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Spring 1977  
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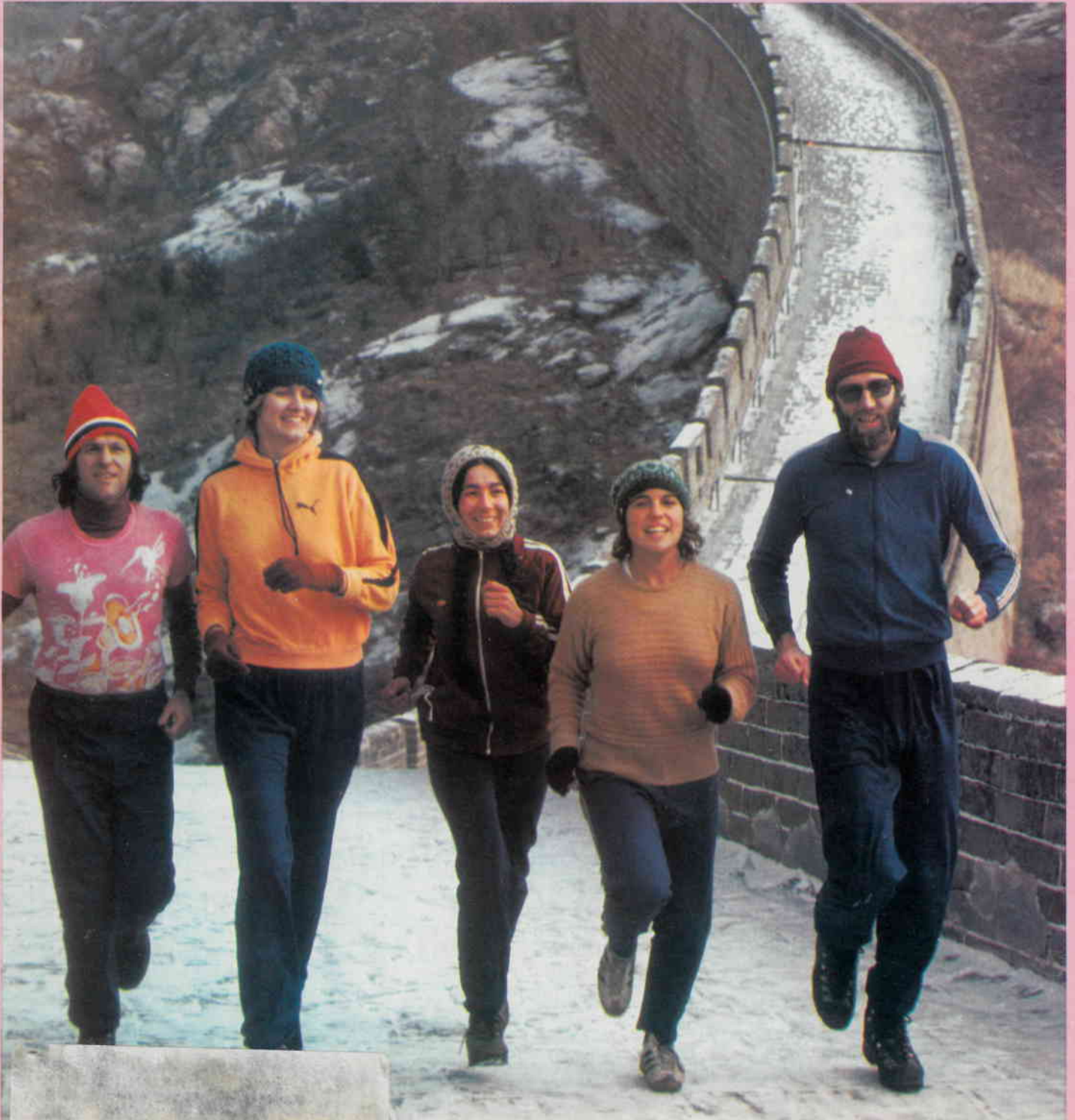
# *New China*

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*Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association - Volume 3, Number 1*

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# NewChina

Spring 1977 Volume 3, Number 1

Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association

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## USCPFA News

**Chicago** A USCPFA booth at the annual International Cultural Festival in Hammond, Indiana, September 11-12, was visited by thousands of people. Besides handicrafts and literature from China, one of the booth's most popular features was a demonstration of calligraphy: visitors could have their names written in Chinese characters on a sheet inscribed, "Your name in Chinese is — . We promote friendship based on understanding between the American and Chinese people. Call us for programs about China."

On September 18, 400 people attended a memorial to Mao Tsetung. Professor Paul Lin of McGill University, Montreal, who lived in China for many years, talked about the significance of Mao's life, remarking that although "Mao Tsetung's life has just ended, the era of Mao Tsetung has just begun."

The local's annual Friendship Day on October 17, at the campus of Malcolm X Junior College, featured educationals about many aspects of China, films; a children's program, Chinese food, and a handicrafts bazaar. Cultural performances in the afternoon focused on the life of Mao Tsetung.

**Greater Lansing** Approximately 70 people attended a September 19 tribute to Mao Tsetung at the Michigan State University campus. A slide show about Mao had a biographical narration by Joseleyne Tien, interspersed with readings from Mao's essays and poems. Participants in the panel discussion that followed were Professor Joseph Lee of the Michigan State University Department of Humanities, Doug Price and Mark Strolle, who both visited the PRC recently, and Ms. Tien. Professor Lee read from Mao's poems and talked briefly about Mao's role as a philosopher and teacher.

The program as a whole brought out key points about the historical significance of Mao and the Chinese Revolution, China's

foreign policy, the Taiwan issue, and the role of politics in China's economic development. Lively discussion provided a chance to clear up misconceptions and distortions about Mao and China which have been disseminated by the Western press over the past 30 years.

**Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton** Members of these Ohio chapters joined forces to welcome a PRC volleyball team that played in Dayton on October 2, greeting them at the airport with a banner that said, "Long Live the Friendship between the Chinese and American People." USCPFA members distributed a leaflet before the game explaining why China isn't in the Olympics and urging people to "Join with us in insisting that relationships between our two countries be normalized and that the All-China Sports Federation be recognized as the sole representative of the Chinese people at the next Olympic Games."

**New York City** The USCPFA participated with overseas Chinese and others in planning a solemn memorial meeting for Mao Tsetung on September 19 at Hunter College. Over 2,500 attended.

The opening speech by Wang Ho, professor of mathematics at Rockefeller University, was followed by the tribute of Nobel physicist Yang Chen-ning, who met Mao when he visited China in 1973. G. R. Zimba of the Zambian delegation to the UN talked about the inspiration and assistance given other countries by Mao and the Chinese people. Susan Warren's theme was the importance Mao placed on friendship with other peoples and that his real successors are the masses of people in China and throughout the world.

Messages about Mao's death from Americans in many different walks of life were read aloud. Among those who sent statements were Dr. Benjamin Spock, Han Suyin, Shirley MacLaine, Arthur Miller, Pete Seeger, Audrey Topping, the Nation of Islam, USCPFA members Sam and Helen Rosen and William Hinton, and rank-and-file

workers in the printing, post office, steel, and garment industries. At the meeting's end, the audience rose to observe three minutes of silent tribute to Mao Tsetung.

On October 2, an exciting and innovative National Day celebration featured many cultural performances as well as talks by Neville Maxwell on Tibet and Fred Engst on "Growing Up in China."

The first section of the program was a tribute to Mao: songs of the Chinese Revolution by the Friendship Chorus of overseas Chinese; brief talks by Howard Hyman and Ed Bell, who met Mao in 1945 when they were GIs stationed in China; and Fred Brathwaite's reading of several of Mao's poems as Nina Garland simultaneously interpreted them in modern dance. Presented as an "expression of the inspiration we, as Black Americans, received from Mao Tsetung's statement of support for the Afro-American struggle," the combined reading and dance was one of the high points of the afternoon.

People's culture was a main theme in the rest of the program. The newly formed USCPFA Chorus sang three songs identified with the late Paul Robeson, a longtime friend of China. "China through the Eyes of Its People" featured dances and individual and group poetry readings by children, teenagers, and adults. A "Miner's Dance" by colorfully costumed 5-to-7-year-olds from the Chinese community was a special delight. The new film *Peasant Painters of Huhsien County* showed China's revolutionary culture in the making.

The Association's Cultural Resources Committee, working closely with overseas Chinese, was responsible for much of the program and for an extensive photo display. Work on the celebration involved about 60 people, including some newcomers, all of whom devoted long hours to achieve the afternoon's success.

**Mid-Hudson** The chapter, centered in New Paltz, N.Y., had a busy autumn. On October 24 Jim Veneris, an American POW in the Korean War who chose to remain in China after 1953, spoke at both the State University of New York and Vassar as part of his national USCPFA speaking tour. On November 13 the chapter, along with the SUNY Department of Asian Studies and the East-West Union, organized a China Festival that included a bazaar, cultural performances, films, and calligraphy demonstrations. Also in November, the Association sponsored several showings of the film *Freedom Railway* in New Paltz and Poughkeepsie.

**Pittsburgh** The Association joined with other groups to hold a commemoration for Mao Tsetung on October 3 at Hillhouse Auditorium, a Black community center. About 100 people saw a slide show and heard speeches on Mao's life and the significance

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

Correction, December 1976 issue: The photograph on page 32 credited to Harold Glasser should have been credited to Faye Glasser.

of his work to the people of the world. Several of Mao's poems were read in both English and Chinese.

**North Carolina Triangle** In August, a two-part presentation and discussion on the socialization of agriculture was held as part of the local's ongoing study group. Alice Marriott led the sessions, covering the history of agricultural collectivization, modern farming methods, experimentation by peasants, the relation between industrial and agricultural development, and two-line struggle in the communes. Future sessions were planned on the legal system and the question of freedom in China.

**West Side Los Angeles** The first project of the new Health Care Committee, most of whose members work in the health field, was to participate in a Community Health Fair attended by about 20,000 people in the Los Angeles area. The booth proved to be one of the best attended at the Fair. Visitors took 1,100 pieces of free literature and over 1,200 brochures about the work of the committee, studied with interest a large seven-panel color photo display, and watched a self-playing slide show on health care in the PRC.

Many visitors talked at length with committee members, bringing out their own experiences and concerns about health care. "You mean that operation I just paid \$5,000 for would be next to free?" "What about older people in China - is it true they're not just 'put out to pasture'?" "Is it really true that they've wiped out drug addiction? I just lost my son to drugs."

Two articles reprinted from NEW CHINA, "Health Care for 800 Million People" and "Growing Old in New China," were very popular. Many contacts were made, and for November the committee scheduled programs for an adult education class, two libraries, community groups, and at another health fair where 5,000-10,000 people were expected.

**Corvallis** Maud Russell was the main speaker at an evening program to commemorate China's National Day. About 70 townspeople and University of Oregon students attended. Ms. Russell also spoke at a senior citizens' luncheon, had interviews with the press, and enlivened a potluck dinner for potential USCPFA members with her vivid descriptions of new China. A few days after Mao Tsetung's death, an hour of the regular USCPFA meeting was devoted to a memorial program that included a poetry reading and summary of his life.

**Portland** Forty-five people at a memorial to Mao Tsetung on September 29 heard a two-hour program of poems, reminiscences of Mao, a reading of his essays "Serve the People" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune," and a talk by Maud Russell.

The local commemorated National Day with an all-day bazaar and program which

## USCPFA Statement of Principles

### Goal:

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

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

We call for the removal of all barriers to the growing friendship and exchange between our two peoples. We recognize that a major barrier is the U.S. diplomatic recognition of and military presence in Taiwan. As the Joint Communique signed by the governments of the United States and the People's Republic of China states, Taiwan is an inseparable part of China and the resolution of the Taiwan question is the internal affair of China. We recognize that the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China.

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

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

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

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*Addresses, inside back cover.*



drew over 400. Maud Russell was the featured speaker on normalization of relations between the U.S. and China.

On October 5 and 6, the chapter leafleted a touring acrobatic troupe from KMT-controlled Taiwan with a statement headed "Did You Know There's Just One China?" to educate people around the Taiwan question and the need to normalize U.S.-China relations.

**Seattle** About 300 people attended a National Day program on October 2 where Carma Hinton spoke on the continuing Cultural Revolution. The program also included poetry readings in Chinese and English which had been given at a Mao memorial meeting several weeks earlier. A surprise addition to the program was an acrobatics performance by an older Chinese woman who had agreed a few days earlier to come out of 15 years of "retirement" because she wanted to help build friendship between the Chinese and American people.

On October 7 and 8 the Taiwan acrobatic troupe was greeted with the same leaflet that met them in Portland, part of the USCPFA's continuing campaign for U.S. recognition of "one China, the PRC" and diplomatic normalization between the two countries.

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

## One China: KMT Intimidation Campaign

As more and more people in the U.S. learn about the People's Republic of China, more and more come to realize that the relatively small group of Chiang Kai-shek's supporters, represented by the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party, or KMT), have no legitimacy and only remain in power on Taiwan because of U.S. government backing.

In the face of increasing isolation, the KMT is desperate to hold on to Taiwan, to discredit the PRC, and to stop Americans from learning about the new China. Part of this effort involves intimidation of overseas Chinese and Chinese students abroad as well as of the people living on Taiwan.

One example of KMT intimidation occurred on July 31, 1976, at Columbia University in New York, when a forum was held featuring Wang Tsai-hsing, a self-proclaimed Taiwanese who "had lived in mainland China for 22 years before escaping from the evil Communist system." This was part of a KMT-sponsored cross-country speaking tour designed to spread lies about the PRC.

A number of patriotic Chinese who had

heard about Wang Tsai-hsing leafleted the event to expose its real nature, and while leafleting, were attacked by a group of KMT paid agents.

During the forum, the audience grew impatient with Wang's anti-China presentation and demanded open discussion. KMT backers tried to prevent this by forcibly shoving people back into their seats as they rose to speak and by trying to take photos to use against those present or their families still on Taiwan. The audience refused to be intimidated and Wang, who earlier had claimed he was crippled from forced labor in China, scurried off the stage along with his sponsors in the face of strong audience opposition.

As the audience left, chanting "Liberate Taiwan, Unify China," another KMT agent tried to attack the crowd with a three-foot-long samurai sword. Three others later attacked with belts and chains. All were overpowered and turned over to the police. They were later bailed out at the police precinct at 3 A.M. by S. C. Cheng, the deputy consul of the KMT in New York.

It is no coincidence that the Wang Tsai-hsing incident happened just one week before a special week-long festival of films from new China. The KMT tried to use the forum to scare people away from the film showings. When this failed, it began to

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**Why China Has No Inflation** by Peng Kuang-hsi. The secret behind the long-term stability of China's currency and what this means for the people. FLP, 1976, 44p. \$0.50

**Great Victory for the Military Line of Chairman Mao Tsetung** — A Criticism of Lin Piao's Bourgeois Military Line in the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin Campaigns, by Chan Shih-pu. FLP, 1976, 115p. \$0.75

2 related pamphlets by Chairman Mao \$0.30

**Another Ascent of the World's Highest Peak** — Oomolangma An authentic record in color photographs of the recent expedition and the thrilling battles waged by its members. FLP, 1975, 120p. \$4.50

**How the Foal Crossed the Stream** Still remember the play "Little Colt" in Vol. 1 No. 3? This is a children's book based on the same story. FLP, 1976, 15p. \$0.35

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spread rumors that the whole film week had been canceled. When this, too, failed, anonymous phone calls were made to Columbia University predicting trouble during the week's events. Columbia at first withdrew permission to use its facilities but then reversed itself.

