

NEW PEOPLE IN NEW CHINA

Some Personal Glimpses of People in China

by Maud Russell

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INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1959 I had three months (April-July) in China. I traveled ten thousand miles in China, mostly by train and steamer, though there were about two thousand miles by car. Landing in Peking—by jet plane from Prague to Ulan Bator in Outer Mongolia and then by propeller plane into China—after a few days I went down to Canton in Kwangtung Province; I particularly wanted to see the spring session of the semi-annual Export Commodities Fair where China twice a year invites foreign merchants to come and see and buy what China has to export. China showed twenty thousand categories of goods, from intricate machines to Chinese drugs. Foreign merchants (one thousand in 1958 from thirty-two countries) attend; the hotel where I stayed filled up, day after day, with these traders from all over the world; sad to say, no American buyers or sellers were there.

Returning from Canton, with a stop-over in Changsha, I went to Manchuria in the north, visiting the great steel complex in Anshan, the famous open-pit coal mine in Fushuin, and the industrial city of Shenyang (Mukden). Then down to Shanghai, stopping off in Tientsin, Tsinan and Nanking. After sixteen days in the Shanghai-Hangchow area I went fifteen hundred miles up the Yangtze, through the Gorges, to Chungking, having stopped off at Kiukiang, Kuling, Hankow and Wuchang on the way up river. Then by train to Chengtu and Sian and back to Peking.

The highlights of the days in China were the May Day celebrations, attending the opening session of the National Congress, visiting thirteen People's Communes in ten different provinces, having Children's Day (June first) in Shanghai with Madame Sun Yatsen's Child Welfare friends, visiting Young Women's Christian Associations in ten cities where I had worked in the Chinese

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YWCA, visiting urban and rural nurseries and kindergartens—evidence of millions of China's children growing up healthy and cooperative persons.

Of course I learned much about People's China from visits with capitalists, in neighborhood committees (lane or block organizations) in the cities, National Minorities universities, hospitals and clinics, factories, handicraft shops, prisons, sanitoria, resorts and recreation areas. I enjoyed movies, opera, theatre, entertainments, shops, parks, planetarium, zoos, historical spots and museums—evidences everywhere of China's emphasis on both its traditional culture and its current creative culture. Throughout the whole time in China—I spent hours and days and traveled with my old friends—truly new people in the new China.

Now I want to share with my FAR EAST REPORTER readers just a sampling—just a glimpse—of people in China—glimpses of every-day life which reveal some of the spirit of the new China, the people's China.

I MEET A FORMER TOBACCO WORKER

One morning in June I was walking along Nanking Road in Shanghai with my interpreter companion and another friend; as we stopped to look in a store window a Chinese woman approached us and, as an opener for conversation, asked in Chinese, "Are you Russians?"; I glanced at her and replied, "No." Then she addressed me-"Are you Maud Russell," using my Chinese name. I looked at her in surprise; she was no one I knew. Then she went on, "In 1982 I was a worker in a tobacco factory across the river; one night you came across to our YWCA industrial workers' club in that factory and told us about life in the Soviet Union which you had visited on your way back to China from furlough; that talk began a change in my life-I never knew before that that there was any other kind of life for me but a miscrable worker's life. Now I am the business manager of a large textile factory." Later a YWCA colleague told me that this former exploited woman tobacco worker, now a factory business manager, was about to go on a trip to a southeast Asian country to set up a complete textile mill which China was providing for that country.

AN EVENING WITH MY FIRST BOY FRIEND IN CHINA

My first boy friend in China—he was then six years old—is now a college graduate, the father of a twelve-year-old son, and on the staff of a machine plant. We spent a part of an evening together catching up on the family—his seven brothers and sisters, his cousins, his parents, and his grandmother—all members of a famous former ducal family. He talked about his own family, about his work, about his enthusiasm for the new China, deeply regretting that one member of the family was away from the mainland, having been caught up in Chiang Kai-shek's entourage and was now virtually a "prisoner" on Taiwan. Then, his face beaming, he said, "Just think—the good society you used to tell us children about—we have it now!" I don't remember any such conversation with those little children, but probably the adults in the family had talked about us foreign YWCA women as "helping to build a good society."

MY BOY FRIEND'S GRANDMOTHER

The grandmother of this boy friend is now about eighty years old—but looks no older than sixty. (One of the things that amazed me—having been away from China for sixteen years—was that old friends looked so young and were so spry). When I went to see this old friend, calling her by her name, "Madame ———," she shot back—"Don't call me 'Madame ———," I am Comrade ———," using her maiden name. Then she went on, "Isn't it wonderful that our great family memorial temple is now torn down and the area made into a workers' club—now it's useful for all the people." And this descendant of a former ducal family is now a participant in one of the basic people's organizations—a neighborhood committee, as enthusiastic as her grandson about the people's China.

A CAPITALIST LEARNS TO LIKE THE PEOPLE'S CHINA

I spent a morning in the textile factory of one of China's leading capitalists. At noon he took us to his beautiful home for lunch; on the way, an hour or so drive, he told me about his experience of coming to accept and like People's China. When the Communists took over in Shanghai in 1949 he fled to Hongkong

"scared to death of Communists." In Hongkong he had money, the equivalent of one million dollars gold. His friends there urged him to write off his five textile mills on the mainland, take his million dollars and start over again in Hongkong. He went through a struggle-"I love my country; I did not want to be an exile, an overseas Chinese, but I was scared to death of Communists. Finally I decided to return; I took my million and went back to Shanghai. I called on the mayor, still scared, found him a reasonable man who said to me, 'We are not going to take your factories away from you; they are yours; we want you to open them and produce; we will give you all the help we can.' I didn't believe him, but I opened up. Then came the Korean War, and I could not get American cotton for my mill. The Government got me cotton, from Pakistan and Brazil, bringing it in from the North. But still I was scared of Communists and did not trust them. Then my textile machines began to wear out; I couldn't replace them from America because of the United States embargo; but again the Government came to my rescue and got me machines from Belgium; I still didn't trust them completely. I produced yarn and cotton --but at that stage there was no market for them: the Government bought all my products-and by that time I was recognizing that they kept their word about helping; and, I was seeing what they were doing for the people; I began to believe them and to get over my fear of Communists."

Then along about 1955 came the movement of turning private enterprises over into joint ownership with the Government, the owners receiving five percent interest on their investment for seven years; this capitalist's five mills were worth about fifteen million dollars when he came back from Hongkong; by the time of the joint ownership turnover his mills were worth eighteen million; so he now has coming to him in interest nine hundred thousand dollars a year. "But I told the Government-'keep the money, I don't need it.' The Government says, 'It is yours, you have to take it.' But I am the manager of five mills, for which I get salaries; and I am the general manager of all the textile mills in the area, and get a salary for this; and besides I have a lot of money in the bank-I don't need the interest money and I don't want it. So-it stays in the bank; the Government says it is mine; I say I don't want it and I don't take it." And then he gave a sidelight on how different it is being a capitalist now-"Now I am a very happy man; before

I had to keep up appearances, I had to have a new suit every month and a new car every year; now I have plenty of good suits on hand and this car (a three-year-old Chrysler-Ed.) is plenty good enough—no longer do I have to worry about keeping up false appearances, lest I lose credit at the bank and my competitors spread insinuations that 'his business may be bad.' And my family—well, you know how it is in a rich family, the tensions about money and possessions, who is going to get or inherit what; but now—well, I have nine children; they are all university graduates; they all have their professions and don't think about any inheriting; my nine children and I are the best of friends, they write me, they come to see me—we are a loving family. I am a very happy man."

OTHER CAPITALISTS

In a city where I used to work I visited an old acquaintance, a former banker. He is now retired as a banker, but is the vice-chairman of his provincial People's Political Consultative Council; his daughter is a famous singer, internationally known and a popular radio star in China; his wife is an active member of the Women's Federation and of the YWCA. In another city, a widow has inherited her husband's large cotton mill, now a joint private-government enterprise; she is vice-chairman of the local Women's Federation and runs a kindergarten for one hundred and sixty children in her garden; at night her dining room becomes a night nursery bedroom where she and the former YWCA secretary take turns looking after fourteen sleeping children. A happy rich woman!

In Chungking, Chiang Kai-shek's war-time capital, I visited in the home of a capitalist who had moved his factory from down-river to the interior during the war. He told me he had been deceived by the stories the Kuomintang had told the people about the Communists; having no access to outside information during the war years, he had believed these lies. (The Shanghai capitalist told me he had been afraid to read any Communist material during the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and thus he too believed the lies about the Communists.) He did not run when the Communists came, but he suspected them. The new authorities urged him to reopen his factory—"it is needed for production"—and they assured him the Communist Party was working in the interests of the people.

"I stayed; I reopened my factory; I saw many facts that dissolved my suspicion of the Communists; these Communists lived dedicated lives; they cared for the people; soon I had no doubts, only belief -not only no doubts about them, but respect for them. Under the leadership of the Communist Party we now have a sense of direction-which way to go. The Common Program of 1949 (the provisional constitution adopted by the new government-Ed.) showed the way; the policies of the Party encouraged people: they included and integrated the capitalists; they did not take their resources away from them-their policy was one of peaceful reformation." Then he went on to tell me about his factory and said, "I can't compare conditions under the old capitalist and imperialist system with conditions under the new socialist system. Under the old the big fish ate the little fish; and there was pressure from the foreign imperialists and the native bureaucratic capitalists; then, having credit depended on knowing the Four Families (Chiano, Kung, Chen Soong-Ed.); the Kuomintang kept telling us 'Communism is bad' and at the same time the Kuomintang's only object was to crush you, get vour property. After three months of Liberation we capitalists felt free-under the new conditions we could go ahead and produce; we could see our factories developing.

