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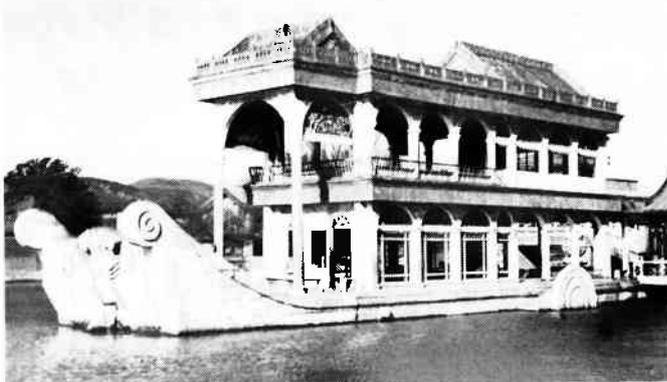
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New China

Fall 1978

Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association

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Fall 1978 Volume 4, Number 3

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Editorial Committee: Margaret M. Bald, Dell Bisdorf, Hugh Deane, Helen Gerson, Mary Lou Greenberg, Nancy Jervis, Frank Kehl, Karen Kerpen, Stanley Marcus, Edith K. Vogel

Contributing Editors: James T. Caldwell, Vicki Garvin, Alice Grunfeld, Peter Perl, Fred Pincus, Fritz Silber, Ronni Sandröff

General Manager: Peggy Seeger. **Office Manager:** Peter Schmidt. **Copy Editor:** Ruth Misheloff. **Photo Editor:** Marc Jahr. **UN Correspondent:** Susan Warren. **Subscriptions:** Paula Holland. **Distribution:** Jack Berk

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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.

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LETTERS

I have been deeply interested in China for the past 12 years. I have taught "China and The Far East" in high school, and I'm a collector of books and magazines related to China.

Today I ran across your magazine, NEW CHINA. It was a revelation. I have thought for years that there should be a magazine of this type. Now I've found one!

William Long
Livonia, Mich.

Frank Kehl's article on "The Message of the Media" (NEW CHINA, Spring 1978) seems to me to get off the track twice. It is unrealistic on the relationship of the media to what he calls "top circles," and it misinforms us on the issue of normalization of U.S.-China relations.

Kehl sees the blatantly unfair criticisms of China published recently as directed by top circles, also called "Washington policy-makers." He suggests that the CIA is a major conduit, and he believes that top circular control of the media is such that it can "shelve" or unshelve particular anti-China themes.

If charges that China is expansionist are no longer heard, he writes, it is probably 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." (Supposedly top circles are persuaded that while they have to be circumspect in describing China's foreign policy, they are free to flail away at will on other China matters.) Kehl offers little more than assertion in support of his conspiratorial thesis, which seems to me a vagary.

Media management and top decision-makers overlap a bit and have relations of collusion and contention on several levels. The essence seems to me this: while the media get requests from the CIA (as the *New York Times* reminded us in detail in its series of articles December 25-27, 1977) and even calls from the President, in the main its management is a do-it-yourself operation. Owners and editors understand their property-related interests and their conservative social role and have ideas on how to shape their product to them. They resent suggestions that they don't. Editors just do not need word from on high to publish, publicize, and savor suave criticisms of China like *Chinese Shadows* and blunter attacks like those of Ross Munro.

Why have top circles supposedly set in

motion an "anti-China media blitz"? A major reason, Kehl believes, is the decision of top circles to halt, and even reverse, moves toward normalization of relations with Peking. They must put down China to get the people to go along.

The reality is quite different. The Vance mission to Peking of August 1977 achieved nothing, and President Carter continues to assign a low priority to consummation of the Shanghai Communique of six years ago. But in recent months many top circular voices (and many others down the spiral) have expressed impatience and concern over Carter's delay-mindedness. Among them are Senators Kennedy and Cranston, former Senator Scott, West Coast members of the House, major think-tanks, editorial writers of the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, and specialists in China studies like John K. Fairbank of Harvard and A. Doak Barnett of the Brookings Institution.

Leonard Woodcock, a top-level selection to represent us in Peking, calls the absence of ties an "obvious absurdity." The January issue of *Foreign Affairs* includes a major article by Richard Solomon arguing that the U.S. needs normal relations with Peking and that delay is risky. Solomon was formerly on the staff of the National Security Council and is now with the Rand Corporation, and *Foreign Affairs* is published by the Council on Foreign Relations, and that's as top circle as you can get.

The handling of China by the media offers endless aggravations, and NEW CHINA magazine, which is attractive and always full of good things, can serve us by publishing a thoughtful article on the subject. The US-China Peoples Friendship Association is giving priority to efforts to advance the cause of normal U.S.-China relations. An explanation of its broad policy and an accurate assessment of the situation of fact would be helpful.

Hugh Deane
New York, N.Y.

Frank Kehl in his "Message of the Media" urges us to be discerning and analytical toward American press reports on China. He does a good job exposing errors and distortions found in some recent articles.

However, in responding to the views of some American journalists, Kehl does not adequately deal with a few of the issues these writers and commentators have raised. Some of these issues reflect some genuine questions Americans have about China.

For example, while most American visitors

to China return enthusiastic about what they've seen, some of them have felt frustrated by the limitations of their tours. They have found the tours are not as informal and in-depth as they had hoped. It appears to some that at times the Chinese have been over-zealous in putting their best foot forward. While these shortcomings are used by some reporters to slander China, Kehl should have noted that there are indeed areas in which the tours to China could be improved.

When Kehl talks about the publication of Roxane Witke's *Comrade Chiang Ching*, he correctly points out the misrepresentations in Witke's view that the new Chinese leaders are no different from the leaders of old imperial China. However, he doesn't mention that some of Witke's observations about Jiang Qing's (Chiang Ching's) leadership were valid and have been further exposed by recent developments in China.

Many American writers concede China's tremendous progress since 1949, but they allege this progress has been attained at great cost to personal freedoms. This issue is on the minds of American people. In Kehl's section "Once Again, 'Brainwashing'" this question is not dealt with sufficiently, and we hope future NEW CHINA articles will discuss it.

A final thought on Kehl's media/policy-maker theory: this is an interesting area for investigation, but we believe there was inadequate documentation to support Kehl's conclusion.

Fred Engst
Peter Gilmartin
Jim Hely
Lois Davis Hely
Philadelphia, Pa.

I appreciated the sentiments expressed in the recent article, "The Message of the Media." I have noticed the cold, anti-China attitude of the Carter administration and the shallow attempts by the media to discredit China's revolution. The smug opportunism of Roxane Witke I find to be particularly disgusting. The article's presentation was well-documented, clear, and insightful.

John A. Young
Corvallis, Ore.

The following is a quotation from S. Kennedy's letter published in NEW CHINA's "Letters" column, Fall 1977: ". . . and China's opening of its doors, for all the world's people to see how socialism benefits the people. . ." I understand that a publication may elect to print responses favorable to its own political position, but you are exceeding common sense credibility. To imply, even secondhand, that China has "opened its doors to all the world's people" really is a little much, when it seems that China's door is open only to a very select

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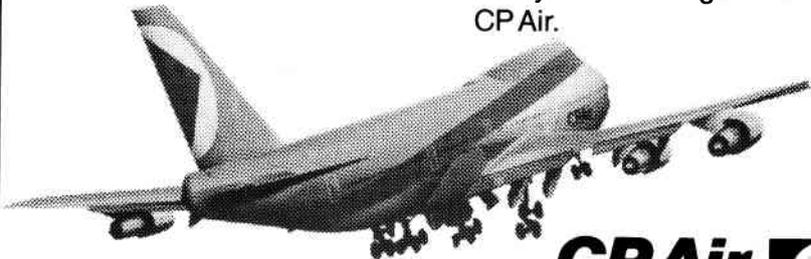
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few – and hardly the non-bourgeois type. If furnished with the addresses of these “open doors,” I would be most pleased to avail myself of these passageways. As an architect, my interest in China from both historical and contemporary architectural viewpoints is understandable. However, until such freedom of circulation through open doors is truly available to all the world’s people, NEW CHINA magazine is not going to enhance its literary integrity relative to readers in general in the notion that China is not another closed and secretive communistic-socialistic society.

Arthur K. Olsen
Salt Lake City, Utah

After being discharged from military service in World War I, I joined the Merchant Marine, and for the following ten years I entered many ports on the China coast. Being a former student of economics with some knowledge of Chinese history, I was shocked by the deplorable conditions under which the average citizen survived.

Warlords were wielding brutal power and the treaty-ports which were in the hands of non-Asians had a stranglehold on China’s economy. Needless to say, England’s forceable imposition of opium on China is one of history’s most revolting acts.

Out of the ashes of decency and compassion came a great leader, one of the greatest in world history, and none but a fool would dishonor his name. Herein is my humble salute to his greatness, which I hope could reach the heart of China in the new dawn of brotherhood.

IN HONOUR OF MAO TSETUNG

Because he offered those a better chance
Whose daily fare was death and poverty
Who being bound by superstition’s thongs
Had scarcely dared to dream of liberty,
He was rejected by universal greed
And called a criminal who would enslave
The human race with lust for greater power
Which cowards believed led to the open
grave.

But millions now embrace a better life,
Where brotherhood returned to mother
earth.

To share her bounties with the weak
or strong,
Where trust and truth at last have
proved their worth.

Now Mao Tsetung has left this world
where hate

Springs from the womb of economic need.
His works and leadership rebuilt a land
Where social values long had gone to seed.

Harald V. Hansen
Hillsboro, Ore.

I think NEW CHINA is a great magazine, always, but with the Winter 1977 issue you have outdone even yourselves.

The Lin article was just what we were needing and superbly done. The Hinton interview with Chen Yong-gui was amazing and inspiring (and educational!). The Chance article was full of useful information and insights, as was the Deane piece on Koji Ariyoshi. And Margaret Burroughs’ poems and the woodcut calendar pull-out were splendid additions. (Not to forget, either, the very useful book reviews – even the ads are interesting!)

Thanks for your marvelous job – right from the beginning – in every issue. May your strength continue and increase.

Ruth Emerson
North Haven, Conn.

After hearing Felix Greene talk at a program put on by the Raritan Valley Chapter of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association and seeing the PRC play the N.Y. Cosmos soccer team, I have decided the USCPFA and NEW CHINA magazine are musts for our nation.

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Do You Want to Go to China?

Over half a million people will visit China in the next few years, according to Chinese sources. New resorts, scenic and historical sites, and cities previously closed to tourism, such as Hankou, are being opened. Excursions by boat along the coast and riverways – the Yangtze River Gorge, for example – have just begun this year. New hotels are being built, additional guides and interpreters in 20 languages are being trained, and there will be 15 major tour programs of 6, 8, 10, and 12 days. The number of visas granted has greatly increased and major airline companies and steamship lines are being assigned a large number of seats.

In a word, tourism is expanding. This year alone, 10,000 Americans will have the chance to see the latest developments in China. If you want to be one of them, here's some information that may be helpful.

How to Arrange a Trip to China

For the past five years, the US-China Peoples Friendship Association has been sponsoring tours which until now have been available to about 500 Association members per year. During 1978 however, the USCPFA will send 2,500 people, approximately one-quarter of all the visitors from the U.S. The Association offers four different kinds of tours – Friendship, Activist, National Special Interest, and China Study Tours, which vary in composition, cost, length, and qualifications.

Friendship and Activist tours, lasting 16–17 and 21 days respectively, are for members of the USCPFA. Applicants for an Activist Tour must have demonstrated a commitment to the work of building friendship with China. Both kinds of tours are arranged on a regional basis and applications are made directly to the local USCPFA. (See inside back cover for the address of a local in your area.)

The National USCPFA organizes Special Interest Tours, recruiting delegates from all over the country. These are limited to people of some prominence in a particular field and have a specialized itinerary in China. This year's tours have focused on medicine and health care delivery; sports and recreation; problems of the elderly; and

curriculum development. There will also be a tour for representatives from the museums that hosted the exhibit of peasant paintings. If you would like information on future Special Interest Tours, contact the national office of the USCPFA, 635 S. Westlake, Room 202, Los Angeles, CA 90057.

China Study Tours (CST), which visit four cities in 11–12 days, have just been



With this issue, NEW CHINA begins a regular column for travelers, covering basic "how-to-go" information, highlights of visits by special interest groups and well-known people, changes in China's tourist offerings, and helpful information from our readers.

added this year and currently make up the majority of USCPFA trips. Groups of 100 will leave from the four regions periodically during 1978. On arrival in China they will split up into groups of 25. Anyone is eligible to apply – couples, families with older children, individuals, and groups. There is no special focus and you do not have to be a member of a group or any particular profession to qualify. However, groups applying may request special visits reflecting their interests or profession. The Eastern Region CST in March, for example, included a group of medical workers that made additional visits to hospitals in China. The Boston USCPFA helped to organize this group and provided orientation before the trip, showing films of China's health care system and arranging meetings with doctors knowledgeable in the field.

In order to apply for a CST, contact the regional CST coordinator. West: Ethel Pass, c/o USCPFA-Los Angeles, 635 S. Westlake,

Room 202, Los Angeles, CA 90057. Midwest: Stu Dowty, Box 793, Detroit, MI 48232. South: Carolyn Money, Box 6218, Fort Myers Beach, FL 33931. East: Aileen Clifford, Box 707, Stony Brook, NY 11790. An added feature of the CSTs for groups leaving from the East and South and flying the Atlantic route is 33 days on the way back to make two stops in such places as Singapore, India, and Greece.

For the first time, commercial airlines are also organizing tours. Canadian Pacific Air has 1,000 seats, JAL 600, and Pan Am 2,000. Pan Am, in connection with Linblad Travel, Inc., in New York, has two impressive trips in November and December. Travelers will visit Guangzhou (Canton), Guilin (Kweilin), Shanghai, Peking, and Ulan Bator in Mongolia for 20 days and Hongkong and Tokyo for 15 days. If you are interested, contact the airlines directly for more information. Romania's Tarom Airlines, in association with the Romanian Tourist Office, is offering package tours of Romania and China. In October you can spend nine days in China and 16 in Romania, including one week at a famous geriatric revitalization clinic. Special Tours for Special People, Inc., in New York, is handling the arrangements.

If you are part of a group or organization that would like to go to China but feel these tours do not meet your needs, you can submit a special request to the China International Travel Service (Luxingshe), Peking, People's Republic of China. This involves by far the most work and is time-consuming but can be very rewarding if your group has a particular focus or area of expertise that the Chinese are interested in. During the past year groups of anthropologists, artists, university women, and doctors, to name a few, have been accepted this way. When drawing up your proposal you may want to consult your local USCPFA, since they have had experience advising many groups. In your application, include an explanation of why you wish to visit China and short autobiographies of the members of your group, and also send a copy to the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China, 2300 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. It takes time so don't be discouraged. Should you receive an invitation, you may want to make travel arrangements through an agency familiar with this area of

PEGGY SEEGER is on the staff of NEW CHINA and has recently led a China Study Tour.

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&
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Recent Visitors

Expanding tourism is seen by the Chinese government primarily as a way to make more friends around the world and secondarily to add to the economy by accumulating foreign exchange. This year China will be welcoming governmental, cultural, business, and professional leaders as well as tourists, to exchange information and views and establish ongoing, friendly relationships.

In March a delegation of governors from Florida, Iowa, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina were guests of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, meeting with their counterparts all over China. In May, producer Harold Leventhal led a group of Hollywood filmmakers and artists, including singer Paul Simon and cinematographer Haskell Wexler. They took copies of their best films to share with Chinese filmmakers. At the same time the University of Pennsylvania Glee Club was singing in factories and communes.

The World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh is organizing a fall tour of presidents of major U.S. corporations. At the same time, Bert Schneider, director of *Hearts and Minds*, will be escorting another Hollywood delegation.

The exchange and friendship that can result from these trips is exemplified by the relationship that developed between cancer researchers in the two countries. In fall 1977, ten doctors were the guests of the Chinese Medical Association. In the course of their discussions the Chinese researchers told the Americans of a special kind of esophageal cancer that they suspected was caused by pickled vegetables (see Han Suyin's "New Developments in Cancer Research," *NEW CHINA*, Spring 1977). Because the Chinese were unable to carry out the necessary investigations, the Americans took back data and samples to be analyzed here. A Harvard medical student on a China Study Tour trip in March delivered the results of the analysis. Eating six ounces of these vegetables is equivalent to smoking two to three packages of cigarettes per day! In the latter part of 1978 a delegation of Chinese doctors will be visiting the U.S. to continue this dialogue.

* * *

Our next column will give a more detailed description of a typical itinerary and will deal with the question of whether you get to see the "real China." Recent China travelers: If you had a personal experience in the PRC that you would like to share with other readers, please send a 250-350-word description of it to the Travel Column, *NEW CHINA*, 41 Union Square West, Room 721, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Chinese Peasant Painter Visits New York's Lower East Side

Bedford-Stuyvesant, Spanish Harlem, and the Lower East Side of New York are not stops on a typical U.S. art tour. But then Zhou Wen-de was not a typical tourist. The Chinese wheat farmer was in New York for the opening of the USCPFA-sponsored exhibition, "Peasant Paintings from Huhsien County." One of his paintings, *Luxuriant Trees and Heavy Crops*, was part of the show which opened at the Brooklyn Museum and then traveled to other American cities. While he was here, Zhou Wen-de chose to meet with American artists who are also trying to create works of art that express the aspirations and accomplishments of people in their communities. And despite language barriers, cultural differences, and vast contrasts in social and economic structures, the American artists and their Chinese counterpart found they shared a common ground: creating a popular culture, art for the people.

With several members of the USCPFA, I accompanied Zhou Wen-de, Chen Da-yuan (head of the delegation and an executive member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries), Su Guang (an interpreter), and Ms. Zhao Ya-qing (of the PRC's Liaison Office in Washington) on a visit to the Cityarts Workshop on New York's Lower East Side. There a group of young artists active in painting murals on the sides of buildings greeted the Chinese delegation in their simply furnished storefront office. Susan Caruso-Green, director of Cityarts, welcomed us with a speech describing the activities and purpose of Cityarts and coffee and tea were served. After Zhou Wen-de's reply the discussion began in earnest.

Suddenly I felt as though I were back in China. My visit there with a USCPFA study group 18 months earlier came sharply into focus. Briefings, tea, talk, and human warmth had greeted us at each facility we visited. Now the Chinese were *our* guests and their hosts that morning had arranged

a meeting so reminiscent in its simplicity and formality of our experiences in China that I felt sure they would feel comfortable.

The Cityarts Workshop, Ms. Caruso-Green explained, was founded ten years ago with the modest support of foundations



The mural "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" (Photo: Courtesy of Cityarts)

and grants in order to bring the living experience of art to ghetto areas. The murals they create are for all to see (no admission charges; no special hours). The community itself participates in their production, either through actual work on the mural, as in *Let Our People Grow* which was designed and painted by students at Junior High School No. 65, or through discourse between neighborhood residents and Workshop artists. Nearly everyone who watches the progress of the murals during the many months the painters are on their scaffolds has something to say. As a result the murals reflect neighborhood interests and concerns and, though a few created controversy at first, they eventually became a source of community pride.