In spite of all the KMT's efforts, hundreds of people, both Chinese and American, came to the festival. The growing trend of friendship this represents is a heavy blow to the KMT. For years, it has been relying on political, military, and economic aid from the U.S. government to support its dictatorship. The U.S. government, on the other hand, is using the KMT regime on Taiwan to prevent the unification of China. This runs counter to the interests of the American and Chinese people.

In 1972, Richard Nixon, in response to changing world conditions and American public opinion, signed the Shanghai Communiqué. This was a major step toward normalization of relations between the two countries and certainly a setback for the KMT. Normalization would require the U.S. government to terminate diplomatic relations with Taiwan, abrogate the mutual defense treaty between the U.S. and Taiwan, and remove all U.S. military installations from the island.

But the U.S. government has so far refused to stop supporting the Taiwan regime. Five new KMT consulates have been opened in the U.S. since the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué, directly contributing to anti-China activities such as the Wang Tsai-hsing forum. U.S. arms transfers to Taiwan have risen steadily from \$196 million in 1974 to \$215 million in 1975 and \$293 million in 1976. At MIT, a secret training program in missile guidance technology (obviously aimed at the PRC) was set up for engineers sent from Taiwan by the KMT Ministry of Defense. Had it not been for the American and Chinese students who exposed the program and mobilized people against this blatant intrusion into China's internal affairs, the clandestine training would still be going on today.

Four and a half years have passed since the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué. Little progress has been made and President Ford has tried to excuse the delay by saying that the Shanghai Communiqué did not set up a timetable for normalization of relations. For the majority of Americans, normalization of relations is very important, as it directly affects people-to-people contacts in science, sports, culture, and many other fields. The time for normalizing U.S.-China relations is now.

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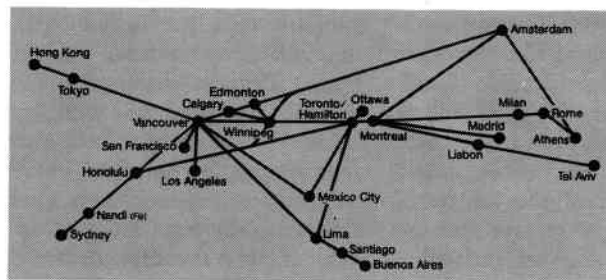
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## Friendship Has A History

# Mao Tsetung

*Visits with Mao recalled by eight Americans*

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### Safe Haven in Yan'an

by Amalia Hinsdell

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In 1945, in the shadowy light of a cave house chiseled out of the loess mountains of North China, my husband had the privilege of meeting Mao Tsetung. It was in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province (Yenan, Shensi) shortly before the armistice of World War II. Mao Tsetung was hosting a banquet for seven American fliers who a half-year earlier had parachuted out of a disabled B-29 minutes before it crashed. They had survived and were here in the safe haven of Yan'an due to the courage and effort of thousands of Chinese peasants and guerrilla soldiers. The Chinese had guided the defenseless fliers 1,500 miles in a circuitous route through treacherous Japanese-held terrain.

For many days prior to the feast of *jiao zi* (pork dumplings), panther meat, hundred-year-old eggs, and toasts in fiery bygar wine, the Americans had seen Mao Tsetung strolling along the streets, looking like any other citizen of this dusty village. Yan'an nestles under the thousand-year-old Tang hilltop pagoda and is today the famous symbol of China's liberation. In 1945 energy and inspiration radiated out of Yan'an, headquarters of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army; through a far-reaching network the Party was directing the liberation of the peasants in an agrarian reform while at the same time vanquishing a foreign invader. This force moved under the leader-

ship of the vigorous visionary from Hunan.

My husband often saw Mao walking in his simple homespun military garb. It had no insignia indicating rank. To a technical sergeant in an army which displayed so visibly the rank of each member, this made a strong first impression. Like the lowest man in the PLA, here was their leader wearing the identical homespun uniform with no medals, buttons, badges to symbolize his special role. On the other hand, the Americans, regardless of their status, were called by the Chinese "American General" and "American Hero." For six months now, as they traveled toward Yan'an, they themselves had been wearing the Eighth Route Army garb and peasant-donated apparel.

The American fliers sometimes saw Mao walking in animated discussion with companions while he swiftly moved his fingers in a mechanical pattern, carding wool into thread. Other soldiers, too, as they walked or marched would card wool.

One day, in the middle of a small plot of yellow earth in one of the gullies, my husband saw a figure bent over a hoe, carefully cultivating the dusty loess soil so vulnerable to wind and water. He recognized the square figure of Mao Tsetung. My husband later learned this was the Chairman's own plot of land in which to grow vegetables and tobacco. To avoid being a burden on the peasants, officials, Party members, and soldiers raised their own food. Mao himself did also.

It was on a Saturday night that the Americans finally met Chairman Mao at the army headquarters. The sparse furniture had been pushed aside and the earthen floor, already worn to hardness, was swept to a smooth shine for dancing. The enemy lines of the Japanese extended some 600 miles inland from the sea, past the Yellow River, to just east of Yan'an. The landscape of Yan'an was scarred by bombs, Yan'an University itself was gutted. But inside the brick headquarters the comrades were dancing. Men, women, the Chairman, generals - all the comrades were dressed in homespun, their various shapes molded to a likeness by the thick padding of winterwear.

After the formal introduction Mao moved among the comrades amid easy laughter and animated gestures, yet in an aura of admiration as well. He extended traditional Chinese graciousness to the seven American fliers as he hosted the banquet in their honor. Here Mao was able to focus attention on the men. In spite of interpreters, language was a barrier. But the men sensed the strength of the man who shaped the dynamics of the Chinese Revolution which was to change the status of one-quarter of the world's population. It was still some years before many people outside China would be aware of this man's name but the Americans had just spent six months living with the peasants in the north, sharing their scarce food and sleeping on their kang. They had endured long mountain marches with guerrilla soldiers. They had witnessed an agrarian reform, had seen a peasant movement transformation. They knew the meaning of the Revolution because they watched it taking place among them.

Now they sat face to face with the man who had initiated and organized the dramatic change in North China. They sensed the

---

AMALIA HINSELL, a member of the West Side Los Angeles USCPFA, visited China in 1975.



greatness beneath the peasant guerrilla garb and casual laughter. Besides the personal charisma that he radiated in his role of host, they felt the inner strength of the man who had conceived the Long March, the man who directed a campaign to wipe out peasant illiteracy while driving out an invading army.

After the toasts, Mao Tsetung presented

each of the American fliers with a gift. He gave my husband a heavy wool blanket of pale lavender, brown, and pink, the subtle colors of vegetable dyes. Realizing how scarce wool was in China at this time, my husband was deeply touched. Today his widow still treasures the blanket from Chairman Mao Tsetung. ●

Whenever I saw this done, his summarization was masterfully fair, complete, and succinct.

Mao's clear and undisputed leadership of the Party had only fairly recently been achieved. But there was an easy and relaxed atmosphere among the top Communist leaders that amazed those of us who had had contact with the Chongqing (Chungking) government leader, Chiang Kai-shek, and saw the tension he created among all below him.

Deference was paid to Chairman Mao, and it was clear that he was the first among equals. He seemed to be, for instance, the only leader who lived in a small separate cottage outside of the various institutional complexes.

But among a group of the old-time Long March comrades, there was no obsequiousness, no standing at attention, but rather an easy give-and-take, some joking and banter about shared events of the past, and even a willingness to differ in opinion – though not in front of foreign guests on any issues of basic policy.

Since our group in Yan'an was an Army one and charged with assessing the military potential of the Communist forces in the war against Japan, our first meeting dealt with setting up detailed briefings and procedures. But it was known to the Communists that I was a civilian and reporting both to General Stilwell and the State Department.

As one of the early meetings broke up and Mao could speak to me privately, he said with a quizzical half-smile that he assumed I wanted to have a talk with him but that he

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## “He Saw Far”

by John S. Service

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Mao Tsetung, when I first met him in 1944, was 51 years old. For four months I saw a good deal of him, certainly two or three times a week: perhaps 50 occasions in all under all sorts of circumstances, official and relaxed – private conversations, group discussions, meals, theater and other entertainments, public speeches, and even Saturday night dances during warm summer evenings on the packed earth of an orchard.

I was attached to the staff of Lieutenant General Joseph Stilwell and a member of the first United States Army Observer Group to visit Yan'an and establish direct contact with the Communist Party leadership.

My job was to report the views and statements of Chairman Mao and other leaders of the Party. How Mao looked, his mannerisms and the impression he made, the general conversation – all these seemed hardly relevant to official reports and were largely omitted. But Mao Tsetung was not a person one forgets.

When one first met him there was not quite that feeling of immediate warmth and almost instant rapport that one experienced with Chou En-lai. Mao was large for a Chinese but not heavily fleshy as he later became. He moved somewhat slowly, and there was an air of gravity and dignity about him. It was not pomposity though. He was courteous and cordial. Perhaps it was a sort of shyness and reserve; one got a little of the feeling he was sizing you up.

Things changed, of course, when one became better acquainted with him. Lacking perhaps some of the suavity and urbanity of Chou, Mao could also be more lively and spontaneous. Conversations were likely to sparkle with witticisms, Chinese classical

allusions, and sharp and surprising statements. Apt and obvious conclusions were snapped out of the air before they seemed logically to have been reached. Conversations also wandered in unexpected and wildly diverse directions. There were few subjects in which he was not interested and few about which his omnivorous reading had not given him some knowledge.

It was normal, I suppose, that he usually seemed to be leading the conversation. You felt at times that it was you who was being interviewed. Yet this was done with a great deal of finesse. He did not monopolize the conversation, there was no “hard sell” and you were not being overpowered. In fact, in group meetings he was usually meticulous that each person present had a chance to join in and express himself. Very often, Mao would sum up the sense of the meeting.

### **Anna Louise Strong: But suppose the United States uses the atom bomb?**

**Mao: The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.**

**All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful . . . Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the “strength” of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength. In the United States there are others who are really strong – the American people.**

**Take the case of China. We have only millet plus rifles to rely on, but history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles is more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aeroplanes plus tanks. Although the Chinese people still face many difficulties and will long suffer hardships from the joint attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, the day will come when these reactionaries are defeated and we are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress. From “Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong,” August 1946.**

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JOHN S. SERVICE's dispatches while he was a State Department official in China during the 1940s are collected in *Lost Chance in China*. He is an Honorary Member of the USCPFA National Steering Committee.

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also wanted to talk with me. However, he went on, he thought our talk would be more mutually useful if we both first had a chance to get acquainted and if we Americans were able to see something of the Communists.

It was not until just a month later, then, that I was invited for my first real talk with Mao alone. With a break for supper, when Chiang Ching, his wife, joined us, it went on for eight hours. Other talks followed but none of so strenuous a length. The ground-work had been laid.

One of the things that struck me most about that talk was that Mao's characteristic calm air of strength and serenity was not a pose. He was absolutely confident of the eventual success of his cause and the Communist Party. The contrast with their actual circumstances in the Yan'an caves at the time was overwhelming. It took us Americans some time to adjust to it, and another considerable period to come to the conclusion we finally reached: that Chairman Mao was right in that confidence.

When I was able to revisit China, in 1971, it was remarkable how many of the themes stressed and restressed by Mao in those 1944 talks in Yan'an seemed still alive and full of meaning.

The Party, he had said, must serve the people, and accept (as in the Cultural Revolution) the criticism of the people. Intellectuals must learn something of manual work, and education must be practical, not exces-

Soviet Union, were less sharply dealt with by him. We are first of all, he always insisted, Chinese. We seek friendly relations, but we take nobody's dictation. We will always make our own decisions and always apply Marxism according to the actual circumstances of China. And, he was obviously thinking even then that a friendly United States was China's necessary balance to an overbearing Soviet Union.

Not all that Chairman Mao thought and fought for has of course been accomplished. Since those early probings in 1944, for instance, Chinese-American relations are still in an unsatisfactory twilight zone. But

on the whole, what man has accomplished more in a lifetime? China has stood up in the world. The face of the country has been transformed. And its people have been led through a long, still unended revolution forging a new egalitarian society that has brought the great mass of the people a sense of purpose, confidence, security, and well-being that most of them could never have dreamed of.

I used to ask Chinese Communist friends why they thought Mao had won out over his many rivals and become the acknowledged leader. The answer was always the same. It boiled down to one phrase: "He saw far." ●

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## The United States Was on His Mind

by Gerald Tannebaum

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We were wary as we walked down the dark alley leading to the Eighth Route Army office, looking carefully to pick out the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist) secret agents, especially those in the teahouse across the street where we knew there was 24-hour surveillance.

The scene was Chongqing in early September 1945. The city was Chiang Kai-shek's wartime retreat from the Japanese invaders. Caravans of vintage limousines shuttled back and forth through the crowded streets, adding to the speculations in a city already noisy with rumors.

Chairman Mao Tsetung had flown from the fabled Yan'an in a U.S. Army plane to meet his old enemy Chiang in face-to-face negotiations. It was an effort to prevent civil war from breaking out between the KMT and the Communist Party.

I had just arrived in Chongqing from the United States, courtesy of the U.S. Army's Armed Forces Radio Service. Through the introductions of American friends I almost immediately met and talked with many leading Chinese who had learned of my sympathies with the progressive movement there. William Hinton, who had been in Chongqing for some time with the U.S. Office of War Information, and I received an invitation from Gung Peng, an astute, vivacious assistant to Chou En-lai, to visit the office of the Eighth Route Army. (This name was given to the Communist Party-led armies in North China during the second Nationalist-Communist united front in 1936.)

We were both anxious to meet in the flesh

the man who had become legend in our minds as the daring leader in the struggles against Japanese aggression and for the eventual goal of a socialist China.

As we were ushered into the anteroom of the office, the fearful atmosphere of the streets was dispelled by the sight of relaxed workers and the warm smile and extended hand of Gung Peng. She motioned us through the reception area toward a sitting room. As we passed a small meeting hall, there was Chairman Mao speaking to a group of cadres and journalists from the Liberated Areas.

His left forearm rested against the small of his back while he gestured emphatically with his right hand. The movements of his head and shock of thick, black hair gave further emphasis. There was a serious look on his broad face. It was a shame that at the time neither Bill nor I knew enough Chinese to understand.

We noticed he wore the same simple cotton uniform, clean but rumpled, that he had worn in Yan'an. On his feet were peasant cloth shoes. The sight of him, saying something obviously very important, made us stop and look on until Gung Peng gently urged us to the sitting room.

After a few minutes' wait we heard a burst of applause from the meeting room. Then very quickly the Chairman appeared in the doorway and introductions were made. He was much taller than I had expected. In contrast his hand seemed small and the handshake was hardly more than touching fingers. His face had no creases, despite the hardships he had sustained for decades. His eyes seemed half-closed, giving a serene appearance, but his mind was far from at rest.

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GERALD TANNEBAUM lived and worked in China for 26 years. He now writes and lectures on China.



Reading the news of the liberation of Nanking in 1949. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

sively theoretical. China could develop itself only through self-reliance. The peasants were capable of great creativity and prodigious accomplishments when motivated. China should fear no dangers and difficulties. The spirit is superior to the machine. And all is possible to patience and firm persistence.