"Under the old society a capitalist was unhappy; business was speculation, not production; politically you were controlled by warlords; your taxes were many and complicated; there was bribery-you had to bribe the bureaucratic capitalists and the Tax Bureau: if you didn't bribe they would find ways to tax you more; you could be rich one day and poor the next. Now, compared with the old, we have heaven; now, everything is done for the people. In the old, we had no security; now the level of our standard of living is up. The new society is better for the individual capital ists; but most important, the Chinese people have stood up. We have no oppression now; we have justice. Now we can agree with what is happening in our country. Of course capitalists have gone through a training-they have studied to understand the new society-which theory is best, and why; we now understand the reasons for socialism; we know that socialism is for all, not for the few.

"Formerly capitalism did not serve the country; capitalists put money into American and foreign banks, not to build factories and open mines for China, but to earn dollars for themselves." He went on to talk about his own factory, which had become jointly owned with the Government in 1955. "Joint ownership increases production; it gives more opportunity to improve; it helps the country, the Government and the individual, and it is in the interest of the people; there is now no conflict between people and capital. And the conditions of the workers are better—they have schools, nurseries, food, better living quarters, clubs, health." This capitalist is vice-mayor of Chungking; his wife, a teacher before marriage, is now a member of the Provincial People's Political Consultative Council. "Before Liberation she was only a housewife; now she runs nurseries and is in political life." As I visited their home she served tea, then rushed off to catch the train to Chengtu, an overnight journey, to attend a session of the PPCC.

In this former war-time capital of China, Chungking, many capitalists are now in government and political life. Three capitalists are in the National People's Congress, one of them serving on the Central Committee of that Congress; two are membrs of the National People's Political Consultative Council; three are on the Provincial People's Congress. Nine, two of them women, are on the Provincial PPCC; thirty-five capitalists serve on the Municipal People's Congress, and five of these are on its Executive Committee. One capitalist is vice-mayor, one is vice-governor of the province; a capitalist heads the Bureau of Communications and Transport, and four serve as vice-chairmen of the bureau. Fifty-three capitalists are on the Municipal PPCC; and of seven vice-chairmen of the municipal districts, three are capitalists.

I visited in the beautiful home of a capitalist in Tientsin, a man who heads one of the large enterprises there; his wife is famous for her beautiful rose garden and rose culture; when I visited her she had just that morning returned from Peking where she had been called to advise about the flowers around the great new National Congress building; she is also a translator of American writers.

People's China did not make the mistake of ignoring or inistreating its capitalist citizens. Some of the large ones, the bureaucratic capitalists who combined government position with exploitation of the people and felt closer to the foreign exploiters than to their own people, fled. Those who remained when the new government came in were rightly regarded and treated as major assets of the people—men and facilities ready to get on with China's

basic economic need-production. Their place and dignity are symbolized in the flag of the People's Republic of China-one of the five stars in the flag represents "the national capitalists"; "national"-related, not to world-wide capitalism, but to their own country. They have no dealings or relations with foreign capitalists (all foreign trade relations are a function of the Government, not of individual producers). Individual capitalists who had shares in government-owned enterprises that existed before Liberation and were taken over by the new Government, did not have their shares disturbed; these enterprises continued to be jointly owned. Gradually all capitalists and most private enterprises in China have become joint private-government enterprises, the capitalist owners now receiving five percent interest on their investment for seven years and receiving salary for their continued work in the enterprise. They become workers—a part of the process in which the differences between "manual" and "mental" diminish. Capitalists will tell you -"No longer is there enmity or conflict between us-we are no longer employer and employee, but fellow workers in a commonly owned enterprise."

THE PEOPLE'S COURTS

A CORRUPTION CASE

During May and June 1959 I attended four court cases in China: a corruption case in Nanking, divorce cases in Shanghai and Hankow, and an accident case in Chungking. Each attendance took the better part of a morning or afternoon. The courts consisted of a regular judge, two people's assessors (people's judges), a prosecutor, a recorder, and a policeman. In one case there was a lawyer for the defendant. Any of the public interested in the case attend and are called upon to express their views or give facts about the case. Court opens with the judge introducing the court personnel to those in attendance, explaining the function of each member of the court and the technique of the court procedure; he then addresses himself to the defendant or the parties, making clear to them all their rights in the matter.

In the corruption case in Nanking the court was held in a large auditorium, with the court personnel sitting on the stage. This was the only case of the four in which there was a lawyer—a woman who spoke for the defendant. The accused was an accountant in

a large construction enterprise. Four hundred workers, many from his own enterprise, attended the session. The Judge asked the defendant to stand up, take off his hat, and listen to the charges against him read by the prosecutor. He was charged with stealing material from the construction jobs and with making false sickness-benefit applications and then collecting on these false claims. The Judge then proceeded to question the defendant:

Question: Are the charges as read true?

Answer: It is true.

Question: When did you begin working with this enterprise?

Answer: In 1956.

Question: Did you ever commit this crime before?

Answer: Yes, I have been in prison for the same crime.

Question: When were you released?

Answer: In 1954.

Question: How much was the sum of the corruption?

Answer: Six hundred yuan.

Question: What was the corruption?
Answer: I revised prices for materials.

Question: What about tools?

Answer: I changed the figures on them.

Question: How much?

Answer: I took away one of the lists but still charged 20 yuan. (The defendant then went into details about taking 150 yuan and then returning the sum because other workers had discovered his stealing.)

Question: Don't you know that the government refunds whatever you have to outlay for the job-but your private expenses you have to pay yourself?

Answer: Yes, but I kept back some 80 or 90 yuan.

Question: When students came to the yard to polish bricks, did you pay them wages? (Defendant "couldn't remember".)

Question: Between August 1955 and December 1958 how much money did you steal?

Answer: More than 500 yuan,

Question: You and your wife earn 80 yuan a month; that was enough; stil you wanted more: how did you use the money?

Answer: I bought clothes and a watch.

Question: What do you now think about your crime?

Answer: My character is not good and my ideas are wrong. I

want to repay my debts. My comrades trusted me; I am sorry I violated that trust. What I did before was wrong, so now I want to tell all the facts about my crime and I want to reform. I thank the people who helped me discover my guilt early—otherwise I would be more guilty. Now I want to be sentenced."

The Judge then called on members of the audience to speak; there were about four hundred men and women—workers, and one after another they got up and added facts about the accused's cheating and expressed their anger and indignation. The first to speak was a staff member of the same enterprise.

"How did this man steal? First, he took advantage of peasants who brought in material; he made incorrect lists, and made about 80 yuan. Second, inexperienced students came in to polish bricks—they were inexperienced as to the wage scale—he made an extra ten yuan from each student. Third, during The Great Leap Forward workers wanted to work extra time, so they worked three shifts; they were allowed pay for one meal at night, and he took some of that money. Fourth, he took company medicine-fund money and bought tonics for himself—that is why he is so fat; and he bought hot water bottles for himself. Fifth, at the time of the Great Leap Forward when everyone was working for the country, he thought only of himself—this is the great crime he committed."

The next speaker was a woman treasurer who had worked with him in the same enterprise:

"I talked with him about his 'lost' lists and asked him to find the lists. I told him that I remember clearly that he put three lists in his pocket; he denied it. Later I found the lists but not the money; he denied he took the money. I gave him a chance to confess, to tell the truth, but he persisted in his denials. I challenge his statements to this Court: there is a discrepancy in his dates; he has not told the full truth. What was his procedure? When people get medical service they have to sign a paper: he told them it was not necessary; then he put his own seal on the document and collected the money."

Then a cook stood up and told what he thought about the accused's crime:

"Our practice is for workers to report at the end of the month on how much they owe for food (eaten on the job, at the company dining room—Ed.) and then that sum is deducted from their wages. He would put down a wrong sum and thus got 10 yuan from each worker so cheated. Sometimes the kitchen hasn't enough cash and has to borrow from the management; he falsified the sum and tried to bribe the cook."

A worker from another job criticized him:

"You were in prison for two and a half years and then you again committed the same crime—and after you were trusted. You were freed and then in 1958 you got work with the construction enterprise in June, and in August you began to steal and in the end you had stolen 500 yuan. The worst thing about this is that at that period when people were busy taking The Great Leap Forward you were stealing: that was the worst thing. And, only two in your family—80 yuan was more than enough, but you wanted to live luxuriously. You stole on every opportunity—you were a capitalist! ("Capitalist" said with vehemence—Ed.)

A man worker:

"These facts anger me. The very worst thing is that these crimes were committed dring The Great Leap Forward."

The Judge then spoke up—"Our time is limited. Please do not go on repeating the same facts. I know how you all feel, so you don't need to say that over and over. Now don't speak unless you have new facts to add."

The next speaker from the audience was a worker from another job:

"This worker's level was rather high. He had graduated from a business college in Shanghai. In the old society he was an accountant, and so he got the mentality and experience of the old society. He was accustomed to eat at good restaurants. He was clever at distracting the attention of the workers as he used his personal seal on blank documents, and then used these papers to collect money from the government."

Then one of the people's assessors spoke up: "The time is short; give us more facts—not just repetition of what we know and what you feel." The Judge added: "The just anger against this worker is understandable, but now, please, just add facts." More workers spoke, expressing anger; altogether, over a dozen workers spoke from the audience.

Then the Prosecutor rose to speak: "The defendant has basically confessed to the facts: about his stealing and the methods he used. He claims he 'merely intended to steal' but witnesses have given the facts about actual stealing. The defendant is still not quite honest, not completely honest; he says he "didn't buy leather clothing' when in fact he did. Before Liberation the defendant had a job in the reactionary Kuomintang army—and later he acted as a counter-revolutionary, as a section leader in the counter-revolution; but our Party trusted him—we took over Kuomintang personnel and trusted it. His fault, stealing, harms our country."

