alternates were elected to the Political
Bureau of the Central Committee, including
the Chairman and Vice-chairmen, who also
make up the Standing Committee of the
Political Bureau.

The work of the Congress included re-
vision of the Party Constitution. The
one-year probationary period for new
Party members, abolished in 1969, was
reinstated. As explained in Ye Jian-ying's
report on the changes, this was in response
to the judgment that many new members
recruited since the Cultural Revolution
(nearly half of the Party's 35 million
members), while "good or fairly good,"
lack a sufficient understanding of the Party's
outlook, organization, and style of work.

Requirements for Party membership are
spelled out more fully than in the previous
constitution, focusing more on maintenance
of Party discipline and unity. In the General
Programme section, the previous constitu-
tion's instruction urging Party members to
"dare to go against the tide" is directed
explicitly at "any tide that runs counter to
[the] three basic principles" - "Practice
Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and
don't split; be open and aboveboard, and
don't intrigue and conspire."

The Congress ended with an address by
Deng Xiao-ping calling for China to become
"a great, powerful, and modern socialist
country by the end of the century" and "to
render a great contribution to humanity."

Mao Memorial

The recently completed Chairman Mao
Memorial Hall opened in Peking in August
1977, in time for the delegates to the
Eleventh Party Congress to pay an official
visit at the meeting's close. Situated on
Tian An Men Square south of the Monu-
ment to the People's Heroes, the structure
incorporates materials sent from all parts
of China. "From now on the people of
China's various nationalities will be able
to come and pay their respects to Chairman
Mao's remains from generation to genera-

tion" (*Peking Review*, No. 36, September 2,
1977).

In addition to the large central room
housing Mao's body, there are two others.
The north room is to be used for activities
commemorating Mao, while mounted on
ivory on a wall in the south room is one
of Mao's poems - "Reply to Comrade Kuo
Mo-jo [Guo Mo-ro]" - carved in gold in
his own calligraphy.

Volume V

This year saw the publication of the
long-awaited Volume V of the *Selected
Works of Mao Tsetung*, containing Mao's
writings during 1949-57, the first eight
years of the People's Republic. Over 200
million copies of the Chinese-language
edition had been distributed in China by
the end of August, and translations into
some of China's main minority languages,
as well as Japanese, Korean, and braille,
had been printed.

Now available in English (and soon in
French, Spanish, and Russian), the collec-
tion deals with the creation of agricultural
cooperatives; the transition from New
Democracy to socialism; lessons from the
experience of socialism in the USSR; Tibet;
the Korean War; and the reunification of
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Books

Chinese Women in the Fight for Socialism. Compiled by Chai Pen. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1977. 117 pp. Paper, \$1.00. This new booklet of 13 essays about individual women in China covers a broad range of occupations and still manages to pack in a tremendous number of vivid details about the women's daily lives. Most moving are the descriptions of how a group of village women helped defeat the Japanese invaders in 1938; how liberation came in the form of swivel seats to cut down on leg work by spinners in a textile factory; how a Yao woman from a previously nomadic tribe convinced her village to stay put during a two-year drought and to solve their water problems through irrigation; and how a young woman elected to a leadership position found herself besieged with – and was able to resist – family requests for special favors. Other portraits include a women flier, acrobat, barefoot doctor, mountaineer, and canal builder.

There is some discussion of how these women overcame backward ideas about women's role: for example, that women didn't have the spirit to become daring fliers or that women who went out at night to attend meetings discredited their families. And the booklet is full of evocative images: a militiawoman at a cookstove who keeps her rifle ready to practice aiming, a peasant artist who practices with a sketch pad and pencil while the food simmers. Most of the women described have children, but there is no hint of guilt or fear about leaving them in the care of others while they pursue work that benefits the whole society. Unfortunately, there is very little about sharing housework with men, or male-female relationships. The people described are "model women," often from slave or very poor peasant backgrounds and the authors show a sensitivity and affection for their subjects that touches the reader. — RONNI SANDROFF

In the People's Republic: An American's Firsthand View of Living and Working in China. By Orville Schell. Random House, New York, 1977. 271 pp. Illus. Cloth, \$8.75. Although the author is a China scholar, his book is a series of popularly written impressions of a two-month trip to China which included several weeks working in a Shanghai factory and at the famous Dazhai (Tachai) People's Commune. Schell is at his best when he describes his personal reactions to China. The reader can see how China challenges many of Schell's beliefs, especially his individualism and male chauvinism. Sometimes the author is able

to understand the nature of his personal reactions and rise above them; this provides a very valuable lesson in understanding China. At other times, however, he fails to go very far beyond his original attitudes and the reader is left to share the author's confusion and biases.

Schell also describes the joy and difficulty of establishing people-to-people friendships. His discussion of the difficulty of reaching true mutual understanding on both sides is probably a more realistic view than is conveyed by many Americans when they return from China and write up their experiences. His reactions to the long and sometimes boring "brief introductions" certainly reflect the experiences of many China travelers.

The book fails, however, to develop many of the questions and issues that are raised. Each of the chapters is broken up into three- to six-page segments, which makes the book choppy and a bit on the superficial side. Also, the reader who knows little about communes and factories does not learn much more about them by reading the book. But in spite of its shortcomings, the book is well worth reading for all friends of China. — FRED PINCUS

The People's Republic of China Cookbook. By Nobuko Sakamoto. Random House, New York, 1977. 288 pp. Illus. Paper, \$6.95. Having left my heart and stomach in China, I opened *The People's Republic of China Cookbook* with great anticipation. It is a charmingly illustrated book and an unusual one in the vast library of Chinese cookbooks.

Nobuko Sakamoto has worked hard to translate and adapt these 200-plus authentic recipes to American kitchens, working with cookbooks available only in China. Although this is a good and useful collection, it is not for novice cooks or those without the time and patience to carefully work through each recipe. Ms. Sakamoto states that the "new cuisine" as represented by *The Masses' Cookbook*, published in 1966, "places special emphasis on nutrition, economy, and ease of preparation." This correlates with what I saw in the many kitchens I visited from 1971 to 1976. Yet most of the recipes she includes are not very simple and place too great an emphasis on meat and poultry and not enough on the bountiful fresh vegetables of China.

The organization according to geographical area, rather than type of food, and the rather scanty table of contents make the book a bit awkward to use. At the beginning, she "programs" some recipes,

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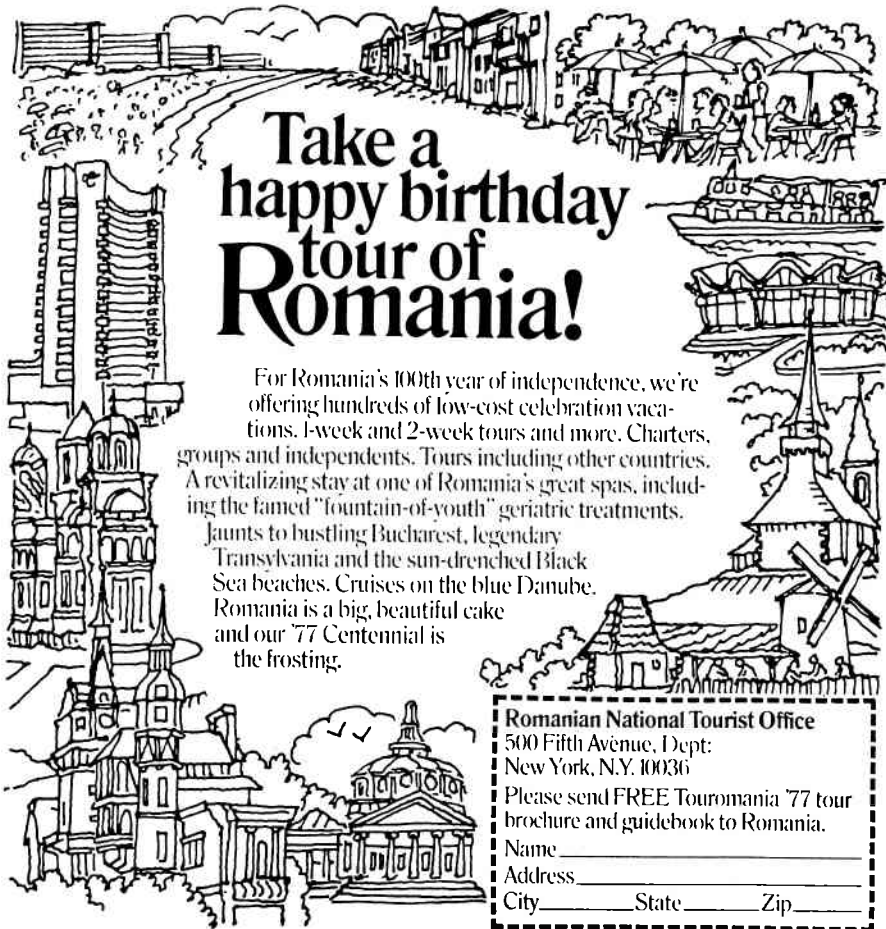
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taking the reader step-by-step through each stage of preparation. Had she done this throughout, the recipes would be easier to follow. The diagrams, while artistic, are somewhat confusing.

Some of her ingredients – canned bean-sprouts and sake instead of Shaoxing wine – are anathema to the devotee of Chinese cooking. However, I must say that the recipes I have tested were eagerly gobbled up by my family. The cooking odors brought back memories of Peking kitchens, and as they wafted out of my kitchen and onto the street, all wandering children found their way home. — BARRIE CHI

Wu Shu of China. By Michael P. Staples and Anthony K. Chan. Willow Publications, San Francisco, 1976. 117 pp. Illus. Paper, \$4.95. In recent years, due to an avalanche of martial arts movies, "kung fu" has become extremely popular in the U.S., particularly among young people. Yet little is known here about the practice of this sport in the People's Republic of China. As the authors explain, the term "kung fu" is not used in China to describe martial arts. In Chinese, this expression means ability or proficiency, and the proper term for martial arts is *wu shu* (war arts). This book discusses the origins of *wu shu*, how it has changed over time, and particularly the changes brought about by the government of the People's Republic. A very interesting interview with three members of the All-China Sports Federation who accompanied the Chinese *wu shu* troupe on their 1974 visit to the U.S. reveals that *wu shu* as used in China is not for combat, but for physical fitness, and that competition is not encouraged.

The book includes photographs of the Chinese *wu shu* troupe in action performing graceful dance-like movements, as well as photographs of one of the authors demonstrating eight routines of the *chang quan* (long fist) form. The photo sections on each routine are preceded by a papercut showing one of the other *wu shu* styles.