Some subjects, such as relations with the



I had many questions stored away to ask him, but there was hardly an opportunity. He had the United States on his mind, and from his series of probing questions it was obvious he had done a great deal of reading and discussing about America. Sometimes we had a feeling he had obtained answers to these same questions from others, but wanted another point of view, or a test of the logic and content of previous answers.

Mao asked many detailed questions about the American labor movement, digging for specifics about particular unions and leaders. He was concerned about Truman, who had only recently been elevated to the presidency by Franklin Roosevelt's death. Since in dealing with Chiang Kai-shek he was also dealing with Truman, Mao was trying to get a measure of the man and his thinking, both unknown quantities to him.

After the Chairman's questions were exhausted, an almost imperceptible nod to Gung Peng, who had been translating, ended the interview. "The Chairman has some work to do," she said with a smile. "He won't join us for dinner, but he wishes you to enjoy a few simple dishes we have prepared."

As we shook hands, we thanked the Chair-

man for spending so much time with us. He nodded and his tall frame spun around and departed with springy steps. It was a meeting we have never forgotten. ●



Giving a report at the Lu Hsun Art Institute, Yan'an, May 1938. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

## A Close Questioner, a Good Listener

by William Hinton

As I remember it, the room was small and completely bare except for a wooden table and several chairs. Mao Tsetung sat across the table from me, with Gerry Tannebaum on his left and Gung Peng, an assistant to Chou En-lai, who acted as interpreter, on his right. Mao was friendly but very serious and quiet. Completely self-assured, he made no effort to impress us in any way. He was simply and unself-consciously himself – at once preoccupied and attentive.

On the one hand, he had a lot on his mind. He was in Chongqing to work out China's postwar future. The chance of avoiding civil war was slight and this surely dominated his thinking, as it did everyone's. On the other hand, he was interested in and receptive to what we had to say. Mao met with us as part of a consistent effort to learn as much about America as possible through firsthand contact with Americans of all views and

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backgrounds. An important part of his attention, therefore, was focused on us.

I recall looking at him with what must have been all but unbearable curiosity. Pictures and descriptions of him hardly did justice to what was surely one of the strongest and most unusual faces in history. I was particularly struck by the great width and height of his forehead. His jet-black hair did not start until a point near the top of his head. It was combed straight back all around, but some of the locks in front fell forward slightly to cover a part of his temples. His hair was clipped short all around at ear level. Thus a half-moon of black hair ringed an extraordinarily broad and massive countenance. Even more striking than the forehead were his eyes, which were large, alert, and penetrating. Clearly he was used to absorbing every detail of the scene around him.

With Gung Peng's help we had arranged this interview with the idea of asking Mao a whole list of questions about the Liberated Areas, the anti-Japanese war, New Democracy, and the future of China. But Mao turned the tables on us – he asked the questions and they were all about America.

Gerry had had some experience as a worker and trade union organizer. I had been a farmer and farm union organizer. Mao questioned us both for whatever insight we could supply on the life of farmers and workers in America, on their organizations, their battles, and their relationship to and attitudes toward the government and big business. His questions showed a wide background knowledge of American society and challenged us to think.

"What," he asked, "is the difference between the Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union?" "Why are most of the workers in America unorganized?" "What policy toward farmers and workers would Truman advocate?" There was no way to respond in any simple, offhand manner. Even when our answers were inadequate, and many of them were, Mao listened patiently and intently. Thus he made us feel at ease.

The main impression I came away with was that Mao was a good listener. That surprised me at the time, but in retrospect, it shouldn't have. One of Mao's first commandments to all revolutionary cadres was to investigate and study. "Without investigation and study you have no right to speak." He himself had spent a great deal of time in his youth and later simply wandering around, sitting or squatting, and talking with people. Wherever he went, study meetings coalesced around him, and from them he gathered the vast knowledge of reality that made analysis and leadership possible. Mao was willing to learn from everybody, particularly that which they had firsthand knowledge of. And this was clear in our case. Gerry and I had no great accomplishments to our credit. We were two young Americans of good will, each with his own social experience. That was enough for Mao. He treated us as valuable source material and spent the greater part of the afternoon with us in friendly talk.

On another day, when his talks with Chiang Kai-shek were ended and he was about to return to Yan'an, Mao invited Gerry and me to spend the evening with him at the Communist Liaison Office. Chou En-lai, Chiao Guan-hua, Gung Peng, and several others were present. It was a somber evening, everyone was subdued and preoccupied. Chiang Kai-shek's illusions of power and his certainty that with American help he could wipe out the Liberated Areas made civil war a certainty. It was only a matter of time. Mao invited us there, I believe, as a gesture of friendship toward and faith in the American people. The government in Washington was bent on thwarting the will of the Chinese people. It would not stop at the slaughter of hundreds of thousands, but Mao knew that there was another side to America. He held out a hand in friendship and we would not forget it for the rest of our lives. ●

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# PFC Hyman, No. 32703980, Meets the Chairman

by Howard Hyman

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I had just heard the news. It was casually mentioned by a passerby. Chairman Mao Tsetung had died. Something inside me seemed to stop momentarily. Why? . . . I am an American; born, raised, and living in New York. Yet Mao Tsetung in a very direct way had affected my life.

In 1944, during World War II, when I was not yet 21, the U.S. government sent me, Pfc. Howard S. Hyman, Serial No. 32703980, to become a part of HQ, 14th Air Force, Kunming, China.

Upon arriving in China I saw disease, beggars, starvation, people dressed in rags, prostitution, and death everywhere. Hundreds of emaciated young men pulled rickshas and died by the time they reached their mid-twenties. I vividly remember watching Chiang Kai-shek's troops swoop down upon a village, seize all the men in sight, shackle them, beat them, and then tell them they were "drafted" into the army.

All this and more were daily occurrences, yet we were forbidden, by official U.S. government edict, even to discuss the Chinese internal political situation among ourselves. As part of my basic army training I had been lectured and given pamphlets by my government describing the nature of our fascist enemy. And here I was, thrust directly into a country, Nationalist China, which was a completely repressive society and which fitted all the criteria of the fascist states we were supposed to be fighting.

I remained in China for some 20 months. Gradually, oh so gradually, I made friends with first one, then two, and then finally a small group of Chinese students and teachers. They spoke English, and as our friendship grew and we became more trusting of each other, they began to tell me of their hopes for the future. They made me aware that there was another China up in the north. A China that was also fighting the fascists while, at the same time, maintaining a watchful eye on the Nationalists who were ever ready to attack them.

My Chinese friends told me of Yan'an, the caves, the famous Long March and, yes, of their great teacher, Mao Tsetung.

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HOWARD HYMAN served in the U.S. Army in China in 1944-45. He returned on a veterans' tour in July 1976.

At that time (1944) I wrote a letter home which said, in part: "There I was with a few of the people that are the future, the New China. All of them poor and refugees from the Japanese-occupied areas. I didn't think that I would ever find people with such love of country, such energy and vitality, and such a desire to work or even die for their country if they can make it a better place to live in. I'm certain that if the right people in China are given just half a chance, China will be a wonderful country and a wonderful place to live in."

As V-J day approached I was transferred to Chongqing, the Nationalists' wartime capital. Chongqing was the only place in all of Nationalist China where the Chinese Communists were permitted to have an office. American and other foreign news correspondents would go there for information, news releases, etc. But no Chinese would dare enter for fear of "disappearing" in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek's men afterward.

However, I was not Chinese and, after all, the Chinese Communists were our allies. I had to see for myself and so did two other

American GI's who were friends of mine, Ed Bell and Jack Edelman. For over a year and a half we had heard that the China of Yan'an was different. Even the crews of the American Air Force planes that made their weekly flight to supply the small American weather station there said that there was something different and refreshing about "the other China," but they could not understand what it was.

My friends and I had to see for ourselves. We started spending a good part of our time at Chinese Communist Party headquarters in Chongqing. Those were the days of the famous Chongqing negotiations between Mao and Chiang Kai-shek. They were a last-ditch attempt to bring about a coalition government. They failed.

At the age of 22 it was most exciting for me to be able to see a microcosm of that other "China up in the north" and to be able to meet and talk with some of its people.

The high point came on September 16, 1945. We knew that Mao was a heavy smoker. We even heard that he grew his own tobacco in Yan'an. So we took a few cartons of American cigarettes from our rations and wrote a short note voicing our hopes for a prosperous and peaceful future for the people of China. We left the note and the cigarettes at the Chinese Communist Party headquarters.

A few days later we were told that Mao had received our gift and wished to reciprocate by having us join him at dinner the following week!

And we did. Three very young American enlisted men had dinner with Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chou-En-lai, and a small

**Certain ties do exist between the Chinese people and the American people. Through their joint efforts, these ties may develop in the future to the point of the "closest friendship." But the obstacles placed by the Chinese and U.S. reactionaries were and still are a great hindrance to these ties. Moreover, because the reactionaries of both countries have told many lies to their peoples and played many filthy tricks, that is, spread much bad propaganda and done many bad deeds, the ties between the two peoples are far from close. What Acheson [Secretary of State under President Truman] calls the "ties of closest friendship" are those between the reactionaries of both countries, not between the peoples. Here Acheson is neither objective nor frank, he confuses the relations between the two peoples with those between the reactionaries. For the peoples of the two countries the victory of the Chinese Revolution and the defeat of the Chinese and U.S. reactionaries are the most joyful events that have ever happened, and the present period is the happiest of their lives. Conversely, it is only for Truman, Marshall, Acheson, Leighton Stuart, and other U.S. reactionaries and for Chiang Kai-shek, H. H. Kung, T. V. Soong, Chen Li-fu, Li Tsung-jen, Pai Chung-hai, and other Chinese reactionaries that it is truly "an extremely complicated and most unhappy period" in their lives. . . . From "Why It Is Necessary to Discuss the White Paper," August 28, 1949, on a U.S. State Department document about U.S.-China relations.**



group of others who were to become the leaders of the new China. We spent the better part of an afternoon and early evening talking of China and its future, and trying, usually unsuccessfully, to fashion answers to the very penetrating questions about the U.S. that Mao asked us.

Scholars and historians may tell you of Mao as a poet, historian, or revolutionary. My recollection is one of a warm, calm, caring person who had a facility for putting one at ease almost immediately. How he related to his own people is also embedded in my mind. The interaction between Mao and the workers, leaders, cooks, and waiters was one of affection and warmth. I could not detect even a hint of pompousness, protocol, patronizing, or any other affectation.

This past July I had the honor of going back to China with a group of U.S. World War II veterans and our families. We revisited all of the places where we had been

stationed. What we saw was indeed a new China. A country of well-dressed, clean, healthy, and happy people. Its countryside and cities were not those we knew in 1944 and 1945. Chongqing today is not the Chongqing I knew 31 years ago. I wept upon seeing its clean streets and tremendous housing construction, a city literally lifting itself up by its own collective strength.

My thoughts have now come full circle. Perhaps I now have some insight as to why something inside me seemed to stop momentarily when I heard of Chairman Mao's death. Mao Tsetung was the guiding force who taught all of the Chinese people to stand up, collectively and united, for the first time in recorded history. The small group of Chinese people that I knew so intimately in 1944 and 1945 were some of his pupils. And they in turn, plus the new China I recently saw, were my teachers. ●

who was willing to take time out with three ordinary GIs for something he thought was also important – friendship between the Chinese and American people.

I can still picture the warm afternoon. We walked quickly up the narrow, dirty street to the white stucco house and mounted the steps. On our backs were knapsacks packed with cartons of cigarettes as a gift for Chairman Mao. We waited together in a downstairs room with a bamboo curtain hanging at one end. Shortly, the curtain parted and there was Mao, dressed in his army clothes, smiling in greeting to us. His interpreter and other friends also attended. We were delighted by his obvious pleasure in receiving the cigarettes; he was a most modest man and explained that we were too generous to him.

When we were seated at the huge oval table, enjoying the banquet, Mao Tsetung expressed great interest in each of us and listened intently to all we said. He asked about our life back home, about our families, about our aspirations for life after the war. He did not speak English, but when he spoke in Chinese, he talked directly to us, for language could not be a barrier on this day. Through the interpreter, we talked about the meaning of the war, the importance of world peace, and friendship between the American and Chinese people. Chairman Mao toasted this many times during the dinner. He asked that we tell Americans about all our experiences when we returned

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## A Photo of Friendship

by Edward Bell

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On a hot sunny afternoon in Chongqing last July I saw a huge enlargement of a photograph, yellowed with age, but with smiles and meaning unfaded. I gasped and ran out of the room, calling our group of American veterans who had been stationed in China during World War II and their wives and children to come see. Who, I asked the guides, had hung this photograph? And when? The guides said it was hung when this house, where Chairman Mao once spent much time planning activities and work and meeting with important leaders, was opened as a memorial in 1958. That was during the Cold War, when it would have been hard for many Americans to realize that the Chinese treasured their friendly contacts with our people.

The story of this photograph begins in 1945, when Chairman Mao traveled from Yan'an to Chongqing to meet with Chiang Kai-shek in the historic Chongqing negotiations. Myself and two other American servicemen, Jack Edelman and Howard Hyman, had at that time been able to meet Chou En-lai through student friends at the university. Partly because of that meeting we were invited to dinner with Chairman Mao a week later.

We looked forward to that dinner with

great anticipation. Here was a man so great in the history of China, so busy with a most significant event in the history of the world,



Amidst the crisis of the Chongqing negotiations, Mao took the time to give a dinner party at his headquarters for a small group of American GIs (Jack Edelman, left; Ed Bell, right; Howard Hyman, kneeling). A symbol of Chinese-American friendship, this picture has been on display since the headquarters building became a museum in 1958. (Photo: H. Hyman)

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EDWARD BELL, in the U.S. Army in China for 18 months, 1944-45, was part of the July 1976 veterans' trip.

home. He believed the Americans and Chinese had so much in common that great friendship would result between our two peoples.

He spoke with great feeling and optimism about our future, the future of all youth, for he believed the youth would play a highly important role in shaping the world. Then, at one point, ever mindful of the importance of each hour, Mao reminded us that the sun would soon go down, so if we wanted to take pictures we had best go out into the garden while it was still light. We did that, all posing in a number of group photos to record this happy and historic occasion.

I have always treasured that photograph as a memento of the occasion. And it was a thrilling shock to find that the Chinese

treasured it too! For it was of course that photograph of three young GIs and Chairman Mao that I found, this summer, hanging on the wall of the Chongqing Memory House.

I am reminded today of the great strength of the hundreds of hands which reached to shake mine throughout our recent trip in the PRC last July, for wherever we went people would come forward in genuine joy to shake our hands as soon as they learned about our historic meeting with Mao in 1945. We were asked to retell our story countless times in factories, classrooms, restaurants, and nurseries. I feel sure this great love for Mao will further strengthen and inspire the Chinese people who have already scaled so many heights. ●

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## Reunion at Tian An Men

by Lois Wheeler Snow

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It was my husband who knew Mao Tsetung. I wish with all my heart that he were here to speak himself of the man for whom he had the deepest respect. Edgar Snow described Mao Tsetung as a "plain-living man, physically tough; self-confident but not boastful; a man with a deep sense of personal dignity; shrewd in his estimates of people and history; possessed of a tenacious will; well-read in Chinese history, politics, and philosophy, and with a limited knowledge of the outside world, actively curious about foreign lands and peoples; popular with the troops and people; and a hard, steady worker. Not without a sense of humor, he was a man of imagination and reserve."