"Is your hard work rewarded?" asked Zhou Wen-de, who does his painting after long hours in the fields and during slack seasons. Despite limited budgets, Cityarts has managed to execute 25 murals during the last decade. "Yes, we're rewarded," smiled a young American artist, "not with monetary but with spiritual rewards."

"What is your aim?" the Chinese painter asked.

"We're trying to understand how art can relate to people's lives," answered an American.

"Art should not be separated from everyday life," said another.

As Zhou Wen-de described the work of the peasant painters of Huhsien County, he too reflected a fundamental concern for the integration of art and life. The peasant painters seek to portray their daily activities and express the joy they feel in their newfound abundance. Both the Chinese artist and the American muralists reject the view that art is a precious commodity to be enjoyed by only a few.

Indefinitely prolonging the life of a work of art was also discounted by the artists. Zhou Wen-de said that some peasant paintings are repainted once they no longer have current significance. As ideas change, the paintings change. Although China is deeply involved in preserving antiquities, contemporary popular painting is viewed as dynamic and mutable.

The American muralists told us a Cityarts mural usually lasts less than five years. They are larger in scale than Chinese wall paintings and more expensive and difficult to execute. Their relatively short life-span often comes about because the buildings on which they are painted are demolished. The notion of permanence so long cherished in Western art does not prevail at Cityarts or among the new groups of young muralists organizing in cities throughout the U.S.

Another new concept shared by the Chinese is the idea of artists collaborating with each other and the community. Traditionally, murals have been executed by masters with the help of apprentices. At Cityarts the emphasis is on painters working

HELEN GEE is a fine arts consultant in painting, sculpture, and photography. She visited China in 1976.

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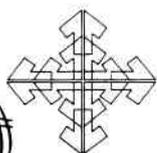
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together as equals in developing concepts doing the actual painting. I remember feeling surprised when I saw the names of *two* artists on a large-scale, contemporary, but traditionally painted landscape in the Hall of the People in Peking. Now I was even more surprised to learn that as many as 20 muralists worked on a City arts mural. For Americans accustomed to the idea that individual expression is paramount in the arts, this kind of group enterprise is impressive.

As our discussion drew to a close, a City-arts muralist asked Zhou Wen-de to offer some advice to their group. Zhou said that because he was not familiar with America, he could not be specific. But he thought that it was important for artists to let their work grow out of the American experience rather than to emulate socialist societies.

Having seen slides of the murals, we were all eager to see the real thing. We left the Workshop in a caravan of cars and began our tour with a mural called *Plaza Cultural*—a visual celebration of the Lower East Side community. The towering work covered the side of a four-story building, overwhelming both in sheer size and in the vibrance of color and boldness of imagery which seemed to light up the gray-brown streets and surrounding structures.

The ride between murals was at once a respite from the dazzling color and an excitement as we looked forward to the next. Some of us chose favorites as we drove around. Zhou Wen-de liked best *Chi Lai, Arriba, Rise Up!* It was perhaps the most complex of all the murals we saw and, according to Zhou Wen-de, made the clearest political statement. The three-

language title reflected the idea of all ethnic groups working together to improve the quality of their lives.

My own favorite was the glowing *Wall of Respect for Women*, on which working women had collaborated. A tree, reminiscent of the Mexican Tree of Life, creates a symmetrical pattern; spaced between its branches are figures of women in various daily occupations. Five women at the top of the mural represent different ethnic groups, as do the women who painted the mural.

In front of the women's mural Ms. Caruso-Green presented the Chinese delegation with photographs of the murals and a book about the movement as a remembrance of the occasion. It was noon and we were scheduled to visit the Metropolitan Museum and the Whitney Museum of American Art. On another day the Chinese would get a chance to speak to Sinbad Lockwood, a Black artist from Bedford-Stuyvesant who started to paint in a Southern prison, and to see paintings by Puerto Rican artists at El Museo del Barrio, where hosts and guests danced to Spanish rhythms and Zhou Wen-de sketched the musicians. They also saw art works in progress at the Parsons School of Design and discussed the relationship of art, politics, and society with students there.

As Zhou Wen-de parted from the Cityarts muralists we all sensed that something important had taken place. He spoke from the heart when he said "Though our countries are separated by mountains and seas, our feelings are very close. I feel very sympathetic to your work and your life. I wish you greater success. Art truly belongs to the people."



Peasant artist Zhou Wen-de (center), delegation leader Chen Da-yuan, and translator Su Guang (back to camera) with Fred Hernandez of the Cityarts group. (Photo: courtesy of Cityarts)

Three Kingdoms, A Critique, and Some Crafts

Three Kingdoms. By Lo Kuan-chung [Lo Gwan-zhong], trans. and ed. Moss Roberts. Pantheon, New York, 1976. 318 pp. Cloth, \$10.00; paper, \$4.95. This semi-fictional historical novel is one of China's most popular literary masterpieces. Indeed, in 1937 Mao Tsetung told Edgar Snow that *Three Kingdoms* was one of his favorite books and that he "learned many stories almost by heart." The Chinese people find this novel relevant today partly because of their use of historical events and figures as allegories to describe current events and leaders.

Three Kingdoms was written in the 14th century about events which took place in 3rd-century China. At that time the Han Dynasty, after ruling over a unified China for 400 years, collapsed and divided into three warring kingdoms. More than a thousand years later, Lo Guan-chung (Lo Kuan-chung) collected the histories and popular legends about this tumultuous "three kingdom" period, added some excellent examples of traditional Chinese poetry, and wrote his historical novel.

The novel focuses on three characters who volunteered to defend the Han Dynasty against a popular rebellion fomented by the Yellow Scarves (Yellow Turbans) secret society. Liu Bei (a remote relation to the royal family), Guan Yu (a fugitive), and Zhang Fei (a pig butcher) become sworn brothers pledged to defend the Han. They were not primarily interested in perpetuating dynastic rule, however, but afraid of the consequences of a divided, weakened China. After the Han collapse, Liu Bei is urged to make himself Emperor and create a new dynasty, but he repeatedly refuses.

Liu Bei is a stirring hero with whom modern Chinese people can readily identify. He exemplifies, as the translator points out, the idea that the "ultimate power of history is the people." The novel challenged many important aspects of feudal Chinese life, such as the concept of hereditary dynastic rule and clan rights. The three friends put the fulfillment of their sworn pledges and ideals above their family obligations.

We should be grateful that Professor



From *Crafts of China*, by Michael Carter.

Roberts has made a new, clear translation of *Three Kingdoms* and an abridgement which strips it of all but its most essential parts. Previously the novel was available only in a three-volume, 120-chapter translation too difficult for anyone but scholars to read, but Roberts' version, based on a new edition published in Peking in 1972, should reach a much wider audience. Even the new translation is not simple, however, for it preserves the traditional Chinese writing style. Readers unfamiliar with Chinese names will find the going easier if they compile a list of characters as they read the book. This new translation is highly recommended for those attempting a better understanding of Chinese culture, history, and historical way of thought. — TOM GRUNFELD

The Mind of Norman Bethune. By Roderick Stewart. Lawrence Hill & Co., Westport, Conn., 1978. 150 pp. Illus. Cloth, \$15.95. Reading *The Mind of Norman Bethune* is like looking through the man's personal scrapbook, listening to him speak, or receiving his letters from abroad. This book gives us an inside glimpse of the Canadian

doctor who is a national hero in China because of the tireless years he spent treating the wounded soldiers of the Eighth Route Army defending China against the Japanese invasion. Performing up to 25 operations a day, Bethune also trained doctors and nurses in surgical and sanitary techniques, wrote medical texts, set up model hospitals, and wrote endless letters appealing for medical supplies from the U.S. and Canada. He died of an infection contracted during surgery which could have been prevented if rubber surgical gloves had been available.

Much has been written in the U.S. and China about Dr. Bethune's work. But what were the motives, the questions, the life experiences that led this rather flamboyant Canadian to sacrifice his life in China's defense? Roderick Stewart, a leading authority on Bethune's life, has allowed Dr. Bethune to "speak for himself" in this very unusual biography. Stewart includes some of Bethune's personal correspondence to friends, his poetry, short stories, professional papers, and almost 100 photographs of the man and his family and friends. There are excerpts from a mural

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Volume One: Chinese-English

by TIANN Honng Wenn

田 紅 文

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OP 喔	VP 坡	QI 期	RI 日	SI 思	TI 特
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ma (mā) mma (má) mmaa (mǎ) maa (mà)

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mama hemp horse curse

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Bethune created on brown wrapping paper during his stay at a TB sanatorium in 1926 in which his depression, inspiration, and triumph over the disease are expressed. A paper delivered to a group of Canadian medical workers after a trip to Russia in 1935, "Take the Private Profit Out of Medicine," reflects his dissatisfaction with the Canadian medical system. His attempt to bind his growing commitment to Marxism and his continuing love of art comes out in a letter written from Madrid during the Spanish Civil War. And, finally, his 1937-39 letters from China reveal his tremendous commitment, the thousands of lives he saved, and his frustrations practicing under such difficult conditions.

You will not learn all the details of Dr. Bethune's life from *The Mind of Norman Bethune*, but you will come away with a real sense of who the man was. - PEGGY SEEGER.

Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity. By Francis Lappe and Joseph Collins. Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1977. 448 pp. Cloth, \$10.95. Frances Lappe's first major book, *Diet for a Small Planet*, is a classic work on nutrition found in millions of American kitchens. Now Lappe has teamed up with food policy expert Joseph Collins to produce *Food First*, a book which demolishes myths and points the way to the solution of the world food crisis. Friends of China will find the book particularly exciting because it cites the PRC as a fine example of rational food policies.

Lappe and Collins demonstrate that, contrary to pessimistic views, it is not a worldwide scarcity of agricultural resources which causes food shortages. It is, rather, how these resources are used and who controls them. Throughout the underdeveloped world, land and other vital resources are controlled almost entirely by feudal landlords or foreign-owned agribusiness whose purpose is to produce cash crops (such as cocoa, coffee, or bananas) for export to industrialized nations, rather than staple foods for the local population. Both foreign aid for industrialization and neo-colonial "development" or "Green Revolution" schemes fostered by international agencies reinforce this tendency, either by slighting agriculture in favor of industrial development, or by tacitly discouraging land reforms which would threaten the power of the large landowners, or by emphasizing the development of agribusinesses which enhance the country's foreign trade but do nothing to increase the nation's food supply.

Lappe and Collins credit China for its national food policy - a policy which has managed in the last 30 years to stretch relatively scarce agricultural resources to

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provide abundant food for a huge population. In China agriculture is the acknowledged foundation of the economy and providing food for all is a primary goal. Only when the people's needs are met is food available for export. Resources are controlled collectively by the growers themselves, and the government sponsors and encourages land reclamation, irrigation, recycling organic material, and crop-research projects.

Lappe and Collins feel the Chinese have created much better long-term results than can be found in the "Green Revolution" projects promoted in other countries. *Food First* holds out the hope that the earth can feed all of its children - if the developing countries recapture their right to develop independently and make feeding their people their first priority. - ANDY FERGUSON

A Critique of Soviet Economics. By Mao Tsetung, trans. Moss Roberts. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1977. 157 pp. Cloth, \$10.00. The early economic policies of liberated China were largely modeled on those of the Soviet Union. In the late 1950s and early 60s many Soviet practices and economic policies were rejected in favor of those more directly tailored to Chinese needs and experiences, and in light of theoretical advances in understanding class struggle under socialism.

The Mao writings collected in *A Critique of Soviet Economics* give a fascinating insight into how this change came about. Although these essays are from publications circulated unofficially during the Cultural Revolution and have not been released by the Chinese Communist Party, they ring true as samples of Mao's style, method, and substance. The longest text is a set of reading notes which Mao made on the major points of a then-leading Soviet text on political economy, and the others are a critique and a speech on Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, which was itself a commentary on an early draft of the Soviet text. The result is a series of 100 "bite-sized" discussions in which Mao quotes a brief passage from the Soviet works and then analyzes it - sometimes approvingly, sometimes critically. He draws on and deepens Marx's theory of political economy and relates it to the actual experiences of the Soviet and Chinese revolutions.

Like all of Mao's writings, these commentaries are clear and accessible; the reader needs no special expertise. And, like all of Mao's major works, they are rich in detail about Chinese society, yet carry broad lessons which can help in analyzing any human society. The central question Mao grapples with is the relationship between politics and economics, between

- continued on page 44 -

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Beethoven Is Back

by Tim Brook

The Toronto Symphony on tour in the PRC

On January 30, 1978, the Toronto Symphony under the direction of Andrew Davis opened in Peking with Beethoven's Fifth. It wasn't the first time Peking audiences had heard Beethoven. Peking's own Central Philharmonic Society had performed the Fifth the month before we arrived, to audiences just as packed as the ones that greeted the Toronto Symphony at every performance. But it was the first time in five years that a foreign orchestra had played Beethoven in the People's Republic. For a lot of Chinese who had an interest in Western classical music, they were five difficult years, made difficult by the "gang of four."

The last orchestra to tour China before the Toronto Symphony was the Philadelphia in September 1973, under the direction of Eugene Ormandy. They too had played Beethoven's Fifth, but they played the Sixth as well. The Philadelphia had not prepared the Sixth, also known as the Pastoral, and they didn't have their scores, but Chinese officials requested it and even supplied scores for them. So Ormandy obliged.

This rather unorthodox change in the program would have gone unnoticed except for two things. The first is that the two

TIM BROOK is a researcher in Chinese History. He studied in China from 1974 to 1976 as a Canadian exchange student, and recently accompanied the Toronto Symphony on its tour of China as an interpreter.

"leading" members of the audience when the Sixth was played were the two most notorious members of the "gang of four," Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching) and Yao Wen-yuan. It was they who had specifically requested the Pastoral. Now this might also have passed unnoticed except for the second thing. Four months later the "gang of four" launched a campaign against the anti-socialist nature of Western classical music. "Capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt; bourgeois music extols it," they wrote in the *People's Daily*. From then on, anyone who listened to Western music could be accused of being bourgeois, and a traitor to Chinese culture – until the fall of the "gang" two years ago.

The disappearance of the "gang of four" from the cultural sphere has made all the difference to the Chinese symphonic world. And it's a difference welcomed by the Chinese people, as the Toronto Symphony discovered.

The Toronto was in China this year in exchange for the Shanghai Ballet tour of Canada last year. A music critic of the *People's Daily* captured the sentiments expressed by Chinese music lovers everywhere we traveled in China: "It is such an exciting event for us to have the Toronto Symphony come to China, bringing with them both music and friendship. How perfect that their first performance in Peking

coincides exactly with the day 40 years ago when the great internationalist Norman Bethune arrived in China. Even though the icy north wind outside the hall pierced everyone to the bone, the feeling inside was as warm as spring, everyone bubbling with enthusiasm."

In all three cities where the Toronto Symphony played – Peking, Shanghai, and Guangzhou (Canton) – the audiences were huge and enthusiastic. The largest audience was in Peking, when for their third concert in the capital they performed in the gigantic Workers' Stadium, a beautiful building in the west end of the city built about ten years ago. The seating capacity of Workers' Stadium is 18,000. Not only was every available seat in the house taken, but the Toronto Symphony would have had no trouble filling the stadium several times over. While some of the tickets were distributed to work units around the city, a large portion of them were made available through the box office. People had started lining up at ten o'clock at night in order to make sure they could buy tickets when the box office opened the following morning at seven. Some of those people had even come all the way from cities like Tianjin (Tientsin) in order to hear the concert.

Over and over again during the tour, Chinese talked to us very openly about how a bad style of work had been allowed to invade so many areas of daily life under the



Conductor Li De-Lun leads the Toronto Symphony through a rehearsal of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. (Photo: T. Brook)



The Central Philharmonic Society orchestra plays Beethoven's "Eroica" under the direction of Andrew Davis. (Photo: T. Brook)

"gang of four." Box offices, for example. Before the Cultural Revolution, box office sales had been the usual way of making tickets available to the public. Then they came under attack. People complained, quite rightly, that selling tickets through box offices meant that those who had other responsibilities during box office hours, or who lived too far away to get in to buy tickets, could not benefit from cultural performances. Accepting this criticism, those in charge of ticket sales changed their policy. From then on, tickets would only be available on a rotating basis to work units, which would then distribute them to their own members. In theory, this method of handling tickets corrected earlier inequalities. But by going over whole hog to the new system, no one could choose which event he or she wanted to see, since individuals had no control over which democratically distributed tickets they might receive. And it wasn't only a problem with the system itself. Those in charge of distributing tickets within their work units could not always be counted on to avoid favoritism and give them out fairly.

Like some other innovations of the Cultural Revolution, the new method of ticket distribution replaced one kind of error with another. The current method, like many of the reorientations after the fall of the "gang," has been to combine both earlier systems to achieve the best results from both. For the concert at Workers' Stadium, some of the tickets were sent out to work units, and the rest were available to those people who earnestly desired to hear the performance and were willing to stand in line, some of them overnight, to get tickets. No one ever blamed the "gang of four" for the unfair

policy of rotating distribution but some Chinese we talked to did connect the two. In any case, once the "gang" lost power it became possible to change certain policies and experiments dating from the Cultural Revolution which had failed to win the approval of the Chinese masses.

The Canadian musicians were as excited to be playing for 18,000 people at Workers' Stadium as the audience was to be there. The sound amplification could not reproduce the excellent conditions of the Nationalities' Cultural Palace where the first two Peking concerts were held, but the enthusiasm of musicians and listeners made up for any acoustic shortcomings. It was the Toronto Symphony's biggest audience in its 57-year history.

Peking may have provided the symphony with its largest audience, but Guangzhou definitely came through with the liveliest. The audiences in Peking and Shanghai tended to be rather reserved. Cadres cautioned us at several points in the tour that most Chinese did not really understand classical music and might fail to respond to the subtleties which we expected them to hear. Perhaps a few subtleties did get lost, but the audiences all listened very carefully to what was performed. In Peking they listened in dead silence, punctuated by not a few dry winter coughs. In Shanghai the response was a bit warmer, as though the audiences were somehow more familiar with the music. But the people in Guangzhou overshadowed them all. They talked. At first some of the Canadian musicians were taken aback, until they realized they weren't talking out of boredom. Actually, they were talking out of enthusiasm and excitement, sharing reactions with each other. Every

time the music crescendoed, the murmur in the audience rose; and as the music became quieter, the talk died to a whisper. As one musician said after the final concert in Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, "Playing for an educated Western audience will be boring after this!"

Certainly the warmest audience response came for the encores which the Canadians had prepared, all of them Chinese pieces. The orchestra played two medleys arranged by a Toronto musician, "The Harvest Dance Song" and "The Commune Members Are All Sunflowers - The People of Yan-bian Love Chairman Mao." The orchestra had played these on Chinese television during its first concert in Peking so that audiences expected to hear them and roared with applause when they did.

The two soloists also prepared Chinese encores. Maureen Forrester, who introduced Chinese audiences to Mahler songs, sang "Nanniwan." For the first few concerts the Chinese audiences were a little bit baffled, hearing a familiar song sung in a very unfamiliar operatic way. Gradually, Ms. Forrester picked up what it was that the Chinese liked best in her performances, and developed a rendition that fell somewhere between Chinese and Western styles. Her charm and obvious pleasure in singing "Nanniwan" won over her listeners.