The Judge then asked the defendant's attorney, a woman, to speak:

"This is the first time I have met with a case of stealing. I am surprised that in 1959 there could be stealing. -though we have heroes and heroines-it does take time to do away with capitalist thinking. The defendant before Liberation worked in the Kuomintang army, in which there was much stealing, and he learned from this-he is therefore different from the common people: they can understand. I have talked with the defendant; he told me, 'When I was released from prison I determined to obey the law and be a good citizen; but when I met with money, the old thoughts came back. Why did I steal? I got married after being freed and used a lot of money and got into debt.' I asked him why he didn't ask for help; he answered that he was ashamed to ask for help. I agree that he must be sentenced but I have some opinion as to the seriousness of the crime. One fact-about the 150 yuan-he intended to put it into a bank, and that is different from using it, so the degree of the crime of his stealing is different. This defendant can't distinguish between private and public; he was wrong; but the sentence can be light. Another factor to take into consideration—he did tell the facts about the 150 yuan and this is in his favor. It was wrong to steal but he says he would like to sell the things he bought and return the money. I hope the Judge will see the real facts—he did wrong, but not too serious a wrong. How do I feel about this?—some people think that now that we are a socialist country there will be no such crimes—but we cannot be blind."

The Judge then asked the defendant: "Do you want to say anything?" The defendant answered, "No, let the Government sentence me." The Judge, the two Assessors, and the Recorder then retired to discuss the case. During this recess the defendant's lawyer came and sat with me and told us she had no formal training but had taken up the work as a lawyer. After twenty minutes the Court resumed. The Judge asked the defendant to stand up before the bar and then delivered the verdict:

"The defendant's character is bad; stealing is natural to him. Though trusted by our Government, even after a prison term, he stole. The fact that he did not use some of the money does not mean he did not steal; he did use some of the money to buy things for himself. He repeated his former crime. According to the Law of the Peopie's Republic of China (quoting the relevant sections—Ed.) the defendant is sentenced to three years in prison and to return all the stolen money.

"If the defendant does not agree with this sentence he can appeal to the Provincial Government Court."

The Judge then repeated the names of the personnel of the Court; and the police officer escorted the sentenced man from the court room.

A DIVORCE CASE: THE WOMAN APPLIES FOR A DIVORCE

This case took place in Shanghai in the District People's Court, in a fairly small court room, in which the Court personnel (Judge, two Assessors, and a Recorder) sat on a low dais about a foot above the floor level. One of the assessors was a woman. The litigants were a couple, with the woman applying for the divorce.

After the usual formalities of identifying the court personnel, explaining the court procedure, the Judge asked the woman to step forward from the front bench on which the couple was seated. I sat on a rear bench with the audience. The Judge then questioned the woman:

Question: How did you get to know your husband?

Answer: I'm a native of Hangchow; in 1948 my father died and I went to live with my sister. My husband was a neighbor and we got to know each other. Then I made a trip to ---- to try to find my foster mother; I failed to find her, and this man who was then living in that town, took me to the home of one of his friends to live. One day he told me the house was too small, and asked me to live in a hotel. He deceived me, and later we were married. We never got along; he was very strict and demanded a husband's prerogatives. He gambled; he treated me like a child; he suspected me when I came in late from work or when I went out to an evening party. For a time we didn't live together. In 1958 we came to Shanghai; our families tried to reconcile us. My husband's brother said he would try to help if we would agree to be reconciled. I agreed; I tried to reason with my husband-but he refused. Our relationship got no better. So I want a divorce. Now we don't even speak to each other, though we live in one room.

Question: When did you first ask for a divorce?

Answer: In Nanking. But his mother and elder brother had feudal ideas—they were against divorce. I was influenced by them so I did not bring the case to the court. Then in Shanghai I had new neighbors and fellow-workers and I got new ideas: one of these new ideas was that it was not necessary for me to suffer like this.

Question: Have you any children- and where are they?

Answer: Yes, two boys, one eight and one five. The elder one is in Tsinan with my sister. The younger one is in the nursery run by our office.

Question: What did your office do about this matter?

Answer: They tried to mediate several times; but there is not the slightest hope. I have waited a year for him to change. The situation is now affecting my work.

Question: What is your main request to this Court?

Answer: A divorce and the custody of the two children. The present situation is no good for us or for our children.

Question: Have you thought this through thoroughly? What

do you think about it now? To get a divorce is not a trifle. You must think seriously about this. If there is any hope, you should reconsider. What will you do about the children?

Answer: Even now the children are looked after by me. Everything concerning them is arranged by myself. The elder one is away with my sister, but the father never asks about him. The elder one writes to me. They will be happy with me and I am willing to bring them up. The elder one is getting on well with my sister. The younger one is a lovely boy, in the nursery, and I keep in touch with the nursery. After the boy is old enough to leave the nursery he will go to school and the neighbors will help me look after him.

Question: Aside from the children, are there any other problems? How do you get along economically?

Answer: We would be better off if my husband would move. If he doesn't, I will. About the furniture—I don't care; he has already sold a lot of it for gambling. I hope he will pay something toward the expenses of the children.

The Judge then asked the husband to step forward and began questioning him:

Question: When were you married?

Answer: August 1948.

Question: How did you get along?

Answer: Quite all right.

Question: When did you start to have trouble? Answer: Since 1953 we haven't got along well.

Question: What is the real cause for the break? What are your thoughts about it? You said you married from choice.

Answer: We are both responsible. I admit that I have exercised "a husband's prerogatives"—but I have tried to overcome such old ideas. My wife has looked down on me and she has always been very strict with me. We are both responsible, but since it has developed to such an extent, it is of no use to try to keep her with me.

Question: Do you agree to a divorce?

Answer: I hope we can make up.

Question: What will you do to achieve a reconciliation? What will you do about the children if there is a divorce?

Answer: I know we are both responsible for the children. I would put them in a nursery.

Question: But your sons will be too old for a nursery?

Answer: I will try to solve the problem. Question: What about the furniture?

Answer: That is unimportant; that is secondary. That could be settled by consultation between the two of us.

Question: What is your opinion now?

Answer: I don't think she will live in the present house; I hope to go on living in the house. I agree to divide the furniture—I have no objection to her suggestion—we will be reasonable. I agree to a divorce, but I want the children.

At this point the wife spoke up: "He has told lies about our relationship. When I first had relations with him I was a virgin; now he insults me by telling that I was not a virgin. I will not give him the children." Then the husband spoke up: he blamed his wife, saying that the children are indifferent to him and that this is her fault. The Judge then went on questioning the couple. First he addressed the woman:

Question: In speaking of the children, think what is most beneficial for them—isn't it for the mother to look after them?

Answer: I want the children. But I pledge I will not cut them off from him. I will not treat him as an enemy. I have never said they could be without a father. They are afraid of him because of his treatment of them; he never shows any concern for them—only when he is in high spirits. I pledge I will not keep them from meeting their father. I hope the Court wil consider the problem in the interest of the children. And I hope the Court will not think it well to let the father have them. I ask the Court to so decide.

The Judge then turned to the husband and asked:

Question: Do you agree to let her have the children?

Answer: No, it would be a burden on my mind.

The Judge again questions the wife: "How much responsibility for the children do you want him to have?

Answer: Only for one child—the one in the nursery. It would be about 20 yuan a month. It costs 23 yuan—but I know he has debts. I don't know how much. The Court can investigate his debts.

The Judge then asked members of the audience to speak on the

case. A man, a fellow worker in the office where the husband worked, spoke up:

"The disputing between these two started in 1956. I tried to mediate. At first both were confident they could make up and forget the past—but this attitude lasted only a day or two. In 1957 there was a reconciliation that lasted one week. The relations got worse and worse, and they wouldn't even speak. They were always quarreling and it affected their work. Both their offices tried to bring them together. According to present estimate there is no hope; it is better to grant the wife a divorce.

Then a woman, a fellow worker in the office where the wife worked, spoke up:

"They haven't got along since 1956; she asked for a divorce then; we tried to mediate; she brought the case to court in 1957; the Court mediated but the situation got worse and worse. She is not in good health—the situation is an extra burden on her health. Recently they have quarreled worse and at length. We think a divorce is good. Now about the children—generally speaking, each could have one child; but there are other factors—we don't know if the husband could look after a child. In my opinion, let the wife have the children during this period; and then when the children are older, the parents can negotiate about them.

The Judge then asked the wife, "What is your opinion about this and—about your husband wanting the children?" The wife replied that she agreed with the suggestion from the audience concerning negotiating about the children at a later period. Then there was a fifteen minute recess during which the Court retired to discuss the case. When the Court returned the Judge made a statement:

"Before this case was called, the Court itself made a thorough investigation. Now we have heard the two parties and the audience expressions, and we have discussed the case. The Marriage Law states that marriage is founded on mutual understanding and common work, and that it must be based on a voluntary relationship, that there should be respect for

each other and equality, and that both should be responsible for the children.

"In this case the woman was 18 and in middle school; she went to look for her relative when she was in a state of confusion, with no one to turn to; she had had correspondence with the man and went to call on him for help in finding her relative; it was mainly due to her having to turn to him that they were married. Due to objective factors, it was a hurried marriage. Therefore there was not a solid basis for the marriage; they didn't know each other well enough to know if they couldn't get along after marriage. They could have cultivated a good relationship—but they failed to do this; due to the man's idea about a husband's prerogatives he did not treat her as an equal. He looked down on her as some one who knew nothing and he did not want her to be in touch with outside circles. And the wife did not do her best to create good relations. So they quarreled over trifles.