"Not we," Chairman Mao said, "but coming generations will control the future," adding that a thousand years from now, all leaders of our time, even Marx, Engels, and Lenin would probably appear rather ridiculous. "That," wrote Snow, "may prove true, but if there are exceptions, the name of Mao Tsetung will be found among them."

I met Mao Tsetung in 1970, on October 1, the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, during the United States' renewed and atrocious attack on China's next-door neighbors, Vietnam and Cambodia. My husband and I were met and welcomed by the Chairman that day and led by him to stand on either

side of him on the huge balcony that overlooks Tian An Men Square, facing a million Chinese citizens participating in the parade below. It was a moment of history in the making - two lone Americans symbolizing an eventful change. Sixteen months later, the President of the United States went to Peking and my husband lay dying in our home in Switzerland, under the extraordinary care and attention of Chinese doctors and nurses sent to him by his friends Chou En-lai and Mao Tsetung.

During those 10 or 12 minutes alongside Mao Tsetung, my mind flashed over the China of the past I had heard about from those who had known its misery, and my eyes swept over the sight of the China before me, celebrating a peaceful and joyous liberation. I sought in the face of an older Mao Tsetung the young man of Anyuan, Jingtangshan (Chingkangshan), the Long March, and Yan'an - the man who had said, "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious." That attitude was there in the dignified, strong, erect, yet informal figure watching the results of continuing revolutionary struggle as China emerged from the turbulent Cultural Revolution.

Edgar Snow said that when he first met Mao Tsetung in 1936 in northwest China at the end of the Long March, it would have seemed fantastic to predict that within little more than a decade the lean and hungry "Red bandit" with a price on his head would become the chief of state of half a billion people. Few men abroad had heard of him at that time, but in China he was a semi-legendary figure. He had been "killed" in

Kuomintang reports so many times that urban sophisticates doubted whether he had ever existed at all, while superstitious peasants thought of him as one of the immortals reincarnated from the past.

Mao Tsetung was living then in Bao An in a one-room cave with a single window and a door that opened onto the street. His army was a minuscule band of poorly armed youths, facing a precarious existence in the most impoverished corner of the land. Night after night the two men, the young American journalist and the young Chinese revolutionary, met in that cave room. Snow noted that "Mao promised no easy victory, but he anticipated that Japan might win great battles for years, seize the main cities and communications and destroy the best forces of the Kuomintang [while the Communist guerrillas would] 'organize bases in the people, among the peasants, in the villages,' and seek and win popular support to carry on successful partisan warfare. Thus Mao foresaw that at the end of the war, when combined Allied might would smash Japan, the Chinese Communist forces would be far more numerous, better armed, more experienced, more popular, and the leading political power in the nation."

The town of Bao An, the headquarters of the Red Army before it moved to Yan'an, was made up of fewer than a hundred ramshackle houses and shops along a dismal



Talking with peasants in his birthplace, Shaoshan, 1959. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

main street. Behind them, rows of cave houses gave bomb-proof shelter against air raids and some warmth in the bitter winters of the north. "In this dusty, poorly provisioned lair," Snow reported, "the Communists had set up the paraphernalia of a

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LOIS WHEELER SNOW, author of *China on Stage and A Death with Dignity, was in China for five months in 1970-71 with her late husband, Edgar Snow, and has revisited China twice.*



tiny state: ministries of foreign affairs, finance, education, planning, and so on. The Red Army Academy occupied one large series of caves which somehow housed about 800 students. 'Publishing-caves' brought out textbooks, newspapers, and magazines, mimeographed on the back of Kuomintang propaganda leaflets. Food, alike for all, consisted of millet, millet, millet – and some cabbage and squash grown along the river. Life was hard, but these people were tough. They had youth, enthusiasm, and a comradeship tested through many battles and the perils of the Long March."

I went to Bao An with my husband on his return there 35 years later in 1971. From Yan'an we drove onto the highway that now cuts through the 100 kilometers of low hill country to Bao An. It was on that journey, through the experienced eyes of my companion, that I really began to understand the great changes that had been brought about. I would have taken for granted the simple sight of trees if it had not been for his appreciation of them. He had traveled over the same countryside when it had been barren, arid, and wasted, when a single worm-eaten pear had been a prize to share with hungry comrades. The town itself had survived bombing, strafing, and pillage. Many of the people we met were dressed in worn, patched clothes – shabby by some standards, but older citizens there remembered when a pair of pants and a coat had made up an entire wardrobe, the coat doubling as a blanket at night. Limited natural resources, a constant fight against the contour of land, and the violence of weather still keeps villagers at work from dawn to past dark every day. But the result is a well-being never known before. It was apparent in all we saw – in the firm, healthy bodies of children, in the well-stocked general store, in the newly made theater, in the smiles on people's faces as they pointed out their fertile fields and forests, their reclaimed homes and hillsides. Bao An, like the whole of China, had stood up. It had become part of the future foreseen by Mao Tsetung.

"Who were these warriors who had fought so long, so fiercely, so courageously, and so invincibly? What held them up, what supported them? What was the revolutionary base of their movement? What were the hopes and aims and dreams that made of them the incredibly stubborn warriors who endured hundreds of battles, blockade, salt shortage, famine, disease, epidemic, and finally the Long March of 8,000 miles in which they crossed 12 provinces of China, broke through thousands of Kuomintang troops, and triumphantly emerged at last into a new base in the northwest?"

The answers are there to see in Bao An, as they are throughout the new nation – in the support and strength of China's elderly

and in the vigor and involvement of China's youth; in the faces of women liberated from feudal ideas and Confucian oppression and in the bearing of formerly illiterate peasants and workers attending China's schools and universities; in the eyes of a one-time Tibetan slave turned barefoot doctor and in the pride of young peasant delegates to a



At a Peking rally, 1965, in support of the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. aggression. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

national Women's Federation conference. Every visitor to China notices some of this and everyone knows that behind it all is the dominant figure of Mao Tsetung – "the personification of the nation's new self-esteem."

"Teacher, warrior, politician, ideologist, poet, dreamer, revolutionary destroyer-creator, Mao turned a wretched peasantry into an irresistible storm out of which rose a modern army able to unite a long-divided empire; reshaped a foreign ideology into a system of thought valid for China's revolutionary needs, conceived a 'new democracy' which brought scientific and technical training to millions, and literacy to hundreds of millions; laid the foundations of a modern economy, able to place nuclear power in Chinese hands; restored China's self-respect and world-respect for – or fear of – China; and made original contributions to the theory and practice of revolution which set up examples for such of the earth's poor and oppressed as dare to rebel. All that Mao did not do alone, but in all that he was the central figure, from the years in the mount-

ains and the caves, to today's latest victories in an entirely new stage of revolution."

"But of all his roles in history," my husband stated, "it is as teacher that Mao thought of himself – the whole revolution was in his eyes one great lesson to the Chinese people." He dismissed the titles of "Great Leader," "Great Supreme Commander," and "Great Helmsman" as "nuisances" – necessary ones at the time, he declared – and stressed that he had begun life as a primary school teacher. He said that because China had been oppressed by imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, he had had to give up teaching school and become a Communist – indeed, to found the Chinese Communist Party. But he remained a teacher, completely allied with those most in need: the poor, the illiterate, the mostly lowly and oppressed, and in particular with his countrywomen to whom he extended liberation and equality. "Women," said the young Mao long ago, "hold up half the sky" and "the day when the women of the whole country stand up is the day of victory for the Revolution."

Mao Tsetung's ideological concepts grew out of concrete conditions. One of the most impressive things in China is the way in which people grasp and apply his teachings – what is known as Mao Tsetung Thought. It is through exchange, example, and constant teaching that the masses of people come to understand and apply the principles. If in China one sees – and one sometimes does – arrogance or selfishness, fear of dissent, reluctance to think or speak out or act in the face of wrong, it is *not* Mao Tsetung Thought.

In Mao's deep-rooted faith in the Chinese masses, in the people, lies the essence of the Cultural Revolution. "The Cultural Revolution is without precedent in the history of nations ruled by parties claiming to be disciples of Karl Marx or Marxism-Leninism; Mao Tsetung is the only legitimate head of a Communist Party who has invited the non-Party masses to overthrow and rebuild it from top to bottom." The Cultural Revolution is Mao's last great lesson to his country. He had brought about a social revolution that provided the dynamics which regenerated China – and he knew it must continue. In that deeply historical sense Mao Tsetung became a very great man, an authentic hero, living out the practice of his philosophy in a new kind of civilization with broad implications for the whole world.

I again quote Edgar Snow: "My first and lasting impression of Mao Tsetung was that of a man convinced that he was destined to restore China's historic greatness; to bring to the Chinese people, even the poorest and humblest, a new sense of self-respect; and to educate intellectuals to re-

spect the dignity of labor." Mao had no illusion that he could control the future; he never claimed access to the final truth. "In the great river of man's knowledge, all things are relative," he once said, "and no one can grasp absolute truth." That he grasped a large part of it in terms of China's

needs is obvious; that a good part of that is applicable to other societies is also evident.

Our world, in need of leaders, has lost one of the greatest of our century. But the Chinese people and we, too, have gained a heritage. The teacher is no longer with us, but his teachings remain. ●

was glad to learn because I had not known about them.

At one point he asked me: "What is the usage in your field of the word 'theory' and of the word 'thought'?" Now, that's a difference that hadn't occurred to me so I had to think about it and, after some debate with myself, I gave a complicated answer. Then we got into a discussion of the meaning of these two words in everyday Chinese and English, as contrasted to their meaning in academic physics. The differences are subtle and the discussion didn't lead to any specific conclusion, but it left a profound impression on me. Chairman Mao debated conceptual questions at various levels and was very careful in wanting to make each term he used precise.

My overwhelming impression of Chairman Mao, whom I consider one of the great men of the 20th century, was that he was a leader of men and yet at the same time a supreme intellectual. He was interested in the thinking process, in concepts in all fields, and yet he was an extremely practical person who, through a combination of his special insight and personality, was able to become the leader of many, many other exceptionally talented people. ●

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## A Thinker, a Leader, an Extremely Practical Man

by Yang Chen-ning

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The reason I had the opportunity to see Chairman Mao was because in the summer of 1973, when I was asked by the Travel Bureau in Peking what I wanted to do in China, I finally mustered up enough courage to ask if I could see Chairman Mao. I felt very apologetic the next day for having made such an unreasonable request. But the Travel Bureau people said, "No, you shouldn't apologize at all; thousands of people have made that request." So I felt much better. I was, therefore, surprised and very greatly honored when I was told a few days later that Chairman Mao had some time and would like to see me.

I was not in China as a reporter or a person who had any specific goal other than to promote understanding between China and the United States. So when I went to see Mao, I did not have any set list of questions to ask him, nor the faintest idea what the drift of the conversation would be. Indeed, that was just as well because the conversation was a very relaxed and meandering one, and the Chairman had a very good way of putting me at ease.

He asked me what we were doing in our research in physics, and when I told him that we were studying the structure of elementary particles, he was intensely interested. To my surprise, he had clearly been following some of the developments in contemporary high-energy physics, particularly the question of whether or not elementary particles are divisible. I told him that it was still being hotly debated without an explicit resolution thus far.

To me, Chairman Mao's interest in physics was truly remarkable. My speculation

is that his philosophical interests had something to do with his knowledge and curiosity about what we are trying to learn in the laboratory.

We covered many topics in our conversation. For example, he told me that ancient Chinese philosophers had also speculated on the structure of matter, and he quoted from some of the classics, about which I

**The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against United States imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against United States imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.**

**Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and United States ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the United States monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement and eventually end the criminal rule of the United States monopoly capitalist class.**

**In 1963, in the "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle against Racial Discrimination by United States Imperialism," I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view. From "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression," April 16, 1968, after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.**

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# The Thunder of 10,000 Voices

by Morris Salz

## *The song that helped unite China*

“While I was a student at Shanghai College, I was a music enthusiast. One day, on the cover of an American songbook, I saw the words ‘Music Unites People.’ That gave me an idea. Being a singer myself, I tried to start a singing group in the YMCA in 1931 where I worked after graduation.

“Sixty people joined the mass singing club in the Shanghai YMCA. These were office boys, clerks, storekeepers, apprentices from various trades and, later, even included ricksha coolies. Their long and weary faces were suddenly transformed by the power of music. Within a month, the chorus had grown to 300, and at the end of 1934 there were 1,000 voices at a mass concert with 4,000 people in the audience.”

So began the mass singing movement in China, as described by Liu Liang-mo, its spearhead. The year 1931 also marked the beginning of the Japanese invasion of China and inspired a musician friend of Liu’s, named Ni Er, to put his feelings about the invaders into his songs. He worked tirelessly and in 1932 completed the song which came to be called by several names: “The March of the Volunteers,” “The March of the Guerrillas,” and finally in later years, “Chee Lai.” Wherever it was sung, mostly by individuals, the song won popular acclaim. China was stirring.

Though Ni Er died in 1934, his call for action through the inspiration of music was given even greater significance by his close friend, Liu Liang-mo.

The mass singing movement was Liu’s vehicle, and its momentum spread from the YMCA of Shanghai to different cities. He



Liu Liang-mo (seated, middle) with Morris Salz (seated, right) and other Americans at the Shanghai Peace Hotel, October 1975. (Photo: E. Bassuk)

conceived of a plan to train leaders in other regions. The groups chose their own business managers and their own directors. All that was required of the conductor was a good husky voice and a natural musical talent. He might be an office boy or a longshoreman. Many composed their own songs.

With the inception of the active united front of Communist and Kuomintang forces against the Japanese in 1937, the mass singing movement took hold countrywide. “Unity, Self-Reliance, and Art” – to be used as weapons to mobilize the people against

the invaders – was a slogan heard throughout China. By that time, 300 mass song leaders had already been trained and, with the first thrusts of the enemy, these leaders were sent everywhere to teach the soldiers and the people to sing.

Liu Liang-mo spent three years teaching mass singing to the soldiers at the front. He recalls one story which vividly reveals the determination of the Chinese to meet and overcome obstacles on a mass scale.

The commanding officer of 10,000 troops in a barren, desert area met with Liu and told

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MORRIS SALZ taught in public and private schools for many years and has also been involved in children’s camping for most of his life.

## THE MARCH OF THE VOLUNTEERS

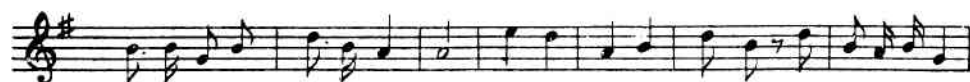
(The Chinese National Anthem)

Words by Tien Han

Music by Nieh Erh



起 來！不 願 做 奴 隸 的 人 們， 把 我 們 的 血 肉  
Ch'i lai Pu yuan tsou nu li ti jen men Pa O men ti hsieh jou



築 成 我 們 新 的 長 城。 中 華 民 族， 到 了 最 危 險 的 時  
chu ch'eng O men hsin' ti ch'ang ch'eng Chung Hua min tsu tao liao tsui weh hsien ti shih



候， 每 個 人 披 迫 着 發 出 最 大 的 吼 聲。 起 來！ 起 來！ 起  
hou Mei ko jen pei p'o chao la ch'u tsiu ta ti hou sheng Ch'i lai Ch'i lai Ch'i



來！ 我 們 萬 眾 一 心 冒 着 敵 人 的 砲 火 前 進  
lai O men wan chung yi hsin Mao chao ti jen ti p'ao huo Ch'ien chin



冒 着 敵 人 的 砲 火 前 進！ 前 進！ 前 進！ 進！  
Mao chao ti jen ti p'ao huo Ch'ien chin Ch'ien chin Ch'ien chin Chin!