Possibly the finest performance of Chinese music came from the guest piano soloist, Louis Lortie. An 18-year-old virtuoso from Montreal, Lortie dazzled the Chinese with their favorite Western piano composer, Franz Liszt, playing the First Piano Concerto. But he moved them even more with his performance of an enchanting work based on a traditional Chinese melody, called

"Tablet Embroidered with Gold" – the most beautiful piano piece to be written in the People's Republic.

Lortie learned to play this piece in the Chinese style at a Peking musical instruments store. Before arriving in China he knew it only from the score. He asked another interpreter and me to find a recording of it by a Chinese pianist, so that he might have some idea of how a Chinese listener would expect it to sound. On our first day in Peking the three of us headed for the record shop at the north end of the downtown shopping area known as Wangfujing. All that they had in stock was a vocal arrangement of "Tablet Embroidered with Gold"; in fact, there were no piano albums whatever in stock. Lortie bought the vocal arrangement, and we headed down Wangfujing to catch a bus back to the Nationalities Hotel where we were staying.

In the first block we passed a musical instrument store and wandered in to look at Chinese instruments. The first thing that caught Lortie's eye was a *Hsinghai*, a small upright piano made in Peking. Curious to know what a Chinese piano was like, he asked if he could play it. An obliging older salesperson came forward with a key and unlocked the keyboard cover. There was no stool, but Lortie crouched down and ran through a few exercise passages. Then it

occurred to him to pull out his score of "Tablet Embroidered with Gold" and try it out on the people in the store. The salesperson brought out a stool. Lortie sat down and played through the first page, then stopped to ask for opinions. The Chinese were obviously pleased and impressed, but declined at first to offer any critical comments. We asked twice, and finally the salesperson and a younger man standing by ventured the opinion that the tempo was a little bit too slow. Lortie speeded it up the second time and played the piece through to the end. He asked again for criticisms.

This time, the younger man told him without hesitation that the middle section had to be played much more briskly and brilliantly. Lortie had originally thought it should be played that way, but had assumed that the Chinese would not appreciate sharp contrasts within a single piece. He went back over the section, and won his growing audience's final approval. And that was how Lortie developed his interpretation of "Tablet Embroidered with Gold," by taking it to the masses! We left the store elated at this first productive contact between a Western musician and the Chinese people.

These contacts improved daily during our stay in Peking. Two days after our arrival, some of the orchestral musicians from the

Central Philharmonic Society met to talk with our musicians. The two musical directors, Andrew Davis and Li De-lun, led the discussion. Never in my several years of living in China had I seen such a free and honest interchange between Westerners and Chinese. This in itself was ample evidence against the repressive atmosphere encouraged by the "gang of four." The isolation of former years had gone.

Li De-lun proved to be a warm, charismatic figure who won the respect of Andrew Davis and the appreciation of all of us. During several hours' discussion, he showed us in very concrete ways what the "gang of four's" policy had done over the last decade to wreck China's musical culture. The most damning fact was that for 11 years the Central Philharmonic Society had been allowed to perform publicly only three pieces, the "Yellow River Piano Concerto," a medley of themes from the model opera "Shajiabang," and a symphonic work based on some of Mao's poems. Nothing else could be performed. When Ormandy had visited the Central Philharmonic Society in 1973 he did conduct them through the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth, in private practice, but Li caught hell for "being slavish to foreigners."

Performing only three works, all fairly similar in technique, meant that the technical level of the orchestra declined sharply. Forcing them to operate within such strict limitations was in effect a roundabout way of sabotaging the orchestra. The Guangzhou Symphony collapsed completely, but the Central Philharmonic kept playing. Their most earnest desire now is to make up for lost time and become again what they were in the mid-1960s, a symphony of international caliber.

We saw what they were capable of next morning in a get-together at the concert hall. This was the high point for all of us, Chinese and Canadians alike. The interpreters became almost unnecessary as the musicians dealt with each other in their common language, music. In his opening remarks, Duan Jin, a leading member of the society, told us: "In the field of art and literature we are ushering in a bright spring where a hundred flowers bloom: a new way of socialist art is beginning." True to this claim, the Central Philharmonic Society treated us to a wide range of music, from traditional Chinese music performed by the pipa virtuoso Liu De-hai to a modern piano concerto performed by the famous Liu Shi-kun, to Beethoven's Third.

Andrew Davis was invited by the Central Philharmonic Society to conduct them through the Beethoven, an invitation he accepted with delight. His sharp, exact conducting style was quite different from what the Chinese musicians were used to,



Liu Shi-kun demonstrates his technique for Canadian pianist Louis Lortie and interested onlookers. (Photo: T. Brook)

but they soon adapted to his direction and performed well. Then the Toronto Symphony was conducted through the beginning movement of Beethoven's Fifth by Li De-lun. Li's massive build and his shock of thick black hair accentuated the rich, romantic style of his conducting. He also proved to be a careful conductor, catching a late violin entry that we had somehow never noticed through countless performances of the Fifth.

Afterward, the musicians spent an hour with each other, discussing musical styles, comparing instruments, and playing ensembles together. Pianist Liu Shi-kun demonstrated what effects he was trying to achieve on the piano, and Louis Lortie responded by showing him some of the subtleties which he was working for in his playing. The flutists played some Grand Trios together. The French horn players

shared techniques in performance and horn construction. A Chinese oboist demonstrated a new plastic oboe which China has developed, and Canadian bass players explained their extended low register tuning. The musicians also exchanged addresses – and that was probably the clearest sign we saw that the “gang of four” has gone.

About Chinese life in general, the Toronto musicians had a variety of reactions. Much of what they saw in China was unexpected. Some were surprised at the low standard of living, at least in comparison to what they knew back home. Some were surprised by the free bustling atmosphere they saw in the streets, especially during Spring Festival (Chinese New Year) in Guangzhou where the colorful hubbub of the annual Flower Market was extraordinary. Many were taken aback by the unbroken stares of the curious wherever they went; and many

more were overwhelmed by the generous hospitality of their Chinese hosts. “It started out with tremendous formality,” said conductor Andrew Davis. “But by the time we left, they were hugging us and behaving with the kind of warmth we would never have dreamed possible. There was great regret at having to leave.”

Possibly the most baffling contradiction for everyone unused to Chinese courtesy was the emphasis on leadership. In every concert, at every banquet, in every convoy of vehicles, the Chinese hosts insisted that the Toronto Symphony leadership be set apart from the rest of the musicians and be given special treatment. Leaders would chat with leaders, musicians would sit with musicians. Given the Canadians' attitude toward their leadership – comprising largely organizational and support figures, rather than musicians – they were puzzled by this piece of Chinese etiquette. Here China was trying to carry through people's democracy, and yet, as one Canadian violinist remarked, “It's taken years to break down hierarchies in our orchestra, and now here in China we're right back where we started.” But the Chinese were just as baffled at our lack of concern about leadership, though one Chinese friend admitted, “This tendency to separate leadership is perhaps a hangover from our long history of feudal hierarchy. Just remember that feudalism is still recent history in China, and we can't change everything at once.”

The Toronto musicians admired the Chinese musicians' considerable skill, but felt that they had been playing in a vacuum for many years. So much had happened since the Cultural Revolution in the international music world, including many technical innovations (such as the new French horn mouthpiece and the bass extension for a longer string) of which the Chinese were unaware. Years of playing the same things had narrowed their artistic vision. But they were modest in sharing what they knew, and in learning from the Canadians' experience. There was, however, one respect in which some of the younger Canadian musicians felt the Chinese had an advantage. They weren't in music for money. If you were a good musician, you played. If you had thoroughly prepared a piece, you performed it. You played because you wanted to, not because you had to.

Canadian and Chinese musicians overall felt this to be a very beneficial exchange. Both the visit to Canada of the Shanghai Ballet Troupe last year and the Toronto Symphony's tour of China this year have carried our cultural contacts yet one step further, leaving memories neither the Canadians nor the Chinese will ever forget. For us, the memory of *The White-haired Girl*. For them, the memory of Beethoven. ●



After leading a rehearsal of the Chinese orchestra, Andrew Davis is thanked by representative Duan Jin. (Photo: T. Brook)

Hua Guo-feng

by Peter Schmidt

A profile of China's leader

On July 23, 1966, a crowd of more than 200,000 people demonstrated in Changsha, Hunan Province, in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against American intervention in the war in Indochina. As a provincial Party official named Hua Guo-feng walked to the rostrum to deliver the main speech that afternoon, hundreds of banners unfurled in the air proclaiming Chinese solidarity with their Vietnamese friends. Ten years later, at the age of 56, Hua Guo-feng once again stood before an enormous crowd amidst a chorus of singing and shouting while banners waved in the breeze of a cool October afternoon. As the newly appointed Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Hua was making his first official appearance in Tian An Men Square where Mao Tsetung had proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China 27 years earlier.

Outside of Hunan Province, most Chinese knew little of Hua, who in 1976 was first chosen to succeed the late Chou En-lai as Premier and only months later was elevated to the post of Party Chairman following Mao's death. A flurry of assessments in the Western press described Hua as a "pragmatist" or "moderate" whose political

leadership could modify, if not reverse, Mao's policies. Fox Butterfield presented this summation in the October 13, 1976, *New York Times*: "Mr. Hua has clung to a careful centrist stance, stressing the moderate themes of Party unity, study, discipline, and production. Among China-watchers, it is widely believed that Mr. Hua was a compromise choice, acceptable to both the so-called radicals and moderates."

Is this an accurate description of Mao's successor? Now 57, Hua has been involved in China's continuing revolution since he was a young man. A survey of his work and contributions at various critical junctures of the Revolution suggests that the choice of Hua as Party Chairman was well considered — that his decades of experience have qualified him not merely to succeed Mao in office, but to pursue the revolutionary course Mao had set.

Shanxi Province — The War Years

During the Japanese invasion of China and the ensuing War of Liberation, Hua was a young Party cadre in the Shanxi (Shansi)-Suiyuan border region of North China. One of his tasks there was to implement Mao's innovative policy of the national united front, aimed at arousing broad resistance to the Japanese. In his assigned area of Jiaocheng County, Hua worked constantly to unite as many people as possible, including the gentry, to stand up and fight against the Japanese. According to one Chinese recollection of Hua during these years: "His painstaking work helped the vigorous growth of anti-Japanese mass organizations of all kinds, which comprised a broad anti-Japanese united front in Jiaocheng County."

In Jiaocheng Hua also had a major

responsibility in overseeing agricultural production. In a period when self-reliance played an important role in resisting the Japanese, he organized the people to trial-produce a hardy, early-ripening cotton. In addition to providing the people with vitally needed material for clothing, efforts of this kind frustrated the enemy's economic blockade. Those who worked with him at this time said that his example and leadership contributed greatly to the production of food and other essentials which enabled the Chinese to defeat Japan.

In the wake of Japan's defeat, the civil war spread to Shanxi in 1946. At this time Hua played a dual role in leading the armed forces and civilians of Jiaocheng in opposition to Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang (Kuomintang) invaders, while at the same time carrying out the new policies of land reform. In giving the poor and lower-middle peasants title to the land and an added stake in the Revolution, the Communist Party paved the way for the eventual liberation of the country in 1949.

The Years in Hunan Province

At the time of Liberation in 1949, Hua was transferred to Hunan to work in Xiangyin County, Mao's former home. In the early 1950s he was active once again in land reform at a time when it was critical to break the political power of the landlords and bring their feudal rule to an end. Many of the Communist Party's leaders in the countryside, including Hua, had recognized that land reform was merely the first step toward real liberation for the peasants. Through personal visits to many villages in Xiangyin Hua worked to gain the confidence of the peasants and urged them to aim their work in

PETER SCHMIDT is on the staff of *NEW CHINA* magazine and is active in the Metropolitan New Jersey USCPFA.

Material for this article was drawn from Michael Oksenberg and Sai-cheung Yeung, "Hua Kuo-feng's Pre-Cultural Revolution Hunan Years, 1949-66: The Making of a Political Generalist," *China Quarterly*, March 1977; Lee Tsung-ying, untitled (p. 3), *Eastern Horizon*, February 1977; Peking Review, *China Reconstructs*, and *China Features* releases, *passim*.



On September 10, 1977, Party Chairman Hua Guo-feng speaks at the memorial meeting marking the first anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung. Flanking him on the rostrum are (left to right) Vice Chairmen Wang Tong-Xing, Deng Xiao-ping, Ye Jian-ying, and Li Xian-nian. (Photo: New China News Agency)

the direction of developing agricultural cooperatives. For the peasants this meant pooling their land and tools, relying on their collective efforts as they had in defeating the Japanese and the Guomindang.

By the winter of 1954 the cooperative movement was gaining considerable strength in Hunan. However, the picture was not completely rosy. In addition to some former landlords and rich peasants who dreamed of the failure of the cooperatives, there were also Party officials who felt the peasants were not capable of forming and sustaining the cooperatives. Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shao-chi) called for a policy of "suspension, retrenchment, and rectification" of the cooperatives in 1954 and met some spirited resistance from the peasants themselves. One of the cooperatives that Liu attacked was the May First co-op in Ningxiang, Hunan Province.

At the request of Hua Guo-feng, a three-man commission was sent to Ningxiang to investigate the situation there. They came back with a report that described the enthusiasm of the peasants for cooperativization and the strides that they had made. Hua recognized the importance of this struggle and at his suggestion the Xiangtan Party Committee circulated a document called "The Growth of Agricultural Cooperatives in Chenzhou." In supporting the peasants and opposing Liu Shao-qi's attempts to undermine the cooperative movement, Hua encouraged the peasants to keep their socialist orientation, learn from their setbacks, and continue to transform the countryside. According to Michael Oksenberg, now an official in the Carter Administration, in the March 1977 *China Quarterly*: "Hua realistically acknowledged the defi-

ciencies and difficulties in the current, often chaotic situation in the co-ops. His solutions stressed careful organization and planning, the clear delineation of responsibility, the formulation of procedures that were clearly within the grasp of the peasantry, and the development of adequate supervision and investigation processes. He also pointed out

that conditions varied sufficiently within the district, that the precise solutions would have to vary from place to place."

It was probably at this time that Hua's work first came to the attention of Chairman Mao. In 1955 when Mao's notes on the reports collected in *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* first appeared, three of



Working alongside peasants of Tungtuntu Commune, Changsha, Hunan Province, Hua Guo-feng transplants rice under a hot sun in July, 1970. (Photo: New China News Agency)



Hua Guo-feng leads a 1965 inspection tour of the Shaoshan Irrigation System in Hunan Province, a construction project he had encouraged and directed. (Photo: New China News Agency)

the six reports from Hunan in the collection had been written under Hua's direction. A few years later, during the Great Leap Forward (1958-59), Hua organized another set of articles that criticized the opposition to the Great Leap led by Peng De-huai, a member of the Party Politburo and Central Committee. The Chinese have reported that following the publication of these articles, Mao himself nominated Hua as the new Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee. Hua had become a careful student of Mao and had won his attention and respect.

By this time personal investigation and seeking truth from facts had become hallmarks of Hua's work method and style. He rarely formed his opinions or issued orders from a desk in an office, but went into the field to search out the facts. In the early days of his new post in Hunan he found himself in opposition once again to the political ideas and policies of Liu Shao-qi. A combination of natural disasters and the Soviet Union's removal of all technical assistance in 1961 had left the Chinese economy in a weakened condition. At this time Liu stepped forward and called for the extension of private plots

and free markets, with an increase in small enterprises that would be responsible for their own profits and losses. On top of the other difficulties this could have been a damaging blow to China's socialist goals. Liu had a sizable following and his influence had spread into parts of Hunan Province. Hua had to work quickly to combat Liu's strength.

His first action was to form a work-team and go out and visit those areas that had successfully resisted Liu Shao-qi. He paid four visits to the Maotian district where he worked with the people in studying their experiences in fighting Liu's policies. He also gave guidance to the first Hunan effort to "learn from Dazhai (Tachai)" as he presided over a provincial conference to publicize the Maotian experiences.

From this Maotian experience Hua wrote an article called "Revolutionary Drive Is the Important Thing" and had it distributed throughout Hunan. One of its first stops was in Chinglian, a comparatively backward production brigade in Xiangtan County. Hua led another work-team there and spent several weeks working with the peasants, summing up their difficulties, but encourag-

ing them in their efforts to develop production. They worked together on specific problems such as pig-raising, fish-breeding, and planting fruit trees. Through their collective efforts the situation slowly began to turn around and Liu's "go it alone" tendencies were defeated.

During the late 1960s and into the Cultural Revolution Hua worked on an irrigation project in Shaoshan, Mao's birthplace. As the general director of a project which served six counties, Hua put in many hours of labor himself, filling in gullies, cutting away hills, and helping to build aqueducts. By personally involving himself in the work he not only provided on-the-job leadership and guidance, but also learned from the workers about struggles they faced in their daily lives. Hua was closely linked to the fight against flooding in Nanwan Lake in 1969 and also played an active role in the campaign against the parasitical disease schistosomiasis at Dongting Lake.

In 1969 Hua was elected to the Party Central Committee for the first time. Two years later, when Chou En-lai was reconstituting the government and Party administrations which had been largely dismantled

during the Cultural Revolution, he brought Hua to Peking to work in the Party's general office. One of his first tasks was to lead a conference on the mechanization of agriculture in 1971. Hua's execution of this and other assignments evidently lived up to expectations, for he became a Vice-Premier and delivered the summary address at the first National Conference on Learning from Dazhai in October 1975.

Chairman Hua and China's Present Goals

Nineteen seventy-six was an enormously difficult year for the Chinese people. Chou En-lai, Mao Tsetung, and Chu Teh – three of their most popular and respected leaders – all died during this same year. A series of devastating earthquakes left several cities in ruin and possibly a million dead and injured. In addition, the now infamous “gang of four” – Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching), Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hong-wen, and Zhang Chun-qiao – had created considerable disruption in China's economy. The primary task for the Chinese people at this time was to overcome the setbacks and difficulties of the past year and move ahead on their revolutionary course. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party unanimously agreed that Hua Guo-feng's experience in providing timely leadership in other difficult situations was now essential in directing the country's revolutionary development. In October 1976 Hua was selected to become Mao Tsetung's successor. In addition to being an endorsement of Hua and his leadership abilities, the Central Committee's decision also represented a repudiation of the direction in which the “gang of four's” policies were leading the nation before their arrest and removal from all posts.

For example, the “four” had made a common practice of seizing on certain aspects of Mao's theories while ignoring or downplaying what they disagreed with. Hua, on the other hand, was a seasoned dialectical thinker who had had many years of practical experience evaluating different sides of any given situation. For this reason, one of his first actions as Party Chairman was to authorize the publication of “On the Ten Major Relationships,” a speech Mao had made in April 1956 summing up some of the experience of Chinese and Soviet socialism. In this speech Mao brought to life the role of dialectical thinking that was necessary to avoid a one-sided view of developing China's socialist society.