"The reasons for the bad relations, as the Court sees it are: 1) the husband did not change his 'prerogatives' idea; 2) he had worked as an agent for capitalists and so was influenced by bourgeois ideas; 3) they had different ways of doing things. As for her—she didn't do enough to help him change his old habits; she was not patient enough; she thought he was not as good as she was and she looked down on him. I hey had differences over finances. They lived separately, one upstairs and one downstairs. They had been married for eleven years and have two children—but no solid foundation for marriage before and no getting along after marriage.

"The authorities where they work have been concerned with the problem and have tried to mediate. Her office tried to help her respect him but in spite of the efforts of her office she didn't take it seriously, so there was no improvement in relations. On her part she was mentally distressed and her health got worse and her work was affected. In spite of the efforts of the two offices, there were no results.

"If they remain together as man and wife it is not good. Both have agreed to a divorce.

"As to the children, opinions differ; both want them. According to the Marriage Law the children are not private property to belong to one or the other after divorce. Even

if one parent gets custody the other can see them and has to fulfill obligations to them. So, the crux of the matter is—settlement in the interest of the children.

"According to the Court's investigation, the father did not pay attention to the children. The mother did. She found a way to arrange for their care in case of a divorce; the father, on the other hand, could not give us any concrete measures he would arrange for their care in case of a divorce; he only says he 'would arrange.' The Court feels the wife is better suited to care for the children. This does not mean the two belong to her. The father has the right to see them and even to bring them to his home at times. Also, there is a time limit—negotiations about the children can take place after a certain period. And, the children will grow up and conditions will change and the parents can reconsider the situation. The time may come when the father will be in a better position, so that he can look after them. Even reconciliation can be considered.

"The Court agrees: the wife is to look after the children. As to the expenses for the children, each is responsible for one child. How much—that is to be decided. The 23 yuan a month for the nursery is too much, though a child in a nursery needs more than he will later on in primary school."

The Judge then rendered the verdict:

"According to the Marriage Law the divorce is granted. The children for the time being are to be with the mother. The father is to pay 16 yuan a month for the child in the nursery. The father can have a say about their education. As to the furniture: the wife gets the bed and two chairs; the husband gets the balance of the furniture and the house.

The Judge announced that an appeal to a higher court could be made within ten days.

A DIVORCE CASE: THE HUSBAND APPLIES FOR A DIVORCE

This was a case in Hankow, with the husband applying for a divorce. The Court, consisting of the Judge, two People's As-

sessors, one a woman, and the Recorder, sat at tables facing several rows of benches. The couple sat on the front row on one side of the aisle and I and my companions on the other side of the aisle. Previous to going into the small court room a court official had received us, given us tea and some information about the court. There were four or five people in the audience, besides the four of us who were visiting observers. The Judge, as usual, named the Court personnel, describing the function of each, and explained the court procedure. He then asked the two parties to the case if their friends were represented in the audience, receiving affirmative answers. The Judge then asked the husband to stand before the Court and began the questioning:

Question: What is the reason for this divorce proceeding?

Answer: We were married in 1956; and we got along all right; there were some differences in customs and speech; at first we quarreled lightly and then seriously. Because of the quarreling at home I sometimes worked three shifts—so I didn't work very well. The cadres in our factory tried to help us, help us understand each other; then we criticized each other—but when we got home we quarreled again. So I think divorce is the only way out.

Question: What is the main reason for the quarreling?

Answer: It has to do with health and the children. When I want to sleep she doesn't keep the children from making noise. On Sundays and rest days I don't want to stay home—there is no rest there. And: last year she got a letter; I gave it to her unopened; she said it was from her brother. I doubted her. Sometimes I received a letter from a friend, who had a name like a girl's name; but it was a schoolmate of mine; she suspected me. So we suspected each other. We quarreled and for three months I ignored her and the children. Our factory comrades tried to reconcile us, but our quarreling was endless.

The Judge then turned to the wife and asked:

Question: Your husband has given his reasons for wanting a divorce; what do you say?

Answer: We fell freely in love with each other. There was no forcing in our marriage. Recently-for the last two or three years—we quarreled seriously. Cadres tried to reconcile us but afterwards we quarreled. I did suspect him—he always came home late and gave me no reasons. For the last several months he has had no concern for the children—spent no money on them.

Another reason for the quarreling is that my mother-in-law treats my sister-in-law better than she treats me. And—the letter my husband suspected was from a schoolmate. And he did not let me see the letters he got. We didn't talk to each other except to say ironic things.

I do not agree to a divorce. We fell in love freely; the contrasts between us were small. I want him to do away with his short-comings; everything will be all right if he overcomes them.

And we must think of the children-divorce would not be good for them.

The Judge returns to questioning the husband:

Question: Your wife doesn't agree to a divorce; she says you two can understand each other.

Answer: It is better to divorce; it is the final way. I want the children. No matter what, I want a divorce—then I will not worry over quarreling; keeping on living together we will keep on quarreling.

Question: What if your wife overcomes her shortcomings?

Answer: Of course divorce is an unhappy thing. Both of us are responsible for this. I feel sick about this.

Question: Your wife's reasons are small things. If you both overcome, there can be reconciliation.

Answer: I have thought about this for a long time. Our factories have tried—even called a special meeting. But still we quarrel—seriously. We are happier now if we don't see each other—we have come to this. It is difficult for her to overcome her shortcomings.

The wife spoke out: "I will never agree to a divorce."

The Judge asked the wife: "What is the outlook for overcoming your shortcomings?"

The wife replied: "In the future we can discuss, with neither insisting on his or her own opinion."

The Court then took a five-minute recess to retire and discuss the question. When the Court returned the Judge made a statement:

The Court made an investigation before the case was called. We found that relations inside the family and between these two had shortcomings. So something must be wrong and we want to settle this question of a reconciliation.

The husband broke in: "I do not want a reconciliation; the factory comrades have already tried for that."

The Judge responded to this outbreak: "Your contradictions are small; if you can change your opinions and overcome your shortcomings, this case can be resolved. Shortcomings exist in you, the husband; and you must think of your children." Then the wife broke in: "I still cannot agree to a divorce; there are some fellowworkers of ours who understand this. I want to hear from them."

Two fellow workers, both men, spoke from the floor. The first one said:

"After the marriage their relationship was good. But the children do make a lot of noise—and the grandmother shouts at them. My opinion is that the relationship between these two and between the parents and the children is hurt because of the old parents. The old folks are not good cooks and they are disorderly—and this is the irritation the young foiks face when they come home from work. The relationship between the young couple is basically good but the older relatives cause the trouble."

Then the second worker spoke from the floor:

"I have worked for several years with them and I know they fell freely in love. The problem is not serious, except for what is happening to the children. Our trade union tried to reconcile them; we think the main thing is to understand and forgive each other—and to understand and forgive the older ones too—they have difficulties too."

The husband broke in again; he repeated his reasons for wanting the divorce and said, "Maybe we will quarrel again."

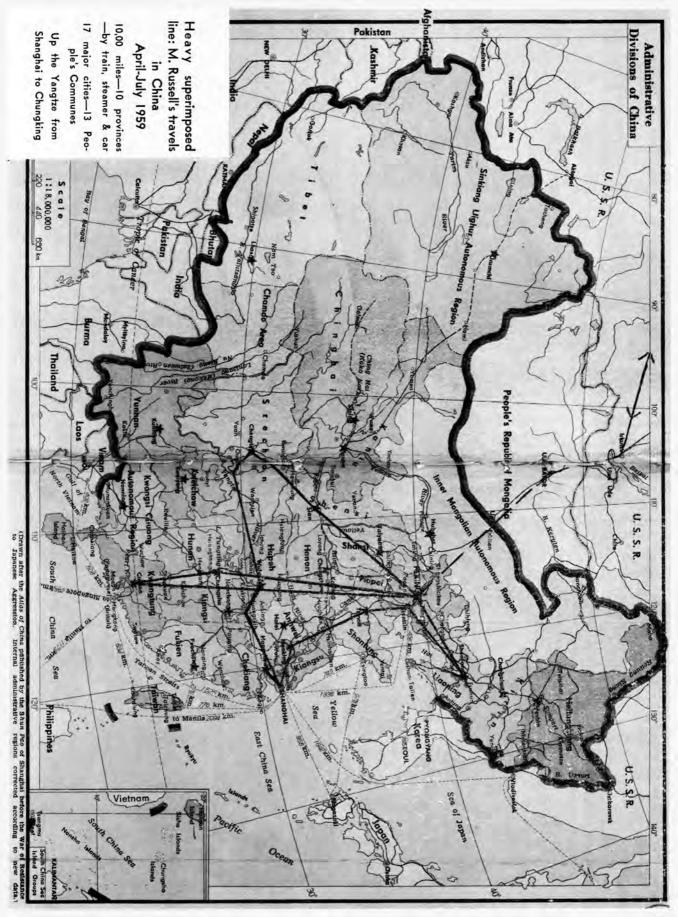
The Judge spoke to the husband: "Your wife has confessed her shortcomings and you have admited that 'divorce is an unhappy thing'. So—think about the future and how to improve relations. Fellow workers who have worked with you for several years and know the facts about your relationship and about the children say that you can each overcome your shortcomings; and think about your work. Try to rethink this problem. The Court is trying to solve this question; we think the feelings you both have are not so



Old friends have an evening together in Shanghai. Talitha Gerlach, Madame Tso, Cora Deng, Dr. F. C. Yen



With National YWCA Committee Members and Staff-Shanghai, June, 1959





Children in the Pan Yu People's Communes greet us-Kwangtung Province



At the Asian-African Students Sanitorium—Peking

seriously broken that you must divorce." The husband again broke in: "We will still quarrel." The Judge continued, "If you still think this way you don't believe in your wife. You must believe in her and help her overcome her shortcomings; think about the beginning of your relationship when you fell in love with each other; you should be seeing the good parts of your relationship, not just the shortcomings." The husband replied: "I hope this Court hearing will be of some help; will help her see; I want to know what she will do."