### ENGLISH VERSION

(Unofficial Translation)

Arise, all ye who refuse to be slaves! With our blood and flesh a Great Wall will be built. The Chinese nation now faces its greatest danger. From each comes forth his loudest call: "Arise! Arise! Arise!" Millions with but one heart, braving the enemy's fire, march on. Braving the enemy's fire, march on, march on, march on, on. . . .

"Chee Lai," published in *People's China* (Peking), June 16, 1950.

him that his troops would be marching out within a few days and that he wanted them to be taught "Guerrilla Song," "Chee Lai," and others, many written by Ni Er. These were troops from the interior who were not familiar with the music, and there were no

microphones or other amplification equipment available.

"Can you provide me with several hundred men with strong voices?" asked Liu.

The necessary men were speedily provided, and Liu spent hours teaching them

the songs. Then, with the 10,000 troops assembled, the newly recruited song leaders were stationed at regular intervals, interspersed strategically among the men. Each group sang with its leader as he taught the songs, line by line, in call-back fashion. As Liu recalled, this was quite a feat because the problem proved to be not only one of numbers: the days were windy and the gusts blew sand into their faces as they shouted their words. But the thunder of 10,000 voices drowned out the whistling of the wind.

Time moved on; a united China began to take shape. Voices of friends from other parts of the world urged that "aggressors be quarantined." Slogans like "Boycott Japanese Silk" and "Be in Style - Wear Lisle" caught on in the United States. (Most stockings then were silk; the unattractive but increasingly popular cotton lisle showed support of the silk boycott.) The name of Paul Robeson, the famous singer who traveled to Spain to sing songs of courage and faith before the embattled defenders of the Spanish Republic, reached Shanghai. Liu Liang-mo learned that Paul Robeson sang the folk, friendship, and freedom songs of all countries in their native languages. Some day, thought Liu, we may be able to reach Paul Robeson with the songs born out of China's struggles. Not long afterward, Liu left China for the United States.

"The scenes of my first contacts with Paul Robeson are still very vivid in my memory," wrote Liu in a letter to me shortly after hearing of Robeson's death in early 1976. "It was in the summer of 1940, when I first went to the United States. I brought with me many revolutionary songs which the Chinese people sang in our fight against fascist invaders. I hoped to spread them in the U.S. but didn't know how. I had heard about Paul Robeson as a great people's singer, and I thought how wonderful it would be if I could get Paul Robeson to sing these Chinese revolutionary songs. But at that time it was only wishful thinking.

"In a friend's home in New York, I mentioned Paul Robeson and my hope of meeting him. And this friend said, 'I know Paul very well. I'll call him right now.' After the phone call, he smilingly told me, 'Paul will be here in a few minutes.' After half an hour, Paul came. He was quite a giant of a man, but he beamed over me with his friendly smile. He shook my hands warmly and said, 'So, you have just gotten here from China. That is wonderful, wonderful!' And from that time on, we talked like old friends.

"I told him about the revolutionary mass singing movement in China, and he was quite excited about it. He asked me to sing a few Chinese revolutionary songs to him, and so I brought up all my courage and





Workers' leisure-time singing group at a factory. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

sang these Chinese revolutionary songs. He listened intently, quietly, and asked me to repeat some of the songs; among them was 'Chee Lai' (then called 'The March of the Volunteers'). He thanked me warmly and left taking with him a copy of the words and music which I had handwritten.

"After a few weeks, my friend took me to a Paul Robeson concert at New York's Lewisohn Stadium in the open air. That evening, under a starry night, about 7,000 people listened to Paul's songs, songs of the peoples of the various countries in the world in their fight against fascism. And he sang them in good Russian, French, German, Yiddish, and Spanish. After a moment, Paul raised his hand and said to the audience: 'I am going to sing a Chinese fighting song tonight in honor of the Chinese people, and that song is called "Chee Lai."' And then, in perfect Chinese, he sang, 'Chee Lai - arise! You who refuse to be bond slaves!' It was not only me who was stunned with excitement; through thunderous applause, the audience asked him to sing the song again. After that, 'Chee Lai' gradually became popular among the American people as well as among the overseas Chinese people in the United States.

"I organized a Chinese Youth Chorus in New York City's Chinatown to sing these

revolutionary songs. And in the spring of 1941 several friends suggested that Paul and the Chinese Youth Chorus should together record an album of Chinese revolutionary songs and that the proceeds should be used to help the Chinese people in their fight against the fascist invaders. That we did. And in the process of making these records, I saw how painstaking Paul was in making sure that every Chinese word he sang was accurate Chinese. Paul sang 'Chee Lai,' and that was the title of the album. Through this, 'Chee Lai' and other Chinese revolutionary songs spread all over the United States, and later on, even grade school and high school children could sing 'Chee Lai.'

"And today, 'Chee Lai' has been made the national anthem of the People's Republic of China."

Paul Robeson and Liu Liang-mo had much in common. They talked about the role of music as a weapon to fight bigotry, chauvinism, and fascist aggression. Both had sons who were facing a world at war. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, joined China and the United States in an alliance for survival.

It was during this period that I met both Paul and Liu. They sent their children to the interracial, interfaith summer camp, Wo-Chi-Ca, where I was one of the staff

members. They frequently visited the camp to talk and sing with the campers and staff. Music of all countries was sung. Folksongs filled the air. Liu taught the campers' chorus many of China's songs in Chinese and English.

Several of Liu's friends from Camp Wo-Chi-Ca visited China in October 1975 and had the good fortune to meet with him again in Shanghai. It was a warm reunion of friends, marred only by the absence of Paul Robeson, who was then gravely ill.

The "Chee Lai" 1941 album, described by Liu in his letter, contains the following introduction by Mme. Sun Yat Sen (Soong Ching Ling), widow of China's first president and now a Vice-chairperson of the People's Republic of China:

"China has found in the new mass singing movement a source of strength to resist the enemy. I am happy to learn that some of the finest songs are being made available to Americans in the recordings of Paul Robeson, voice of the people of all lands, and of our own Liu Liang-mo, who has taught a nation of soldiers, guerrillas, farmers, and road-builders to sing while they toil and fight. May our old folk tunes and our new songs that blend the harmony of East and West be another bond between free peoples."

# Earthquake: “American Friends, Are You All Right?”

## *An interview with eyewitnesses*

*Members of the Eastern Trade Union Tour from the New York City area visited China July 13–30, 1976. In the early morning hours of July 28, the city of Tangshan, about 100 miles from Peking, suffered one of the severest quakes ever to strike a heavily populated area. The Trade Union group was then in Tianjin (Tientsin), the second hardest hit Chinese city. This is their story.*

**Natalie Lange** We were in Tianjin, at the new Friendship Hotel. We'd just come from Tangshan, the center of the quake area.

**Bea Steinberg** It was a quarter to four in the morning, and we were in bed.

**Donald Winclair** My first thought when I felt the bed rolling was that someone was playing a trick on me; then I saw light flashing and I thought it might be a cyclone. But with everything shaking, I finally knew it must be an earthquake. My wife woke up, first thing she said was, “Has the train stopped?”

**Marguerite Winclair** I was having a nightmare!

**Donald** I groped for the switch, trying to

turn the lights on, but the electricity was off all over the city.

**Natalie** I knew what it was right away. I'd been in an earthquake before, in Mexico. I said to my roommate, “Sheila, it's an earthquake. Cover your head and hold on to the bed!”

**Sheila Scott** The first thing I thought was, this must be a movie. I heard my roommate yelling, “It's an earthquake, cover your head,” but I didn't pay any attention to her. I just wanted to find other people, so I got my shoes on and ran into the hall. Later,



Because another quake was expected, almost everyone in Peking evacuated their homes for hastily erected street shelters made of poles, plastic sheets, and whatever else their ingenuity could devise. (Photo: B. Cozzens)



I was surprised some people had managed to get completely dressed; when we left I was still in my nightgown and a sheet I'd grabbed to wrap around me.

**Jack Jaffe** I had gotten up just before the earthquake – I don't know if it was the first faint tremors that woke me – but I'd gone into the bathroom, and when the quake struck I was thrown against the wall. The only thought in my mind was a panicky feeling that I wouldn't get back to my wife Irma. It was like going through a weaving ship, and I was dazed and half asleep. Then I reached Irma, and we hung on to one another, facing out the window. In the darkness we could see these tremendous bolts of what the interpreters later told us was

Somehow, though, I didn't feel we were in terrible danger, but I was very concerned about the people in the little houses all around us. When it stopped, we knocked on the wall – Sol and Rose Salz were in the next room – and yelled to see if they were all right. They'd just yelled "OK" back to us when we heard the voices of our guides outside the door. They seemed very calm – they called, "American friends, are you all right? Please answer us!"

**Sheila** I was amazed at how fast they materialized!

**Jack** When the guides said we'd better leave quickly, I realized that maybe they expected another quake, or that the hotel was in a dangerous state.

**Marguerite** The guide was at the head of the group, and everybody was fantastically calm. Not a murmur, everybody was moving along together in the dark down those seven flights of stairs. We were aware of the cavernous circumference of the stairway, and things were falling from the ceiling and walls. I kept thinking, we've got to keep moving. I had faith the guide knew what he was doing; if there was any chance, we'd have it.

**Bea** They said in the newspaper it was 3:45 when the quake started. It lasted two minutes, and when we got down to the lobby the clock said one minute to four. So 13 minutes after the quake we were out in the bus, and all of us were fine, not even a scratch, which was amazing with all that broken glass and pieces of plaster.

**Sam Steinberg** When we got to the bus, I remember thinking, this is unbelievable, because only about 15 minutes ago I'd been thinking, "This is the end." I said to Bea. "Wasn't it great they could use that extra flashlight we had?" And, you know, I'd written it off. What difference did it make – a flashlight? But then the guide steps into the bus and says, "Mr. Steinberg, here's your flashlight." I was so touched, I practically started crying. So I said, "Please, I want you to accept this flashlight as a memento of the occasion." He was very reluctant, but I felt so strongly, I said, "If you don't accept it, I'll just discard it, break it apart. Please take it – I'd like you to have it." Finally he accepted it, and I felt so good about that.

**Jack** Once we were in the bus, they drove us about a block away, to the square. It was very dark and very quiet. Then we heard – the quake occurred at 3:45 and this must have been about 4:15 – the sound of bicycles. Just hundreds of bicycles were passing us in the dark. I thought they must be going to appointed meeting places, or else to join their families.

**Ida Hafner** Yes, it seemed to me too they had specific goals – like the stations they'd been assigned to in the event of disaster. And that was true of our entire experience. Everyone seemed to know exactly what to do. There was no helter-skelter running around, no panic. And their strength, their organization – I think it helped give us strength.

**Rose Salz** It wasn't until it began to get light that we realized that there were hundreds and hundreds of Chinese people all around us – just sitting calmly and quietly in the streets. And when they saw it was a foreign bus, they started to wave and applaud us. Young couples with babies pointed us out, and even the babies waved!

**Ida** I think they were trying to reassure us that everything was under control.

**Rose** When our bus started pulling out –



Members of the Trade Union Tour in Tangshan. (Photo: S. Steinberg)

"earthlight." It seemed to last much longer than it actually did, and then there was a ghastly silence. And I thought, our hotel was quake-resistant, but what about all the people out there in the rest of the city?

**Bea** I was awake for some reason, and I heard this loud but low rumble, as if a subway train were underneath me. The bed began to shake, and I grabbed my husband and shouted, "We're in a terrible earthquake!" It was like being on a giant swing – the room was swaying, glass was breaking all around us, and the windows were swinging back and forth. Every once in a while a bright flash of light seemed to come up from the earth; it lit up the entire room.

**Natalie** One of our guides said, "American friends, hand touch. Don't be afraid." I'll never forget how I felt when I heard those words, because this was a man we'd been with for two days, and we'd grown to feel he had great strength – a person you could trust, a person you knew that if anything happened, any disaster, he was the person you'd want to be there.

**Bea** We happened to have two flashlights with us, and one of the guides said, "Lend us one, you have enough; don't worry, we'll return it." Who worried? They got us down the steps very quickly. They kept saying, watch your step, keep to the left, don't trip, please be very careful.



In their temporary shelter in Tangshan, members of five families take a breather to hear the news from Peking about local relief work and the aid and support pouring in from all over the country.  
(Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

they took us to a stadium where there were other buses full of foreign visitors, and fed us breakfast – I asked our guide about the Chinese who were staying behind. He said, “They’ll be all right, they know what to do.” But we were guests, and they were going to get us safely out. And of course they did.

**Gladys Brody** Later they took us to a workers’ meeting club outside the city because they were expecting another quake, and they fed us a hot lunch with all the trimmings.

**Bea** They’d tell us each time what was happening. “We’re taking you there because it’s safe, and we’ll bring you food and cigarettes.” Our guides were really working hard. Communications were out, and they were going back and forth on bicycles coordinating all the moves. About 11 A.M. I asked one of our women guides if she’d heard from her family. I knew they lived only about a 20-minute bicycle ride from where we were. She just looked at me calmly and smiled. “They know how to take care of themselves; they’ll be all right.” Her family didn’t know about her either. And that was their way. You accepted that something tragic had happened, but right then your job is to take care of these foreigners, so you do it. And your family also has things to do, and no doubt they’re doing them. And this calm self-assurance – I think it infected all of us. It would have been just so out of context to give way to panic.

**Jack** Not even kids were crying. The only

time I saw someone cry was when we were passing a building that had collapsed. People were feverishly digging into the debris, and a woman was standing there crying.

**Bea** We really saw very little damage, because their first concern was to take us where it was safe, and they took us through the safer streets.

**Donald** About 3 P.M. – we’d spent a couple of hours at the club – one of our guides, Mr. Hu, came to us and said, “The last train for Peking is at 4 P.M. If everybody cooperates we will make the train. This is our proposal. We will take you back to the hotel. All your luggage is in the lobby. Just grab your luggage and get back on the bus, and we’ll take you to the station.”

**Jack** One guide had gone back to the hotel by bicycle to see if it was safe to go back for our suitcases. The organization was just fantastic.

**Natalie** You know, most of us had our belongings scattered all over our rooms. The Chinese had to find everything and put it in our bags. And they made 15 trips up those seven flights of stairs, in that shaky hotel – there was a crack down the whole building – just to get out our things! I couldn’t believe it, I was almost angry. I thought that if any of them had been hurt, I just couldn’t face it, because it would have been only to rescue our *things*.

**Rose** Not only clothes, but watches, rings, glasses, false teeth.

**Marguerite** There were just a few things, put away in drawers or fallen on the floor,

that they missed. They asked us what was missing, and promised to send everything on – but that’s getting ahead of the story. Apparently the American press said there was a lot of looting, or warnings about looting. All I can say is *we* didn’t see any signs of it. And when you think of all the things they returned to us – valuable things like jewelry and watches, or just things of no value at all – it’s hard to believe there was looting, especially when it would have been so easy to take something in the confusion of the earthquake.

**Ida** The only “security people” we saw were some policemen directing people away from buildings that might be dangerous, and some soldiers on a train going toward the earthquake area, apparently to help out in the relief work.