Mao saw the need for expanding both industrial production and agricultural productivity in order to create the material base that would ensure the even growth of China's socialist economy. On the other hand, he recognized the danger that pro-

duction policies could become detached from a revolutionary outlook toward changing society and thus lead back to capitalism. Mao later stressed the link between political and economic work in his famous instruction to “grasp revolution, promote production.” This expressed the fact that politics – class struggle – is the key to understanding the practical tasks of building a socialist society and developing a

challenge of the ambitious foursome and cleared away the roadblock that they represented to the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese people are moving once again on the considered revolutionary course set forth by Mao in the “Ten Major Relationships,” as evidenced by important conferences on Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture, Learning from Daqing (Taching) in Industry, and the recent conference on



To help promote the “Learn from Dazhai” campaign, and with Chen Yong-gui (center front) at his side, Hua Guo-feng examines flood control and land-reclamation efforts at Shihping Production Brigade, Xiyang County, Shanxi Province in February, 1977. (Photo: New China News Agency)

plan to accomplish these tasks. The “gang of four,” on the other hand, jumped on this principle and reduced the meaning of “grasp revolution” to a struggle over outlook and ideas only, devoid of the necessary relationship to the practical tasks facing society. From this incorrect understanding they proceeded to downplay the role of production and accused anyone who advocated the advancement of production of being a “capitalist roader.”

Under Hua's leadership, China has re-oriented itself to the full meaning of grasping revolution and promoting production. In close association with other Chinese leaders, including Vice-Chairman Ye Jian-ying (Yeh Chien-ying) and Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping), Hua has met the

science and technology. All of these important meetings, held within the last 18 months, have served the people with examples of what socialism can and should accomplish in China.

These efforts to step up production within the framework of revolutionary practice, the correction of some past mistakes in education, and a renewed effort to enable a hundred flowers to bloom in the field of art and culture reflect the kind of rounded thinking that Oksenberg detected in Hua's performance in Hunan and that gained Mao's respectful attention. With Hua in charge, the Chinese people are boldly facing the task of making China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century. ●

Sweaters, Geese, and the White-Bone Demon

by James Cross Giblin

An introduction to Chinese children's literature

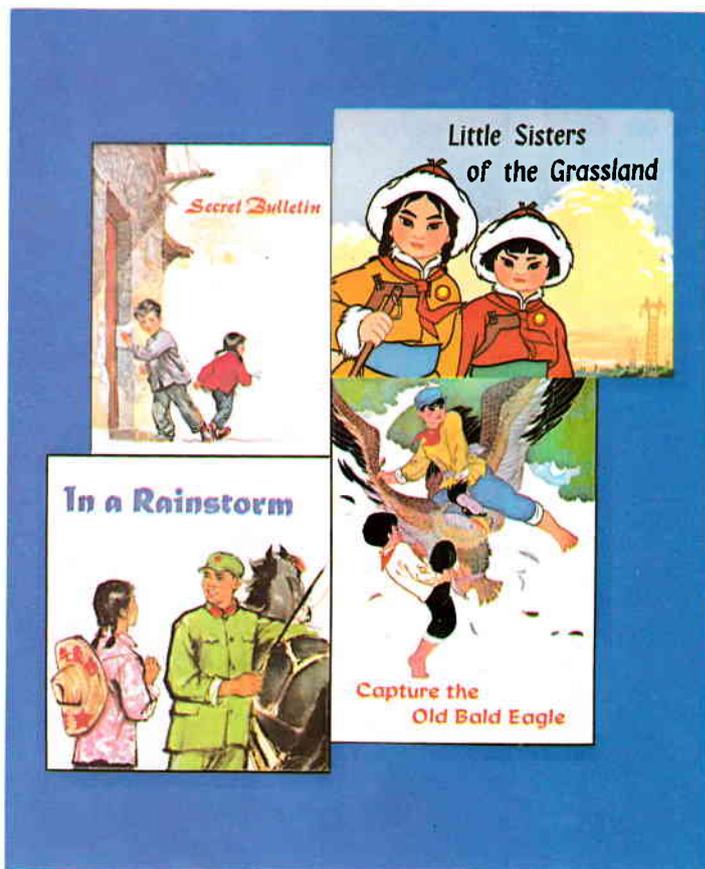
AT A QUICK GLANCE, Chinese children's books in English don't look very different from their U.S. counterparts. There are the same brightly colored illustrations, attractive typography, and mix of hardback and paperback formats. On closer examination, some striking differences in theme and values become apparent, a natural reflection of the differences between American and Chinese society.

Because of these differences, Chinese children's books might initially seem strange to some U.S. children, or to the adults reading the stories to them. The clothing of the people and the furnishings in their homes are not what we're used to seeing; and the activities of the young characters in the stories – saving the commune's flock of sheep, delivering secret news bulletins for the underground – may not be of the kind U.S. children identify with easily.

Still, children have the same potential for learning and understanding wherever they live. Carried along by the colorful pictures and action-filled narratives, it's likely that many American children would enjoy Chinese children's books if librarians, teachers, and parents gave them the opportunity to see them. The very differences between the Chinese books and those the children are used to would probably make the books more exciting reading in the long run. And the insights the children would be gaining into the Chinese way of life could lead to lively discussions and comparisons at home or in the classroom.

In this survey, we'll look at ten children's books published by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking since 1972, and at one book published in 1965, before the start of the Cultural Revolution. The survey will be limited to illustrated books: picture books for pre-school-age children; story books for older children; and several

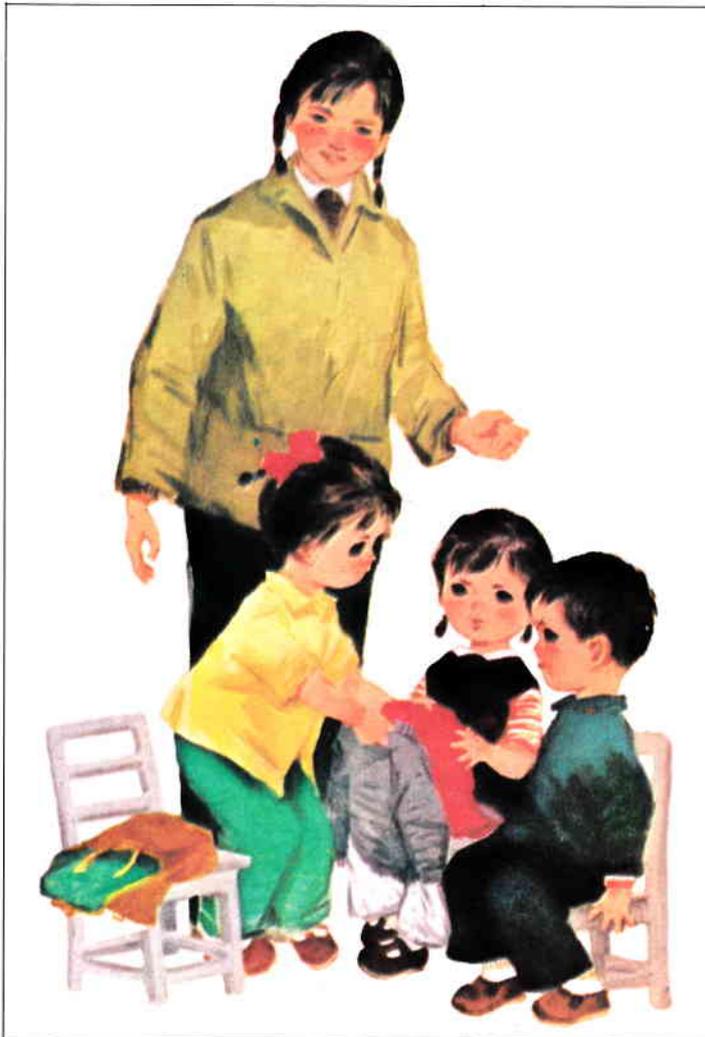
JAMES CROSS GIBLIN is an editor of children's books in New York and visited China in 1975.



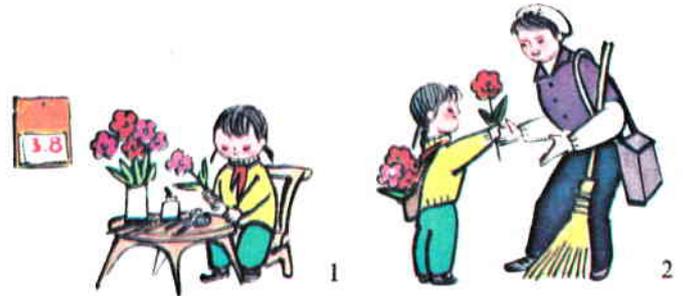
examples of what the Chinese call “serial picture books” – heavily illustrated books for teenagers and adults who are not experienced readers.

Not all of the books are equally successful. Some of the stories seem thin or unfinished, and in one instance the illustrations appear to have been done under a variety of influences, none of them good. These occasional failings may mirror the unhealthy dominance over the Chinese media, including children’s book publishing, by the “gang of four” (Wang Hong-wen, Zhang Chun-qiao, Jiang Qing [Chiang Ching], and Yao Wen-yuan) in the later years of the Cultural Revolution, as reported in articles in the Chinese press since the “gang’s” downfall in October 1976. But in most instances the Chinese children’s books more than match world standards of design and production and project a dynamic image of revolutionary China.

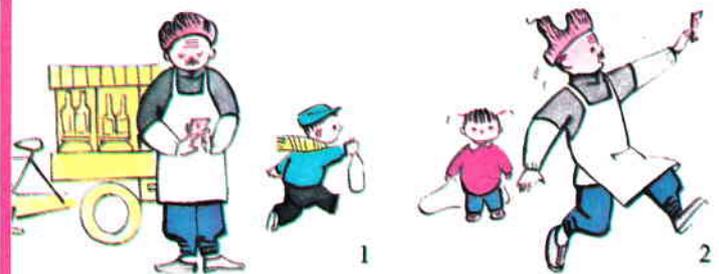
▼ *Three Sweaters* is one of the most appealing of the books for pre-school children. Its story could not be simpler or more childlike: while getting ready for school, Little Chin hears a radio forecast of a strong, cold wind by evening and puzzles her mother by asking if she can take two extra sweaters with her to school. She explains that she has two new classmates, Ying and Pin, whose mothers go to work early, and who probably won’t have heard about the wind. The brief text presents the favorite Chinese theme of “serve the people” in an active manner and the pictures incorporate many revealing details of everyday urban life in China today: Little Chin’s metal bed, the radio and alarm clock on the bedside stand, the colorful clothing of the children, and the little wooden chairs and tables with which their classroom is furnished.



Presenting flowers on International Working Women’s Day.



“You’re all good children!”



◀ Entirely different in style from the illustrations for *Three Sweaters* are those in *Little Ching and Hu-tzu Guard the Cornfield*, which resemble cut-paper collages. Bright and cheerful, these pictures are more consistently effective than the text, which dramatizes a problem that develops on a commune.

Auntie Chang's geese are threatening the corn shoots. Hu-tzu, a clever but mischievous boy, sticks a small willow branch in each goose's bill, thus preventing them from eating any more shoots. When Auntie Chang comes home and sees what Hu-tzu has done to her geese, she is understandably annoyed, even after Little Ching, a girl responsible for guarding the cornfield, explains that they were spoiling the shoots. Eventually Auntie Chang realizes that it is her responsibility to help Little Ching replant the damaged patch, and Hu-tzu understands that sticking willow branches in the bills of the geese wasn't the best way to solve the problem. All three agree to mend the broken gate of the coop so that the geese won't be able to get into the cornfield in the future.

The situation in this story offers many possibilities for character contrast as it explores in a basic way the conflict between individual and group responsibility. Unfortunately, the terse writing style resembles an outline more than a fully developed narrative.

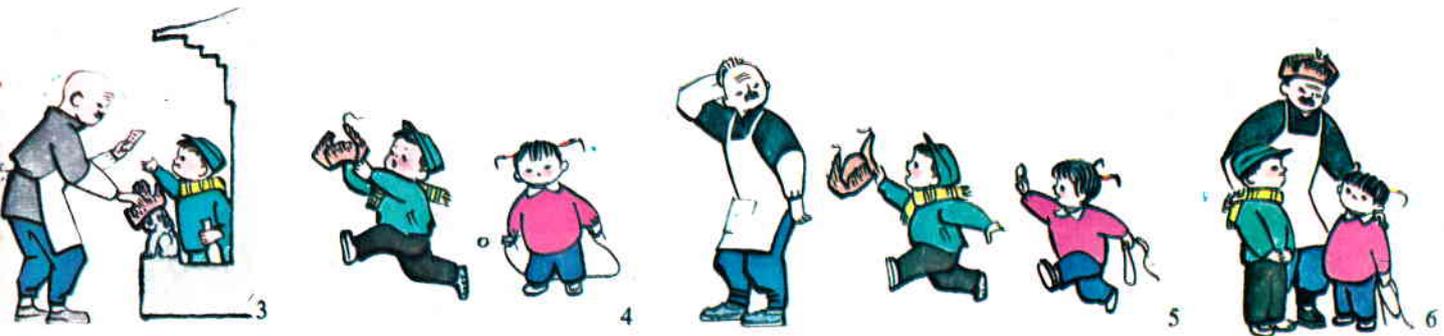
▼ Perhaps the freshest and most effective of all the young picture books is *Good Children*. This is a collection of 17 incidents in which

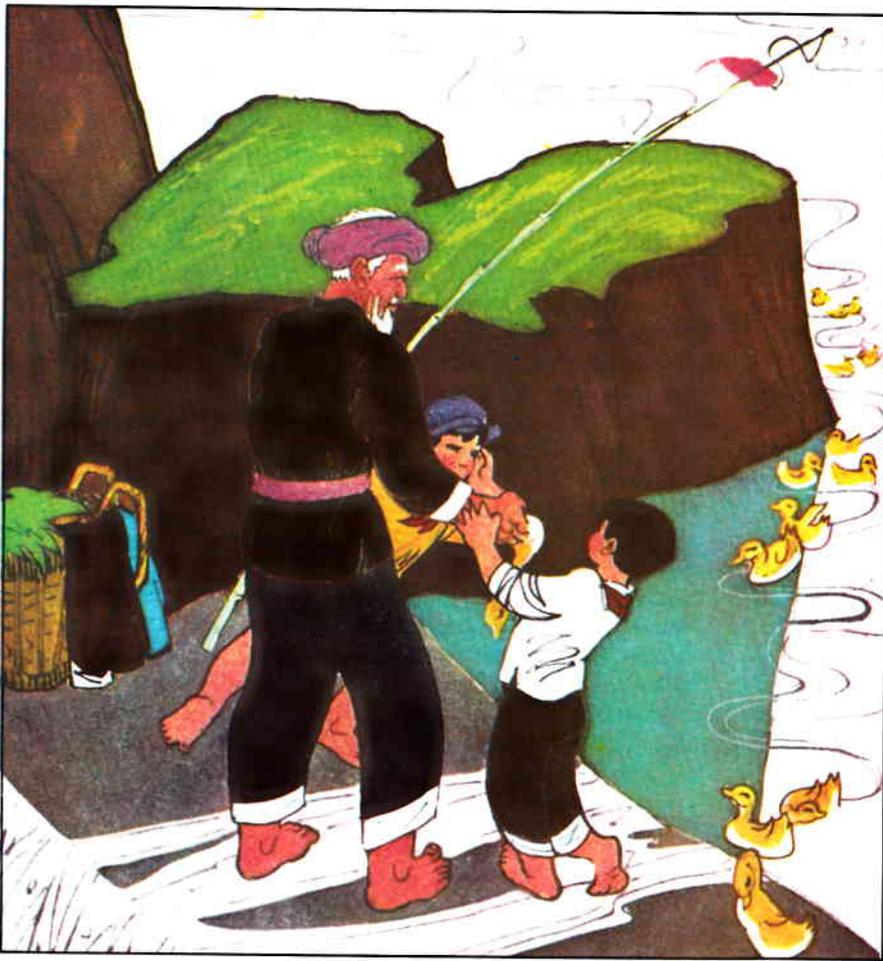
a child does something good – usually something for others. Each of the incidents has a caption-like title, and is dramatized in six or seven wordless numbered scenes that occupy a single spread of the ten-inch-wide book. At the same time completely Chinese and completely universal, *Good Children* compares favorably with the best of the wordless picture books that have been so popular in the U.S. in the last decade or so. Like them, it encourages young children, long before they can read, to “tell” the story in the pictures to an adult or another child, thereby becoming an active participant in the storytelling process.

Two of my favorite sequences in *Good Children* are “Presenting flowers on International Working Women’s Day” and “You’re all good children!”

In the first a little girl simply presents flowers to a series of grown-up women – a street cleaner, a bus driver, a tractor driver, a teacher, and finally a pilot who may well be the little girl’s mother. Of course, what’s especially interesting is the active image of women and their possible roles in life that the sequence promotes to young Chinese and world readers.

The second sequence depicts a more complicated situation. As a little girl runs to return the coin dropped by a little boy, who is running to return the fur cap left behind by the milk vendor, who had run to the little boy’s house to return the rest of his change for a bottle of milk, one is reminded of the circular folk-tale patterns of centuries past, happily adapted to present-day storytelling.





▲ Moving on from one of the strongest recent Chinese picture books, we come to what, in my opinion, is one of the weakest: *Wily Wolf*. The story, in which Brown Dog Rabbit and White Rabbit discover that Grey Dog is really Wily Wolf in disguise, contains a lesson reminiscent of the classic “A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing.” But any promise the story might have had is defeated by the illustrations, which mimic Disney at his cutest, with big-eyed, long-lashed little animals romping through landscapes painted in the most sugary pastels. Although published in the later years of the Cultural Revolution, this work demonstrates an amazingly uncritical assimilation of foreign styles and techniques. To this observer’s eye, at least, there is nothing Chinese about the pictures in *Wily Wolf*.



◀ Far more inviting are the illustrations for *Capture the Old Bald Eagle*, an adventure story for children of seven to eleven about two boys of the Miao nationality who climb a high mountain to trap the eagle that’s been preying on their commune’s ducks. A mixture of collage technique with a drawing style reminiscent of traditional Chinese paintings, the pictures in this book are always interesting to look at even when it’s somewhat hard to tell just what’s happening in them. Overall, they’re more effective than the story which, while full of strong action, is often abrupt in the telling, especially at the end.

▶ A more satisfying adventure for the same age group is *Little Sisters of the Grassland*, adapted from an animated cartoon of the same title and illustrated with stills from the film. Both the movie and the book are based on the true story of two little Mongolian sisters who risked their lives during a blizzard to save the commune’s flock of sheep which they had been tending. American children might find the selfless heroism of the girls a bit hard to understand at first; it’s so far removed from the attitude of “look out for yourself first” with which many of us are imbued at an early age. The suspense builds so steadily, though, that most young American readers will probably be swept along by the events in the story and only later, if at all, ask, “Why were the sheep so important?” and “Weren’t the sisters’ lives more



important than the animals'?" But questions like that could be the starting point for a discussion of the different social values the book exemplifies.

▼ Lately here in the U.S. there's been much talk of the need for books for teenagers and adults who are only reading at a second or third-grade level. China has long produced "serial picture books" for this

readership and two recent examples have been translated into English: *The Five Heroes of Wolf's Teeth Mountain* and *In a Rainstorm*.