The Judge then asked each to give their suggestions. The husband said: "We should both acknowledge the suspicions we had of each other and try to overcome them. And we can send the children to a nursery." The wife offered her suggestion: "We will send the eldest to the nursery, but not the youngest; the old parents can take care of the youngest. I ask my husband not to pay too much attention to the shortcomings of the old parents—we can't ask too much of these older ones."

The Judge then turned to the question of money. "The wife has raised the question of money; you each have saved money in the bank, but didn't tell each other."

To this question the husband replied, "I can now speak of the economic aspects. We do have income enough, but we need to plan our spending. And about the children—we will send both of them to the nursery. If my wife has different ideas from mine we will now talk more openly about these differences. But I do need rest when I come home from work." For her part the wife said, "In the future I will not let the children make noise. And I agree to send both of the children to the nursery."

So the case was resolved; the Judge said, "Yes, send both of the children to a nursery—this will be good for the education of the children. And now you both understand each other better. And as to your old parents—you should respect them and talk over things with them." The session ended with the husband and the wife each signing their names to the agreement—no divorce and the children to go to a nursery.

AN ACCIDENT CASE: A BUS DRIVER KILLS A LITTLE GIRL

This was a case in Chungking. The parties to the case were the bus driver who had killed a little girl and the girl's mother who was wounded in the accident, being hit by the bus. The accusation against the driver was not the killing, but "violation of the speed law." The Court personnel was the usual one—Judge, two Assessors, the Prosecutor, the Recorder and the police officer. As customary, the Judge introduced the court personnel, giving the function of each, explained the court procedure, and informed the defendant of all his rights in the law. Here the Court sat on a high bench above the room, but with the Prosecutor sitting below on a level with the parties, the witnesses, and the audience. The Prosecutor read the charges against the defendant who had been called to stand. Then the Judge proceeded with his questioning.

Question: What did you do before Liberation?

Answer: From eight years of age I went to school. After fifteen years I graduated and learned auto driving. I joined the Kuomintang army auto department.

Question: How many years did you drive for the Kuomintang Army?

Answer: 1939 to 1948. After Liberation I worked at No. 2 Building Department. Then I went to work for Public Communications.

Question: Did you have any accidents before?

Answer: No.

Question: What about this time?

Answer: On April 7th at eleven o'clock in the morning I was driving the bus from the Normal University. I saw people cleaning the street and I tried to stop. There were five or six children running across the street; suddenly I saw a figure in front of me; I tried to turn to the left to avoid that figure—then I saw a figure on that left side and I could not stop; I went on through and saw someone lying on the road.

Question: What was the number of your bus?

Answer: 303-1800, a bus with 41 passengers.

Question: What was the speed of your bus?

Answer: 30 miles an hour.

Question: Why did you speed when you saw children, was there any weakness in your brakes?

Answer: No.

Question: What hindrances were there to stopping?

Answer: None. I only saw two street cleaners and some children.

Question: What was the speed of your bus?

Answer: 20 to 30 miles an hour.

Question: What did you do?

Answer: I turned to the right; I saw figures; then I turned to the left.

Question: Where did you find the wounded woman?

Answer: When I turned to the left.

Question: Why did you turn to the left?

Answer: I was trying to get the woman between the wheels, not under.

Question: Was she wounded?

Answer: I saw something was wrong with her foot, but no blood. Then I heard her shouting and crying. Then I tried to take her to the hospital, and was helped by some one else.

Question: Did you know the child was killed?

Answer: I knew it only afterward. It was the rear of the bus which killed the child.

Question: Do you know what action you should take when you see children?

Answer: I should reduce speed. It was my pride; I have done careful driving for about 20 years and was proud of my skill. (He then went on to talk in detail-Ed.). I should take all responsibility for the accident.

Question: You saw people cleaning the street; what should have been your speed?

Answer: No more than eight miles an hour.

Question: Was the main reason for the accident that you were driving too fast?

Answer: Yes.

Question: What did you see of the killing of the child? And, what part of the bus hit her?

Answer: I am not clear. At first I thought no one was killed. A bystander told me. I only saw children in front and could not pay attention to children in back of the bus. As far as I know, the rear of the bus killed her, because of my turning.

The Judge then asked the defendant to sit down; and asked the police officer to bring in the witnesses. The Judge proceeded to question the first witness, the wounded mother.

Question: What is your name: what were you doing? Where

were your children?-on the right of on the left?

Answer: I heard the bus; I was cleaning the street. I don't know if I was hurt by the bus or by the people. (She went on speaking, at a very rapid pace, for several minutes, in great detail—Ed.)

Question: How far away was your child when you heard the bus?

Answer: Several metres. I dared not try to grab her. One child was on the right and one was on the left.

Question: Did you see the bus hit the child?

Answer: No. I tried to run away. I was already on the left.

Question: Was nothing hurt except your foot?

Answer: I felt. There is something wrong with my teeth.

Question: Have you been to a hospital?

Answer: Yes, for three days. They found nothing wrong with my teeth.

Question: Did you bury the child?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Was anything wrong with the other child?

Answer: No.

Question: Who else was cleaning the street with you?

Answer: (She gives the names.)

The Judge then called a second witness, another woman. He asked her name, asked about the bus, asked if she had been in the same place as the other woman, and asked her what she had seen. She responded at length, with almost endless details, explaining: "I was so close I didn't see how the child was killed. I was carrying my child away." The Judge then called up the defendant again, asked the same questions as before, and got the same answers.

Then all three—the defendant and the two witnesses, were called to the stand and questioned further. The Assessors would whisper to the Judge, he would question the three—but there was no attempt to confuse any one; there was a patient effort to clarify facts. The whole proceeding was carried on in a kindly manner, with no attitude of contempt for the accused or pressure to drag any implications or innuendo from any statements made by the accused or by the witnesses. During the questioning of the three, the child of one of the woman witnesses, outside in the garden cried; the woman left the court room, gathered the child in her arms and returned to the court room—not to the bench

but stood in the back of the room. There was an air of informality and yet of dignified attitude toward every one concerned.

The Judge asked the defendant, "What is your opinion about what the women witnesses have said?" The defendant answered: "I have no opinion, but I did see children running across the street."

The Prosecutor then took up the questioning, asking the defendant about his turning from left to right and from right to left. He pointed out that the defendant was driving within city limits, near schools and shops, and not out on a country road—and questioned him:

Question: What should your speed in that city area be?

Answer: 15 to 20 miles an hour.

Question: You admit you were going over 20 miles; and you maintained that speed after you saw the street cleaners and the children. Why did you not drive slowly?

Answer: I was too proud of my ability to avoid accidents.

Question: Did you think of the possible results?

Answer: No.

Question: Do you know the rules about driving?

Answer: Yes, but I didn't follow the rules. Question: Was the bus in good condition?

Answer: Yes.

Question: What was the cause of the accident?

Answer: My pride. I didn't stop when I saw the children.

There was then more questioning by the Judge, the Assessors and the Prosecutor; and the wounded woman again spoke at great length. Then the Prosecutor summed up the case:

"A lovely child has been killed. A mother was wounded. The Great Leap Forward stresses safety. The car was in good condition. The accident was in the city and near schools. The driver saw the children on the street, so he had an indication of the need to slow up.

The Prosecutor then recommended that the punishment be combined with education, and because the driver was confused the sentence should be light.

The Court recessed for ten minutes and then returned; the

Judge made a statement: they had taken into consideration the record of the defendant, they again gave the names of the court personnel, they repeated the details of the case, saying that the facts were clear, and then rendered the verdict. The defendant was sentenced to one year in jail.

The Judge in kindly tones told the defendant that if he were not satisfied with the verdict he could appeal and that within three days he could secure a copy of the transcript of the trial. He asked the defendant his reaction to the verdict, to which the prisoner replied that he had no opinion to express. The police officer then escorted the prisoner from the court room.

So much for the raw material of the four court cases I listened to in Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow and Chungking-courts in three provinces, Kiangsu, Hupeh and Szechuan. Now for some facts about these courts. A people's assessor is any citizen, male or female, who has reached the age of 23 and who has not been deprived of his or her political rights; these assessors come from all walks of life: workers, peasants, clerks, industrialists, business men and others; they are elected by the people in the district where the court is, for two years, and may be re-elected. The district of the Shanghai court which I visited has over one hundred permanent assessors and may invite assessors from other districts to function in its court. The assessor has the same rights as the judge; he not only takes part in arriving at facts but has an equal voice in deciding on a judgment. This system draws a multitude of people into judicial activity and helps the court reach a sounder judgment within the provisions of the law because the people's experience of real life and their knowledge of local conditions is put at the disposal of the court, and in turn makes more and more citizens familiar with the workings of justice in their land. The judge is nominated by the people's organizations (trade unions, women's organizations and other people's organizations) and the appointment is made by the People's Council (the local government organ). Higher judges are selected by the Municipal Council. Judges of the Supreme People's Court are appointed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Lawyers in criminal cases act as advocates; in civil cases they act as representatives of the party concerned, coming to court for the party, except in divorce cases where the parties themselves must appear. In divorce cases there are no fees. In civil action no hearings are conducted until the court is clear on basic facts; the method is to base everything on evidence and never listen to statements only, but to investigate before proceeding. In this independent investigation made before the case comes into the court, the members of the court go personally to question the office of the organization or place of work of the parties, the neighbors, the relatives and the parties concerned. Only a people's court may try a citizen—it is illegal and a serious crime for any government institution or any person outside a people's court to try any citizen.