**Donald** We got to the train with five minutes to spare.

**Rose** When the train left, about 4 P.M., a guide said they expected another quake about 6 P.M. And about 6:45 the train stopped. There were some children playing outside, and it was very peaceful and quiet. But then the train started to dance – it really rocked – and I thought, “Oh, no, here we go again.” Just then I saw an old man standing by the track, gesturing to us as if to say, it’s all right, nothing to worry about. And somehow I wasn’t afraid any more – I knew it *was* going to be all right. When we got to the hotel in Peking it was very late, but all the people from the agency were there to greet us, even though they’d had a



hard day too. They had a picnic lunch waiting for us, and bedded us down in the hotel lobby.

**Donald** That was for our own safety. They expected another quake.

**Irma** For a while after the big quake they expected more quakes. What amazed me most in Peking was how quickly the people set up housekeeping out in the streets. They just put up makeshift tents and shelters all over the place. And this really impressed me – whenever a family group included an elderly person, that person would be given the chair or stool, the most sheltered position. They really took care of their older people. Everyone just helped one another in a very matter-of-fact way.

**Bea** There was a lot in the American press about how the Chinese had turned down aid from other countries, and I think you have to understand how the Chinese feel about self-reliance. Wherever we went in China, they very proudly showed us machinery and things made in their own country. It was always, “the workers made this themselves.” They place a tremendous emphasis on self-reliance, and in the face of the tragedy they were not about to depend on others or ask for outside aid. I think they’re a little suspicious. They had trusted the Russians for help once, and then had been fooled and cheated, so they’re a little wary now.

**Jack** There’s also the point that for years the Chinese people were portrayed as helpless victims – of floods, famines, and so on. Little kids in this country were told to eat their food because thousands of children in China were starving. And I think there’s a strong reaction in China to this image of a helpless people subject to charity. Now they *can* help themselves, and that’s what they’re going to do.

**Sam** Even more, though, I think they feel there’s a right way and a wrong way to react to things. Like, if you’re running and you take a bad fall, you can lie there and wait for someone to pick you up. Or you can pull yourself together and get yourself up and running again. And that makes you stronger. It’s the right thing to do.

**Sheila** Another thing, some American papers made a big thing about the Chinese being superstitious. That earthquakes were a bad omen, foretelling the death of an “emperor” – and that the Chinese saw the quake as a sign of Mao Tsetung’s death. Well, we never saw any sign of this. The Chinese were just going calmly about their business, trying to get things back to normal.

**Marguerite** I talked to one of our interpreters about Mao. I can’t describe their attitude exactly; it’s true he’s a kind of symbol to them, but he’s not a god. They don’t worship him. I asked him if he worried about what would happen after Mao died, and he seemed surprised at my ques-

tion. He said, “We regret, we feel concern that he is toward the end of his life, but that’s not one of our *problems*. We have loads and loads of young people, young cadres being trained. New leaders will be coming from among the ranks.”

**Ida** I’d like to say it’s just too bad the American press concentrated so much on the quake itself, and the damage. What we wanted to tell about when we got back was how the people live, the enormous changes in the last 25 years or so, the good things.

**Jack** When we got back and realized what was being reported in this country, we tried, we really tried, to get out a clearer picture – through interviews, and by offering our pictures to newspapers and magazines. Our pictures we thought showed the positive side of things, how people were coping. But our stuff wasn’t sensational enough for the press – it didn’t show enough devastation.

**Irma** It was so distorted. So much of what we said, the real story, just seemed to get censored out.

**Sam** When we landed in Tokyo from Peking, we were practically deluged by reporters and cameramen – Japanese and American. The only thing they seemed to want was gory stories and gory pictures, horror pictures of people lying under tons of rubble, twisted bodies, destruction.

**Ida** The ones who greeted us at the airport, they just wanted to sell newspapers. They didn’t seem to give a damn about what happened to the Chinese people – they just wanted to make a profit.

**Rose** Whereas China’s main concern – and they’ve been criticized for being “secretive” in not releasing casualty figures or pictures of the disaster – is to overcome the damage caused by the quake. So their press doesn’t concern itself with horror pictures or the number of casualties – what good would it do, anyway? It’s just a difference in the way their society thinks and does things.

**Marguerite** I remember so clearly on the bus, someone was taking pictures out the window, and our guide Mr. Hu reacted very strongly. It was the first time I’d seen a Chinese person really angry. He said, “I do not understand how you can think of taking pictures during a time of national disaster for us. To me it is insulting.” We all really honored his feelings. He didn’t say “stop taking pictures,” but of course the person stopped.

**Irma** Later he *apologized* for being brusque with us sometimes – when he’d really been so patient, taken such tender care of us.

**Bea** To them picture-taking is fun and games. They love having their pictures taken on happy occasions. But to take pictures of suffering and destruction? It’s just not their way.

**Ida** The earthquake was a tragedy, but

it had nothing to do with the goals of our trip. All my life I’ve wanted to see a country under socialism. And the difference in living conditions between the U.S. and China, they really impressed me – that and the outstanding warmth and friendship of the Chinese people.

**Rose** My husband and I have traveled all over the world, and nowhere else did we get the same feeling of people really caring for you, of being concerned about you, as we did in China. And we’ll never forget the atmosphere we found in the workplaces we visited – factories, hospitals, and so on. Everybody was working, they were doing their jobs, but nobody was standing over them to *make* them do it. There was a feeling of accomplishing things, but in a pleasant and relaxed way we never saw anyplace else in the world.

**Marguerite** Here was a country where every single one of 800 million people had a place in the pattern of life – and didn’t have to fight for it, or climb on someone else’s back. There was no sense of the competition we’re so accustomed to in Western culture. Everyone had a place in some forward-looking design, and everyone had rights that were respected. It was marvelous!

**Bea** Just a year ago we were in Guatemala, and we would be surrounded, by children even, who constantly tried to sell us things and get money out of us. In China everyone, even the children, were just happy to see us. They’d smile and wave and sing songs for us. Nobody *wanted* anything from us, except our friendship.

**Sam** Even with the language barrier, the friendship, the warmth – that came through.

**Sheila** I remember in Tangshan we were walking along, and I turned around and it seemed as if the whole city was following us! And, you know, anywhere else we would have felt threatened; but the Chinese, they were just curious and friendly. When they clapped for us, we felt we ought to do something, so we sang “Old McDonald Had a Farm,” and you know, they started to join in on the animal sounds in the song!

**Rose** Remember the few things that had been accidentally left behind in our hotel rooms? Well, the Chinese collected all of it and sent it on to us in New York in a suitcase via Japan Air Lines. They sent us a cable to let us know when it was coming.

**Marguerite** Everything was returned intact – including some jewelry of my mother’s I was very glad to have back, but also things like toothbrushes and dirty laundry, which had been washed!

**Rose** Every article had a tiny label sewn on, giving the room number – and all of this in the middle of recovering from an earthquake! But it was really so typical of the kind of care they took of us during our whole time in China. ●

# Digging Out from Under

by Robert Friend

## *Calm heroism minimizes quake damage*

It was as if a huge bulldog had taken the northeastern part of Hebei (Hopei) Province in its jaws and savagely shaken it. In those few seconds in the night, most of the city of Tangshan and perhaps a fifth of its million-plus population died. A hundred miles away from the epicenter, in Peking, where my family and I live in an apartment in "Friendship Guest House," we were awakened by rocking tremors. The building heaved so hard that I could hardly reach the children's bedroom. Within a minute or so, the 200 foreign families were outdoors away from the buildings in the pouring rain. Amazingly, within a few more minutes six new buses arrived to house us temporarily.

The first shock, which came on July 28, was estimated at 7.5 on the Richter scale by Chinese scientists and 8.3 by Japanese and U.S. quake centers. A second shock of over 7 came the following day, but by this time precautionary measures minimized the loss of life. We had a chance to see firsthand the incredible ability of the Chinese people to organize themselves without orders, gear their emergency work to city and regional directives, send immediate aid to the most stricken areas – and all in an atmosphere of calm, disciplined, even cheerful fellowship.

Within minutes the severely hit Tangshan area swung into tasks of rescue, medical

treatment, evacuation, and rapid restoration of power and communications. An eyewitness reporter in the area, Agence France Presse's René Flipo, wrote: "One might

well have thought that general rehearsals had been held for such a disaster."

"Rehearsal" is a good word for it. With several major quakes in the last few years



Railway workers laboring to repair rail bed so that relief can reach the quake area. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

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Despite torrential rains and the discomfort of outdoor living, the people of Peking calmly go about the job of getting things back to normal. (Photo: B. Cozzens)



Back in business! On August 7, just nine days after the quake, workers admire the first new batch of coal from the Tangshan mines. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

in the background, the Chinese authorities and the people were ready for the quake, even though this time scientists had failed to predict it closely. Everyone in China knows about earthquakes, their origin, causes, and the safety measures to take. Illustrated books and pamphlets, radio, television, special films, posters, and meetings insured that everyone, including the children, knew what to do – quietly, efficiently, and without panic. China proved that it isn't necessarily "normal" to allow disorder to follow catastrophe.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than in the Kailan mines below Tangshan, producers of 6 percent of the nation's coal. The quake crumbled buildings above the mine, crippled machinery, cut off electricity, damaged shafts, flooded tunnels, and trapped more than 10,000 night-shift miners underground. Yet within a few hours all but a few of the miners trapped below were rescued.

A leader of the area, Xu Jia-xin, Tangshan Party Committee secretary, was pulled out of a collapsed building. He immediately headed up the rescue command post and ordered all reserve air shafts opened as emergency exits for the entombed miners.

At Fankezhuang colliery, the lifts stopped working and shaft workers were stranded underground. Guo Zhen-xing, 29, and another leader went down by rope ladder and stayed until every man had been brought up. Injured deputy director Geng Fu-an, at the Tangshan colliery, led the rescue of 1,500 men below. Deep in the Luchizuo colliery, Jia Bang-yu, Party member and vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, was working alongside the men when the quake hit. He held a quick meeting of Party members, reminding them to "place the interests of the people above everything else," then evacuated all non-Party members first. When everyone had left, he and other leaders combed the work faces and galleries to make certain no one was left behind. Jia Bang-yu was the last man to climb out of the air shaft to the surface.

Heroism like this was remarkably common throughout the disaster area. When combined with a disciplined ability to follow instructions, the effects of the catastrophe could be minimized. Imagine you are a doctor who has just been airlifted into Tangshan. Your instructions are to report to a central medical command post in the city. You set out with a guide. You need him because there is not one landmark left in the city. It is just a vast plain filled with hills of rubble. The only paths are along depressions that a short while ago were streets. Then comes the shock of your life.

"It was the most intense emotional experience I ever had," the doctor said. "As we picked our way toward the command center, cries for help were coming out of smashed houses on either side of us. But if we stopped to rescue people, we would endanger the organized medical rescue effort. We went on grimly, hearts pounding, knowing that some whose voices we could now hear would be dead by the time the rescue team got to them! Yet we could not endanger the many for the few."

The doctor told us of the remarkable discipline, precision of command, and calm cooperativeness of everyone, rescuers and rescued alike. Electricity was gone. High-tension lines from Tianjin (Tientsin) and Peking were down. Two days later power was restored from Shenyang, 350 miles to the north. Water was a serious problem. Fire trucks from the surrounding districts and tank trucks from Peking and other cities arrived to supply it.

"One of the worst problems in rescue work was the lack of cranes to lift huge cement slabs, girders, and so on. The quake had destroyed every crane in Tangshan, nor could relief cranes move through the mess. Such obstacles had to be cut with high-powered torches."

Rigid command of roads and highways

leading out of the city was instituted. Those who wanted to leave were allowed through, but only in an orderly way so that incoming medical and relief supplies were not held up. These people were absorbed in surrounding villages which had not been so hard-hit. The army and people's militia patrolled the city, but there was practically no looting to worry about. Critically injured were flown out to hospitals in cities as far south as Guangzhou (Canton). The less severely hurt were taken by ambulance and other vehicles to hospitals in closer cities. Tangshan's hospitals were evacuated and doctors worked under tents in the open.

Tangshan was badly crippled, but would not give up. Even before all rescue had finished, workers were struggling to restore production. "Disaster," the doctor said, "only seems to toughen our people."

Heroism, discipline, but perhaps most fascinating to Americans is the ability of the Chinese people to mobilize themselves. When the quake hit, the Peking-Dalian Express, with 1,400 passengers aboard, had just gone through a station 12 miles out of Tangshan. Suddenly the engineer, Zhang Yao-wu, saw tremendous flashes ahead and a kind of mushroom-shaped cloud. Already alerted to the possibility of an earthquake, he quickly set the brakes, hoping he could stop the train before it reached a bridge less than 30 seconds ahead.

As the long train slowed down, the quake struck, violently heaving track and train. Zhang clamped down the emergency brakes and the train ground to a halt. While the passengers fled into the adjacent fields, Zhang and the crew inspected the train. It was undamaged, but the tracks both ahead and behind had been twisted beyond use. They were marooned in the countryside.

Like almost every organization in China, the Peking-Dalian Express has a branch committee made up of Party members in the crew. This committee met promptly, organized measures for passenger safety, and set up a quake command post. The post included representatives of different sections of the passengers. It not only took on responsibility for the passengers' safety but decided to help with rescue work in villages near the stalled train.

The passengers were called back. The train's loudspeaker system was used to urge them to help each other, share what food they had, take care of old people, children, and any who were ill. Doctors and nurses among the passengers organized three mobile teams – one for the train and two to go into the nearby villages to treat the injured.

By morning, the train's water and food supplies were running low. Ten air force men volunteered to go some distance away to carry water back in a 50-gallon drum.

When they discovered villages without food or water, they gave them their own army rations. By mid-morning, a message of sympathy and encouragement from the Party Central Committee in Peking to the people in the epicenter area was read over the loud-speaker system.

Food ran out. Suddenly two and a half tons of rice and some flour arrived at the beleaguered train – sent by the local peasants, themselves heavily afflicted. The train crew set up a kitchen to supply hot food for the passengers. On the morning of July 30, 30 trucks arrived at trackside for the job. As the last passenger left the marooned train, the crew of the Peking-Dalian Express shut down their train, left a guard, and entered the local area to help with rescue and relief work.

In Peking, which had been lightly damaged by the quake, four million people moved outdoors. Warned of the likelihood of more shocks, they built shelters out of plastic sheets, reed mats, paper, and patience, and cooked their food out in the open. It was certainly odd to see the city's population living in the streets, but there was no panic and people's moods were cheerful and optimistic.

Peking's 300,000 commercial and service workers literally served the people in the streets. Grain and food supply centers were set up in every camping quarter. The city's 700 restaurants were organized to prepare meals for those of the tent population who needed them. The canteens of offices, factories, and schools served three meals a day, not only to workers but to their families. The barber shops organized roving teams. Repair shops became street-mender teams.

Though I saw a few lines of waiting people, unusual for Peking, in none of the shopping districts could I find shortages of vital items. Wangfujing Street, behind the new Peking Hotel in the center of the city, is where our family and much of Peking does a lot of shopping. A narrow street, it was closed to traffic after the earthquake. Its several hundred shops, however, moved outdoors with the public. My favorite pharmacy delivered medicines by bicycle to various tent centers. Managers, directors, and other leaders of stores and shops toured the camping quarters daily, checking on needs and problems – and most of them stayed to help out at vegetable counters, food stores, and other shops in the street.