Although no martial art can be learned by reading a book, Staples and Chan have put together an especially attractive introduction and guide to a better understanding of an ancient art and how it is practiced in today's China. — SAUL J. DIAZ

Mao Tse-tung: A Guide to His Thought. By Alain Bouc, trans. Paul Auster and Lydia Davis. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1977. 232 pp. Cloth, \$10.00. Alain Bouc, a foreign correspondent in Peking from 1973 to 1975 for the French newspaper *Le Monde*, has written a readable informal introduction to Mao's life and thought. It will be most appreciated by the reader who has not read

Continued on page 46

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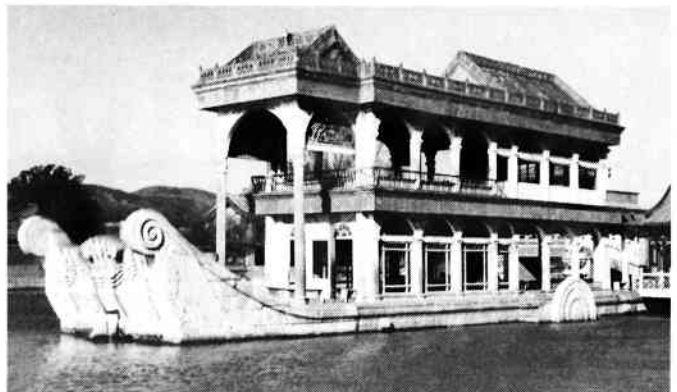
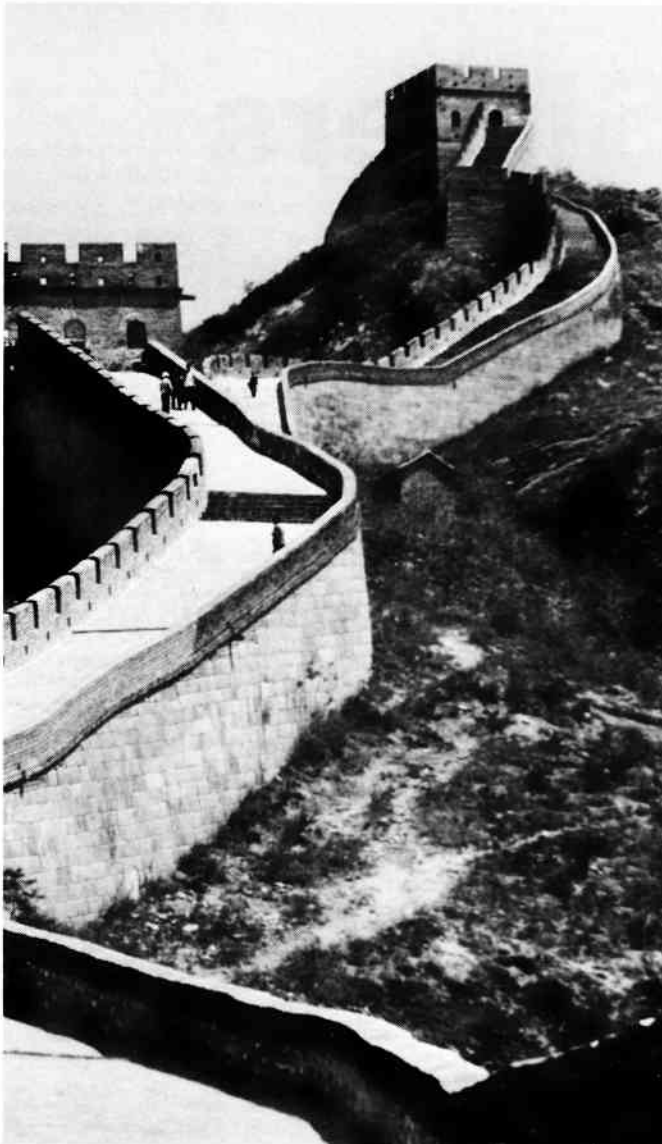
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Stories of My Sisters

by Lee Yu-hwa

A first visit in 30 years: new women in the new China

In China, girls drive tractors and boys cook and embroider because women's quest for equality has turned traditions upside down. I discovered how profoundly the lives of my sisters, nieces, and cousins have been affected in this transition from Confucian ideas to socialist reality when I revisited the China I left in 1947. I had had little correspondence with my sisters until I met them again in Peking and Kunming, and although I understood their sentiments and histories, I found the changes had been dramatic.

My sisters and their generation were the first emancipated women in Yunnan Province.

I think the decisive incident that launched us on our independent ways was my father's refusal to have my sister's feet bound. One summer in the 1920s, my grandmother took my sister Li Da for a visit to our ancestral land in a small county near Kunming. There, grandmother bound the feet of Li Da and my cousin. Li Da was already six years old and not betrothed, and

girls with natural feet were scorned by good families as "big-footed maid-servants," a poor match. As soon as my father heard the news, he came hundreds of miles from Shanghai to rescue Li Da, who was sitting in a little bamboo chair, weeping with pain and unable to walk. That incident set us apart from our cousins and the daughters of family friends. We were given to understand that we had to rely on our good judgment to chart our own lives.

So, although raised in a manner inherited from imperial China, Li Li, my oldest sister, now 64, had long been a feminist, repudiating old values and experimenting with the new. Since Kunming was slow to have schools for women, Li became the first female student of the local tutor. He bestowed the pretty name Jade Lotus on her, but she later changed it to Li, which means self-reliance. It trumpeted her willingness to brave the new world ushered in by Sun Yat-sen's 1911 revolution. She was among the first in the province to exchange a skirt for the loose *qi-pao*, a garment that resembled a man's gown, to cut off her long braids, to have boyfriends, and to refuse an arranged marriage.

Eventually she did marry a man she loved but found marriage, and the responsibilities of motherhood, frustrating. Although educated as a teacher of Chinese literature, she could not manage both home and career. Frequently, instead of cleaning or making dinner, she sat, staring blankly into space. She responded to her children's sobbing by hiding behind a book. Her pent-up fury was vented on her husband, and her anger was generously larded with remorse, self-pity, and guilt. I had anticipated that Li's fragile emotional condition could not survive the drastic political changes.

Instead, after the Revolution, Li saw her salvation in the big changes happening around her. Gathering her children and her belongings, she joined her husband, then an army officer, in Xinjiang (Sinkiang), a northwestern border province. Once settled, she charged into the army post and volunteered to work. Told to start classes for the soldier's children, she did, and by hard steady work for 22 years, built a school with grades from kindergarten to high school. After her retirement Li continued to work part-time, in order "not to be taken advantage of by my family," as she put it.

LEE YU-HWA was born and raised in Yunnan Province. A writer, she has lived in America since 1947.

“If I stay home everyone will gradually pile up housework on me.” Nourished by the fulfillment of her youthful dreams, she had no regrets about the years of arduous labor. Her children and grandchildren are being raised in her obstinate, uncompromising belief in women’s equality.

My second sister, Li Da, a physician, graduated from medical school in 1937,

when the Sino-Japanese War broke out. She joined our provincial hospital but resigned when the chief physician, exercising his feudalistic authority, sought to marry her even though he knew she was engaged to someone else. She couldn’t go into private practice since she lacked the social connections necessary to protect her from extortion by gangsters and corrupt police. Unable

to find other suitable work, she stayed home with her husband and son.

During the prerevolutionary days, although Da showed no political consciousness, she was full of indignation against the injustices on all sides. When the students demonstrated against Chiang Kai-shek, she joined the march. When college students shined shoes in the streets to raise money



A reunited family visits the Bamboo Temple in Kunming. Left to right: Li Yu-kun; Li Da’s husband; the temple curators (formerly the abbess and abbot); Li Da holding her granddaughter Wei-wei; Li Da’s son Yong Chi; a friend of Li Da’s; Li Li; the author and her daughter Noi; Li Li’s daughter Yun Mei; and Tian-hui, wife of the author’s nephew.



The four sisters – Li Yu-kun, the author, Li Li, and Li Da. (Photos: courtesy of Lee Yu-hwa)

for the poverty-stricken faculty, she fed them tea. Her social concerns never exceeded these spontaneous bursts of sympathy, for she was mostly involved with the welfare of her family and friends.

After the Revolution, it was easy for Da to resume her medical practice since physicians were much in demand. She worked in the Botanic Research Institute's clinic until she retired in 1974. She was like an American country doctor to her patients and the families at the Institute. She was always available when needed, and no patient had to wait until she finished her meals or got up in the morning. If a husband had to be away, he could leave his pregnant wife in my sister's tender care. Da nursed sick patients so that families could carry on their normal routine or counseled them on how to cope with the stress of illness. This extra care was voluntary and self-motivated, for Da, by temperament, is suited to the warm communal life and likes to be involved with people.

When Da heard of my isolated life in the States, as a suburban woman just keeping house, she said, sadly, "Four walls! I know that feeling! I was imprisoned inside those four walls. You were young then, you did not grasp my misery. If for nothing else, for this alone, I am grateful there was a revolution."

Da is an avid participant in day-to-day political activities. In her family, her husband, her son and his wife, and her daughter – also planning to be a physician – each has his or her own political stand. Ideological battles are fought at home as well as in the office. It affected me strangely to discover that Chinese women, who had been taught submission, should be independent enough to feel so strongly about political matters; in America, with its long tradition of democracy, it is uncommon for husband and wife to have different voting records.

Transition was easiest for my youngest sister, Li Yu-kun, for she had reacted more strongly against the old regime than we had. Yu-kun was a sophomore in college, majoring in mathematics, during 1944-45, a time when the Sino-Japanese War was ending and renewed civil war between the Guomindang (Kuomintang) and the Communists was looming. Arrests and assassinations on college campuses were frequent. A girl friend of Yu-kun's was killed by a grenade casually tossed from a passing truck by Chiang Kai-shek's secret police.

She left school, believing that solving mathematical problems was useless as long as lives were threatened. She did not return to school until the new government was established in 1949; she studied economics and now works in the Department of Light Industry. Since then, unfettered, she has

become a woman with a trained mind and a physique suited to the construction of a new society. Stout and broad-shouldered, she can do a day's work in the field without feeling the strain. She made me self-conscious about my own sloping shoulders and tapered fingers – qualities cultivated in the old China. One day, as we walked past a construction site, Yu-kun swung a yoke bearing two bushels of crushed rock over her shoulder and carried it along the road. She was showing off a bit, for none of her older sisters could have attempted this feat.

The men my sisters married have also adapted to this time of transition. They have had to consciously change their attitudes toward traditionally-designated "women's work" and learn new skills. The older men have found it hard.

Li insisted that everyone in the household do some chore. She couldn't cook, so her husband, in self-defense if nothing else, had to learn how. In the old China, he would never have been willing to so damage the image of his manhood as to cook regularly for his family.

Yu-kun and her husband approached the matter with sympathy for each other's difficulties in correcting their former middle-class living habits. He could not learn to cook or launder. He could sweep and wash floors, and did a thorough job on their apartment and on the public hallways and stairs in their building. Yu-kun excused these failures in her husband. She couldn't learn how to cook either, so they both depend on the office dining room, restaurants, and their friends for meals.

Women who grow up from childhood in the new society are less understanding of their husband's deficiencies. Once, while chatting with a woman from a citizen's street committee, I asked whether household work in her home was shared equally. Her answer was an unequivocal "yes." When I mentioned that many Western women were burdened with housework and a full-time career, the woman shouted, "That can't be tolerated!" Her forthright, indignant retort was free of any trace of the woe Chinese women had endured for thousands of years.

My contact with the young people in China often made me feel as though I had crossed a time barrier from an ancient era into their new world. I marveled at their self-confidence and independence, expressed without belligerence. I also felt the need to constantly revise my own views. At times, I realized, awkwardly, that I was shot through with prejudice and ultra-conservative views, characteristics I had thought myself free of.

Surprises came early. On my first night in Guangzhou (Canton), my nephew and

his wife, both engineers, came to dinner with two friends, newlyweds on their honeymoon. The groom was an engineer and the bride – ruddy-complexioned, well-muscled, and a head taller than the southern Chinese of her parent's generation – drove tractors. To my sense of propriety, bred in the old class society, this was an unequal marriage. In prerevolutionary China, a match with a social equal was essential to the marriage's success. In those times, this bride, as a worker, would have been a servant to her husband's family. But neither bride nor groom was concerned about this at all as they chatted about their future.

Even more impressive was Tian-hui, my nephew's wife. She is a mining engineer in charge of 120 workers. Not only had she broken barriers by choosing engineering as a profession, but she had also defied religious precepts thousands of years old – it had been thought that the feminine *yin* quality offended the gods of the mines, so women were forbidden to enter them. Tian-hui had thrown off the docility customarily expected of Chinese women. There was nothing in her that indicated her awareness of female limitations. She worked in the mines, wired high-voltage transmission lines, repaired trucks and bulldozers. No job was too big or too small if it had to be done.

How had she managed to assert her full equality with men? I didn't have enough time with her to understand it fully but I did sense how hard her struggle was and felt the concentration and determination she brought to it. As one example, she had started to study English, both to meet with us and to prepare for the future, since the changing relationship between China and the United States would affect her professionally. Unable to buy English books in the mining community, she somehow managed to get a copy of an English grammar book published in the 1920s and began to teach herself. Within three months, she learned enough English to carry on a simple conversation with my husband. At dinner Tian-hui, armed with notepad and pencil, sat next to him, eager for an English lesson.