The court officials with whom we talked in Hankow told us there were few property cases now; that most of the cases that come before the court are divorce cases, but that these are decreasing in number; they are mostly due to the clash of the old society ideas with the new ideas. For instance, grandparents want the grandchildren at home, especially now that older folks do not have to work, having pensions and leisure in which to "enjoy the grandchildren." But the new society provides for a new kind of upbringing of children—with good health habits formed in the first years, good education stressed in the primary years and good social relations formed as the children mature. Nurseries, kindergartens and schools are laying the foundations of a nation of healthy, educated and cooperative people.

NO MORE RIKSHA PULLERS: PEDICABS AND TAXIS NOW

One morning in June I was intrigued by a letter in the "Letters to the Editor" column of a local Chinese paper in Shanghai. It was from an irate woman who complained that pedicabmen, three of them in turn, had refused to give her a ride when she came off the train with a baby and a heavy package. I had heard that all letters to the press in China had to be answered and attended to either by the organization concerned, or by the newspaper, or by officials. So I suggested to my companion that we go around to the Pedicab Union and try to find out what had been done about that particular letter.

A few days later we were at the Pedicab Union administration office; a couple of union officials and two pedicabmen welcomed us. On the table was a batch of letters, several inches thick; the

union official explained that many letters from the public were received, and that each one was answered, by a visit to the writer, or by mail, or through the press; and that all severe criticisms were seriously discussed by a special unit in the union set up to deal with such letters. In the case of the irate woman, a delegation of pedicabmen called on her at her home, explained the conditions under which pedicabmen work, and admitted that although the incident had occurred on a Saturday night when there were crowds out, the pedicabmen had not treated her properly. She was pleased at their attention to her complaint and satisfied with their explanation.

We stayed for hours at the union office listening to the story of Shanghai's riksha and pedicab workers. For seventy-four years before Liberation (1949) there had been rikshas ("manstrength vehicles") on the streets of Shanghai with some 80,000 pullers. They lived a miserable life; with an intake of twenty to thirty dollars a month (Chinese dollars) they had to pay sixty-six cents a day for hire of the rikshas. They lived a life of terrible economic pressure.

Sz Shen Chan told us something of his life "from riksha puller to pedicabman"; he was forty-eight years old and had been at this work for twenty-five years. Because of the miserably low income and the racing inflation which hourly increased the price of rice he "had to have a pocket"-that is, as soon as he got a fare he bought rice and dumped it into this pocket. In 1948 he could no longer afford to buy rice; for weeks at a time he, his wife and son lived on sweet potatoes; his little son couldn't stand this diet-he vomited and cried so much that a kind neighbor lent him rice to make a thin porridge for the child. For one period there wasn't even money for sweet potatoes-they ate corn powder. On one of these bitter days he carried a Wang Chingwei officer in his riksha from early morning till two in the afternoon; in payment the officer gave him a bank check for twenty thousand dollars (enough to buy three catties of rice). Not only did he receive this studied insult and contempt of a large check that they both knew a bank would not cash for a riksha puller, but the officer beat him up when he begged for cash insteadhe was beaten so badly that he could not work for days; every day missed from work meant a fourteen-hour day later and meant more borrowing of food from neighbors. By 1948 he was in

debt over eight hundred catties of rice.

In addition there was constant economic pressure from the riksha owners; each puller had to pay down to the owner one-third of the value of the riksha (and each cab was used by three pullers, so the boss got back his full cost and still owned the riksha!) In addition there was the daily rental—the puller had to earn almost twenty dollars a month just to pay the rental.

Not only did the passengers and riksha owners inflict cruel economic pressure, but the policemen added to the burden. They rode rikshas without paying, they collected bribes, they inflicted al sorts of "fines" for "law infringement"—fines enforced by grabbing the seat cushions of the rikshas and holding them until the fine or bribe was paid.

Added to the economic cruelty of passengers, owners and police were the daily and hourly unredressed indignities and insults inflicted by the public, including many Westerners. No Shanghai riksha men will every forget one of the many famous casesthe Lanning-Roderick case of 1945. A riksha puller, Chang Ta Er Tz, took an American sailor, Lanning, to a dance hall; Chang waited and waited outside for his pay; when an American, Roderick, came out of the hall Chang, thinking it was Lanning, approached him and asked for his pay; Roderick beat him up so badly that Chang died the next morning; all Shanghai was angry over this case, and the anger was intensified when Chiang Kaishek's Kuomintang Government refused to take the matter up with the American Government. Nor will they forget the case of Chang Wei-chang, killed by a British sailor. And riksha owners punished and killed at will, even having their own torture rooms. Puller Shen was killed by his boss-when he complained to other pullers about an increase in rent the boss was imposing on him. One riksha man had saved up twenty dollars; the boss got this sum away from him by ordering him to gamble with him; the puller said he didn't know how to play, so the boss ordered his accountant to play for the puller-the boss not only won the twenty dollars away from the puller, but ran the gambling debt up to one hundred dollars, and thereafter regularly collected high interest on this gambling "debt."

Riksha puller, now pedicabman Wu, told us, "We cannot express the bitterness of life before Liberation—not only the cruel economic misery and the insults and helplessness, but also the im-

possibility of marriage for many riksha men-they could not earn enough to take on a wife and children."

"After Liberation" is no mere phrase to China's millions of workers. The riksha men got a union. Slowly as conditions permitted, rikshas gave way to pedicabs, three-wheeled vehicles with pedailed power instead of pullers. Today two rikshas are in the Shanghai Museum, a symbol of days and conditions now gone Instead of eighty thousand riksha pullers there are now 27,480 pedicabmen. The former pullers are now steel workers -sixteen thousand of them; others are construction workers, communications police, chausfeurs, machine and electric shop workers, and some have gone west to Sinkiang and Ninghsia to the new oil industry center. There are now 10,330 pedicabs in Shanghai, with nominally two men to each. Pedicabs for some time to come will have a place in new China-helping meet the immense increase in transport, both in passengers and freight. Busses are still too tew, even with their trailers, to carry the cities' huge numbers of commuters; millions of bicycles help, and the demand for them outruns the supply; Chinese small taxis are beginning to appear -Shanghai by June 1959 had two hundred-but so far they are only a token of the day when passenger pedicabs will disappear. Meanwhile, pedicabs in Shanghai carry one hundred fifty thousand riders a day. The pedicabs carry both passengers and freight, but with priority for passengers (on decisions of the Pedicab Union) though freight carrying pays twice as much as passenger fare. The pedicab men have a lively sense of being participants in the construction of the new China, which has already given them new life.

There is now a definite charge for pedicab riding—ten cents a kilometer; and the pedicab men have definite hours of work. They can work freely in and to any part of the city; they can refuse to take on a passenger if they are on their way home and do not want to go in an opposite direction. There is much public praise for these pedicab men, in letters to individual cabmen, to the press and to the Union. And, there are letters of criticism; the Union admits that much of the criticism is valid; they do not deny that there are shortcomings; there are too few pedicabs and this creates tensions; but they are working on this—already they have installed an overnight service; and they are suggesting that residents give notice ahead of time when they know they will require a pedicab. The Pedicab Union works for the interests of its members and for the public.

The Pedicab Union maintains a Lost and Found Office. I visited this office, on the ground floor of a large building on a main street, a few doors from the Bund-an easily accessible location for the public. Pedicabmen make every effort to deliver items left in their cabs to the passenger as soon as the item is noticed; all articles so delivered are receipted for on forms carried by all pedicabmen. In cases where it is not possible to find the passenger when the item is discovered the article is delivered to the Lost and Found Office. I saw hundreds of umbrellas, cameras, coats, tools, watches, fountain pens, overshoes, jewelry, bills of money, etc., each with its identification tag corresponding to its listing in a huge description volume. Passengers who miss items may come to the Lost and Found Office or may telephone-and the article is delivered, directly or by messenger. A Swedish sailor left his suitcase with all his money in a pedicab; later it was returned to him at the Sailors Club. (The former exclusive Shanghai Club with its famous "longest bar in the world" is now a Sailors Club with facilities for foreign and Chinese seamen-club rooms, game rooms, restaurant, bar, private dining rooms, theatre, hotel and shops—one for every variety of daily necessities for men and one where beautiful Chinese handicraft articles are sold-foreign sailors paying only half price.) An old Chinese gentleman left a suitcase containing five hundred dollars in a cab; the cabman followed him in and returned it; he was offered a reward but replied, "If I had wanted money I would have left with the suitcase." Pedicab men take pride in their relationship with the public; they help people find addresses—some arrive in town with no addresses, some with only the house number; some have no money; some are lost; but the pedicabmen get people to their destination. Pregnant women, children and the old get special help from the cabmen. Gone is the day when cabmen looked down on themselves or were looked down upon by the public. As Wu said, "Now people call us 'Comrade Cabman.'"

But these workers are not only proud and respected cabmen; they are citizens in the full sense of the word. One pedicabman serves on the Shanghai City Council. Forty serve on the District Councils; twenty-one hundred are cadres on the Lane (Neighborhood) Committees. One cabman is a representative in the National Youth Workers; one is a National Model Worker. Sixteen hundred and fifty-one were elected as Advanced Pedicab Workers in

Shanghai in 1958; already, in the first half of 1959, fourteen hundred four hundred and forty-six had been elected as Advanced Workers—these are workers who have made an especially good showing in relation to the public.

Today pedicabmen earn an average of eighty to eighty-five yuan a month, working six to eight hours a day; those who are weaker work only four hours; the not-too-strong earn from seventy to eighty yuan a month. They pay no rent for their pedicabs, which are publicly owned; they do pay for keeping the cab in repair, at an average cost of six or seven yuan a month. The workers have health security, paying fifty cents a month to the Government Hospital. If they are too ill to work the trade union or the District Committee helps with the money. We were told of one case where a cabman had to stop work for four months; when the union offered to help him financially he refused, saying that his son and daughter-in-law both worked and were able to help take care of him.