Peking was remarkably close to business as usual, except for an outstanding effort to send help and supplies to the badly stricken areas. The heroism here, as elsewhere in China, was quiet and collective. Except for the famous panda in the Peking Zoo. He, poor thing, just lowered his head in his arms and cried. ●



# Are Superstars Really Necessary?

by Phillip Shinnick

*In China it's the game, not the name that counts*

The sun was barely visible through the mist as my companion and I jogged along the lake shore in Hangzhou (Hangchow) on the second morning after our arrival in China last January. All was still except for the rhythm of our run. Then we saw other people running on the same road, and after a while spotted a crowd of people in a small park by the lake. An old woman of at least 70 was leading the group in the graceful movements of the ancient martial art of *taijiquan* (tai chi chuan), and we stopped to join them. When she noticed us, the leader signaled someone to take her place and came over to help us learn the special exercises she had developed.

At first it felt strange to be in this novel situation: a woman, old enough to be my grandmother, was instructing me in physical exercises! But she, like the other people around me of all ages and both sexes, radiated a sense of vitality and well-being. Smiles of encouragement greeted my efforts to master the rhythmic movements. After much concentration, I was exhilarated to find myself becoming a real part of the group. Then I noticed that the rising sun had almost burned away the mist. The whole world seemed sharper, brighter, and more beautiful. It was still only 6:15 in the morning.

It was a glorious moment for me, but I didn't really appreciate its meaning until I had learned more about the place of sports and physical education in the People's Republic of China. None of my companions in the park were athletes, much less professional athletes. They were not "in training" for any special event. Most of them were workers, or retired workers, pursuing regular morning exercises before they moved on to the rest of their day's occupations. They had come together for the sheer joy of

using their strength and skill in the disciplined beauty of *taijiquan*, for the immediate uplift that exercise always brings, and for long-term gains in physical health.

**Professional** Engaged in a specific activity as a source of livelihood . . . having great skill or experience in a particular field.

**Athlete** One who performs feats of strength or skill; one who has by physical training acquired great strength or skill.

**Commercial** Viewed as a matter of profit and loss.

When I started asking questions of my Chinese hosts, I discovered that the whole concept of "professional athlete" was so alien to them that I had to explain my meaning several times. Certainly, there are many skilled and experienced Chinese athletes. But in the more common American sense of the term — athletes who are paid to perform or compete with other athletes — there are no "professionals" and no "professional" teams. The explanation is rooted in the Chinese political, economic, and social structure. Article 12 of the 1975 Constitution says: "Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and be combined with productive labor."

Professionalism flourishes where sports have become a business — a profit-making venture for private team-owners or promoters. In socialist China, such an arrangement would be unthinkable. Factories, communes, and other productive or service enterprises are owned either collectively or directly by the state and are run for the benefit of the people as a whole, not for individual profit. Almost all sports and physical culture programs are financed by the state (some teams are also sponsored by trade unions or local governments) and are

organized to be an enriching part of everyone's life, not a source of wealth or personal glory for a few.

What does this mean for the individual athlete? It means that sport is never a full-time occupation. Chinese athletes regularly work in a factory, on a commune, or in some other productive job, from which time off is granted for practice or for travel to national and international competitions. Athletes are not paid as athletes, but as workers. There are no Chinese "superstars" earning huge salaries or following extravagant lifestyles.

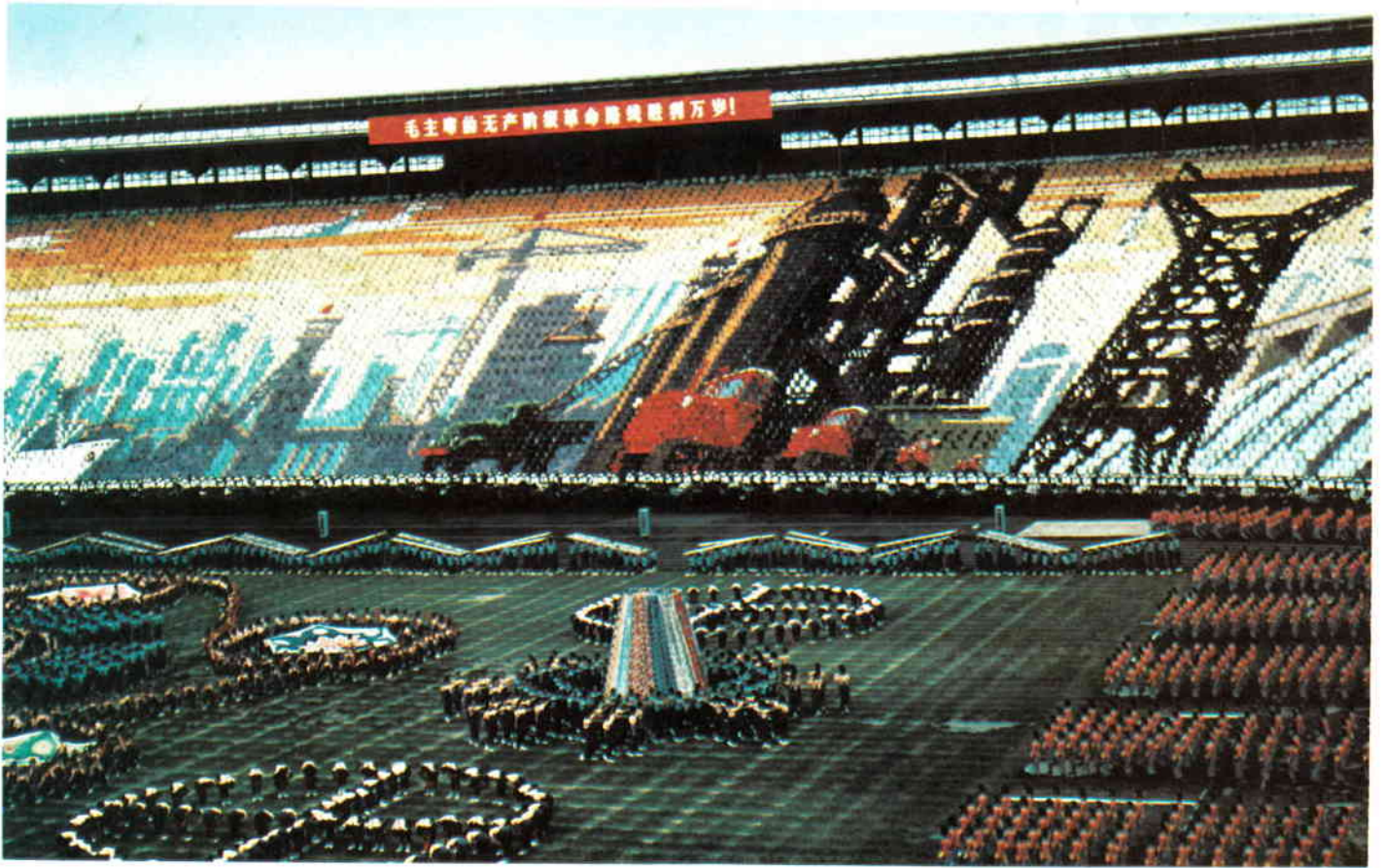
But the Chinese athlete does have every opportunity to exercise his or her skills. Factories, unions, communes, local governments, and even neighborhood committees sponsor team sports and exhibitions, many of them held right on factory grounds. There are local, regional, and national tournaments. Chinese athletes do not have to worry about being "cut out" by younger or better competitors, or that an injury will destroy their source of livelihood. They cannot be bought, sold, traded, or abruptly dropped like any other commodity which has lost its usefulness. Their lives are their own, and they can develop their full potential free of the intense pressures which afflict both "winners" and "losers" in the highly competitive world of professional sports in other countries.

What does the Chinese attitude toward sports and physical education mean for the people who are not particularly skilled in athletics? For one thing, it means that athletic events are organized to be seen and enjoyed by as many people as possible. Admission is free or minimal for everything from local school exhibitions to nationwide games held in huge stadiums. There are no privately owned team franchises to determine who sees what, when, and where, according to what is most profitable. There are no "TV blackouts" of local games, or expensive closed-circuit telecasts of important events. Tours are arranged to bring athletic events directly to the workers and peasants at their own factories or communes.

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A brilliant mosaic at the Third National Games, Peking, 1975. (Photo: K. Kauffman)



Volleyball game at a spare-time sports school adjacent to a factory. (Photo: J. Levine)





Workers of the Capital Iron and Steel Works enjoy a swim on the factory grounds. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

But even more important, non-athletes do not become a mere mass market of passive consumers. The Chinese believe that everyone should have the opportunity to participate in sports and physical exercise. For young and old, men and women, the skilled and the unskilled, there are facilities, equipment, and teachers provided by the government. Even beyond the athletic programs sponsored by the regular schools, spare-time sports schools, factories, neighborhood committees, and local governments, people are encouraged to develop their own "physical fitness" programs in their own way, either individually or in groups.

In all these activities, I could see no signs of the commercial, competitive values which seem to infect even amateur sports in societies where "professionalism" ultimately means profit. There are no Little Leagues run under private sponsorship in which only the best young players are chosen – and then put under adult pressure to win at all costs. No colleges recruit athletes in the hope of attracting alumni funds and enhancing the school's prestige.

To the Chinese, the emphasis on "winning above all" is characteristic of a competitive, capitalistic society – and they want no part of it. The struggle against capitalist values has taken place not just in economic and political life, but in cultural and athletic fields. Although athletes have always had to do their share of day-to-day work, before the Cultural Revolution there were those who tended toward what the Chinese call "championitis," by which they mean "technique comes first," "trophies above all," or "winning medals." Instead of being organized for mass participation or to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, sport was becoming the pastime of a few elite performers, some of whom were specially trained for international competition.



Even in early childhood, physical exercise is a natural part of everyday life. (Photo: N. Woronov)



Never too old to keep fit! Retired workers exercise before going about their day's business. (Photo: J. Levine)



## A School That Is Different

I had never in all my travels seen anything quite like it. What immense changes this school near the city of Shantou (Swatow) has undergone! Around the time of Liberation, it had been just a little primary school housed in an old ancestral temple, fronted by a big pond of stagnant water. The school served the Golden Sand Brigade of farmers, fishermen, and city workers that lived nearby. The hundred pupils in the school were divided into six classes. There was little to distinguish it from other country schools, except the bad smell from the big pond outside.

Soon after the commune was set up in 1958, however, things began to change. City residents, commune members, and pupils leveled a big dune on the Brigade land and used the sand to fill up the pond, which was then covered with cement. Later they turned the area into a large playground. New classrooms and an assembly hall were built around its edges. The old temple was repaired and converted into school offices and a teachers' room.

The attractive, flat playground brought an offer from a local gymnast to start an exercise class in the school. Everyone was quite enthusiastic. The membership swelled until all 1,100 pupils in the school were putting in an hour a day on gymnastics. I witnessed one of their sessions.

The costuming and performances of these young gymnasts were an unforgettable sight. The girls of the display team were dressed in brief gysmuits and the boys wore red shirts and blue shorts. The children's bare feet seemed to move with incredible swiftness and grace. A number of children

excelled at particular exercises. One boy did 25 handspring somersaults in succession, only to be followed by a girl who did 27. Youngsters of all ages are involved in the program. While a brigade of kindergarten children from the primary school was being taught gymnastics, work teams of bigger children were setting up and removing the gymnastic apparatus and laying carpets and pads where needed. All of this was done with great alacrity and precision. The non-stop two-hour performance swept along like a wind.

Since the gymnastic program has started, physical well-being and morale have greatly improved. Three hundred students have gone on to the upper middle school, and some 20 have gone to state schools for physical training. Thirteen children who were chronically sick recovered after taking part in the program.

The heightened morale and physical well-being of the children have enhanced the school's contribution to the current "learn from Dazhai (Tachai)" movement. During my visit they were making plans to move another sand dune. "It is bigger than the last one and removing it will provide us with more tillable land," noted a school official. "City dwellers will help, and we hope to finish the whole project this winter."

Golden Sand pupils gained four places in the National Games held in Peking in the autumn of 1975. Doing physical things so well together makes them want to do other things successfully too.

Rewi Alley  
Peking, PRC



Village children do a group exercise on the new playground. (Photo: R. Alley)

This was about as close to "professionalism" as the Chinese got, but it worried them enough to make some significant changes. Many of these relate to the Institutes for Physical Culture, of which there are seven throughout China, where a Chinese athlete comes as close as he or she ever will to full-time, specialized training. The Institutes train teachers, coaches, and other personnel for work in regular or spare-time sports schools as well as administrators for the All-China Sports Federation.

When I visited the Institute in Peking, I was told how much admissions policies, methods of training, and faculty attitudes had changed. The people enrolled in the Institute are now chosen on the basis of their "proletarian outlook" – their demonstrated willingness to serve the working class rather than seek personal advantage or prestige – as much as for their athletic skills. Faculty and students now spend more time in productive labor and involve themselves in mass activities. "Championitis" has been checked. With these changes, the Chinese hope that Institute graduates who will train future generations of Chinese athletes will also pass on the values of "serve the people" and "friendship first, competition second."

And if "championitis" should recur, the Chinese have another new institution to deal with it – sports critics. These are committees of workers, peasants, and soldiers chosen by their factories, communes, and People's Liberation Army units. They attend tournaments and exhibitions and give their opinions to coaches, contestants, and referees on how to improve sportsmanship, skills, and attitudes toward play.

In a conversation with Sung Chung, the secretary-general of the All-China Sports Federation, he discussed the question of competitiveness and "championitis" in connection with the behavior of the Chinese basketball team at the 1975 Asian Games in Thailand. In the semi-finals, the Indonesian team had fallen considerably behind the Chinese team and were faced with defeat. The Indonesian players then attacked the Chinese team physically. Instead of retaliating, the Chinese players simply left the court, even though several team members had been seriously injured. They had placed "friendship first, competition second," and Sung Chung talked about this incident at great length. (I later learned it was being discussed with great pride all over China.)

"Who won?" I asked.

"Oh, we did," he said impatiently, and went back to praising the team's behavior. I wondered how some American coaches I have known would react to the news that the top Chinese sports official was more interested in *how* a game was played than whether his team won. In Chinese eyes, at least, nice guys finish *first*. ●



# China and Angola

by Irene Gedalof, Steven Orlov, and  
Herman Rosenfeld

## *Supporting liberation, opposing intervention*

Many misunderstandings have arisen about China's policy toward the civil war in Angola. China supported a government of national unity including all three national liberation organizations, and condemned all foreign intervention, that of South Africa, the United States, and in particular the Soviet Union. China aided all three liberation movements until the Alvor Agreement with the Portuguese on a government of national unity was signed. It rejected the view that anyone other than the Angolan people themselves can determine which group was most revolutionary.

The Chinese position on Angola is consistent with their overall foreign policy and cannot be understood without looking at China's analysis of the world situation.

### **The "Three Worlds"**

China sees the forces in the world at present as made up of three parts or three "worlds." The First World is composed of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. In the Chinese view, they are two imperialist giants who are contending with each other throughout the world, in order to dominate and control it. The Chinese see imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, that is, the stage at which capitalism has the need to extend its plunder and exploitation abroad. This need drives the imperialist powers to compete

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politically and militarily for control of the world.