The women I met in China are working very hard to achieve equality. Memories of the futile, wasteful, and often self-destructive battles waged individually in their earlier struggles motivate my sisters, while the younger women have experienced a different reality from the start. The Revolution, indeed, held the key to abolishing the centuries-old imprisonment of women, with the participation of the women themselves playing an important role in the Revolution's success and the gains toward equality. ●

The Peasant Painters of Huhsien



THERE was a saying in old China that “when a man has read hundreds of books, studied the works of the old masters, and traveled all over the world, then and only then may he seize the brush and try his hand at painting.” In the old China, the arts were considered the exclusive province of educated intellectuals and the wealthy patrons who supported them. They were certainly not for the uneducated

peasants, who were thought fit to wield only the hoe and the spade. But since that time a revolution has transformed all aspects of life in China, including the arts.

The artists of Huhsien County in Shensi Province are peasants who, since the Revolution, have “seized the brush,” overturning centuries of Chinese feudal tradition. They are a living example of the Chinese idea that the arts should “serve the people” – that the

great masses of people should take part in the creation and enjoyment of the arts.

THE following pages reproduce some of these works, with the words of the artists telling us who they are, how they began to paint, what difficulties they encountered, and why they paint with the particular passion that illuminates their work. Their stories are not about the achievements of uniquely talented individuals; they describe rather how the arts became integrated into the daily life of the peasants.

In Huhsien many villagers paint: farmers, school-teachers, pharmacists, mechanics, students, and others – all in their spare time. Sketch pads are taken to the fields for use at lunchtime or during work breaks. After working hours, men and women hurry to a communal room – or a kitchen or bedroom corner – to work on their paintings. The people who do not paint are also involved in the creative process. They criticize and discuss each work, encouraging changes which make the paintings part of a collective vision.

In Huhsien, art can be seen everywhere, decorating the walls and public places and reflecting all facets of village life: building a dam, plowing fields, raising pigs, celebrating the harvest. The paintings show the struggles of the peasants to improve agricultural production; the need to achieve mastery over nature, to be strong and self-reliant like the model farm brigade, Tachai; and, always, the cooperation and group labor that have made it possible to transform the land and their own lives. Work is not shown as a heavy burden; the people in the pictures are full of optimism and joy in their labor.

The peasant-artists show facets of their present lives in loving and meticulous detail, but they also record a vision of the future, of the society they are in the process of creating. A water tower, a dam, or an irrigation project is shown as it will look when it is completed. A major theme is abundance – wheat piled high, turnips two feet tall, yellow corn almost overflowing the borders of the painting, flocks of ducks and geese, cabbage growing in great profusion – often rendered through the patterned repetition for which these paintings are famous. Their style, according to the artists, combines “revolutionary realism” with “revolutionary romanticism” – the essence of the reality they are striving for.

In their images of a robust, happy life, the paintings celebrate rural achievements, the special concerns and truths of communal life as seen by the commune members themselves. This is not, and could not be, merely “art for art’s sake.” It was born – with the help of professional artists – to serve the people, to encourage workers building a reservoir during the Great Leap Forward in 1958. Its proliferation since then – over 40,000 works in various media, by hundreds of peasant-artists who had never before tried their hand at art – reflects its usefulness in peasants’ eyes. Its social role is clearly defined: to strengthen, encourage, and delight the peasants of Huhsien, who are both its creators and its “users.” The

fact that it delights us, with our different traditions, as well, reflects not only the universal appeal of the spirit which inspires these paintings, but the continual striving of the artists to improve their technique.

Although individual works are created in many styles, the Huhsien paintings draw on the techniques of the past to reflect the present and the future. Some are reminiscent of papercuts, which had been a village folk-craft before the Revolution. The stylization and decorative repetition common to folk-art are evident. Patterns of natural forms and man-made structures – cabbages, corn, pigsties – are repeated with rhythm and grace. The artists use the bright colors reminiscent of the “New Year’s pictures” (which usually showed fat, happy babies surrounded by symbols of abundance) that were pasted on farmhouse walls in the hope that the “good luck” symbolized in the paintings would somehow come true. Today’s paintings reflect the villagers’ firm belief that they themselves can control and transform the future through their own united efforts.

IN *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942, Mao Tsetung called for a new kind of art to be created both *by* and *for* the people. In Huhsien, as in many other parts of China, ordinary people have overthrown the fixed artistic canons of the past to create an art which reflects the patterns of daily life and which will grow and change – in both style and content – as the lives of the Chinese people change.



Li Feng-lan: How I Began to Paint the Countryside

IN 1958 I started to paint in my spare time. Before Liberation, no one would even dream of a peasant woman like me doing art work. When I was small I loved to draw and cut things out. In my home village, we had the custom of decorating the windows with papercuts every New Year. Each time the festival came around, my mother would make these “window flowers” and, sitting by her, I would learn to cut them out. The neighbors said I had a quick mind and clever hands.

But in those days there was no chance for me to go to school. Our family was very poor. I had many younger brothers and sisters. During the day I went out to gather firewood. In the evenings I had to help mother spin thread and weave cloth.

In 1949 when Liberation came I was already 15. But I could not read or write a single character. Soon the village organized a short-time literacy class. It was my first opportunity to study and I started to learn to read and write.

In 1958, when the Great Leap Forward began in agriculture, our Hu County started building a reservoir. To liven up cultural life and heighten enthusiasm, the county Party Committee started an amateur art class.

It was in that class that I first studied Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum* and realized why we should paint for the workers, peasants, and soldiers. During the construction work I painted, with some help from professional artists, a poster called *Heroes Lock Up the Dragon* to show the heroic spirit of the commune members who were conquering nature. This was my first step forward in the field of art.

It was no easy matter for a working woman like me to take up creative art. I worked in the fields most of the year and had family duties at home. I could only paint in the little time I had for rest. Moreover, some conservative people looked askance at a village woman painting and made cold, sarcastic remarks. But I thought of Chairman Mao's teaching: “If socialism does not occupy the rural front, capitalism assuredly will.” And I recalled how, after the Liberation, the class struggle in the cultural field in the countryside continued to rage. Among the means by which the overthrown landlord class still tried to corrupt people were old paintings, full of feudal superstitions. We had to fight against this. It was up to us poor and lower-middle peasants to take over the field of culture in the countryside, and never allow the reactionary classes to dictate to us again.

With little education, I had never had any basic training in painting. Sometimes, hard as I tried, I still couldn't paint what I wanted to. Once I did a picture of militiamen training. When the young people saw it, they said the figures were all short and squat like “Plump Sister-in-law” in the old folk-tale. I decided to make a special effort to grasp the essentials of painting, and started learning to sketch. Usually I tried to remember scenes I encountered, which I would later draw at home. Or I would take a sketch pad along to the fields or to meetings and sketch during rest periods. Sometimes, while making the fire or cooking a meal, I would suddenly think of a



Li Feng-lan and self-portrait

good scene and do an outline sketch right away. As time passed, people who saw my work began to commend my progress, saying, “Now your things look real.”

When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution came, I plunged into the fierce struggle with my paint brush as a weapon. When the struggle reached a sharp point, an overthrown landlord and some other bad eggs in our village started to make trouble secretly, provoking quarrels among commune members, setting one against the other to disrupt our unity. I decided to expose these class enemies with my painting. I did a series of “family histories,” showing how poor and lower-middle peasant families

had been exploited and oppressed by these very same scoundrels before the Liberation. Some young people,

who had not seen through these enemies before, woke up after looking at the pictures.



OUR part of Shensi Province, the Kuanchung area, is wheat country. In spring when the winter wheat turns green again, we women do the hoeing. The countryside is especially beautiful then. Garden-like wheat fields of tender green contrast with pink peach blossoms in full bloom. Going to work at such times I can hardly tear my eyes away. And I have always wanted to paint the scene to show the moving beauty of the new socialist countryside and how enthusiastic we women commune members are in building it. So, while I worked, I started to carefully observe the people working around me. And during rest breaks I made sketches of them. It was on this basis that I started, amended, and finally created *Spring Hoeing*. It contains 16 persons, each of whom I had previously sketched. The middle-aged woman in the blue jacket in front is based on sketches of our women's team leader in our brigade.

I started this painting in 1972. And from then till it was finished I kept collecting opinions and made many changes. The painting exhibited in Peking last year [1973] was the fourth version. In it the portrayal of the people had improved somewhat.

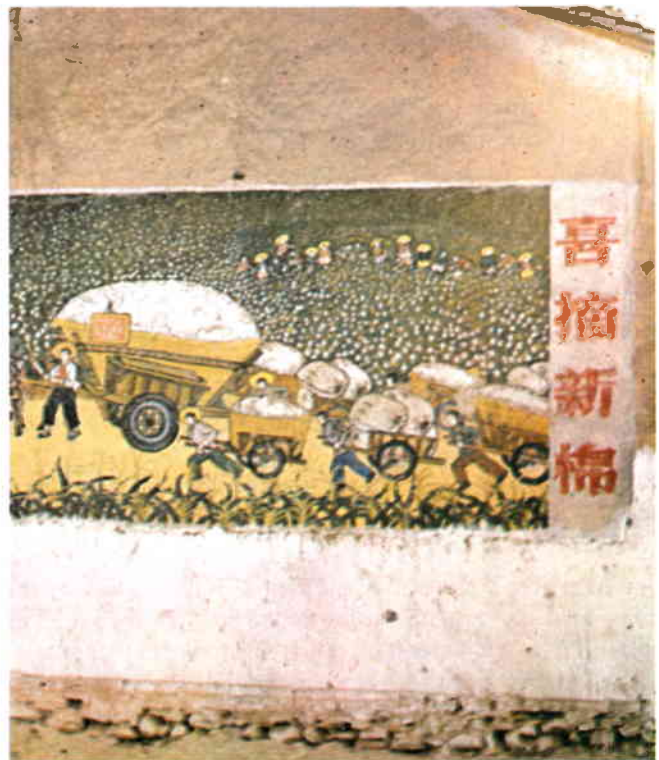




IN autumn 1971 our Kuangming Commune got a very good cotton harvest. The bolls blossomed out like silver flowers. During the rush season we women worked from dawn to dusk. We picked cotton in the fields, and drove wagons or pulled carts on the roads, to deliver and sell cotton to the state. Everywhere there was the sound of our laughter and song. Moved deeply by the scene, I wanted so much to paint it. Forgetting food and rest, right after work one evening I started on *Joyful Cotton Harvest*. But it didn't come out well the first time – just a plain picture of women picking cotton. When other commune members saw this first version, they said: “Feng-lan, the bolls look real all right and the women have on their new clothes, but where's our revolutionary spirit?”

After collecting everybody's opinions I made a second sketch. It had fields of unpicked cotton as background, with a few women picking and one patch finished. In the foreground were seven women, each pulling a handcart brimming over with new cotton. They were running as if racing with a young man driving a cotton wagon. Although this version still had shortcomings, everybody said it was much better than the first. Then I understood what had been wrong with my previous effort. It was mainly that it didn't show the commune members' revolutionary fire in building socialism.

With support from the brigade Party Committee, four of our young village girls and I have organized an amateur art group. The county cultural center often sends professional artists to help us and we've learned a good deal from them. There can be no end to painting for the



workers, peasants, and soldiers. Our new socialist countryside has so much that needs to be painted. I am determined to persevere along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in art and to paint more and better to give expression to our new era.