All pedicabmen under forty-five years of age (with the exception of twenty-six men who because of illness did not study) are now literate. There are fifteen lower middle schools for pedicabmen, with twelve thousand five hundred and fifty-eight attending; they study three times a week for two or more hours. They have four hundred and seventy-nine spare-time teachers—part of this teaching is done by "those who learn, teach others." Some go on to upper middle school; one who went on to the Communications College is now an assistant professor.

Pedicabmen now have time and facilities for cultural life. Eight thousand participate in forty dramatic groups. They put on two hundred and sixty plays last year, seventy of which were written by the workers; they played to two hundred thousand people. Some of their dramatic groups play to audiences in other parts of the city, some go to other cities, including Peking; and some go out to the People's Communes. They have national music and national art groups, and sleight-of-hand artist groups. I myself visited trade union clubs and saw these groups in action—studying script, rehearsing, studying drama theory, putting on plays, holding orchestra practice, painting, dancing. They go on excursions, they attend opera. Their sports include basketball, football, pingpong, cross-country runs, weight lifting, bicycle riding, shooting, rowing, swimming, wrestling, shadow boxing and their representatives

participate in national and international contests.

Sz Shen Chang told us that after Liberation, due to the new conditions, he paid up his debts, including the money owed for the eight hundred catties of rice. He has moved from a straw hut to a brick house. There are eight members in his family including his wife, his son, his daughter-in-law and the grandchildren; his wife does the housework and helps bring up the grandchildren. All the family have the security of the trade union. His son, who had no chance to go to school before Liberation is now, at the age of thirty, in middle school. He himself is no longer illiterate. "I now have dignity; I've been elected as chairman of my Lane Committee; I am also a District representative—and I can talk freely with the Leader of the District—this could not be even dreamed of before Liberation."

Pedicabmen Wu told us he was illiterate before Liberation. "Now I am in my first year of Middle school. My wife, fifty-three years old, now has glasses—so she can go to the movies; and she is in a literacy class." His daughter of fifteen is in the sixth year of primary school and his son is in the fourth year. The very first thing he said to us when he began to tell us of his new life "After Liberation" was "I now have a bank account." And he went on, "I now have new clothes; I have a political life; I have cultural life; life is good on all sides. Now I can eat at the International Hotel" (swanky Shanghai hotel).

Pedicabmen Wu spoke for thousands and thousands of cabmen and workers when he finished his story with "We all in my family feel very happy now."

ASIAN-AFRICAN STUDENTS SANITORIUM

In the hills, an hour or so ride outside Peking, is a new sanitorium for tubercular Asian and African students. The day we visited there there were one hundred and eighty two students there—twenty five women and eighty-eight men from Korea, Mongolia, Vietnam, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Iraq, Jordan, and United Arab Republic, as well as eighteen Chinese women and fifty one Chinese men students. The staff of one hundred and fifty included nine doctors trained in Western medicine and one in traditional Chinese medicine and thirty five nurses. This charming site, covering ninety thousand square metres and built at a cost of over five million dol-

lars, with its many buildings, its red columns and connecting corridors, its library, games rooms, exquisite auditorium, living quarters, hospital areas and dining rooms (Chinese, European, India and Mohammedan) was more like a luxurious country club than a sanitarium (as were all the workers' and people's sanitoria we saw from Manchuria to Canton). The costs for food and for stipends for the students were met by the Chinese Government. And what a token of international friendship was this group of lively, friendly students who greeted us with such warmth—each of them a potential nucleus of enlarging internationalism as they return to their native countries after their average stay of six months in the new China.

PRISONS IN CHINA

We visited the Peking Municipal Prison with its fourteen hundred inmates, one hundred of whom were women. These were individuals who had not yet learned to fit into the new Chinaimprisoned for stealing, bribery, treating their parents badly, murder, creating disturbances. I asked, "Do you have any rightists here?". "No, we do not put people in jail for having rightist thoughts-only for doing things that harm the new society." The aim of jailing is to help people overcome the habits and acts of the old society. There are factories in the jail which help inmates learn a useful skill and learn that work is honorable; this prison had shops for making stockings, bags and purses, machines, radios, sewing machines. Nine hours a day is spent on work. Two hours a day is spent on study-learning about the new society and how it differs from the old, learning how their crimes hurt the new society; they read newspapers, they discuss the international situation-the forces for democracy and for peace; they go out on excursions to see exhibits, communes, factories and industrial developments-see the new life people are creating and enjoying. No prisoner comes out illiterate. Men and women eat separately, but they do have some recreation -movies, opera and theatrical groups; as we crossed one of the courts we saw a group practicing their opera singing on an outdoor stage. They have bath houses, barber shops, clinic and hospital-we saw prisoners in bed in the hospital, reading, listening to radio, playing cards, in light airy rooms. There were no bars on

their cells, the warden explained that they had all been removed. The cells were long, well-lit airy rooms, with as many as twenty or so prisoners sleeping together on long kangs (platforms with heating arrangements beneath) and with the walls of the cell blocks decorated with wall paintings done by the prisoners. No beating or insulting treatment of prisoners is allowed; the effort is to treat them not as prisoners but as potentially good citizens and to prepare them to take their place in the new society. The only guards we saw were two at the main front gate. They get no regular wages for their work but if their production is good they do get spending money-three to five dollars a month, and also some renumeration if they invent something. Those that make a good showing at work get their sentences reduced. We also visited the prison in Nanking, where there were about seven hundred prisoners, forty to fifty of whom were women. Here too there were few guards; there were factories; there was much attention to health-the doctor being a prisoner who had served his term but refused to leave because he liked his work. The prisoners were allowed monthly visits from their families and they could write as many letters as they wished. We asked about executions and were told that there had been very few since Liberation-and only if the prisoners had killed many or had committed that seriously harmed the country.

CANTON'S BOAT POPULATION

Canton has been famous for its boat population-picturesque but poverty-stricken. But this is a fading picture. I visited a boat home on the Pearl River; two women were our hostesses; as we sat on low stools in the boat they told us of their new life. "Life is different now; we no longer starve-we are now allowed to work on land so we have a cash income, we and our husbands and our grown children. We are no longer insulted as 'boat people'-forced to go barefoot on land and called names; already about two thirds of the boat population now live on the land and as fast as houses can be built we will not only work on land but also live on land. No longer will we have the dangers of storms and rains and of children falling into the water. Economically, socially and politically we are like other people now. Life for us women is different -we can now read and we take part in political life." The two women who were our hostesses on that boat are now members of the Canton Municipal People's Congress.

"GOING TO THE COUNTRY"

One of my doctor friends, a student at Ginling College in Nanking when I knew her years ago as the daughter of our local YWCA chairman (whom I also saw), now is on the staff of Hunan Medical College, formerly the Hunan-Yale Medical School, but now a much enlarged medical college. She had just returned from eighty four days of "going to the country" and with great excitement-at an evening party I had with a dozen or so old friends-told of her experience. Thirty-five hundred teachers and students, in groups of about fifty, had participated in this "going to the country." They had gone to help do away with disease, to train medical assistants, maternal and child welfare and health workers, to thus help the country people increase their productive power and strengthen their communes. "We wanted to help 'do away with white flags and set up red flags'-that is, by the concrete work on health help the people's political outlook and thinking-do away with the old outlook and understand the new kind of society. Our object was to help them know how to help themselves. And as we went out to teach. we learned. We had to learn how to overcome the resistance of the country people to city people, to us as volunteers, to the cadres; in some cases we had a difficult time in undoing the harm some selfish city individual had done in irresponsible action in some situation in the countryside. . . . Now I myself have an appreciation of work. Before I did not realize how much my kind of living depended on workers-how much it was their work that made it possible for me to be comfortable; that the workers made everything I eat or wear or use in my home. I never before appreciated what goes into the planting of rice-it is not a simple process: the rice sprout has to be chosen, has to be planted firmly, has to be planted straight. I now have a respect for labor and for workers." How the president of her college, Gingling, would rejoice to hear this former student!-this former Gingling president is now vice-governor of Kiangsu Province. So women-teachers and students-enter the new life of China.

CRAFTSMEN

One of the most heart-warming illustrations of what the new society is meaning to individuals in China is the restoration of the handicrafts. In Peking we visited the Jade Factory where 1483 workers, three hundred of them women, now have their own factory

for stone cutting and carving. Due to the economic pressures and cruelties of the old society (under the Japanese and the Kuomintang) there were left at the time of Liberation (1949) only about one hundred jade workers. In 1953 the Chinese Communist Party called a conference of jade workers, to set up a cooperative; twenty one workers joined; the value of their products that year was 1500 yuan. By 1956 there were three hundred jade workers in cooperatives and in private enterprises; their annual production was worth about one hundred thousand yuan. By 1958 the number of handicraftsmen had grown to fourteen hundred eighty-three-organized in four jade cooperatives and one joint private-state owned enterprise. These cooperatives and the joint private-state owned enterprise are now housed in one large factory; we visited this factory, with its beautiful exhibit room and its stories of large airy work rooms with powered tools, now producing at the rate of seven million yuan a year. We saw their stocks of raw material-green and white jade from Suiyuan, green jade from Hupeh, green and white jade from Sinkiang, blue jade from Chekiang, and other stone material from Brasil, Italy and Burma. As we talked with workers they told us of their joy at being restored to their ancient crafts, their excitement over improving their skills by cooperation and discussion, their honored status as workers. Most of them prefer using their hands rather than power tools-true artists!