Based on an actual incident that took place during the war against Japan, the former recounts the heroic deeds of five soldiers who delayed the Japanese while the main force of the Chinese army got safely away. It's basically a powerful story; however, the

highly stylized illustrations, filled with dramatic poses that remind one of the groupings in the model revolutionary operas, may put off some U.S. readers rather than involving them more closely with the actions of the five brave soldiers.

In its lower-keyed way, *In a Rainstorm* gets across more skillfully and convincingly its message about the close ties that exist between the army and the people in China. Without his knowing it, a young soldier driving a cart filled with supplies is aided by a girl weather forecaster. After he ignores her warnings about an oncoming storm – his mission is too urgent – she alerts the members of a commune up ahead to be on the lookout for him and give him shelter in case he needs it. What makes the book special is the warm tone of the text and the detailed pictures in traditional Chinese watercolor style. From the forecaster's colorful blouse to the plaster walls of a stable to the bamboo curtains hanging in the doorway of a commune home, the illustrations for *In a Rainstorm* give an unusually clear impression of the Chinese rural scene.

► Few Chinese classics were republished during the Cultural Revolution, but *Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon*, reissued in an English edition in 1973, was a notable exception. Adapted from an episode in Wu Cheng-en's 16th-century mythological novel *The Pilgrimage to the West*, this serial picture book in black-and-white introduces the Western reader, whether child or adult, to the marvelous figure of Monkey, a fearless character who is capable of performing supernatural feats. Accompanying a monk on a westward journey in search of Buddhist scriptures, Monkey warns his master that they are likely to encounter demons in the mountains, but the monk refuses to believe him. Only after the sinister White-Bone Demon has made him her prisoner and is about to kill and eat him does the monk realize the truth of what Monkey had said: "You can't take pity on a demon."

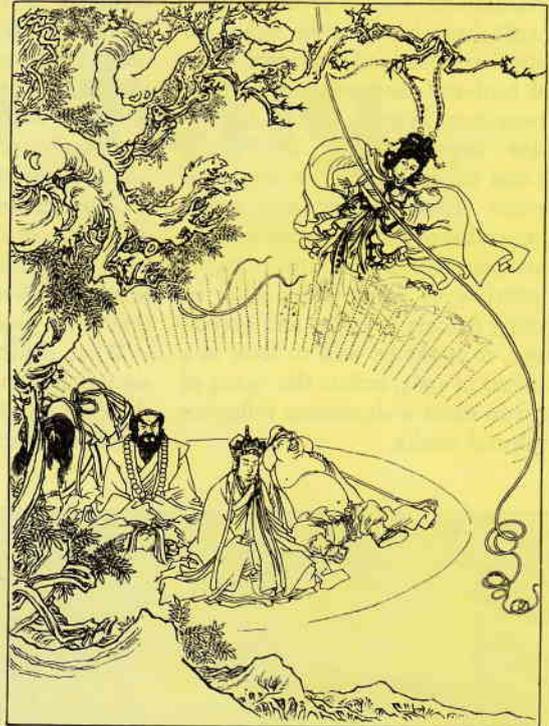
The text of this picture-book version is smoothly translated and filled with action that carries the reader from one page to another. It successfully retains the flavor and imagination of the original tale while keeping unfamiliar expressions and remote religious concepts to a minimum.

Of particular delight are the illustrations. Clad in traditional Chinese opera costumes, Monkey, the monk, their compatriots, and all the demons sweep through bold, dramatic pictorial compositions. Children and grown-ups too will enjoy finding the faces of demons hidden in the gnarled pine trees and jagged cliffs of the mountain backgrounds. The strongly outlined drawings on generous-sized pages would also be great fun to color.





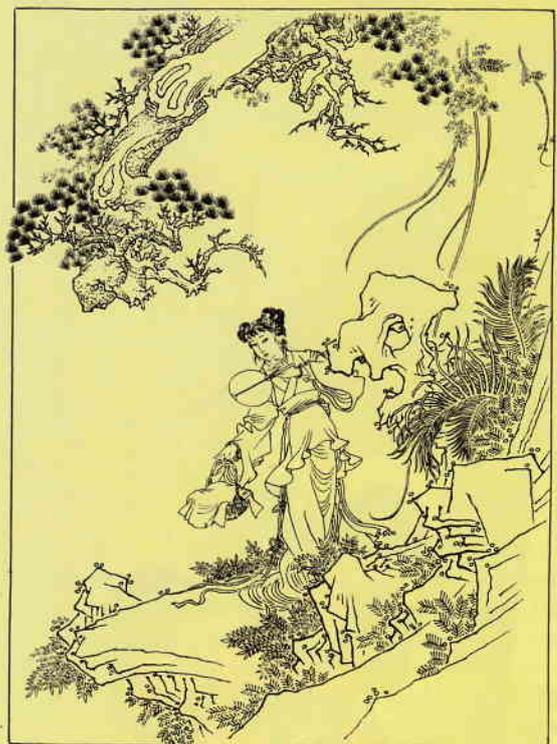
The White-Bone Demon came out and saw Hsuan-tsang, Pigsy and Sandy sitting deep in meditation. Monkey was nowhere to be seen.



Congratulating herself on her luck, the White-Bone Demon was about to fling herself upon Hsuan-tsang when golden rays shot forth from the ring Monkey had traced on the ground. She found it impossible to break into the circle.



"Monkey knows defence," she thought, "but I can change myself into another form. Then won't they fall into my trap?" And with that she disappeared behind a rock.



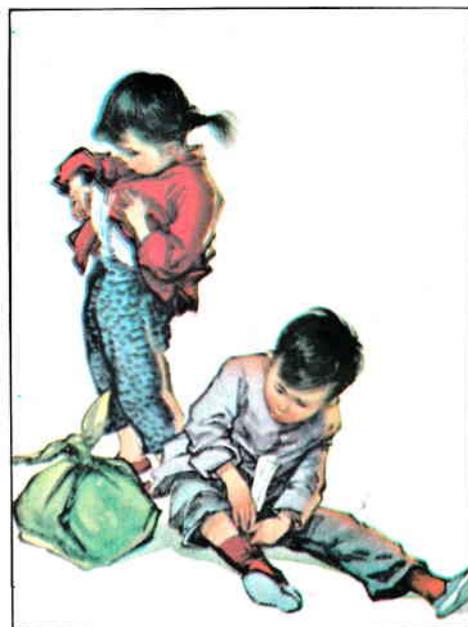
Quick as a wink there appeared from behind the rock a maiden with flowers in her hair and carrying steamed buns in a basket. Smiling sweetly and reciting Buddhist scriptures, she approached Hsuan-tsang and his two disciples.

Since the ousting of the “gang of four,” the Chinese cultural scene has witnessed many re-evaluations. Movies made between 1949 and 1966 have been shown again for the first time in a decade. Traditional landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings have appeared once more in art exhibits. Classical operas have been restaged in Peking, Shanghai, and other cities. The works of classic writers from Chinese and world literature, as well as progressive 20th-century writers, have been reprinted in large editions. So, as a preview of what China may be offering young readers at home and abroad in the future, it might be well to look at a book published in 1965, before the “gang of four” began to exert a significant influence over the cultural media.

▼ *Secret Bulletin* is the exciting story of two young friends, a boy and a girl, who are involved in underground work with the Young pioneers in Shanghai before Liberation. At the outset the boy thinks he is the older and wiser of the two. But one night, while the two of them are distributing secret news bulletins for the Party, he unwittingly boasts about their mission within earshot of a Guomindang (Kuomintang) spy. It is the girl who, through cleverness and bravery, leads them safely out of this perilous situation, and afterward the boy acknowledges that she is probably much wiser than he.

What distinguishes *Secret Bulletin* from similar boy-girl adventures published after the Cultural Revolution is not the skillfully handled feminist theme – many Chinese

children’s stories have presented girls in active roles – but rather the fact that the main characters are portrayed in emotional depth. Unlike the protagonists of more recent stories, created under the influence of Jiang Qing’s model revolutionary operas, these children are not always automatically heroic. Caught in dangerous corners, they experience moments of nervousness and fear. Rather than reducing their stature as



characters, these weaknesses only make them seem more human – and more heroic when they manage to overcome them.

The watercolor illustrations, which convey the dark and menacing atmosphere of night-time Shanghai before Liberation, also serve to amplify the realistic characterizations of the boy and girl. Sometimes they look worried, sometimes anxious, sometimes defiant. Compared to the young heroes of some later Chinese picture books who seem capable only of smiling or frowning, the boy and girl in *Secret Bulletin* are many-dimensional and much more convincing.

One of the main guidelines for art and literature in China today is Chairman Mao Tsetung’s recommendation, first voiced in 1956, to “Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend.” Many diverse and colorful flowers have bloomed in Chinese children’s literature in recent years, from the charmingly direct *Good Children* to the suspenseful *Little Sisters of the Grassland* to the classically imaginative *Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon*. Given the spirited mood of the current Chinese cultural scene, it seems likely that an even richer and more varied selection of children’s books will blossom in the future. ●

History Rides the Rails

by Ralph McDonald

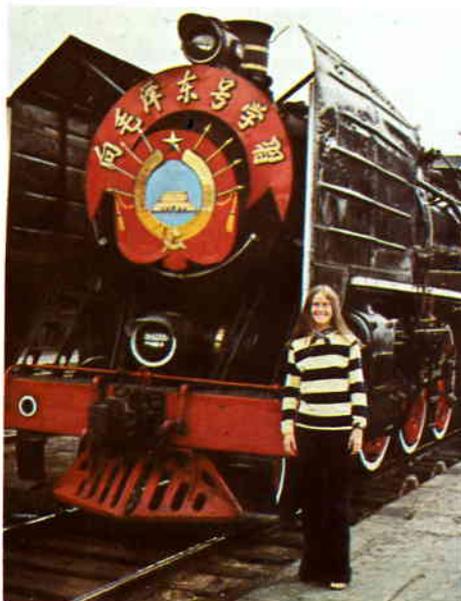
Tracking a hundred years of change in China

To us farm kids growing up in Caldwell, Idaho, trains were part of the romance of faraway places. We had to be in the right pasture on the right day, waiting for the quiver in the earth and the whistle blast that signaled the train was coming. We'd hurry to the track, so close to the edge that when the engine passed the sparks would fly up at our feet. We'd count the cars, wave back to the workers in the caboose, and wonder at these metal monsters whose technology seemed so much beyond what we knew in Caldwell. In school we read about the great railroad-building days of the 19th century and the completion of the transcontinental railway, so intimately connected with the opening up of our own western states, including Idaho. I began to appreciate the connection between railroads and economic growth.

During my 1976 visit to China, my childhood fascination with trains was re-awakened through my experiences with Chinese trains and conversations with railway workers. Since my return, I have read everything I could about the history of Chinese railways over the past century – a history that is closely interwoven with the political and economic struggle to build the new China.

In any developing country, railways are the arteries of the national economy, transporting the raw materials, fuels, and manufactured goods that are the life-blood of growing industries and agriculture. One of the most serious charges against the "gang of four" was that they had seriously damaged the economy by disrupting the

RALPH McDONALD visited the Qingdao Rolling Stock Mill during his 1976 trip to China.



A USCPFA tour member with the famous coal-driven locomotive "Mao Tsetung." (Photo: B. McDonald)

railway systems in many parts of the country. According to the Chinese, at the height of the disruption coal shipments were piled up, power plants had shut down, steel and fertilizer plants were idle for lack of raw materials, steam engines had no fuel, local markets were sold out, and in some places food supplies had to be rationed. Months before Mao's death and the arrest of the "gang of four," railway workers we met in Qingdao (Tsingtao) told us, "Socialist trains should run on time. It is important to be both politically correct and technically competent." I didn't understand the significance of the statement until much later, when I learned that Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching) and

her supporters were accused of promoting the slogan, "Socialist trains that are late are better than capitalist trains on time."

The first railways in China, in the late 19th century, were built by foreign imperialist powers to extend their economic exploitation of the country. Rail lines from the coast to selected points in the interior would give them easier access to raw materials and markets – and an efficient means of transporting troops and arms if there was resistance by the Chinese. The first rail line, from Shanghai to Wusong, was built in 1875 by a group of foreign merchants representing 27 Western firms. Well aware that the Chinese government would object, they acquired the land under false pretenses and kept their intentions secret until the last minute. They selected a narrow-gauge track and a locomotive that was dwarf-size by European standards. The promoters described it as "just the kind of engine with which to break the ice in China: large enough to work well, too small to be objected to."

Officials of the corrupt Chinese imperial government opposed the railway as a threat to the old social order which provided them a life of leisure and privilege. They launched rumors that the locomotive was a "fire dragon" or evil spirit, and exaggerated minor accidents into horror stories. To show their contempt for the railway, they had themselves carried in the traditional sedan chairs borne by sweating Chinese around and about the area of the new rail line.

Initially, ordinary workers and peasants showed no fear of the "fire dragon." The construction crew which built the first line was mostly Chinese, and in the first weeks of operation a British journalist reported:

“Literally thousands of people from all the neighboring towns and villages crowd down every day to watch proceedings. . . . All are perfectly good-humored and evidently intent on a pleasant day’s outing.”

But the common people of China began to realize that the foreign-built railways were one means of increasing imperialist domination. Those who lived in the path of railway construction had their houses torn down, their farmland destroyed, or the steel rails driven across the tombs of their ancestors. The first rail line also brought about the first popular resistance to the railroad. When the company breached its promise to employ Chinese workers at the Wusong end of the line, a large demonstration blocked the train as it approached the city. The conductor simply put on more steam, dispersing the crowd, and the company had the demonstration leaders imprisoned.

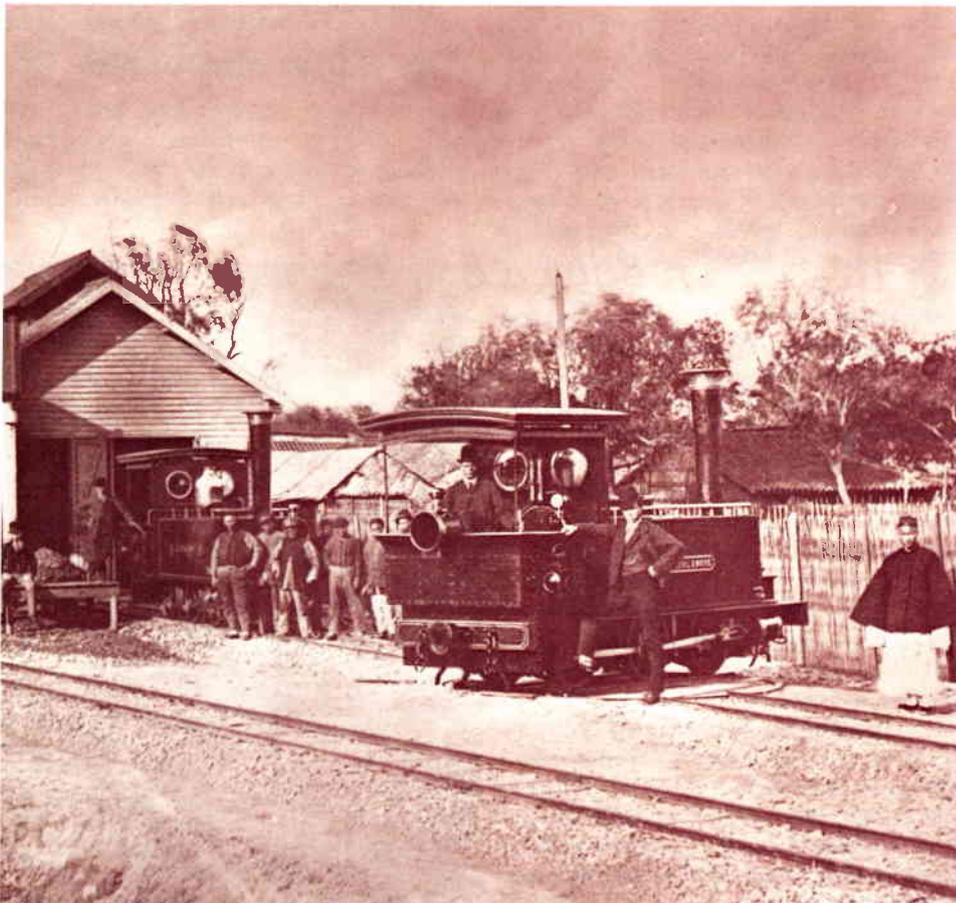
In 1876 the Chinese government bought the Shanghai-Wusong railway, tore up the rails, leveled the road bed, and destroyed the station building, erecting on its site a temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven. Rails and rolling stock were shipped to Taiwan Province and left rusting on the beach. But neither the Queen of Heaven nor the forebodings of feudal officials could stop the foreign-dominated railways. When foreign powers could not obtain railroad rights through treaties or purchase, they tried bribes and threats. Sometimes they exercised control by lending money for construction to native Chinese who saw a chance to share in the profits. The profits to the major foreign powers (France, Britain, Russia, Germany, and the U.S.) were considerable. Railroad rights usually included mining, trading, and tariff rights along the rail lines as well. By the end of the 19th century, foreign powers had carved out large chunks of Chinese territory and divided them into “spheres of influence”; 82 coastal cities were forced open to trade on the foreigners’ terms.

The Chinese government was weak, corrupt, and divided – some officials wishing to resist foreign domination, others advocating cooperation with the Western powers to better their own position. A group of “constitutional monarchists” advocated reforms and “superficial Westernization,” not so much to save China from Western domination as to save the feudal monarchy from collapsing. In addition to calling for reforms in education and for Chinese students to study in Europe, they called for the construction of the Guangzhou-Hankou (Canton-Hankow), Shanghai-Nanjing (Nanking), and Lugouqiao-Hankou railroad lines. However, the reformists remained in power for only 103 days. Their programs would have come to naught anyway, since the Chinese treasury had already been squeezed

dry through paying indemnities during decades of war with Britain, France, and Japan.

Meanwhile, popular resistance to the railroads and foreign imperialism mounted. In 1900 the Yi He Tuan Movement (Boxer Rebellion), predominantly a peasant revolt, erupted in Shandong (Shantung) Province. Rioting crowds burned down railroad stations and set fire to the imperial “Dragon Coach” reserved for the Emperor and Empress Dowager. They tore up miles of

vincial Company, established in 1904, were formed by groups of merchants, landowners, and officials. (Up to 1911, of the 9,618 kilometers of Chinese railways, 93 percent had been built by foreigners.) The enterprises were financed predominantly through taxes and money extracted from the workers, plus some voluntary contributions. Yet workers also had a vital interest in the growing number of Chinese-owned railway systems – in terms of employment, mobility, and goods they could not otherwise obtain.



Engine and carriage sheds at Shanghai. (Photo: *Remunerative Railroads for New Countries*, 1878)

steel track, partly as an expression of their hatred, but also as a practical measure to stop foreign troop movements to suppress the rebellion. A Yi He Tuan slogan sums up popular feeling: “Foreigners, foreigners, they do us harm! They build railways and remove our wealth!” At first the Chinese government appeared to support the rebels, but in the end it allowed foreign troops to crush the revolt.