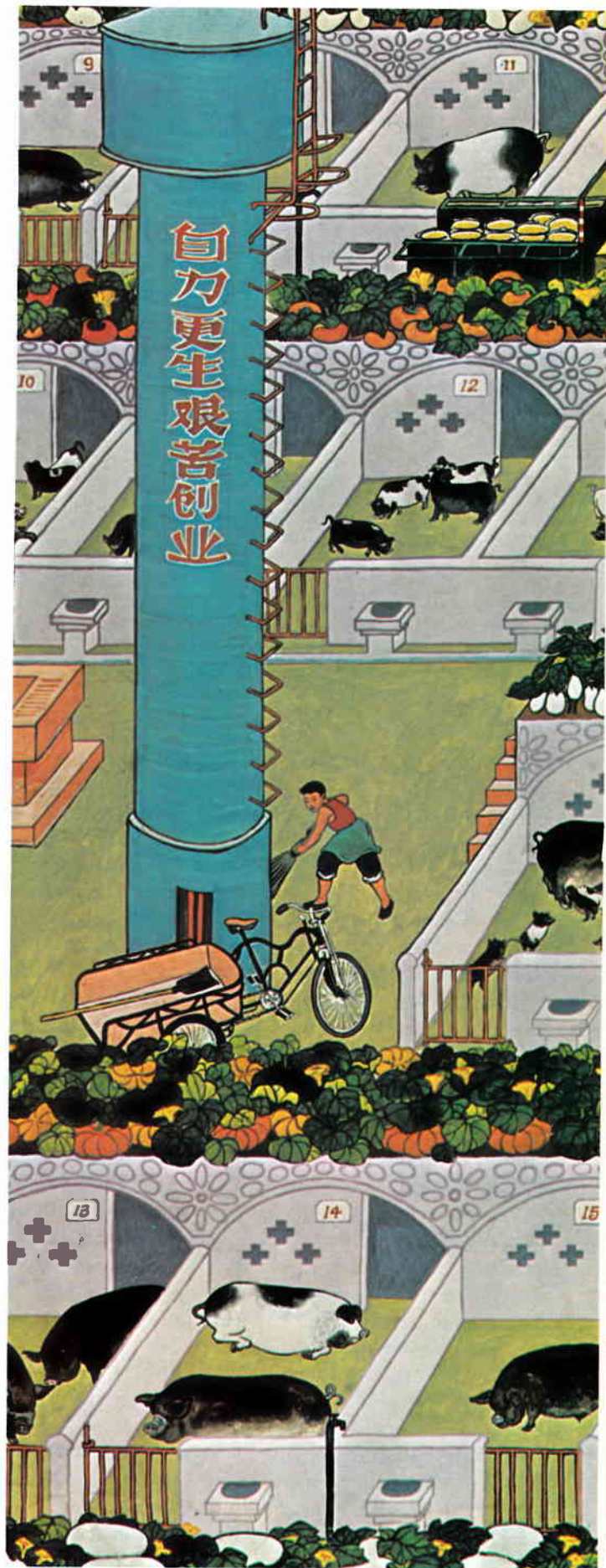
Yang Chih-hsien: The New Look of Our Piggery

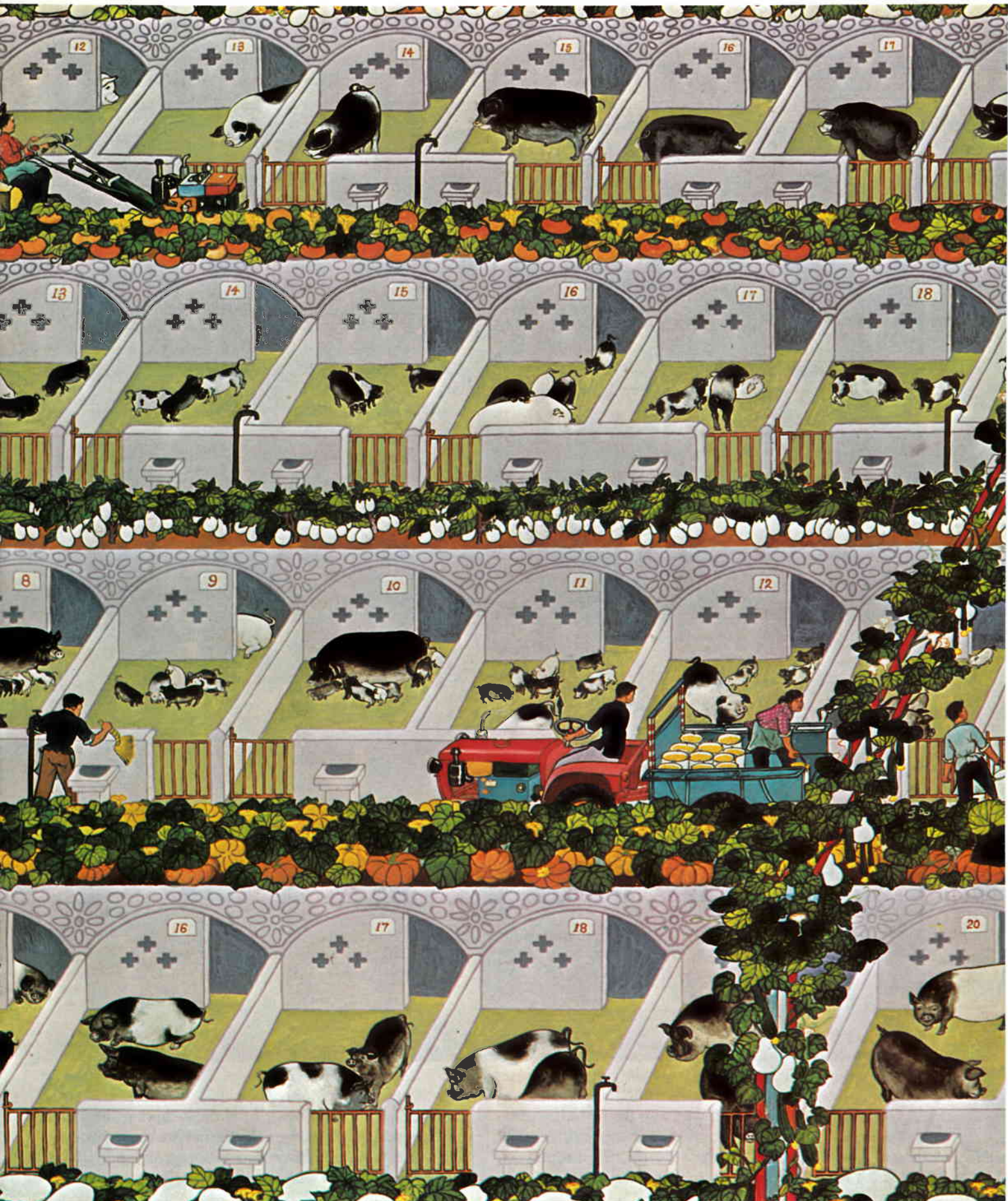
I'M a pig raiser in my production brigade. We've looked forward to a new piggery for a long time but we couldn't build it because we lacked bricks and materials. We wanted to raise pigs on a large scale, following Chairman Mao's instructions. But how to do it? We had many meetings. Finally we made a decision. The people in our brigade said: we must build the piggery ourselves, through our own efforts. So people went to the Western Hills with pushcarts and carried back big stones to build this Big Stone Pigsty. All the members went out with pushcarts. They worked very hard and they were in good spirits. We felt we were not just building a pigsty but contributing to socialist construction. All the cadres went out and worked with the people.

This piggery impressed me greatly. When it was finished I did this painting. We have 68 sties and seven people working there, including a pig-doctor. The people's commune has urged all brigades to learn from our pigsty construction – a big meeting was held for this purpose. I was so happy when I saw many comrades coming from other places to see our work; this made me want to do this painting.

In the bottom row of sties are the male pigs. In the next row the female pigs. Then, the adult pigs, just weaned; they're ready for eating. At the top are the big pigs for breeding. We grow eggplants, gourds, tomatoes, all as fodder for the pigs. We assembled running water connecting each sty, only I thought the water pipes in this painting didn't look nice bare, so we painted some gourd leaves to cover them. We used the method of combining romanticism with reality, so we also added the water tower. After showing this picture to the Party branch I took it to my workmates. They all said it was well done because "you painted the revolutionary will of our peasants." One leading member in the piggery had not been too keen on the work. But after he saw the picture he got strength from it. He said, "Well done! The peasants work very hard and this painting expresses their life." He said with deep feeling, "I should continue my work." Since then he's made a lot of good suggestions for our work. For instance, he suggested that this wall should be higher so that we can grow more fodder for each sty.

This picture was painted with another comrade [Wang Yung-yi] in the same art group. We had a discussion before starting. One did the sketch but both of us did the color. I'm very good at putting color on the sties; the other comrade at doing the gourds and leaves.





Tung Cheng-yi: Painting the Future

I GREW up before Liberation. In the old society no one taught me to paint, nor did I have any political ideas. I just painted in my spare time, copying things. At primary school I was forced to learn the three-character classics of Confucius. In this book were some illustrations and I liked the book because I could copy from them and draw in their style. But our family was very poor and I had only one brush, which had to last for several years and which I used for writing as well.

Because my family had suffered so much I was filled with discontent at society. I was often infuriated at the sight of poor people being beaten. Owing to the fact that I was personally oppressed I expressed my feelings by drawing like the poets, hermits, and recluses who retreated from society.

When Liberation came I was given some land and some animals. During the land reform I was made leader of the land distribution group. I was very delighted with Liberation because the land was returned to me and I was filled with affection for the Party and for Chairman Mao and I realized that China had at last returned to the hands of the Chinese people.

I was very happy and content to engage in agriculture until 1953 when the county Party Committee organized a short course to create a "Fine Arts Backbone Force." During the course I studied Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum*. It was also the time the Party called on us to transform nature. With every revolutionary movement I would engage in creative work that was closely connected with the movement's aim.



WE artists paint the future and also the revolutionary ideal, not just things as they are. In our village the fishpond is not exactly like this; there's a wall round it. But in order to reflect the bright future I took out the wall. To express the bumper harvest, all the fish are

jumping, all their scales are bright and shining. The little fish are escaping from the net. The net lets them through. The little fish are the new generation growing up. This is intended to show development; we don't eat up all the fish.



My painting *New Look of Hsien* was chosen to go on exhibition at the Afro-Asian writers' conference. The painting, done in 1953, was a contrast and repudiation of the old society compared with the new. Compared with the terrible state of the old town, which was often ransacked by warlords and impoverished by the landlord families until it looked like nowhere on earth, the town now was relatively rich, with communes and factories, and the situation was excellent. The people who lived at the foot of the mountain used to live only in thatched huts. By 1970 the people there had very spacious houses with two rooms, three rooms, and even six rooms. The peasants there used to be oppressed by four landlord families and had

only ragged clothes of coarse cloth. Now they have better clothes than the landlords had. All the houses have tiled roofs. With the development of agriculture the brigade has forestry and fisheries projects.