In Shanghai a Handicraft Research Institute opened in 1956 with the objective of saving the handicrafts of the people, raising their level and carrying on research for improvement. In room after room of a former large residence we saw these arts of the peopleartificial flowers, tapestry embroidery, wood, ivory, stone and bamboo carving, porcelain painting, applique, knitting and crochet, knotted string, scissor paper cut-outs, and dough figures. Chou Ko-Ming, one of the many old craftsmen, was making dough figures; he had suffered the pre-Liberation poverty and indignity of being almost a beggar wandering from village to village with his figures; now he not only is a member of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress but is the head of the Research Institute. The joy on the faces of the old craftsmen, surrounded by eager apprentices, told the story of the new China-artist craftsmen restored to their own work, given dignity as artists and teachers, their skills now contributing, with no more guarded secrets of the trade, in the cooperative enrichment of their country's culture.

China is preserving her ancient treasured arts. Pottery, paintings, bronzes, porcelain, etc., older than eighty years cannot be taken out of the country; but these objects are plentiful in the old curio shops, now mostly joined into cooperatives-plentiful for local residents in China and at surprisingly low prices. The Yung Pao Tsai art gallery in Peking reproduces copies of famous paintings; we visited this gallery and in court after court saw dozens of artists and hundreds of craftsmen drawing and painting and making the blocks for reproductions; one Tang (618-907 AD) landscape alone had taken three hundred blocks for its reproduction. And everywhere are museums-for the people-making knowledge available about the history and achievements of their own country, about the development of mankind, about what people had done through the ages. The caves area where the Peking Man was discovered is now a park, with museum and tea room and the continued work for excavation currently going on. Preservation, appreciation and enjoymentfor all!

THE YWCA IN CHINA

The Young Women's Christian Association flourishes in China, the staff giving their full time to program; no longer does effort go into finance campaigns; all salaries of local and national staff are paid by the National YWCA out of its income from accumulated endowment funds and its income from rentals of its nine-story office building in Shanghai. Local YWCA's have membership dues and some fees from activities. One capitalist said to me, "We love our local executive secretary, we always have; but now when she comes to see us, there are no financial strings; she used to get the money out of us all right, but now it is just friendship." As one happy staff members said to me: "No more false smiles." Program work centers on helping women understand and gear into the new society -a cooperative rather than a competitive society, a society in which women have a new role. Program work includes helping prepare women to function as equals-many discussion classes with citizenship emphasis, training classes in literacy, salesmanhip, bookkeeping, tailoring, handicraft, etc., which enable women to take remunerative jobs; and nurseries and kindergartens to care for the children of wage-and-salary-earning women. Worship services and student conferences, national conferences and membership parties

continue to be a part of the program. The China YWCA relationship with the world's YWCA continues, two representatives of the World's YWCA having visited the China YWCA during the past years. All the staff are Chinese.

SHIP BUILDING

In Shanghai I went through a shipyard-formerly a repair yard for British shipping, now enlarged into a large ship-building works, constructing river and coast vessels. We were taken aboard a river steamer, soon to be launched, and shown among other things, a spacious attractive lounge situated in the top deck in the front of the steamer. "This is the lounge for the crew," we were told. I said to my companion, "That's applesauce; the crew does not get these fine accommodations." A week or so later we went aboard one of the new river steamers at Hankow for a trip through the Yangtze Gorges. Our cabin was the central cabin in the front of the ship; we had French windows from which we could step out on deck; we had two large leather chairs, with a table in between on which our meals were served as we went through the Gorges; we had a writing table and chair and two twin beds. We were second class: first class was reserved for the crew! (I had to eat my applesauce.) In the evenings crew and passengers joined in entertaining; songs, dances, skits. Gone is the day when the crew sleeps anywhere, is treated as exploited workers. Chinese crew men retire on pension, at sixty and crew women retire at fifty-five; they have decent homes on shore and the very best quarters on board. They have their library and their pingpong games room-shared with the passengers.

COMMUNE LEADERSHIP

In every commune I visited I asked the chairman, "What did you do before Liberation." In every case he had been a landless peasant. One marvels at the capacity of these formerly exploited peasants to run so complex an enterprise as a commune. In Hunan I asked the chairman this regular question; he answered, "I was a cow-herd for the landlord." "Where is that landlord now?" I asked. "Oh, he is here on the commune; he is a candidate-peasant." As this former landlord proves himself worthy he will be accepted as a peasant, just as the capitalist, proving himself, becomes a "fellow worker" with his "employee."

NATIONAL OBSERVANCES

Two national observances had personal significance for me. In May 1919 I was working in Peking and saw the great student demonstrations that initiated the May Fourth Student Movement, forerunner of the patriotic movements that have eventuated in the new China. On May 4th, 1959, again in Peking, this time as a visitor, I attended the Fortieth Anniversary of the historic May 4th Student Movement. Many of the brave students of 1919 and of the years since now live to see the fruits of their struggles.

In April 1949 I attended the sessions of the World Peace Conference in Paris and Prague. On April 19th 1959 I attended the Peking observance of the Tenth Anniversary of that great Paris-Peking meeting with Dr. Du Bois and Shirley Graham Du Bois sitting on the Peking platform, as they had sat at Paris! What a force for peace China has added to the world-wide struggle!

PEACE

China has set it goals for peace. One illustration of this was the Soviet Union exhibit in Canton which I attended in April on "The Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy." There were miles and miles of scientific instruments, diagrams, models, showing the medical, agricultural and industrial uses of atomic energy. Hundreds of young Chinese students, men and women, were explaining to groups crowded before each exhibit—groups of eager young people taking notes, copying diagrams, asking questions. At the Soviet Union Exhibit in New York City in August 1959 one section was devoted to the peaceful uses of atomic energy; the exhibit in Canton on the same subject was larger than the total exhibit of all phases of Soviet developments shown at the Coliseum in New York. Ten thousand people each day attended the Canton exhibit—not just as curious viewers but as students of the future—a future of peace.

NOT A MONEY-MINDED SOCIETY

Probably the most public indication of the new people is the eager service one meets—in hotels, in taxis, on trains, in restaurants, in shops, in barber shops. Everywhere one is greeted with smiles, courtesy, and thoughtfulness. You feel, everywhere, you are their guests. And positively no tipping—you instinctively know it would be an insult to offer a tip. I was buying some soap stone figures

and picked out a few—"No, you can't buy that one—see it has a defect"—how different from the salesmen of a decade ago! In the hotel in Peking I sent my watch out for repair of its alarm; six weeks later, back from a trip, I again left it at the hotel desk, this time for repair of the works; ten minutes later, the room attendant on my floor—a different floor than six weeks before, knocked at my door: "Do you have the receipt for the repair last time?" I said "No." "Well, you would not need to pay a second time; you see, we have a new China." I assured him it was a good job the first time and that this time it was for a different repair.

I asked the waiter in our hotel in Chungking "What did you do before Liberation?" "We are a family of eight; we were landless peasants and starved most of the time; now the other members of my family are commune members and I do not need to send them any money from my job; in fact, I earn so much I can't spend it all." I asked, "My boy friend" (mentioned above) if he needed to give any financial help to his grandmother. "Yes, I send her some, but I make so much I don't know how to spend it." A former YWCA colleague of mine, now in government work, said, "Please let me make you a gift—anything you want; don't think about the cost—I have plenty of money." Another YWCA co-worker of mine insisted on offering me sums of cash to spend, as did other friends. Money is no mark of position in China—it is a tool of happy relationship within a cooperative society.

Beneath the freedom from a money-conscious society is the good standard of living of the Chinese people. Yes, a good standard of living. I know we Americans rightly say we have a high standard of living-high in commodities, but also high in worries, anxieties, fears, uncertainties. A most important element in a standard of living seems left out when we Americans speak of our standard of living-and that element is security. The Chinese people have security: no fear of unemployment, no fear that ill health or sickness will wipe out any economic security, no fear of old age. There is work for everyone; college graduates can choose among many openings as they finish their studies; peasants are now engaged in such a diversified economy in their communes (no loner just agricultural, but industrial, commercial, financial, cultural, etc.) that multiplied work opportunities are now luring them. The development of China's resources is just beginning-already engaging millions and potentially many, many more millions. No unemployment! Health facilities are still inadequate, but they are growing-but no one is financially crippled by accident, sickness, or ill health. Old age in China has assurance and dignity; retirement funds are already giving salaries and homes to urban workers over sixty. Homes of Respect for the Elders in the communes already assure every older man and woman without family a dwelling, food, clothing, cash, a place in the community and dignity. Another important element rightly to be included in any standard of living is "What is ahead?" Here in the United States we are already concerned with "Can we maintain our present standards?" In China, on the basis of what they have done these ten years and on the basis of the still-to-be-developed resources, the outlook is assured for more and more of the good things of life. Here in the United States workers fear one of the new factors that could mean a rising standard: automation; in China automation, already installed in some of the great enterprises, such as the iron and steel complex in Anshan, is eagerly accepted as good for the people. The American people may have a "high" standard of living but the people of China have a "good" standard of living.

Going to China I left New York by plane one Wednesday evening at six-thirty; after spending four nights in European hotels I arrived in Peking Monday night at midnight (our time): five and one quarter days to China. Coming from China, I left Peking's fine modern airport at seven in the morning—by jet plane, and arrived in Moscow by two that afternoon, less than two days flight from New York. How near China is geographically!—and, after all, aren't the needs and values of our two great peoples, the Chinese and the Americans, also very close? Some day the dust and fog of the contrived barrier between our countries will lift and all will know and rejoice that one quarter of mankind has emerged from misery, is building a new and good life for itself and is adding its strength and love of life to the world-wide drive for peace.



With my interpreter-companion, friend, and chauffer-Peking.



In the stands below the Gate of Heavenly Peace. Viewing the May Day 1959 Parade.

Anna Louise Strong just beyond Maud Russell.

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