China entered the 20th century ripe for revolution. Collusion between the bankrupt Ching Dynasty and the foreign imperialists stood in the way of the growing number of Chinese capitalists who wanted to control their own factories, mines, and railways for their own benefit. Railway companies such as the Sichuan (Szechuan)-Hankou Pro-

The Ching Dynasty, however, continued to sell railway rights to foreigners in order to solve its chronic financial problems. In August 1911 the government forcibly took over a section of the Sichuan-Hankou line, touching off mass rallies of tens of thousands of people. Strikes erupted in shops and schools. Government troops and foreigners were attacked. Railway Rights Protection Leagues were formed and joined with progressive Chinese peasants, students, soldiers, and workers’ groups to overthrow the Ching Dynasty. By the end of 1911 the Chinese Republic was established.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the new republic, laid out a plan for the construction of a truly national railroad system, 100,000 miles of track at a cost of \$6 billion.

But these dreams were not to be realized for many years. The new republic was not able to throw off foreign domination and it did little to alter the feudal economic and social conditions in the countryside, which was controlled by warlords and landed gentry. In the cities, workers were exploited by foreign and Chinese capitalists alike. After Dr. Sun's death in 1924, Chiang Kai-shek became president and leader of the Guomindang (Kuomintang - Nationalist Party). Under his leadership, the government became more backward and corrupt than even the old imperial government.

In the ensuing years of struggle, railroads and railway workers again played an important part in the growing resistance of the Chinese people to both internal and external oppression. In February 1923, members of 16 local railway workers' unions, founded only two years before, met in Zhengzhou (Chengchow) to consolidate their efforts to improve working conditions. Afraid of the potential strength of such organizations, local warlords conspired with the local British Consulate General to plan a massacre of union leaders. Massacres took place in five different towns, but instead of intimidating workers, they helped spark off general strikes of all unions in Wubei and Wuhan. Besides directly confronting railway owners and government officials, railway workers were able to play an important part in organizing resistance efforts all over the country because of the nature of their jobs. As the trains rolled, they carried messages of encouragement or plans for coordinated strategies. Leaflets and newspapers moved through the network of rail lines and were dropped off at every station.

When the struggle between the Nationalist government and the revolutionaries led by Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party broke into open warfare, and later when the Japanese invaded China, rail lines became vital strategic objectives, for whoever controlled the rail lines enjoyed enormous advantages in moving troops and arms. Sometimes railway lines were destroyed lest they fall into enemy hands. Over 6,500 miles of track were lost or destroyed in the first years of World War II (only 4,000 miles altogether had been constructed in China between 1911 and 1935). Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, however, the policy of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was to safeguard the country's existing resources, disassembling railroads and hiding them rather than destroying them when such action was necessary to obstruct enemy advances.

As the Japanese and Guomindang armies retreated, Mao proclaimed, "Where the Liberation Army goes, the trains must go too!" Railroad parts were retrieved from caves, ravines, rivers, and wells where



Women railway workers. (Photo: R. McDonald)

Chinese patriots had hidden them. The 1949 goal of restoring 1,714 miles of railway was surpassed by 3,472 miles.

Since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, railways have been planned to serve the needs of the Chinese people. "In old China," a guide informed our tour delegation, "not a single engine part or rail could be manufactured in our country. Now we are completely self-sufficient in our railroad industry."

Construction was begun on the Chongqing-Chengdu (Chungking-Chengtu) railway in Sichuan only six months after the province was liberated. This important trunk line in China's southwest had been planned and promised for over 40 years. First the Ching emperors, then provincial warlords, and finally the Guomindang collected heavy railroad taxes from the local people but never managed to begin construction. But the PLA, helped by thousands of local volunteers, completed the project in June 1952.

In the first years after Liberation many other new rail lines were completed ahead of schedule, lines which could provide the commercial unity to a China that was finally united politically. After the Cultural Revolution several additional trunk lines were initiated, including the Baoji-Chengdu line linking the northwest and the Chengdu-Kunming line linking the southwest. The Chengdu-Kunming line, completed on July 1, 1970, traversed some of China's most

rugged mountains and required 427 tunnels and 653 bridges. Today every province in continental China except Tibet is linked with railways.

I looked forward to riding these trains during my tour of the People's Republic. Thus on my first day in China I took a late-night walk and soon found the Peking Central Railway Terminal a few blocks from the Peking Hotel. Inside this spacious building hundreds waited for trains scheduled to arrive throughout the night. Aside from many waiting to greet arriving passengers, those present seemed to fall into four main types of travelers. Some were on business trips, purchasing machinery or spare parts or seed, or conducting other specific commercial or governmental business. A second type included individuals or families going to visit relatives. All Chinese whose work requires them to be away from home are provided 15 days vacation a year, plus any travel time needed. Third, many were members of workers' delegations visiting factories similar to their own, commune delegations visiting other communes, athletic teams, or members of other official delegations. Finally, some were educated youth going to work in the countryside, returning from such assignments, or visiting their families. These youth also receive 15 days a year plus travel time to visit their families. The cost is paid entirely by the commune where they serve.

Tourism *per se* is uncommon in China,



“Hard sleeper” accommodations suitable for long journeys. (Photo: J. Zobel)

although I was told that if a worker shows signs of stress or fatigue in his or her job, fellow workers will arrange a leave of absence. During this vacation full salary is provided to the worker’s family.

A few days later I returned to the Peking Terminal with our tour and boarded a train for Qingdao, a seaport east of Peking. Our coach was called a “soft sleeper,” the best accommodation available on Chinese trains. Each compartment slept four, with a lower and an upper bunk on each side. The compartment was provided with mattresses for the bunks, fresh linen on both the beds and a small center table, hot water and tea cups, electric fans, and background music from in-the-wall loudspeakers. At mealtime we walked to a separate coach where a variety of dishes was served on tables decorated with fresh flowers.

Luxury “soft sleeper” travel costs about twice the “hard sleeper” fare and is used mainly by foreign visitors. I was told that Chinese citizens may also travel via “soft sleeper” but that it is unpopular because of the price. “Hard sleeper” berths, besides being harder, are grouped in sixes rather than fours and are not privately enclosed. “Hard sleeper” accommodation is most used by those going on long journeys and those whose fare is paid by some organization.

The third type of accommodation, “coach seat,” costs about half of a “hard sleeper” fare. Individuals paying their own fare usually prefer to travel “coach seat” for economy. A seat from Peking to Nanjing, over 800 miles, costs about 24 yuan, or about 12 dollars. A “hard sleeper” from Peking to Guangzhou is about 60 yuan. Besides the more expensive dining car, food is available on Chinese trains in the form of

box lunches for the equivalent of about 30 cents.

I slept soundly during the overnight journey and in the morning a roommate informed me that at some point we had switched lines and that a coal-burning locomotive rather than a diesel was now pulling our coach. Both types of engine are used in China, and old but well-maintained coal-burning steam engines are common. One such veteran locomotive, named the Mao Tsetung Locomotive shortly before Liberation, had completed over 3,000,000 kilometers of safe travel at the time of Mao’s death in 1976. Our guides explained that China would like to retire all coal-burners as China’s petroleum industry expands and once enough diesel engines have been produced. Feeding the coal-burners, it was explained, produces a fine dust which is harmful to railway workers’ lungs.

In Qingdao we toured the area’s largest rolling-stock mill. The main product of this mill was 3,000-horsepower diesel locomotives. Our hosts were proud to tell us that despite China’s own needs, their factory had sent technicians and materials to help in the construction of the Tanzam Railway linking Tanzania and Zambia in Africa. Several industrialized nations including the U.S. and the USSR rejected the idea of such a railroad as physically unfeasible, yet, with Chinese assistance, these two nations have completed the project ahead of schedule. One of our guides explained the “no strings attached” basis of China’s foreign aid as

our delegation climbed aboard one of the huge locomotives earmarked for Tanzania.

After three weeks in China our tour left Guangzhou for the border near Shenzhen, again traveling by train. Soon a young Chinese railway worker began talking with tour members seated near me. This young woman explained that she was a recent graduate of a railway institute and would appreciate our criticisms of her English. Like many Chinese we met, she was eager to learn more about us and to tell us about her own life.

“I’ve never heard a Chinese riddle,” I complained.

“What do you mean! We have lots of them!” she answered, and then proceeded to ask us the following: “When is ten plus ten ten, and ten minus ten still ten?”

We gave up.

“When you’re taking off or putting on a pair of gloves,” she said, laughing. After trading riddles and jokes for a few minutes we agreed that humor loses a lot in translation. As we approached the border we exchanged addresses and she gave us additional addresses of friends at her railway institute who would like to correspond with Americans.

Our visit to the People’s Republic was over. After walking across the bridge at Shenzhen, we boarded a British train. Now vendors moved urgently from seat to seat selling Coca-Cola, cigarettes – and copies of *Eastern Horizon*, a pro-China magazine – as we coasted downhill into Kowloon. ●



Modern railway terminal at Jinan. (Photo: S. Hittman)

Confrontation at Dazhai

by William Hinton

Prologue to the Cultural Revolution — Part V of an interview with Chen Yong-gui

In this interview Chen Yong-gui tells how higher cadres from county, region, and province intervened in Dazhai (Tachai)

Writer and farmer WILLIAM HINTON last visited China for several months in the summer of 1977. While there, he restudied Long Bow Village, the site of his earlier book, Fanshen; he also helped them develop a field sprinkler system. These conversations with peasant leader Chen Yong-gui took place in 1971.

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

In Parts III and IV (Winter 1977, Summer 1978), Chen recounted Dazhai's continued struggle in the early 1960s against profiteering, black-marketeering in grain, graft, and corruption. During the "exaggeration wind," Chen and the Dazhai cadres and people resisted pressures to inflate reports of harvest yields. In subsequent years, tenacious resistance to foolhardy directives on how to sow and how to build dams earned them the label of being "arrogant" and "anti-Party elements" from bureaucrats who knew little about agriculture or local conditions. Experience taught them that bureaucrats support each other, and that when bureaucrats and revisionists held power, Dazhai people were certain to catch hell.

Brigade and the whole of Xiyang (Hsiyang) County to challenge the revolutionary achievements there, set the people against their chosen cadres, set the cadres against one another, and bring them down on charges, even if the charges were false. Enormous pressure was brought to bear on people to confess crimes, whether or not any had been committed. Peasant cadres who resisted were arrested. Many were beaten. Some committed suicide.

How could such things occur in China's socialist countryside?

If we understand the answer to this question we can begin to understand why a Cultural Revolution was necessary in China, why it developed into such a sharp struggle, why it lasted so long and took so many twists and turns.

In 1960, after the Chinese peasants had developed cooperative agriculture to the commune stage and were struggling through a second year of extremely adverse weather, a sharp conflict arose in the countryside between forces led by China's new president Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shao-chi), head of the Organizational Department of the Communist Party, who advocated a retreat from socialist policies and organizational forms, and forces led by Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Communist Party, who advocated the development and consolidation of socialism as the central task in rural China.

The confrontation between Liu Shao-qi and Mao Tsetung was really a clash between two class outlooks — capitalist and working-class — and between two roads — capitalist and socialist. This confrontation, raging everywhere in society, developed with particular sharpness inside the Communist Party and especially at its center,

where it was possible to determine the direction taken by the whole country.

Dazhai Brigade and Xiyang County became decisive battlegrounds between the two conflicting groups at the center because here, at the grassroots level, the most solid socialist ideology and the most outstanding socialist production achievements in all rural China had been created. Anyone who wanted to build socialism in China had to uphold Dazhai and anyone who wanted to obstruct or reverse the socialist thrust of the Chinese people had to challenge Dazhai.

Among the people, the prestige of the Revolution was such that Liu's forces could not directly oppose the direction set by Mao. Instead they challenged the rate of change, the proportions between public and private ownership, the balance between accumulation and distribution of wealth, the limits placed on the free market. They stressed difficulties, exaggerated failures, and found grievous fault with large numbers of good or comparatively good cadres, "opposing the many to protect the few" — their own followers. Thus they cluttered the socialist road with innumerable obstacles. When seriously challenged they resorted to force and frame-up, advocating "ruthless struggle and merciless blows."

"Ruthless struggle and merciless blows," a style of work with fascist overtones, has showed up as an opposition trend every time there has been a turning point in the Chinese Revolution that brought fresh conflict. Unable to win lasting support among a people committed to fundamental social change, the opposition has had no choice but to press its programs with force. Over and over again through the years, reactionary cliques have come forward in

this way – from Li Li-san and Wang Ming in the thirties, through Liu Shao-qi in the sixties, to Lin Biao and the “gang of four” in the seventies. In each case “ruthless struggle and merciless blows” replaced “curing the disease and saving the patient.” Instead of uniting with all who could be united to advance the Revolution, these diehard minorities have tried to impose their will in the name of “revolutionary purity.” All have ended up in isolation and disgrace, but not before inflicting severe damage on cadres and people alike.

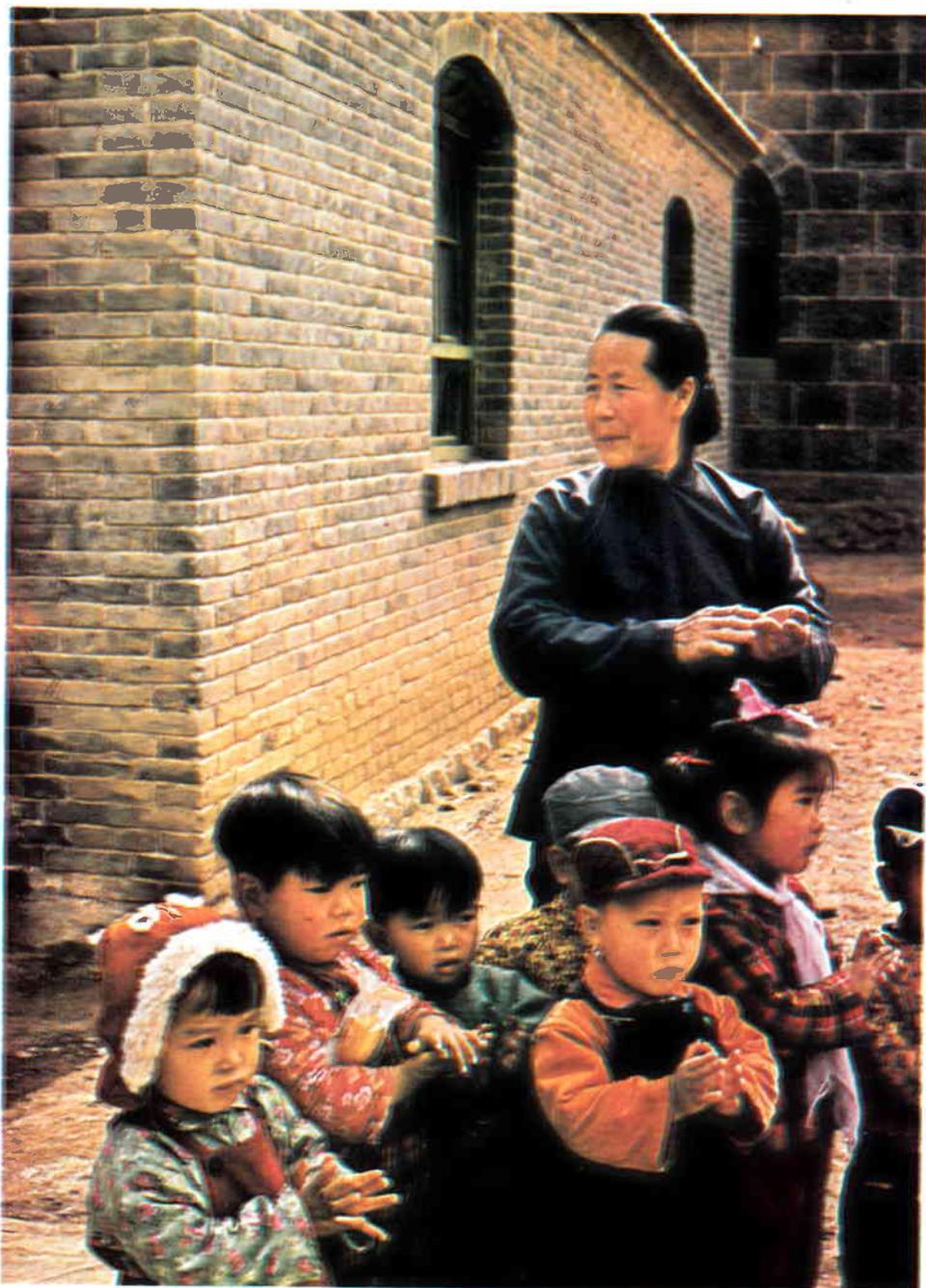
At Dazhai in the sixties the struggle over the shape of the future was renewed with the removal from above of the old county Communist Party Secretary, Zhang Huai-ying, and his replacement by Zhang Rong-huai. This new Party Secretary set out to implement the policies of retrenchment and retreat advocated by Liu Shao-qi, as a cure for the disarray of the “hard years” that followed the Great Leap of 1958.* When he met resistance he branded the resisters “a counter-revolutionary clique.”

The struggle escalated in 1964 with the arrival of a massive work-team regiment† sent to carry out the Socialist Education Movement, otherwise known as the Four-Cleans Movement. Cadres at all levels were supposed to be examined in regard to 1) politics (political line, carrying out Party policy, etc.); 2) ideology (world outlook); 3) organization (fitness for Party membership); and 4) economics (primarily the handling of public money).

As planned by Mao Tsetung, this campaign would expose anti-socialist tendencies and unite cadres and people for further revolutionary effort. As the campaign was implemented, however, sharp differences between Liu and Mao came out in the open. Liu sent his wife to an East Hebei (Hopei) brigade named Taoyuan (Peach Garden) where, by concealing her identity, and by making secret, behind-the-scenes investigations, she succeeded in overthrowing a large number of good or comparatively good local cadres and replacing them with notorious opportunists who were willing to play along with her. Then she tried, with massive infusions of

*The Great Leap Forward (1958–59) was a vast mobilization of the full potential of the Chinese people in production and construction unleashed by the establishment of public ownership in industry and collective ownership in agriculture. Subsequently, three years of bad weather, withdrawal of Soviet aid, and some serious mistakes in leadership led to crop shortages and cutbacks in industrial production.

†A work-team is a small group of cadres assigned to a single community. A work-team regiment is a detachment of thousands assigned to a whole county, then split into teams for local work.



Li Hu-ni, Chen Yong-gui's wife and a nursery school teacher with some of her pupils. (Photo: C. Hinton)

state aid, to make a breakthrough in production.

This approach, left in form (because it escalated revolutionary rhetoric and demanded perfection from everyone) but right in essence (because it took the revolutionary majority to be the enemy and undermined self-reliance) made scapegoats of a large number of loyal, grassroots cadres, while protecting higher cadres who had serious political problems. By concentrating almost exclusively on graft, corruption, and other economic transgressions and by equating the misdeeds of leaders and led, of Party members and non-Party members, this approach obscured much more basic questions of political line.