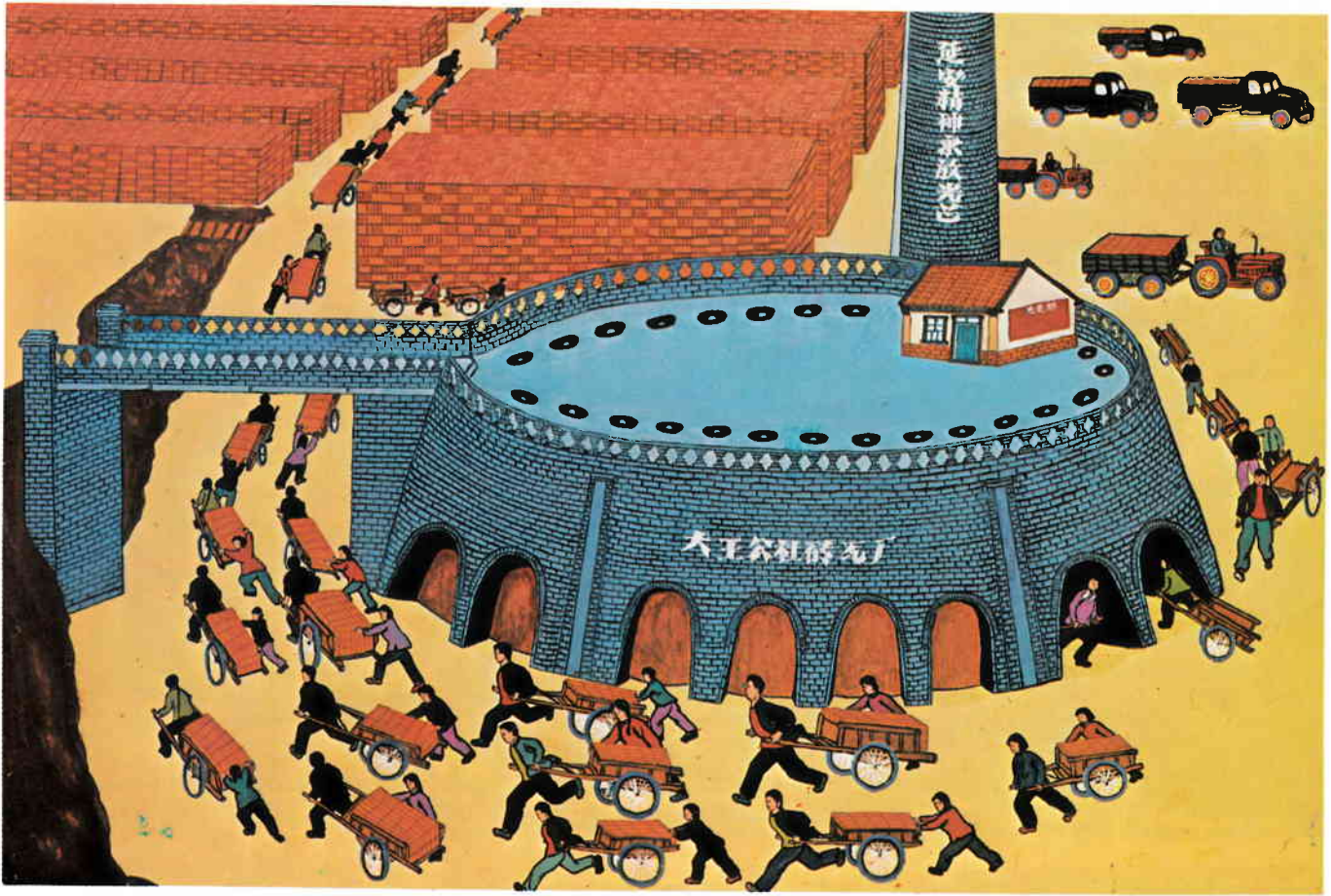
From that time on all my pictures have been painted on the basis of the three great revolutionary movements – the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. In 1958 all the people in our country were mobilized to make more iron and steel. I painted how the people were smelting iron and steel. Thousands and thousands of people were changing the mountains and rivers – I painted that too. By the end of 1973 I had painted over two hundred pictures.



Chin Li-she: Everyone Helps in Building Each Other's Houses

Fan Chih-hua: Digging a Well





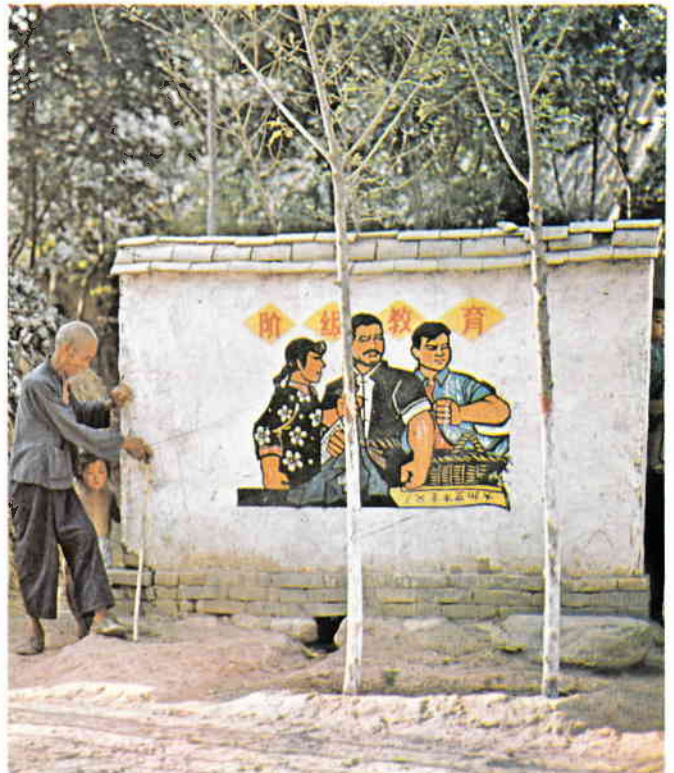
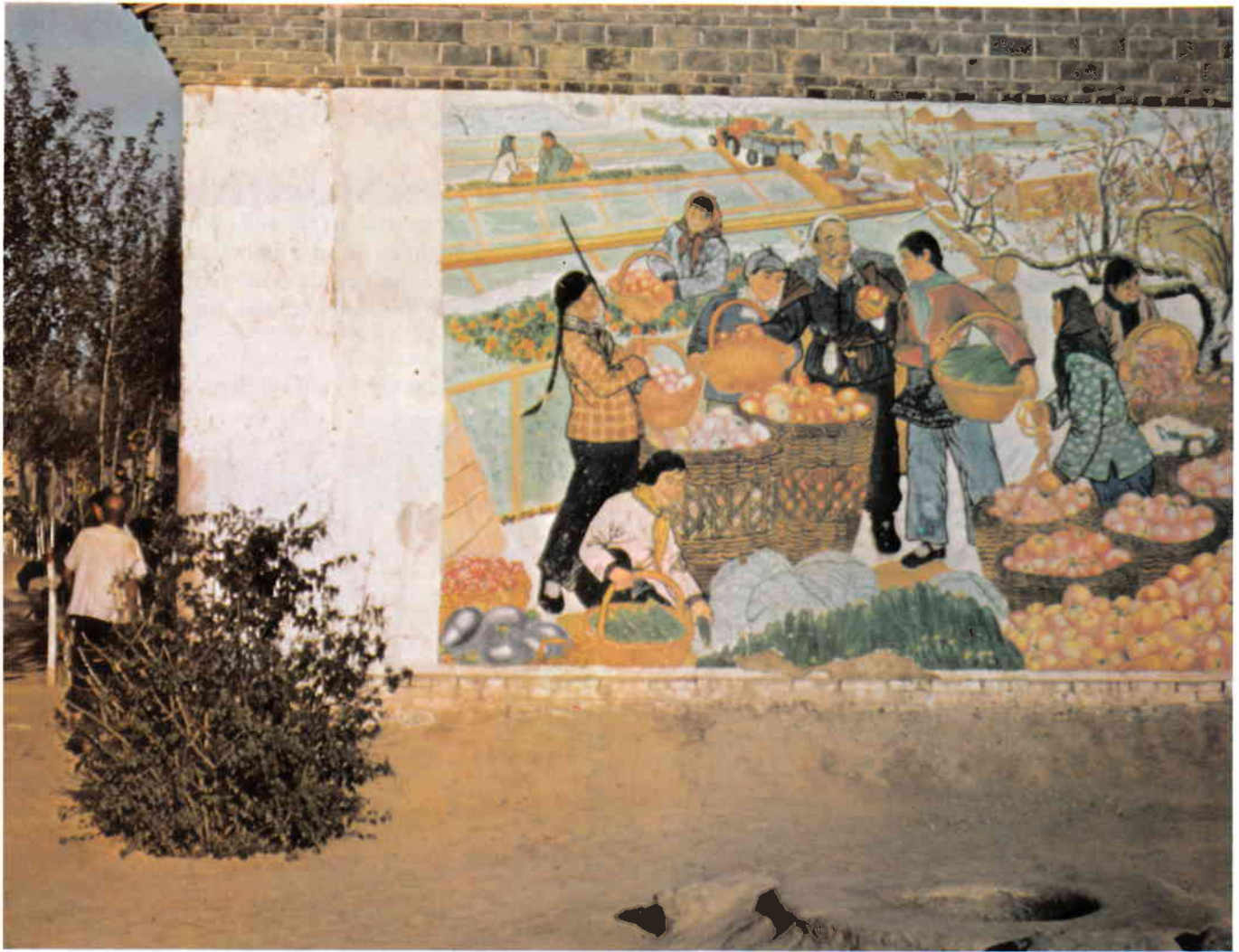
Chang Min-wu: Commune Brick Kiln

Liu Shuan-chin: Our Own Pharmacy



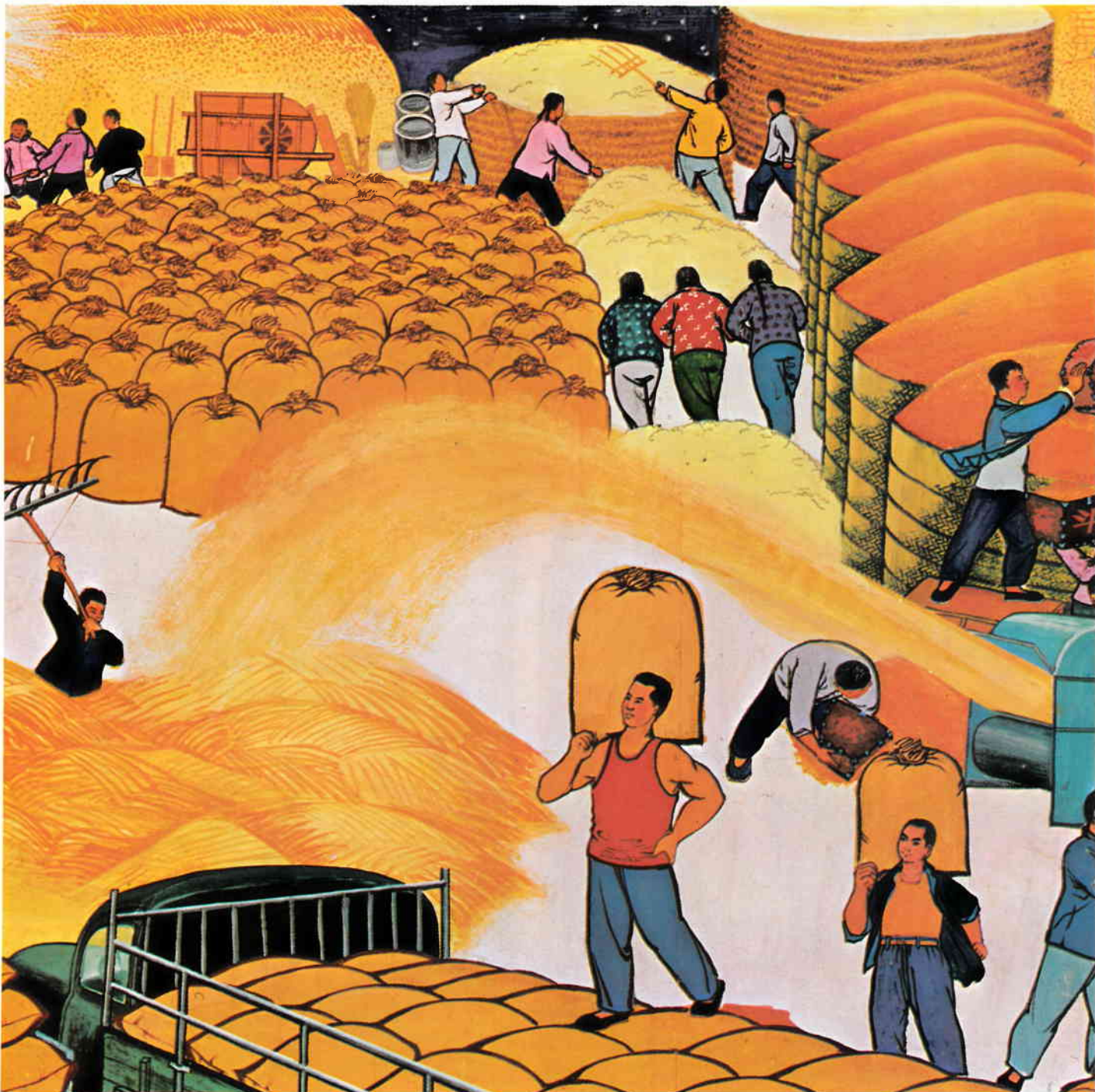
“Art Is All Around Us”





Mao Tsetung: From Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art (1942)

ALTHOUGH man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. . . .



THE life of the people is always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich, and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. . . .

WHAT we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. . . .

WE should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remolded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.



Hsieh Kao-wa: The Fragrance of Rice over the Threshing Ground (detail)



Liu Kuang-cheng: Sports and Games

Tsui Fan-tsu: Going to the Fields (detail)



U.S. Tour for Huhsien Paintings

In the coming year people around the country will for the first time be able to see 80 original Huhsien paintings which have attracted enormous popular and critical acclaim in the European cities where they were shown last year. The U.S. tour is sponsored by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association: Brooklyn Museum, December 17-January 22; San Francisco Chinese Cultural Center, February 7-March 31; Art Institute of Chicago, April 15-May 28; Otis Art Institute, Los Angeles, June 18-July 30; and Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, August 14-September 24. Contact your nearest USCPFA chapter for further information about the museum showings, and local programs.



Li Chou-cheng: Imparting Experience

Credits Sian village photographs by Lynn Bell, Yale Foreman, Jim Nesi, and Mort Weinberg, members of a 1976 tour by World War II veterans and their families. Interviews with Yang Chih-hsien and Tung Cheng-yi by Guy Brett and Ainsley Inness recorded in Sian, 1976, on a trip sponsored by the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding; excerpted and printed by permission. Interview with Li Feng-lan excerpted from *China Reconstructs*, January 1974. Paintings by Li Feng-lan and Tung Cheng-yi reproduced from *Peasant Paintings from Huhsien County*, Peking, 1974. Other artwork by courtesy of the Arts Council of Great Britain, original photography by Prudence Cuming. Planning and introduction by Ruth Nesi.

Note on Spelling of Chinese Words Chinese proper names in NEW CHINA are generally spelled in *Hanyu pinyin*, the romanization system now used in the People's Republic to render pronunciations in the official common dialect. This special section employs only the more familiar form of romanization being used in connection with the U.S. tour of the peasant painting exhibition.

Recipes from China's Kitchens

by Barrie Chi

Dalian Salmon & Choo-choo Train Sliced Beef

Training Cooks

For many years before going to China for the first time in 1971, I read every Chinese cookbook in sight and took many cooking courses. I believed that the only way to learn anything was to read and go to school. Therefore it came as a tremendous shock to find out that there are no cooking schools similar to the ones that exist by the thousands in the West; no equivalent to the Cordon Bleu where I could be trained at the hands of the grand masters.

How then are these masterful Chinese chefs trained? In a word, apprenticeship. Every chef worth his soy sauce has been apprenticed in the kitchen of an experienced chef. The apprentice cooks are very young, usually 15 or 16 and right out of middle school, so that sometimes when you compliment the chef at a banquet you are talking to a man in his early twenties. (Cooking in China still seems to be male-dominated.)

Only when all the techniques of slicing, chopping, and dicing have been mastered does an apprentice get near a stove. Within each kitchen there are specialists such as



The author (second from left) observes senior Chinese chefs at work.
(Photos: courtesy of B. Chi)

A member of the North Jersey USCPFA, BARRIE CHI has studied Chinese cooking in the U.S. and in the kitchens of new China. She teaches and gives lecture-demonstrations.

cold-dish artists, stir-fry experts, and *dim sum* chefs. An apprentice will usually become proficient in one specialty. It was illuminating to go from a school-oriented society to one in which the emphasis is on "learning from experience."

One young chef in Dalian (Dairen) taught me how to make a delicious and easy salmon dish. Because Dalian is on the northeast coast, salmon is in great supply. Other fish, such as sea bass, carp, or bluefish, may be used.

Dalian Salmon

Serves 4 to 6

- 1 whole fish, 3-4 lbs.
- 3 oz. bamboo shoots, very finely cut
- 1 cucumber, very finely shredded
- 5 or 6 dried black mushrooms, soaked in water for a half-hour before cooking
- 2 Tbs. wine, either sherry or Shaoxing (Shaohsing)
- 1 Tbs. vinegar
- 3 Tbs. soy sauce
- 1 tsp. sugar
- ½ cup cold water
- 5 Tbs. peanut oil
- 1 Tbs. sesame oil
- Flour
- Salt

Cut diagonal slits in the fish and put salt in the slits. Then coat the fish with flour.

Put 5 Tbs. of peanut oil in a large skillet or wok and heat until it smokes. Add fish and cook approximately one minute on each side. The fish will not cook properly unless the wok is large enough.

Remove fish. Drain all except 1 Tbs. oil, then stir in wine, soy sauce, sugar, ½ cup cold water, and the soaked mushrooms.

Return fish to wok and bring liquid to a boil. Cover and cook on a low flame for 15 minutes.

Remove fish to platter. Put cucumbers, bamboo shoots, and 1 Tbs. sesame oil in the wok. Cook about 2 minutes, then pour over fish.

Cooking on Trains

One of the most satisfactory aspects of traveling in China these days is that your stomach is never forgotten. One just does not skip mealtimes. Although they may be slightly adjusted to fit plane or train schedules, they are never, ever missed. If there are no kitchen facilities aboard the tiny Ilyushin 14 plane, then you land in time for your meal.

When I first traveled on planes in China in 1971 we were offered fruit, tea, and the ubiquitous orange soda. In 1976 I flew from Paris to Peking on a Chinese airline, wondering what they were going to serve on a 17-hour flight. Many of the Chinese passengers going on home leave or return-



Chopping and slicing are important steps in the preparation of most Chinese dishes.



A mouth-watering array of dishes appeals to the eye as well as the palate.



A steaming fish garnished with sauce and finely sliced vegetables

ing after completing their studies didn't quite trust the airline, so they came equipped with tea and other provisions. Now I can report that all is well: China makes sure people are well fed even in mid-air.

Food on the trains in China is little short of miraculous. In kitchens the size of narrow closets these genius cooks turn out meals that would make many of our better restaurants blush with shame. Every meal on a train is accompanied by bottles of wine and beer.

After the tragic 1976 earthquake in Taugshan we were sent by boat from Dalian to Shanghai. It was carefully explained to us that not many foreigners made this trip and the accommodations and food were not up to par. However, the meals were superb and all varieties of fresh fish and vegetables were served.

Wherever and whenever we arrived at a new place after a journey of any length, the first question was always: "Are you hungry?" You may feel tired at the end of a journey in China, but never, ever hungry.

Choo-choo Train Sliced Beef

Serves 2 to 4

- ¾ lb. filet steak, in ¼-inch strips
- 1 oz. celery, diced
- 2 Tbs. scallions, cut into small pieces
- 5 Tbs. soy sauce
- 5 Tbs. wine, either sherry or Shaoxing
- 1 tsp. vinegar
- 1 tsp. sugar
- ½ tsp. salt
- 1 tsp. minced ginger
- pinch of pepper
- 3 Tbs. peanut oil

Heat the oil in a wok or skillet. Add the meat slivers and stir-fry for about 3 minutes. Add soy sauce and mix well.

Add salt, sugar, and wine. Stir-fry a bit longer before adding celery, scallions, and ginger.

After a minute of cooking, baste with vinegar, then mix and serve. ●



A Chinese chef works in the confines of a cramped railroad kitchen.

The Message of the Media

by Frank Kehl

Why are the China watchers so down on China?

Over the years since 1949, platoons of writers have mounted attacks on the People's Republic of China. In the early fifties, when the U.S. government needed the support of public opinion for its intervention in the Korean War, the media portrayed the Chinese as invaders so careless of human life that they used "human wave" tactics on the battlefield, and then as diabolical brainwashers of American POWs.

When it was the U.S. government policy to "contain and isolate" China in the hope that the People's Republic would break up and Chiang Kai-shek would return, columnist Joseph Alsop and others in the media periodically predicted "explosions" that would erupt on the mainland from political rebellion or starvation. During the three years of serious food shortage (1959-61), he could ask this question and be taken seriously: would the Chinese people carry out an order to "compost the 300,000,000-plus corpses [slaughtered] for fertilizer, which the Chinese fields need very badly?" (*Saturday Evening Post*, August 11, 1962.)

But then in the early seventies, the

FRANK KEHL is an editor of *NEW CHINA* and an anthropologist specializing in China. In the preview issue of *NEW CHINA*, he co-authored an article on the shifts in U.S. media treatment of China: "Red Menace or Yellow Journalism?"

climate changed. In a now famous speech in Kansas City, President Nixon noted for the first time that the U.S. was no longer No. 1 internationally. Nation after nation was breaking ties with Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan and recognizing China. China was being admitted to the United Nations and Chiang expelled. Nixon had to travel to Peking and take the first step in reversing the U.S. government's two-decade policy of "containment and isolation" to one of "normalization." In the midst of these developments the U.S. media began promoting a more favorable image of China, and a number of American journalists, having seen the reality of China with their own eyes, felt compelled to report the truth. James Reston of the *New York Times* likened the Chinese to American pioneers at a vast communal barn-raising. Joseph Alsop now found China's gains in agriculture "eye-popping," and China's communes "an astounding device for rapid rural capital accumulation," etc., etc. Many of the earlier distortions and slanders were exposed as lies, although some myths, such as the image of China's government as "totalitarian," remained, but for the most part in the background.

Now, in the last year or so, the attacks on China have resumed, in publications as diverse as the *New York Review of Books*, the *Reader's Digest*, the syndicated Doones-

bury cartoon strip, the *Saturday Review*, *Commentary*, the *New York Times Magazine*, *Human Behavior*, and *Time*.

In this current attempt to discredit the Chinese Revolution, there are two basic thrusts. One is that what journalists and visitors have seen in China and reported on so favorably is all false – a rigged show that doesn't reflect the grim Chinese realities. The second is that China's socialist principles, while perhaps egalitarian and attractive, are, alas, not being lived up to; dramatic inequalities still exist, and the leaders are alienated from the people.

The themes are familiar. But some things are new: the viciousness of the attacks, their number, and their concentration in the most popular and influential publications, which seem to be so eager for anti-China material that they have reprinted from each other.

"It's All a Rigged Show"

Edward N. Luttwak, the associate director of the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research at Johns Hopkins University, has a very simple but devastating thesis: everything good we've been told about China is false – false because the journalists and visitors who've reported back to us have been deceived, duped; they've been the gullible victims of wily Chinese tour guides.

Naturally, if Luttwak can get by with

this thesis, the implications go far beyond any specific attack he might make: he is calling into question the whole way we Americans have come to know about People's China in the period since ping-pong diplomacy. In "China Behind the Guided Tour," reprinted in the April 1977 *Reader's Digest* (after having appeared in the December 1976 *Commentary*), Luttwak charges that his own visit, too, was "elegantly stage-managed."

But he, of course, wasn't taken in. For he had apparently decided ahead of time what he would find in China, and feels he was right to have done so. Only the journalist "who makes his own prior decision that he will seek no second visa," he says, can be "counted on to serve us [Americans] and not the Chinese."

What is Luttwak's evidence for claiming that China tours are rigged shows? Green grass. "The elegant stage management of our journey finally broke down" — on a patch of green grass.

The "revelation" came about this way. Luttwak and his party were taken to see a commune center in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area of Xinjiang (Sinkiang). After driving past "several genuine nomad camps" on the way out, they stopped at three polychrome tents in a meadow. Here, Luttwak complains, was "... the commune, of which no evidence was in sight, neither tents nor horses nor barns." Comes the clincher: "Then, someone in our group lifted one edge of the carpet [in the tent] . . . and found the grass quite green. The show had been rigged for us."