It should be borne in mind, however, that most work-team regiment members did not set to work in Xiyang to wreck the Revolution. They were told that graft and corruption were rampant even in advanced brigades and that investigators had to be tough to ferret them out. They saw themselves and their stringent methods as saving the Revolution, not disrupting it. Furthermore, they did not usually consciously challenge peasant power by appointing landlords' descendants as Peasant Association leaders, as the text below at one point implies. Questions of class origin were often complicated by the fact that landlord-class women were regarded by many peasants as one of the fruits of land reform. When a

landlord's widow or daughter married a peasant, her class was changed to poor peasant, as was the class of any children she already had. Children fathered by the poor peasant were automatically classed as poor peasants. It was only when political struggle later sharpened that landlord origins, however tenuous, were seized upon as decisive.

In 1965 Mao countered Liu's "Peach Garden Experience" with a 23-article document that condemned Liu's eclectic, shotgun approach, his propensity for making the ordinary people the target of the movement. Mao concentrated instead on the question of the capitalist versus the socialist road. He took as the primary target those "Party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road." Mao's document became the rallying point for the socialist forces, who used it everywhere to mount a counteroffensive.

By that time it had become clear at the center that this conflict went far beyond the countryside, that it had split the Communist Party from bottom to top, and that only a mass movement on an unprecedented, nationwide scale could solve the problem. On Mao's initiative, a Cultural Revolution was launched.

For Chen Yong-gui and the Dazhai Brigade, the Socialist Education Movement remained the most intense political struggle encountered in the whole history of their community. Locally it was in many ways more critical than the Cultural Revolution that submerged and replaced it because, by the time the Cultural Revolution reached Dazhai, the brigade cadres and members had already united around Chen and the principles he advocated and had moved from the defensive - a very unusual and painful position for them - to the offensive. In fact, it may be said that many of the issues fought out during the Cultural Revolution in the country as a whole were fought out in Dazhai and other key brigades in Xiyang County during the Socialist Education Movement. The confrontation there between Liu Shao-qi's line and Mao Tsetung's line both laid the groundwork for the Cultural Revolution and showed how necessary that great upheaval was.

Hinton: Did the retreat directed by Liu Shao-qi after the "hard years" affect Dazhai?

Chen: Zhang Rong-huai came here to investigate the achievements made by this county and by the Dazhai Brigade. Zhang Huai-ying, who had worked so hard to develop all the model things here, was transferred elsewhere. He was already well known throughout Shanxi (Shansi). I find it hard to speak of his case. I might start

weeping. From the day that he was transferred he was made to suffer. We knew him well for many years. His home village is in our local district. His family was very poor. He joined the Revolution when he was a child. He became Party Secretary of the district when he was only 15. At 20 he was made Party Secretary of the county and served for ten years. When he was transferred he was crying and I was crying too.

One of the first things the new man did was to order all commune cadres to cultivate private plots well. He did this publicly at a cadre meeting attended by team, brigade, commune, and county cadres. He announced that he himself would set an example and arranged for a plot of his own.

One day he went to check up on the work at a nearby commune. On his way he passed

some people opening up wasteland in the river bed.

"You're opening new land?" he asked one old man.

"As you can see," said the peasant.

"How large is your plot?"

"Two-tenths of a mu [1 mu = $\frac{1}{6}$ acre]. One-tenth in vegetables, one-tenth in wheat."

"Is it collective land?"

"No. It is unclaimed wasteland. It's my own."

As soon as he returned to the county town he organized a telephone conference of commune cadres and told everyone to learn from this man.

Hinton: What was the outcome of this telephone conference?

Chen: He gave his personal support to a cadre named Li, a member of the Standing Committee of the County Party Committee



A retired peasant working on a compost heap. (Photo: R. Gordon)

and Party Secretary of a commune. Li was a former hired laborer who could neither read nor write. But he was most resolute in carrying out Liu Shao-qi's revisionist line. He was well known for "helping out" the people of Pingding County during the "hard years." The way he "helped" them was by selling them grain at high prices, or by swapping grain for their bicycles and wristwatches. And why did his commune have grain to sell? Because originally the people there had raised a lot of hemp for the rope industry. When Li became Party Secretary he put all the hemp land in grain. Thus they created a grain surplus. When people from the other county had nothing left to eat or sell, they came to his commune asking for work. The peasants there hired them in return for their meals and a catty (1.1 pounds) of grain a day. They set them to work reclaiming wasteland in the mountains in order to grow more grain. Some were hired by the brigades and production teams, but most were hired by individuals. When the grain was harvested it was sold at high prices.

This kind of "aid" to people in distress earned Li the flattering title "Master Clear Sky." The reference was to "Clear Sky" Bao, a feudal official of old who some thought just and honest because he once took grain to where people were starving. Since Li sold grain to hungry people in this other county, he was said to love the people just like "Clear Sky" Bao. This made it very hard for anyone to start a movement to attack him and repudiate his line.

Hinton: What about all the other county cadres? Didn't they oppose the new Party Secretary?

Chen: The cadres at the county level can't be compared with our Dazhai cadres. They didn't stand firm against the wrong line. They were frightened. The county cadres were opportunists, trying to protect themselves. Whatever was demanded in the name of the wrong line, they carried out. They took a stand neither for nor against it. Their actions were wrong.

Blow Up the Reservoir

In 1958, during the Great Leap, the County Party Committee decided to build a big reservoir. It was a collective project built by all of us. Then in 1961 the old Party Secretary left and the new Party Secretary came. The new man looked on this dam and the reservoir behind it as one great mess. He said the whole project harassed the people and wasted their resources, resulted in more loss than gain, and was, in a word, harmful. He proposed two solutions: 1) blow it up; 2) sell it to Yangquan city. The idea was to sell it to the city for 100,000 yuan [\$50,000] as a source of fish.

Hinton: But hadn't all this been decided years earlier?

Chen: I thought the County Party Committee had discussed all the pros and cons of this dam before it was built. But as soon as the new Party Secretary said the dam was a bad idea, everyone else on the committee followed suit and said it was bad. They all said it should never have been built.

Was this reservoir in fact so bad?

Look at our county now. Without the reservoir the reclaimed land on both sides of the river stretching downstream for 35 kilometers could never have been built. All the river-bottom land we have put in place since 1967 would have been out of the question. In this mountain region we can see the role played by this dam and we have used its potential. Land below the dam has been turned into good, irrigated crop land, rice land yielding 1,000 catties per mu. Can this be said to harass the people and waste their resources? On the strength of our experience with this reservoir we have decided to build 800 more!

Several poor and lower-middle peasants died accidental deaths while building the reservoir. Several thousand people worked two years to build it. To oppose the mass line* as this County Secretary did can cancel out what laboring people have built through hard work.

In the struggle over the dam we resisted wrong ideas firmly. What did we depend on? On Mao Tsetung's Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture: soil improvement, increased fertilizer, water control, seed improvement, close planting, plant protection, field management, and the reform of tools and implements. Among these eight was water control. We relied on this.

Hinton: What reason could be given for destroying the dam?

Chen: That's what we were asking. Can a true Communist blow up the dam? Only imperialists and class enemies want to blow up such things. Once it is blown up there will be a big flood and then no water. When the Japanese came they blew up our wells to do away with our water supply. Why should we destroy such things? Only class enemies could do such an act.

The people worked hard day and night with baskets and carrying poles to build the dam. This Communist Party Secretary didn't contribute a thing. He didn't work. He didn't carry any earth. Not a drop of his sweat rolled down.

If he blew up the dam or forced its sale the people certainly would not be happy.

*Mass line: learning from the people, summing up their needs, and bringing back policy and practice that advance their interests; "from the people to the people." Building this dam was an example of mass line.

But what if he insisted on it? Should we oppose him? Should we offend him?

Some dared not. In this they were wrong. They were protecting themselves.

So the real question is, "Do you dare struggle or not?" If you are afraid for your life you'll have to accept whatever is done. But my idea is, "Even if I am dismissed or killed, the younger generation will take my place." We didn't talk of world outlook then. That came later with the Cultural Revolution. In those days we only said, "Stick firmly to the truth."

Hinton: Who supported you in this struggle?

Chen: The top - the directives from Mao Tsetung himself; and the bottom - the broad masses. If I had ever separated myself from either of these two, my acts in resisting local leadership would have been trifling, mere playing around, just making trouble without reason.

Since I opposed blowing up the dam, why couldn't I stop its sale? I didn't have the power. So the dam was sold!

Hinton: Did the new Party Secretary interfere in Dazhai's affairs?

Chen: No sooner had the dam been sold than he came here to Dazhai with ten people, all skilled debaters. They came to check out our land, our yields, and our sales of grain to the state.

At that time Dazhai's yield had reached 620 catties per mu. Zhang Rong-huai doubted that we had raised that much. He said that in the favorable conditions of the Hebei plain, there was no such yield. How could mountain gullies yield that much? Such yields were not credible.

He demanded that we say whether or not we had concealed some land. We said no. We said that since Liberation the state had measured our land twice. We had hidden no land.

"But every year you do capital construction," he rejoined. "Haven't you built new land?"

"Yes."

"How much?"

"Between 20 and 30 mu."

"I want an exact figure."

"You say it then."

"Thirty mu," he said.

I didn't contest this. It brought our yield down to 500 catties per mu.

Hinton: Why did he do this?

Chen: We didn't know why he had come to our brigade or what he was really up to. Actually, as soon as he came to Xiyang he slashed the yield figures of the whole county for several previous years. He was playing down our achievements to play up his own.

Only one County Party Secretary came to Xiyang County, only one went away. Why then did all the other members of the

County Party Committee agree to this yield-slashing?

When we at Dazhai realized what was going on, we held a meeting. We accused Zhang of cutting our yields. The policy of the Communist Party does not permit throwing others down to elevate oneself. Why should he singlehandedly do this? We are all Communists together. We decided to hold to the original figures for land and yield. We decided that his motives were not good.

But all the other members of the County Party Committee followed Zhang.

Hinton: Why?

Chen: Why? They were careerists. They blew with the wind. They didn't act like true Communists. They didn't stick to the truth. They were afraid of demotion. They put self first. They valued their careers the most.

If we fail to stick to principle, how can there be principles, how can there be truth?

In this situation Zhang felt very strong. He felt that he had a large following. Under his leadership the County Party Committee disregarded Mao Tsetung's directive that brigade, commune, and county cadres should all join collective labor. They negated this directive.

They also denied our county's advances in culture, the many small plays and skits created here. And they negated our model industrial enterprises.

They Wept and Wept

Hinton: Did no one raise objections?

Chen: Some of the Party Committee members actually disagreed. But they didn't dare oppose him openly. Behind his back they voiced their disagreement. Some of them went to find the old Party Secretary, and complained to him about the new one. When the new Secretary found out about this he labeled all those who spoke against him "an anti-Party clique."

About 20 county cadres from three different administrative levels were called to regional Party headquarters to be struggled against along with the old Party Secretary. When the old Party Secretary Zhang had been transferred away, there had been no charges against him, but in 1964 he was labeled "anti-Party." All those who sought him out were called "special cases." They were frightened. They were beaten severely. They wept and wept. In the end they admitted all charges.

I was called to regional headquarters to have a look. I was supposed to say that these people were indeed bad. My stand would confirm the case against them and the old Party Secretary. If I refused to take such a stand, then I would become a target just like those they already held. The



Middle-school students and staff join in the spring planting. (Photo: S. Fischer)

regional cadres wanted to win me and they also wanted to threaten me.

Hinton: Did they?

Chen: I cursed them and rolled up my sleeves to take them on. Since they beat so many others I was prepared literally to beat them in turn.

A regional cadre named Po intervened. "You want to help them? I called you here to expose them!"

"How can I accept that?" I said. "I'll fight against it."

"This will never do," he said.

They rushed me out. I was not allowed to go back there again.

Why was I so firm in struggling at that time?

I thought, "If the cadres have made mistakes they should treat them according to Mao Tsetung's policy: 'Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones; cure the disease to save the patient.' But they are hitting hard at many cadres, they are dealing merciless blows, even beating some people to death." This was a direct violation of Mao's cadres policy. "Even if they jail me, someone will come and free me," I thought.

It was obvious, without political power we couldn't solve this problem. They [Liu Shao-qi's group] held power, not us. They applied pressure so others dared not raise their heads. As a result both revolution and production suffered great losses.

At the height of this struggle Liu Shao-qi sent a work-team regiment of over 5,000 cadres to do battle [carry out rectification] in Xiyang County. So now, indeed, they brought up their forces.

Hinton: Why so many, and why Xiyang?

Chen: It was no accident that Xiyang County was chosen as a concentration point for Liu Shao-qi's forces. Our county was so well known for its "three achievements," in culture, cadre labor, and grain sales to the state. It became both an "experimental plot" for the whole country and a kind of battleground. A joint battle involving more than 5,000 cadres began. There were 3,800 cadres from other provinces and 1,200 from Shanxi, including many from Xiyang County itself. The Liu Shao-qi forces sent their best people here to carry on the movement. Regional cadre Po [with whom Chen had clashed] was sent down as one of the responsible leaders of the regiment of 5,000.

He was a member not only of the Regional Party Standing Committee but of the Provincial Standing Committee as well. His father was quite a big landlord who was suppressed during land reform. When he came back to carry out the Four-Cleans Movement, it looked to us as if he was taking revenge for his class. I get mad now whenever I think of it. He drove more than one poor and lower-middle peasant cadre to suicide. He had no feeling at all for poor and lower-middle peasants. Since he was from our own county, we called him "Home Return Corps" Po.* During the

*The "Home Return Corps" were certain irregular forces organized and led by local landlords during the Liberation War (1945-49). They followed the Guomindang (Kuomintang) armies back into territory from which they had been driven and took revenge on the peasants for confiscating landlords' lands.

Cultural Revolution only Mao Tsetung's cadre policy saved him. If it weren't for Mao Tsetung's good policy [cure the disease, save the patient], this man could never pass the gate today.

This work-team regiment included cadres from all administrative levels. They were sent here to cut down our three achievements. They wanted to lock the door on these achievements forever and make sure that they would never venture forth again. Why did they call 80 percent of the cadres bad? It was just for this purpose.

Even before the movement began I had heard some rumors. People were saying that Xiyang County cadres were as tough as those from Dazhai – hopelessly arrogant. [That is, they stood up for what they believed in and didn't go along with the attack on Dazhai.] This was asking for trouble. In those days, before the Cultural Revolution, if you wanted to state an opinion different from that of the leadership, you had to risk your head to do it. If you persisted, they put a hat [a political label] on your head. Then in the next movement they pushed you down.

When the work-team regiment came, almost all the county-level and commune-level cadres were overthrown, but since brigade-level cadres are responsible for day-to-day production, they couldn't just remove them from office, so they sent people to supervise them. At the same time all the higher cadres were replaced by regiment members. Whoever had been most active elsewhere in carrying out the "Peach Garden Experience" [lessons drawn by Liu Shao-qi's wife from her work in Taoyuan Brigade] was sent in to replace the old cadres. The work-team replaced the County Chairman, the Vice-chairman, the Communist Party Secretary, the Vice-secretary, the Standing Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee members, and so on. Almost everybody was replaced. [Of those who were replaced, some, like the new Party Secretary Zhang, were used as work-team members, while others became targets of the movement.] The only member of the County Party Standing Committee left in office was "Master Clear Sky." All those who had worked so hard for the "three achievements" in the past were persecuted. Some were labeled counter-revolutionary, some were called members of an anti-Party clique, some were imprisoned. Eighty percent were called bad.

"I Want to See Chen Yong-gui"

A regiment work-team went to nearby Paiyangyu Brigade [a brigade famous for its work in forestry]. "What's so good about this place?" they asked. "All you have here is mountains. Trees grow green by them-

selves. Your animals you bought from outside. As for your land, you falsified the acreage. You lied about your production. All the glory you gained, you stole. You don't deserve it."

This brigade is in the heart of an old liberated area. The brigade's Party Secretary Wang had headed the militia during the anti-Japanese war. In the course of the fighting 30 militiamen were killed. Later, during the land reform there – 1945 to 1948 – people beat a landlord to death. In 1964 the work-team chose this dead landlord's grandson to head up the Poor Peasant Association and this fellow led the attack on Party Secretary Wang. Wang was removed from office and charged with numerous crimes.

When he could no longer withstand the attacks against him, Wang made one request.

"I want to see Chen Yong-gui. I am an old comrade-in-arms of Chen. I must see him."

"Chen Yong-gui! You can't see him. He was overthrown long ago."

"Old Chen overthrown!" said Wang. "Then do what you like with me!"

How Much Grain Did You Steal?

There was an old man there who looked after livestock. He was the most honest peasant you could hope to find. He worked well for 20 years. The work-team wanted to know how much grain he had stolen.

"I never stole any," he said.

So they launched an attack on him and in the course of the struggle they used all kinds of tricks.

"Others have already told us all about you," they said.

Finally, seeing no way out, he said, "All right. I stole some grain."

"How much?"

"1,000 catties."

"Only 1,000?"

"2,000 catties."

"Only 2,000?"

"3,000 catties."

That was their method. The more they could force you to admit you had stolen, the greater the achievement credited to the team. They made up figures for stolen grain and then forced cadres to say they had taken such amounts. Then they "settled the case." They wrote up the material and sent it up to the top. And those at the top praised their diligence, saying, "You have worked very hard, very effectively. It's not been easy, it's not been easy" (*xin ku le, xin ku le*).

Wang Tian-jun, Graft: 12 Yuan

Hinton: How did you feel about such methods?

Chen: At that time I was really upset

about the work-teams. I had so many complaints against them!

I couldn't take a look at these Four-Cleans Movement reports. I wasn't allowed to see them. Even though I was Party Secretary of my brigade and a candidate member of the County Party Committee I had not gone to many county meetings. I always made trouble at those meetings. The other members didn't welcome me, so I didn't go. Once the Four-Cleans Movement began I didn't know anybody on the committee anyway so I had even less reason to go.

But once I was visiting the county office and saw a typed document, very clean and neat. It said: "Paiyangyu, Wang Tian-jun, graft: 12 yuan." This was only the first item on the list.

Po saw me reading and grabbed the paper out of my hands. "Don't read that. It's none of your business." "What?" I said. "Wang is a grafter? I don't believe that. He would never do such a thing. If you tell me he has spent 12 dollars of his own for the collective I would believe that, but I will never believe that he has grafted anything."

This only confirmed the bad opinion Po had of me.

Another Wang, Wang Po-lin, was the Party Secretary of Xiasulu Brigade. He had lived for two years in Dazhai as a commune cadre. Then he went to head up Xiasulu and did good work. Everything was developing well until the Four-Cleans Movement began. Then he was attacked by a work-team headed by the now suspended new Party Secretary of the county, Zhang.

Wang was under such fierce attack that he finally admitted all the crimes they charged against him. Then he ran away. He knocked on my door in the middle of the night.

"I came to see you in secret," he said. "The work-team is watching every move I make. I came to say goodbye. I am going to kill myself."

Hinton: Suicide? How did you react?

Chen: When I heard this I criticized him severely.

"Do you want to call yourself a man, or not? Before, when the Japanese occupied the county, they couldn't kill you. How come you are now going to kill yourself?"

"They've pinned all these crimes on me. How can I face anyone anymore?"

"Do the masses agree with the charges?"

"They don't dare speak up."