Although the *Reader's Digest* describes Mr Luttwak as a "foreign policy expert," his expertise apparently does not extend to herding on the grasslands of Asia. If it did, he would not be looking for barns on the Chinese steppes, nor expect the commune center of a herding commune to stay put in one place for very long during the summer grazing season, nor all the commune's brigades to pitch their tents together instead of fanning out as they move down range to maximize the whole herd's access to grass.

If he had asked a few questions about how herding is practiced by the Kazakhs, he might have discovered it is not at all strange for a tent freshly pitched in a grazing corridor to cover equally fresh grass.

Luttwak's experience is revealing — of his own ignorance. But he is not alone in playing on the theme that the Chinese hosts are out to deceive their visitors.

Reporter Ross H. Munro, writing in the *New York Times*, June 24, 1977, comments that "The China that is presented to foreign eyes is part theater and part reality." He then goes on to recount visits to a "show-

place" commune, Wu Li near Nanchang. He alleges that though the commune was presented as an example of peasant self-reliance, it had in fact benefited from a sizable number of outside workers paid for by the government to build a water works on the commune.

Were the commune peasants trying to conceal the government's aid? Apparently not, since Munro was given an exact figure on how many workers came in from outside the commune. Did outside aid mean that the peasants were not chiefly relying on their own hard work? Munro doesn't make that charge. Then why, of all the possible

the Chinese really are "an especially tricky people."

One reporter, William Safire of the *New York Times*, while on a visit to China last summer, decided to find out if he was being "tricked." He demanded to speak with people not on his planned itinerary, and randomly pointed out houses where he wanted to stop and talk about the issues of the day with whomever he found inside. As it turned out, the people he picked out at random differed in no significant way from those whom he had met on scheduled visits. Did he then conclude that his tour was *not* rigged or planned for special



The inevitable return of capitalism, symbolized here by the Coca-Cola trademark, is a theme in the current spate of press attacks on China. (*New York Daily News*, October 15, 1976; reprinted by permission of the Chicago Tribune — New York News Syndicate)

explanations, does Munro choose to imply that his Chinese hosts were deliberately trying to deceive him about the commune's self-reliance? What would the Chinese gain from such a deception?

The "rigged show" cliché takes many forms in the media's handling of China. It is even exploited as "humor."

G. B. Trudeau's *Doonesbury* cartoon series about the Chinese, *An Especially Tricky People*, always portrays the Chinese interpreter as calculatedly mistranslating everything, so that whatever a Chinese says come out as "Party line," and whatever the cartoon American ambassador says comes out as innocuous, no matter how outrageous. The *Doonesbury* cartoons seem to take a balanced view, since they also ridicule the American ambassador. But for all that, the message is the same as in Luttwak and Munro: you can't believe what you see or hear, and in fact

effect? No — he simply shifted the attack: mind control! All Chinese, 800 million of them, have been programmed to think the same! It was 1977 but, like others we will encounter, Safire was trotting out the old anti-China myth of brainwashing again.

"You Thought There Was Equality"

The struggle to eliminate inequalities of every sort is central to what socialism and communism are all about, but Luttwak, Simon Leys, and Roxane Witke would have us believe that the vaunted equality between ordinary people and cadres (leaders) in China is really sham.

Luttwak points out that "Almost everybody wears the standard boiler suit, the Mao uniform. But some are made of rough cotton and others of delicate gabardine, and still others of good-quality wool. Senior Party men would wear their equality in carefully tailored worsted wool. . . ."

Senior Party men don't go to formal banquets in work clothes any more than Luttwak does; peasants working in the fields don't wear gabardine any more than Luttwak would while planting roses in his garden. The point by itself is trivial – just like whether a tent is brown or technicolor. But what Luttwak is striving for is a journalistic detail to put across his version of the way things “really are.” Luttwak's logic is: I saw inequality in dress, ergo, all China's talk about equality is a lie.

Simon Leys – pen name of Belgian sinologist Pierre Ryckmans – elaborates the same point in his *Chinese Shadows* excerpt in the *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 1977: “In the sixth century B.C. . . . China's social hierarchy had only ten degrees. We have progressed since then: the Maoist bureaucracy today has 30 hierarchical classes, each with specific privileges and prerogatives.”

These jibes by Luttwak and Leys raise two sets of questions. How big are inequalities in China? Do the government and the Party blink at or blush about them – or do they attempt to diminish them?

First, Leys and Luttwak would be hard put to find a country where there are fewer inequalities than in China today. Certainly not in the countries with which they are familiar like the U.S. or Belgium or France or the Soviet Union. For example, the difference between the highest and lowest paid person in most Chinese factories – including the largest steel, petrochemical, locomotive factories, etc. – runs from about 30 yuan (\$15) a month to 120 yuan (\$60) or more commonly, 90 yuan (\$45) a month. In other words, the range is four or three to one – and this includes both workers and administrators. Are the differences that small in a U.S. factory? What is the ratio between the income of, say, the dishwasher in a factory cafeteria and that of the plant's top manager? And in what Western factory would the dishwasher be able to be a part of the policy-making committee that runs the factory?

Second, what is the Chinese government's policy on unequal remuneration?

I'm not sure what Leys is referring to when he speaks of “30 hierarchical classes” in “the Maoist bureaucracy.” But we do know that in China's state-owned industry there is an eight-grade wage scale for workers, reflecting different levels of skill and, especially, seniority. And in China's collectively owned communes, too, there is inequality in farmers' incomes: the income of a commune member depends on how much the commune as a whole produces. The same time spent in labor may bring different incomes, depending not only on the fertility of the commune's land but on the political consciousness and organiza-

tion which spur production. These inequalities may also characterize brigades and production teams within the same commune, for the same reasons.

The Chinese leaders have never denied or disguised the existence of unequal remuneration for equal work. On the contrary, Mao himself in 1975 drew people's attention to it as a soil in which a new capitalist class would grow if unequal rights like these went unrestricted. The leaders point out that China is a socialist society where remuneration is according to work, and that the goal is a communist society where remuneration will be according to need. To get there, they must reduce existing inequalities step-by-step while raising the overall standard of living, and at the same time they must create and perfect institutions which reduce such differences as those between people who work mainly with their hands and those who work mainly with their heads.

The Cultural Revolution has created several such institutions, e.g., May 7th Farm and Factory Schools where intellectuals take part in collective labor, and three-in-one technical design teams which include shop floor workers along with technicians and administrators. An objective observer of the Chinese scene would have to conclude that, yes, China's overall standard of living has improved; yes, inequalities in work remuneration are being reduced; yes, institutions to carry these things through have been and are continuing to be created.

“Leaders Sit on the Backs of the People”

Unlike Simon Leys, who alleges great sympathy for the ordinary Chinese, Roxane Witke in *Comrade Chiang Ching* makes no claims of feeling for the ordinary Chinese people. But she does share Leys' view of the Communist leaders as no different from the power-seeking, luxury-loving mandarins of old. In Witke's cynical view, the Chinese are a docile people and thus deserve their supposedly tyrannical rulers.

“[I told the interpreters] that if they expected foreigners to want to read my accounts . . . our focus would need to shift. Instead of dealing exclusively with these ‘typical’ members of the masses, whose averageness made them uninteresting to foreigners, would it not be better for me to meet some unusual individuals whose names at least were known abroad . . . ?”

From Witke's lack of interest in the average Chinese, it is just a short step to her view that the Chinese people are mindless nonentities fit only for manipulation by higher-ups: “Juvenal once quipped that the inhabitants of imperial Rome could be interested only in bread and

circuses. In the year 2000 the people of Peking may be moved only by the prospect of ‘noodles and public games.’ Peking's Circus Maximus is the Workers' Stadium.”

As if checking signals with each other, Leys in his May 26, 1977, *New York Review of Books* excerpt purveys the same view of the mindless masses. Referring to the reconstruction of Peking, he notes: “. . . whole blocks were razed . . . for immense avenues, boulevards, and squares; these are intended for the parades, mass meetings, pageants and rallies, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of participants, that are as essential to the good working of a people's

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我来了我来了

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republic as the old circus games were to the Roman Empire."

Given Witke's view of the ordinary Chinese, plus her belief that people are unchangeable, it is not at all surprising that she views China's leaders, from Mao on down, as no different from Confucian imperial officials in their relations with the people. Self is their watchword, she says, communism is just a convenient rhetorical veneer: "Now the emperors, ministers, and generals who stood far above the masses of old have been replaced by representatives of the Party and the PLA [People's Liberation Army] claiming to speak for the proletariat as a whole."

Leys' view is the same. Writing again on the subject of Peking, he expresses surprise that "The Forbidden City has miraculously been preserved," and quickly adds a question: "is it because Mao Tsetung liked now and again to play at being emperor from the balcony of Tian An Men?"

This view may strike a chord with those who are skeptical that there can be leaders anywhere who are not corrupt or self-seeking. Although there is energetic, on-going effort in China to overcome "Look-out-for-No. 1" thinking, especially among leaders, the vast majority of China's

leaders have proved themselves to be among the most farsighted and dedicated to building a new society that serves the real needs of the people. Far from sitting on the people's backs, China's leaders strive to maintain close ties with the people, and are accountable to their fellow workers and other citizens who recommend them for leadership positions.

Once Again, "Brain washing"

The cover article of the August 1977 *Human Behavior*, "The Mao Solution" by Kenneth Lamott, is ostensibly about how Americans have to change their wasteful habits in order to cope with the intensifying environmental crisis. The author proposes that Americans adopt Chinese "mind-control techniques" so as to stop wasting energy resources. He claims that "... the late Mao Tsetung, and not B. F. Skinner, was the greatest behavioral psychologist of the 20th century. Under Mao's guidance, a quarter of the world's people went through the greatest mass process of behavior modification in history."

What is the "Mao Solution"? According to Lamott, it is thought and behavior manipulation resting on two devices: neighborhood associations "set up everywhere to monitor behavior and exert

pressure for compliance," and study groups of six to 12 people in which "criticism and self-criticism were the order of the day" and "refractory citizens were not sent to the firing squad [but] exiled from the group."

If this all sounds ominously like Orwell's 1984, that is no accident. The author tells us explicitly, "The Chinese way of controlling behavior was more powerful than George Orwell's."

Simon Leys also intones the name of Orwell, quoting lengthy passages from him in at least five places throughout *Chinese Shadows*.

The updated anti-China argument using the Orwell script tends to grant that the Chinese under Communist leadership may have accomplished some miraculous feats since the Revolution in 1949 - wiping out starvation, inflation, unemployment, venereal disease, snail fever, even flies and mosquitoes. Yes, the former sick man of Asia has stood up. And, yes, it may have been accomplished without the outright use of terror which characterizes Nazi-style totalitarian states. But look at what cost! They've gained the world but suffered the loss of their souls. Or, as Leys puts it in describing Peking: "The body is still there, the soul has gone . . . the life of the city has gone leaving only the physical presence

of a mute and monochromatic crowd, oppressed by a silence broken only by the tinkle of bicycle bells.”

Indeed! Neither common sense, nor a sense of history, nor any known scientific research on behavior would suggest that it is in any way possible to manipulate hundreds of millions of people over many years to do complex things which result in the transformation of their society against their will and against their own interests.

The Chinese do believe that people's thinking and behavior can be transformed, that human beings do not have to endure a kind of society and a kind of human nature based on self-interest and dog-eat-dog competition.

Unlike Leys, Luttwak, and Witke, Mao believed, as other Chinese revolutionaries did, and still do, that people can in fact cast off the old ideas and habits that shackle them, *can* change reality, *can* liberate society and themselves. Criticism and self-criticism is one of the processes by which people help each other do just that.

“The Revolution Has Been Called Off”

Unlike Lamott and Leys, a number of China observers refuse to concede that the Chinese have been able to change human behavior. They argue that, just as in the Soviet Union, the Revolution will inevitably be abandoned in favor of a system – capitalism – based on material incentives, personal privilege, and individual competition. These are part of “human nature,” they say, and capitalism's social relations are the best we can hope or aim for.