"The masses don't speak up, the enemy runs hog wild, and you want to kill yourself! If you dare take your own life I'll mobilize the masses of the whole county to repudiate you. As long as the work-team doesn't cut your head off with a cleaver, you must live. If they put you in jail, sit there. Some day your case will be reversed."

To be continued

The Canton Trade Fair

The twice-yearly Canton Trade Fair is the most important event on the Chinese business calendar. Officially known as the Chinese Export Commodities Fair, it accounts for nearly half of China's export sales and about a third of the country's total trade. China's total trade was estimated at U.S. \$14 billion in 1977, placing the PRC thirty-fifth among the world's trading nations.

The first Canton Fair was held in October 1957 when 1,200 visitors from 20 countries and regions came to view about 12,000 products. The Fair has been held semi-annually ever since, in the spring from April 15 to May 15, and in the fall from October 15 to November 15. The fall 1977 Fair had a record attendance of 30,000 visitors, including 17,000 businessmen from 110 countries. More than 40,000 items were on display, and the total trade volume topped the U.S. \$1 billion mark for the first time.

American participation in the Fair began in the spring of 1972 when a dozen firms were invited. By fall 1977 some 700 Americans representing 300 companies attended — the second largest contingent after Japan. At the current Fair, a slight increase is expected.

During the fall 1977 Fair, U.S. traders are estimated to have done 15 percent more business than at previous fairs — some \$48–50 million in imports and some \$20 million in sales. The potential for American business has not yet been realized due to the lack of diplomatic relations with China and such specific problems as the high duty imposed by the U.S. on items from the PRC.

Unlike other international trade fairs, the Canton Fair is designed to be a showcase of current Chinese export potential and industrial development as well as a venue for direct business negotiations. Thus, it is a "permanent" exhibition and, as the official title suggests, it is a place mainly used for negotiating Chinese exports. Foreign companies may not acquire display space.

Officials at the Fair represent nine of

China's foreign trade corporations, dealing in the general areas of cereals, oils, and food-stuffs; native products and animal by-products; textiles; light industrial goods; chemicals; metals and minerals; machinery; and handicrafts (for which an independent trade corporation was established in 1978).

Getting to the Fair

The range of Americans invited to the Fair runs from purchasers of bamboo ware to buyers of bamboo shoots; from chemical traders to those in the market for high-fashion textiles. Small companies and large have an equal chance of going; it largely depends on the kind of business sought and the demonstrated ability of the buyers to market Chinese goods.

Attendance at the Fair is by invitation only, issued by one of China's nine state trading corporations headquartered in Peking (see box for addresses). These foreign trade corporations (FTCs) have product lines conforming to the range of commodities China seeks to export.

Firms seeking to do business with China at the Canton Fair should first write to the Peking headquarters of the relevant FTC.

It is also appropriate to write the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China, 2300 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Requests for an invitation should take the form of a letter of introduction and should include detailed information on the company's history, product lines, and sales volume. Bank references, financial reports, and other supporting data should be included. Normally, requests for an invitation should precede the Fair opening by 2–3 months; invitations are normally issued about a month and a half before opening day, to the company, which is permitted to send a maximum of three representatives to China, including spouses.

Doing Business at the Fair

Buyers in 1977 noted a new spirit of operation and flexibility among Chinese trade negotiators. New impetus has been given to the export of Chinese finished consumer goods, with sales of clothing and cotton piece goods, handicrafts, chemicals, medical instruments, and light industrial products expected to show further increases in 1978.

CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE CORPORATIONS

China National Arts and Crafts Import and Export Corporation
 China National Native Produce and Animal By-products Import and Export Corporation
 China National Light Industrial Products Import and Export Corporation
 China National Textiles Import and Export Corporation
 China National Cereals, Oils, and Foodstuffs Import and Export Corporation
 Address: 82 Tung An Men Street, Peking, People's Republic of China

China National Chemicals Import and Export Corporation
 China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation
 China National Metals and Minerals Import and Export Corporation
 China National Technical Import Corporation
 Address: Erh Li Kou, Hsi Chao, Peking, People's Republic of China

China's Foreign Trade, a quarterly magazine in color, describes in detail many of the products sold by the above corporations. Subscriptions (1 year, \$4; 2 years, \$6; 3 years, \$8) may be ordered from China Books & Periodicals, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110, or from Books New China, 53 East Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10002.

More details on the Canton Trade Fair can be found in a new booklet: *JAL Guide to the Canton Fair*, Eurasia Press, 1978.

ARNE DE KEIJZER is a business adviser on the subject of China trade. Formerly with the National Council for U.S.-China Trade and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, he has been to China nine times, including five visits to the Canton Trade Fair.

Overall, American businessmen will find their Chinese counterparts friendly, helpful to both "new" and "old" friends, eager to do business, thoroughly knowledgeable in their product areas, and fair but tough negotiators. To make maximum use of time spent at the Fair, advance preparation is essential.

Political and cultural differences between Chinese trade representatives and Western businessmen do not directly influence negotiations. More important is the attitude of the negotiator and the personal rapport that develops, which often governs Chinese attitudes on whom they will do business with, how much business is done, and what is traded.

It is important to send representatives who have the authority to sign contracts and who are fully experienced in the product areas being negotiated. There is an advantage to having continuity of representation from year to year since this helps to promote an "old friend" relationship with Chinese negotiators. Non-serious buyers, who just want to visit China, are discouraged.

There is no attempt at the hard sell by the Chinese; thus it is important to form as clear an idea as possible beforehand about the nature and quantity of the purchases

sought. Further, one should arrive prepared with the detailed specifications required, not only to save time in communicating back and forth with the home office, but also to fill in specific entries in the contract.

Learning the ropes about doing business at the Fair has become easier due to the experience gained by a host of U.S.-China traders, including agents and trade representatives. Many companies find it useful to prepare themselves by taking advantage of the services offered by such non-profit trade promotion organizations as the Department of Commerce (which has a PRC desk within the Bureau of East/West Trade) and the National Council of U.S.-China Trade. Agents, consultants, and trade representatives also play a similar role and have the added advantage of making frequent visits and of having established contacts.

Once at the Fair the American business representative will find it may take 3-5 days in China to do what can be done in 1-2 days elsewhere. The Chinese are extremely meticulous in their dealings, particularly since the negotiators are representatives of the FTCs and not consumers, manufacturers, or suppliers themselves.

Negotiations take place in individual discussion rooms, or frequently in corridors

in the exhibition halls themselves. It is not unusual to find competitors sitting at directly adjacent tables. Interpreters are provided and several discussions are usually necessary before a contract can be signed.

The drawing up of contracts concludes the negotiating process. The Chinese attach great importance to the contract stage, and assume strict compliance by all parties. Standard features of Chinese contracts include requirements for import and export documentation, claims settlement, arbitration, insurance, and arrangements for inspection. Buyers of Chinese products are required to open an irrevocable Letter of Credit payable to the Bank of China at a time specified in the contract. The only bank in the U.S. which has a direct relationship with the Bank of China is the First National Bank of Chicago; otherwise a third-country bank must be used.

Leisure-time Activity

The Canton Fair is not all business, and businessmen are encouraged to participate in sightseeing activities and to enjoy Canton's many famous restaurants. Daily trips are organized by the Canton branch of the China International Travel Service, which maintains an office in major hotels.

Canton (known in China as Guangzhou)

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has a long history. The capital of Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province, it is the major industrial, trading, and cultural center of south China. It is located 75 miles northwest of Hongkong, at the head of the Pearl River Delta, and has a population of 3 million.

Along with trade, Europeans introduced new political philosophies to China in the 19th century, a time when the country was undergoing tremendous internal upheaval. It was in Canton that the Opium Wars began in 1839 in an attempt to stem the tide of Western colonialism, which had foisted opium on the Chinese population. The city was also a center of political activity during the 1911 Revolution headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Mao Tsetung and other Communist leaders founded the National Peasant Movement Institute here in 1925-26.

In addition to visiting many historical sites, the Guangzhou Municipal Museum, the Peasant Movement Institute, and Shammian (the former foreign concession), it is possible to visit such places as a truck factory, paper mill, and people's communes. This will give a sense of China's progress and the attempt to develop an economy built on self-reliance.

There are some 34 restaurants in Canton that have special sections for foreign visitors and serve a wide variety of specialties. Cantonese cooking with its appeal to the eye and its many subtleties of flavor is one of the gastronomic wonders of the world.

The Fair in 1978

Visitors to this year's Fair are likely to be encouraged by the expansion of the quality and quantity of offerings, such as light industrial goods, arts and crafts, and textiles. Foreign trade is taking on renewed importance under the leadership of Chairman Hua Guo-feng. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress on February 26, 1978, Chairman Hua said:

"There should be an increase in foreign trade. In our export trade, attention should be given both to bulk exports and exports in small quantities. While expanding the export of agricultural and sideline products, we should raise the ratio of industrial and mineral products in our exports. We should build a number of bases for supplying industrial and mineral products and agricultural and sideline products for export. We should earnestly sum up our experience in foreign trade and, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, handle our business transactions flexibly and successfully."

The trader should find China in 1978 building toward a new era of economic diversification and growth, which cannot help but benefit the development of two-way trade between the U.S. and the PRC.

RECIPES

BARRIE CHI

Street Food

Who can forget those ice pops we consumed that first summer in Peking in 1971? Ice pops or *bing gunr* were everywhere and everyone ate them. They came in different sizes, colors, and flavors. Women pushed carts around announcing in loud voices the variety they were selling. Every city, town, and village produced its own special kind of *bing gunr*. Before Liberation many items were sold by street peddlers who went around the *hutongs* (small alleys and lanes). Each peddler had a very distinctive call or sound, his or her own "commercial." One



could buy everything from tea to cloth to toys from peddlers. Today there are still street peddlers but to a large degree they have been replaced by small shops, either state-owned or organized by local housewives or senior citizens.

After a *bing gunr* or two we strolled down the Wangfujing, in the main shopping district, and bought a slice of watermelon from one of those little shops, which we ate outside standing over the watermelon-eating table. Walking off the watermelon and *bing gunr* we were carried along by the smell of freshly fried *youzhuagui*. These calorie-laden little Chinese crullers, for which people wait on long lines, are somewhat like a cross between a bagel and a doughnut. They are simply deep-fried dough, but hot off the stand they are delicious! For fun I have tried frying pieces of bread dough and come up with a facsimile of this Peking concoction which satisfied my discerning children.

As I reminisce about these street delicacies, visions of huge vats of noodles come

to mind. In Sichuan (Szechuan), *bing gunr* carts are replaced by noodle carts and in Shanghai by noodle stands. These noodle carts remind me of the shaved ice carts that you see in New York City. In both you have a choice of topping. Shaved ice, however, does not hold a candle to freshly boiled egg noodles. My family could eat just noodles but I am including the recipe for their favorite topping, also a favorite in Sichuan.

Peking Crullers

- 1 loaf of frozen bread dough, partially defrosted
- 3 cups oil for deep frying (sesame oil will give an authentic flavor but peanut oil can be substituted)

Heat the oil to about 300° and test by dropping a piece of the dough into the oil. It is ready when the oil bubbles and the dough turns brown. Cut the dough into strips 2 inches by 1 inch, or any shape you choose. Deep-fry each piece approximately 1 minute and drain on paper towels.

Cold Sichuan Noodles

Serves 2-4 as a main dish

- 1/2 lb. narrow egg noodles (fresh if possible)
- 1/4 lb. roast pork, chicken, or ham, in 1-inch slivers
- 1/4 lb. bean sprouts (optional)
- 2 Tbs. sesame oil

Sauce

- 3 Tbs. soy sauce
- 3 tsp. minced garlic
- 1 1/2 Tbs. dark Chinese vinegar (Zhenjiang; you can substitute wine vinegar)
- 1 Tbs. sugar
- 1 Tbs. toasted sesame seeds
- Sichuan pepper to taste

Bring two quarts of water to a boil and cook the noodles for approximately 4-5 minutes. Drain and transfer to a warm dish. Blanch the bean sprouts in boiling water for 10 seconds and put into a large bowl. Mix the noodles and sesame oil and add the slivered pork. Mix all the ingredients for the sauce and combine with the bean sprouts. Toss the noodles with the sauce and enjoy.

BARRIE CHI is a lecturer-demonstrator on Chinese cooking who studied here and in China.

continued from page 14

revolution and production. Mao turns away from the Soviet emphasis on heavy industry, assessing the actual economic situation in China and the relationships between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry. He discusses the role of mechanization and gradually advancing to collective ownership of agriculture. He also explores the continuation of class struggle under socialism, and the dynamic relationship between the working class and different strata of the peasantry. The place of intellectuals and technicians is also repeatedly examined.

Mao's method of "seeking truth from facts" rather than trying to deduce it from *a priori* principles is evident throughout. In a passage entitled "Starting from Fundamental Principles and Rules Is Not the Marxist Method," Mao criticizes deductive logic. And, precisely because Mao proceeds from concrete reality, he is able to deepen our understanding of the fundamental principles and rules which do govern the development of all society. The essays contain many direct observations on the method of dialectical and historical materialism.

Mao explains in many different ways how and why economic policies must be thought through on the basis of classes and class struggles. And, at the same time, how and why it is politically essential to develop and strengthen economic production. This volume is important to those interested in the relationship between politics and economic development, and is quite helpful in understanding the current policies of Hua Guo-feng and the leadership in China today. — MICHAEL ZWEIG

The Sinkiang Story. By Jack Chen. Macmillan, New York, 1977. 386 pp. Cloth, \$17.95. South of Mongolia, north of Tibet, bordering on the Soviet Union, lies the region of China known as Xinjiang (Sinkiang). It is the home of the Gobi Desert, snow-covered mountains, fertile oases, and dozens of China's national minority groups. *The Sinkiang Story* is the first history of the region to be published in the West in a hundred years. Chen presents a brilliant panorama of the region's history, with a nice balance of detailed sensuous descriptions and broad generalizations that bring hundreds of years into clear focus.

Over half the book concentrates on pre-20th-century history, with more than a cursory view of the Stone Age and the ten-thousand-year struggle between nomadic and farming peoples to control the fertile oases. The jade and silk trade routes passed through this region, making Xinjiang

the link between ancient China, Persia, and the West. The region was in almost constant turmoil, invaded by such legendary figures as Alexander the Great, Ghengis Khan, and Tamerlane, as well as each dynastic ruler of China.

Chen does well to give us so much early history, for until the last few decades Xinjiang remained a backward region (it didn't have a daily newspaper until 1935) and among those who fought to liberate the area in 1949 were members of nomadic tribes and Moslems bent on religious crusades. From the 1920s on, revolutionary thought began to penetrate the region, and Chen gets his descriptions of revolutionary and reactionary leaders from living sources and presents them in all their colorful eccentricity.

In 1955 Xinjiang became an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. The chapters on Xinjiang today are in some ways the least satisfying part of the book, because Chen covers such a variety of peoples and subjects that nothing is analyzed critically or in depth. The reader does get a bird's eye view of the region which is so little known in the West.

In the main *The Sinkiang Story* is a history of the old-fashioned type, at its best describing battles, wars, rulers, and uprisings in this region which until recently knew few periods of peace. Chen has a good eye for sorting out the progressive elements in each historical period, noting, for example, that even taking slaves was an advance over the era when conquerors simply slaughtered all the people they defeated. Sometimes the catalogues of foreign names seem a bit overwhelming, but Chen supplies frequent links to the present to keep the reader from being lost too long. He tells his story with such feeling — gasping over the scenery, rejoicing as each corrupt ruler goes down, imagining the pain of the revolutionary troops when they crossed the Gobi Desert — that the reader can't help experiencing the same strong emotions. — RONNI SANDROFF

The Politics of Medicine in China: The Policy Process 1949–1977. By David Lampton. Westview Press, Boulder, Colo., 1977. 300 pp. Cloth, \$20.00. David Lampton's *The Politics of Medicine in China* presents an excellent analysis of the political and economic factors which have influenced China's health policy from Liberation to the present.

The first chapters briefly survey the development of Chinese traditional medicine, Western medicine in China before 1949, and the legacy of the medical care system developed by the Chinese Communist Party during the 1930s and 40s in the South Jiangxi (Kiangsi) and Yan'an (Yenan)

base areas. Lampton then documents the nation's health status in 1949, and the astonishing advances in the control of infectious diseases and in professional medical education which took place during the first decade of Communist rule.

Soon after Liberation a conflict began between the health professionals in the

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Ministry of Public Health and the leadership of the Communist Party. Lampton details this conflict as it unfolded around the role of traditional Chinese medicine, the effect of the Great Leap Forward on health policy, the ascendancy of the Ministry of Public Health as a bureaucratic organization with a major policy-making role, and the urban

and professional bias of the medical care system.

The Cultural Revolution in the health care system was launched in June 1955 by Mao Tsetung's severe criticism of the Ministry of Public Health for serving primarily the urban population and being "divorced from the masses." According to

Lampton, the power to create health policy was taken out of the hands of health professionals and given to a small, central political group within the Communist Party. A series of reforms in health were initiated which included far greater emphasis on providing medical care to the rural population, a national program to train

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barefoot doctors and other paraprofessionals, and the revamping of the medical curriculum. Since the Cultural Revolution there has been a consolidation and review of the policy decisions made during the fervor of that time. But the effort to define a balance between "red" and "expert" medical care is an ongoing process.

Lampton's book is liberally annotated from Chinese and Western sources, as well as from his interviews with Chinese health professionals. It will be particularly valuable for Americans in the health field who have some background in China's political development. But it is also a thoughtful, well-written description of the political events which have helped to shape much of Chinese domestic policy over the past 28 years. — RUTH SIDEL AND VICTOR SIDEL, M.D.

The Crafts of China. By Michael Carter. Doubleday, New York, 1977. 144 pp. Illus. Cloth, \$9.95. If you have any interest in crafts at all, you'll find this a delightful and informative book. Where else can you find out that Chinese kites were once made with musical instruments attached, or get a glimpse of the 3,000-year-old tradition of puppetry in China? Or how to make a Wuxi doughboy or embroider the Imperial Dragon? Or what makes the porcelain of Jingdezhen (Ching-te-chen) still unique in all the world?

The Crafts of China covers the arts of jade and ivory carving, silk embroidery, carpet-making, lacquerware, and cloisonné, as well as the popular crafts of bamboo-weaving, and kite-, lantern-, and toy-making. The history and technique used in each craft is described, as well as the role of the craft and craftsman in modern Chinese society. The author also includes interesting anecdotes about the social roles of the crafts. For example, in the past women used ivory carvings of the female body to show doctors what was bothering them, since they weren't allowed to refer to their own bodies.

The entire text is lavishly illustrated with color pictures on every page. There are photos of antique and modern crafts, ancient scrolls, prints of traditional craftsmen at work, and photos of their modern counterparts. There are also lovely pictures of Chinese children and directions and patterns for embroidery, lanterns, kites, straw boxes, Wuxi toys, and a Peking Tiger.

Crafts of China is a fascinating textbook for the craftsman, a resource for classroom projects for the teacher, and a good introduction for anyone interested in how the crafts of the past serve the present in the PRC. The \$9.95 price tag seems quite reasonable for a hardbound book with so many color illustrations. — PEGGY SEEGER

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