The theme is an old one, and since 1949 a great number of China-watchers have been confidently predicting the imminent collapse or, at worst, slow erosion of China's socialist experiment and the resumption of “business as usual.”

This breed of China-watchers has worked the speculation mill overtime since the death of Mao. Perhaps the most energetic theorizer along these lines is Fox Butterfield of the *New York Times*. Butterfield seeks to convince us that the Chinese leadership now gives only lip service to Mao's ideas, while discarding them in practice. In his reading of events, the “radicals” are out and the “moderates” are in; de-Maoification is the order of the day.

Butterfield assumes the stance of a disinterested observer, of the serious analyst trying to see beneath the surface of events. But his evidence, when looked at closely, is about as substantial as Luttwak's grass-beneath-the-carpet. One could fill pages untangling the inaccuracies, irrelevancies, and quotes-out-of-context in any of his communiques. The key thing to notice is the consistent thrust of his interpretation: to promote cynicism about China, socialism,

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and revolution. Would Butterfield view China more positively if he thought the "radicals" were at the helm? Clearly not, since he sees the "radicals" as inflexible, impractical, dangerous. In short, the Chinese are damned if they do and damned if they don't. When your aim, like Butterfield's, is to discredit China and socialism, it's useful to have more than one arrow in your quiver.

Myths That Didn't Make It This Time

Before going on to describe the specific political situation that has motivated this round of attacks on China, it's instructive to see which of the old anti-China myths have *not* been dish up again.

It used to be that an attack on China required a reciprocal salute of honor to the Chiang regime on Taiwan. Now the writers in question generally take a stand of silence about the Chiang regime and the situation on Taiwan. Why? Probably because the old assertions about Taiwan being a "bastion of freedom" and an "economic miracle" ring increasingly hollow as the repression and corruption on the island and the widespread unemployment related to the world wide depression come more and more to light. To maintain credibility, China's attackers find it wise to pass over Taiwan in silence.

The other myth which has been left behind in this campaign is the one about "expansionist, war-mongering China." Particularly in the period of the Indochina War, the U.S. government and supporters of its role in southeast Asia tried to keep this myth alive to justify U.S. involvement: behind the Vietnamese allegedly stood the evil Chinese who were out to weaken the U.S. militarily and to gobble up territory. This image of China is hard to peddle in the face of the fact that China has no troops on foreign soil nor any foreign bases, and that its military policy and technology are geared for defense, not aggression. But if the war-monger myth is not at present being promoted, it is more likely because some of those in top U.S. circles have reassessed the world scene, and want to use China, if possible, in "triangular diplomacy" against the Soviet Union. Thus the image of "expansionist China" has been shelved, at least for the time being.

The Media/Policy-Maker Connection

Attacks so intense and persistent as those we've seen against China in the last year or so don't fall from the sky. Their source lies in the connection between the media and the Washington policy-makers, and in the latter's needs in this period. That is, it is not a question of what a few individuals are writing but of the systematic promotion of certain views. For example, *Reader's*

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Digest republished the Edward Luttwak article that originally appeared in *Commentary*; *Saturday Review* and the *New York Review of Books* – within a month of each other – ran long excerpts from Simon Leys' book *Chinese Shadows*; *Time* ran excerpts from Roxane Witke's book *Comrade Chiang Ching*.

Let's take the handling of the Witke book as an instance. It is a bad book, even from the point of view of its promoters. It is neither titillating enough to be saleable as gossip nor scholarly enough to be accepted as academic history. Its sales have in fact been a bust. It has been panned – although gently – in major publications like the *New York Review of Books* and the *New York Times Book Review*. Yet it made the cover of *Time* and its author was invited to put forth her negative opinions about China's leaders and society at a number of nationwide forums, among them CBS-TV's *Sixty Minutes*. Why did Witke's book rate all this attention?

There's a simple answer and a more complex one.

The simple one is that Time, Inc. owns both *Time* and Little, Brown, publisher of the book. Time, Inc. is also the empire built by Henry Luce, longtime Chiang Kai-shek booster and vilifier of Mao Tsetung.

The more complex reason has to do with the relationship between policy-making in Washington and image-making in the U.S. media. It also has to do with the present state of U.S.-China relations.

If we look back over the last 30 years, we can see there is a relation between the policies pursued by the U.S. government and the image of People's China presented in the media: during the U.S. intervention in the Korean War, we got the faceless "human wave" hordes of Chinese; during the years of "containment and isolation," we got the starving Chinese ready to rebel, with statesman Chiang Kai-shek waiting in the wings to take the situation in hand; during the Nixon-Ford period of steps toward normalization, we got the "pioneering" Chinese remaking their land through hard work and selfless devotion.

The relation is sometimes even more direct than these examples. In today's news, as "Korea-gates" follow Watergates and the various plots are tied to the CIA, it is not surprising to find documented reports on the extensive past and present connections between the CIA and the media. In a lengthy article in the October 4, 1977, *Rolling Stone*, Carl Bernstein (the reporter who uncovered much of the Watergate scandal), wrote that more than 400 U.S. journalists maintained close and regular contacts with the CIA during the last 25

years, and that 75-90 journalists had such ties in the last year. From CIA documents and sources, he reported that major news outlets like AP, UPI, the networks, the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains, *Newsweek*, etc., were all frequently used to funnel information to and from the CIA. One CIA source even told Bernstein: "We gave Cy [C. L. Sulzburger, *New York Times* foreign correspondent] a background piece and Cy gave it to the printers and put his name on it."

To draw a conservative conclusion, there seems to be a relationship between some Washington policy-makers and some media image-makers. And this relationship could certainly extend to molding public opinion about China.

The second factor behind the anti-China media blitz is the nature of this period of U.S.-China relations.

There has been a stagnation, and perhaps a reversal, of U.S. government efforts to normalize U.S.-China relations. China's Deputy Party Secretary Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-ping) told a group of visiting journalists in September 1977 that Secretary of State Vance's August trip to China represented a step backward from the normalization position of former Presidents Nixon and Ford. Simultaneously we see a further decline in favorable media coverage of China and an increase in anti-China attacks. The attacks come at a time when top circles in the U.S. want to cancel some of the good impressions that had been communicated to the American people about the People's Republic.

When ping-pong diplomacy began and American travelers to the People's Republic reported back on what new China was doing, the American people became very interested in China's achievements – health care for all, full employment, stable prices, the end of drug addiction and prostitution, etc. – and many wanted to learn more about a social system built on cooperation instead of exploitation. It is into this atmosphere of favorable American opinion toward China that the current anti-China barrage has been launched.

John K. Fairbank, the dean of American sinologists, made the connection quite succinctly in reviewing Simon Leys' book. He notes – wistfully? – that "*Chinese Shadows* is a brilliant polemic that in 1974, as *Ombres Chinoises*, blew the whistle on French adulation of Mao and may have a similar effect here" (*New York Times Book Review*, August 28, 1977).

The economic situation in the U.S. is another element in the policy-makers' thinking. As that situation worsens, and more people say, "It shouldn't have to be this way," China is a living example that indeed it doesn't. When more Americans

say, "If they did all that over there, why can't we do it over here?" then those who control the media find it imperative to cast shadows of doubt upon the Chinese Revolution. The finger that points accusingly at China diverts attention from the situation in the U.S. The sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit message of the



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media in this round of attacks is that things may not be great under this system but they're better than in totalitarian, unequal, ex-revolutionary China.

Because of the relationship between what Washington needs and the press promotes, for the foreseeable future we can expect the media to continue pushing the idea that

China is totalitarian, that there is no freedom, democracy, or human rights there, nothing for us to learn from or to be inspired by.

This calls for all friends of China and all who are trying to understand and get the truth about China to be hard questioners and discerning readers - to go into the whys

and hows of China's socialist system and to analyze well the reports we read in the press. Although the days are gone when someone like Joseph Alsop would dare to put on paper his fantasy about 300 million Chinese bodies on the compost heap, more subtle and sophisticated attacks are undoubtedly in the offing. ●

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much about China and seeks a general overview of the basic concepts of Mao's political philosophy and his role in the modern history of China. Bouc's stated intention is not to examine everything Mao ever said or did, but everything that might interest people in the West. He stresses the fundamental tenets of Mao's ideas on class struggle under socialism, democracy and centralism, the mass line, and the theory of contradictions. Bouc is at his best in these sections and in a moving chapter, "Portrait of a Rebel," which traces Mao's revolutionary optimism and his rejection of conformity throughout his life.

The book includes a well-selected chapter of extracts from Mao's speeches and writings grouped by subject and a section of quotes about him by observers, friends, admirers, and enemies, including Lin Biao, Khrushchev, and Chiang Kai-shek. Some of these statements are more revealing of the person who made them than they are of Mao. There is also a chronology of Mao's life correlated with significant dates in Chinese politics and international affairs, appendices listing the positions Mao held in the Party and government, the leaders of the People's Congress, Mao's Party comrades, and government co-leaders at different points in history. Boxed-off sections of anecdotal material and quotations are interspersed throughout the text.

This book, however, cannot be recommended without some reservations. Most disconcerting is Bouc's first chapter, which whizzes at astonishing speed through 84 years of the history of China from Mao's birth to just after his death. This section and others, notably the four-page chapter on Mao's poetry and the tantalizing section on Mao as a feminist, are too brief and superficial. Unfortunately, because Bouc attempts to treat many aspects of Mao's life and thought superficially rather than a few in depth, the book is a pastiche which seems to have been thrown together at the last minute for publication upon Mao's death. — MARGARET M. BALD

Red and Expert: Education in the People's Republic of China. By Ruth Gamberg. Foreword by William Hinton. Schocken Books, New York, 1977. 299 pp. Paper, \$6.95. Putting politics in command, criticism and self-criticism, serving the people, and studying Mao Tsetung Thought are difficult concepts for Americans to understand, especially in relation to the education of children. Often they conjure up the stereotype of Chinese students as "blue ants waving Little Red Books." The invaluable contribution of this compre-

hensive study of education is its thorough and lively discussion of the role which these concepts play not only in the schools, but in the society at large. While describing the details of the educational system from nursery school to university and beyond, Ruth Gamberg also conveys the significance of China's attempt to make its educational goals consistent with and supportive of its economic and social goals. Educators will be especially interested in her discussions of problem-solving, the relationship of theory and practice, discipline, initiative, and creativity — topics which have long been on the agendas of many educational conferences in the United States. — PEGGY SEEGER

Lhasa, The Open City: A Journey to Tibet.

By Han Suyin. G. P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1977. 180 pp. Illus. Cloth, \$7.95. A treasure for armchair travelers, *Lhasa* opens up a world many have long regarded as closed. Historical facts, intriguing details, and vivid personal impressions bring far-away Tibet into the light of day. Author of some dozen books on China, Dr. Han is a knowledgeable and perceptive observer as she describes her 1975 visit. She also provides a fascinating history of this Autonomous Region of China by tracing its connections to China back to 641 A.D. when Tibetan king Songtsang Kampo married the Chinese princess Wen Cheng. Of particular interest is "A Kingdom of Women," the chapter in which she describes Tibetan women's liberation and compares it to that of their sisters in northern China. In this short work she documents one of this century's great dramas — how the Tibetan people went from the dark ages of slavery and serfdom to socialism in one generation. She also puts to rest many of the false impressions about the lives of the people who live at the "rooftop of the world." — KATHY CHAMBERLAIN

Peasant Paintings from Hu County, Shensi Province, China. Ed. Hugh Shaw. The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1977. 67 pp.

Illus. Paper, \$3.95. This book was prepared as the catalogue of the British exhibit of the work of amateur peasant artists from Huhsien which is touring the U.S. in 1977-78. With 12 full-page color plates and 80 black-and-white photos of the paintings, explanatory captions, and an excellent introduction by Guy Brett, this attractive catalogue is an informative companion to the exhibit. It can be ordered prepaid (plus 50 cents handling) from China Books and Periodicals, Inc., 125 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003. — MARGARET M. BALD

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