According to the Chinese, the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America make up the Third World. These countries cover much territory, are heavily populated, and are rich in natural resources. They have thus been the prime target of imperialist and colonialist designs for many years. While most have won political independence, they still suffer imperialist and especially superpower interference and domination. The young nations of the Third World are just emerging from colonialism and semi-feudalism. Regardless of the internal contradictions which arise out of the policies of the different ruling groups in these countries, China sees their united action in the face of the common enemy, foreign imperialism, as primary.

This does not mean that the Chinese agree with all the domestic policies of Third World countries, or that they do not support the revolutionary struggles within these nations. It does mean, however, that they reject all attempts to polarize the nations of the Third World, seeing that first and foremost these countries must rid themselves of all foreign aggressors before they will be able to solve the problems within their individual nations. On the whole these countries are in a period of national and democratic revolution. All are striving to develop their national economies and strengthen their independence. Having suffered the heaviest oppression by the superpowers, they are also the strongest force resisting the superpowers. Unity is their main weapon.

The Second World is made up of the lesser capitalist powers - like Japan, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the West-

ern European countries, and the developed capitalist countries of Eastern Europe. Some of these countries are ex-colonialist countries and some still have colonies. These countries have a double character: they are still exploiters, but, on the other hand, they too are exploited by the superpowers and thus oppose hegemony. China criticizes the aspects of those countries' policies that exploit and oppress the Third World, but supports their cooperation with the Third World in their struggle against the hegemony of the First World.

China's general policy in the international arena could be summed up as: Unite with the Third World, win over the Second World, struggle against the First World. The most recent elaboration of this view was contained both in the eulogy of Mao Tsetung by Premier Hua Guo-feng and in the speech of China's Foreign Minister Chiao Guan-hua before the United Nations, October 5, 1976.

### **The Two Superpowers**

The Chinese recognize the United States as the older of the two superpowers. It has been the dominant imperialist power ever since the end of the Second World War. Nevertheless, the Chinese feel that economic and political problems at home and overextension abroad have meant that U.S. imperialism is now on the decline. They point to the defeat of the U.S. in Korea as the turning point and the first indicator of this decline. The crushing defeat of the U.S. in Indochina is seen as clear evidence that U.S. imperialism is now on a downward course.

The Chinese have also analyzed the process by which the Soviet Union has changed from a socialist to a capitalist country with

the rise of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Once capitalism had been restored internally, the Soviet Union was compelled to seek control of markets and raw materials abroad. The Chinese see in the Soviet Union a highly centralized state apparatus that allows no democracy for the people of the country. It relies on a highly privileged elite and not on efforts to develop the energies and talents of the majority of the people. They see as well a rapidly growing military. This strict internal control and strong military presence form the basis from which the Soviet Union is now expanding outward, looking for the markets, natural resources, and sources of cheap labor that it needs.

The Chinese recognize that the Soviet Union is still economically weaker than the U.S.; it is still behind the U.S. in overall industrialization and technology. They see that in terms of investments and holdings abroad the U.S. is still ahead. But they feel that this is one of the things that makes the Soviet Union the more aggressive of the two. It is hungry for its share of the world pie, and is on the offensive. The Chinese com-

pare the Soviet Union to the ambitious imperialist Germany of the 1930s that was far behind the Allied Powers in international influence and was all the more ruthless because of this. The Chinese see the growing Soviet militarization and Soviet attempts to outmaneuver the U.S. internationally with military bases and naval flotillas in the context of this rivalry for control.

Another aspect the Chinese see is the "socialist mask" that the Soviets use to justify their actions. Especially since the Vietnam War, the U.S. has faced more and more resistance to its foreign policy moves. Particularly in the Third World, U.S. policy is rapidly losing credibility. But the Soviet Union approaches the Third World with claims of being a socialist country and a natural ally. It uses this deception to attempt to replace fading U.S. influence in many countries.

The Chinese feel that sooner or later this struggle between the two giants will lead to a third world war. They see war as part of the very nature of imperialism, arising as a natural climax of the contention between

imperialist countries in their struggle for foreign markets, natural resources, cheap labor, and control of strategic points on the globe. But although the Chinese see such a war as inevitable, they do not think it is imminent. They state that war can be postponed and they will do everything in their power to postpone it as long as possible. They feel that it is most likely the Soviet Union, as the power on the offensive, that will make the first move. They also feel that the countries and peoples of the Second and Third Worlds, together with the people in the First World countries, are basically opposed to war, and can best prepare by uniting against the elements leading the world to war.

### Self-reliance Is Key

It is in the context of this superpower rivalry that the Chinese analyze the Angolan situation. They stress that the key to national liberation and genuine independence is reliance on the people - "self-reliance" and "keeping the initiative in one's own hands" - and that it is crucial to have a clear understanding of the motivations of both superpowers when attempting to analyze the Angolan situation.

The Chinese have a proverb to describe that situation - "do not let the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front door." While the U.S. was the main backer of the Portuguese colonial regime, the Soviets attempted to "sneak in" the back door by seeking control over one of the national liberation movements, the MPLA.

Who in fact have the Chinese supported in Angola?

Throughout the long national liberation struggle against the Portuguese, the Chinese position was to support the Angolan people, and the three national liberation organizations which were carrying out armed resistance: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA).

The aim of the Chinese in supporting this struggle was to give as much aid as they could possibly afford, in terms of material and training, to the Angolan liberation forces. China itself is part of the Third World, and sees national liberation struggles, like the one in Angola, as part of a worldwide movement on the part of the Third World countries for independence from all forms of colonialism and domination. The Chinese recognize that the principle of self-reliance is essential to gaining independence and that this must be the basis on which aid and support are given.

China has often given aid to national liberation movements. It aided the Viet-



November 11, 1975 - the three liberation groups unite temporarily to celebrate Angola's hard-won independence from Portugal (left to right, flags of FNLA, UNITA, and MPLA). (Photo: United Nations/J.P. Laffont)





The Tanzam Railway – an example of China's no-strings-attached aid to African nations. (Photo: S. Warren)

names in their long battle with the U.S., and currently aids many movements throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. When it does so, the principle is always the same; the aid is free and without strings, and given solely for the purpose of allowing the people to liberate themselves.

China has also aided other Third World countries. It has given low interest loans, technical help, and various other types of aid without strings on the basis of mutual benefit. The aim here is to help strengthen the national independence of the recipient country, in accordance with the principle of self-reliance. The Tanzam Railroad, now in operation as a vital economic lifeline between Zambia and Tanzania, was built by the people of these countries with Chinese aid and is a testament to this principle.

### Three Liberation Movements or One?

The Chinese, it must be emphasized, supported all three liberation movements regardless of where these organizations received the rest of their aid. Often it is said that they will refuse to give aid to a group which also receives aid from the Soviet Union. This too is completely false.

The Chinese aided all three national liberation groups because all of them were engaged in armed struggle against the Por-

tuguese colonialists. China had earliest contact with MPLA, so they naturally received the greatest amount of aid. But all three were treated equally. The leaders of all three groups visited China in March, May, and July of 1975, and China advised them to fight against all colonialists.

All three made contributions to national independence. All three had base areas and the support of large numbers of people: the FNLA in the north near Zaire, the MPLA in the east, and UNITA in the south. None could negate the existence of the others; none could represent the whole of Angola. All three carried out armed struggle against the Portuguese. All three were supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which mediated an agreement between the three in January 1975. According to the agreement, all three would have equal status and send representatives to talks with the Portuguese. When Portugal was compelled in the Alvor Agreement to grant Angolan independence in November 1975, it was part of the agreement that the three movements were to establish a transitional joint government of national unity. No one of them could have taken up the function of government alone.

It was at this time that the Chinese ended their aid to each separate group. The An-

golans struggle to defeat the Portuguese colonialists had been successfully concluded. The Chinese, realizing that the superpowers would attempt to foment disunity for their own ends, urged the three groups to work together, rely on the Angolan people, and steadfastly oppose all foreign intervention.

Why did the Chinese hold this position? They see two stages in the Angolan struggle. The first stage was a national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The Portuguese were the main enemy of the Angolan people, and all patriotic forces that fought to end colonial rule were part of the liberation movement. All three groups carried out this struggle.

Once the Portuguese were defeated it was necessary to consolidate the newly won independence. The second stage is that of constructing an independent, self-reliant Angola. All the forces which had fought against the Portuguese in the first stage now had to be united on the basis of national independence and opposition to all foreign interference. While the first stage demanded a commitment to the struggle against Portugal, the second required genuine opposition to foreign intervention – the main roadblock to Angola's national independence.

Beginning in the early sixties, the superpowers attempted to hitch their wagon to

the star of one or another of the national liberation groups. The U.S. supported the FNLA for the purpose of furthering its interests. This "support" led them to try time and again to gain the loyalty of certain elements within that organization, so that they could serve U.S. interests after the achievement of independence. In the early part of the sixties, the USSR began its attempts to infiltrate the MPLA. Finally, in the middle sixties, UNITA also found itself the object of external pressure.

In the face of these very real threats to Angolan independence, the Chinese felt that all these forces, which together receive the support of the Angolan people, must be included in a government of national unity.

The Chinese reject the viewpoint that the MPLA is the only real national liberation organization in Angola, or that it, unlike the others, is attempting to build socialism in Angola. They point out that being labeled revolutionary by a foreign country does not make one group revolutionary and others not. As for leadership, the group that has the correct line will naturally enjoy the support of the people and will take leadership. If a movement doesn't have a correct line, it will ultimately fail and not enjoy the support of the people - even if it has power. The Chinese feel that the Soviet Union is using the claim that there is only one revolutionary group in Angola to justify its own actions.

The Chinese understand all national liberation movements to be broad coalitions of various strata of the population, all of whom are interested in defeating imperialist control of their country. While within each organization there may be sections that are committed to going on to build socialism, there are also representatives of sectors that do not have this commitment. Thus the Chinese feel the Soviet Union is trying to fool people by claiming that the MPLA is more "revolutionary" than the others. And while there may well be differences between the different groups and real problems in their relations with each other, the Chinese feel that the Angolans should be allowed to settle these differences by themselves.

### Superpowers and Proxies

Some people wonder if the Chinese ever condemned the South African invasion of Angola and if the Chinese sided with the U.S. in the civil war.

Without mincing words, the Chinese roundly condemned the invasion by the forces of South African apartheid. On March 31, 1976, China's representative to the UN declared, at a Security Council session:

"The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the South African racist regime's aggression against Angola, demands respect

for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Angola by all states, and condemns South Africa for the utilization of Namibia to mount provocative or aggressive acts against Angola or any other neighboring African state."

The Chinese emphasis on condemning Soviet interference comes from an analysis that sees it as the most active, most dangerous, most deceptive outside force in Angola, but this has not stopped the Chinese from opposing other foreign intervention as well.

The Chinese position has always been to call for the immediate withdrawal of *all* foreign intervention in Angola, whether it be South African, American, or Soviet interference.

People have asked why the Chinese have particularly singled out Soviet involvement in Angola. Hasn't the Soviet Union supported many national liberation movements? Aren't the Chinese really confusing their own differences with the Soviets with the interests of the Angolan people?

In the Chinese view, Angola has become a prime example of the contention between the superpowers and especially, of the growing strength of the Soviet Union in its attempts to gain colonies.

Angola is strategically situated. Some 80 percent of Western Europe's oil from the Persian Gulf passes through the shipping lanes located right off Angola's shores. Angola has good ports and good bases. It is quite rich in natural resources, with huge deposits of petroleum, iron, diamonds and other minerals. Its soil is fertile, and Angola yearly produces large coffee crops.

All of this makes Angola crucial for the current Soviet offensive, according to China's view. The Soviets would like very much to gain control of these resources, so as to monopolize them and resell them to other countries at higher prices, making a neat profit. They also have been engaged in a struggle to corner the diamond market and compete with a major South African company.

Angola is also of strategic importance in terms of increasing Soviet influence in Europe. The Soviet Union has recently attempted the construction of a ring of military and naval bases around the coast of Africa and along the European supply route. In the event of war, this route would be part of a blockade of Western Europe and would facilitate cutting off fuel supplies to the West European countries. A military base in Angola is a component part of Soviet world strategy.

The U.S. would also have liked to stay in Angola. It would have facilitated its maneuvers vis-a-vis the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and would have enabled it to exploit Angolan resources.

With the signing of the Alvor Agreement, both the U.S. and the USSR began intensive efforts at controlling the various forces, and sabotaging the unity. The U.S. secretly funneled over \$50 million worth of arms to forces associated with the FNLA. They also recruited mercenaries to fight. But popular opposition, and the declining strategic position of the U.S., forced the U.S. to stop this aid and seek other means.

The Soviets, on the other hand, were able to step up their interference in the internal affairs of Angola. More than a hundred Russian troops entered Angola in January 1975, at the time of the Alvor accords (*Peking Review*, April 9, 1976). Along with this came huge amounts of aid and weapons of a very sophisticated type, to the MPLA, in the hopes of destroying the unity. These included MIG aircraft, 122 mm. rockets with a 12-mile range, vast quantities of ZT-54 tanks, SAM 7 missiles, etc. They had never given aid on this scale to any of the movements during the long war against the Portuguese. They also staffed their consulate in Luanda with veteran KGB men, fresh from places like Cyprus and Chile.

Along with this, they stepped up their worldwide campaign portraying the MPLA as the only genuine national liberation movement, the others as U.S. puppets. This had a disastrous effect internally, fomenting disunity among the liberation groups.

Internationally it had extremely divisive effects as well. The Soviet Union labeled all of those countries which refused to support their position as "reactionary" and "fascist." In this way, they denounced African leaders, like President Kaunda of Zambia, and even had the Cubans compare China's stands to those of the Nazi Goebbels.

The Chinese have long supported the development of Third World unity. In line with their overall analysis, they say that all Third World countries, regardless of their governmental systems, have important economic and political interests in uniting against all forms of imperialism, particularly the two superpowers. They see that the Soviets are attempting to sabotage this unity by dividing the Third World countries into two camps - the "progressive" ones that support the Soviet line and the "reactionaries" who disagree with it.

In the spring of 1975, according to the American newspaper the *Guardian* (January 21, 1976), hundreds of Cuban troops entered Angola. The Chinese noted that they were brought in by the Soviets under their direction. They roundly condemned this backhanded intervention. The U.S. had often used troops from different Third World countries to fight against the Vietnamese people. This was the first time the USSR had ever openly done this.

The Chinese also believe that foreign



troops can never gain independence for a country, that self-reliance must always take first place. This was illustrated when they opposed Indian troops "liberating" Bangladesh.

The Chinese never condemned the Cuban people. They see Cuba as part of the Third World, and as such, a victim of the super-powers. But the Chinese have come to recognize the extensive degree of Cuban dependence on the Soviet Union. The Cuban economy is integrated into the Soviet controlled Council for Mutual Economic Assis-

helped the MPLA set up air transport for men and material, funded by the Soviets, into Luanda. They refused similar help to other groups.

It was not until August that several hundred South African troops occupied the Cunene dam site inside Angola's southern border with Namibia (South-West Africa), no doubt in collusion with the U.S. From then until October 23, over 2,400 additional Cuban troops entered the country under Soviet command. Then, on October 23, thousands of South African troops invaded

of Angola, with the intention of destroying its national independence. They point to the massacres carried out by Soviet and Cuban troops against the Angolan and Zairean people. Out of six million Angolans, over 150,000 people were killed in this war – more than were killed in the previous 14 years of struggle against the Portuguese. Another million are refugees, their homes and the economic fabric of their communities having been destroyed by these forces.

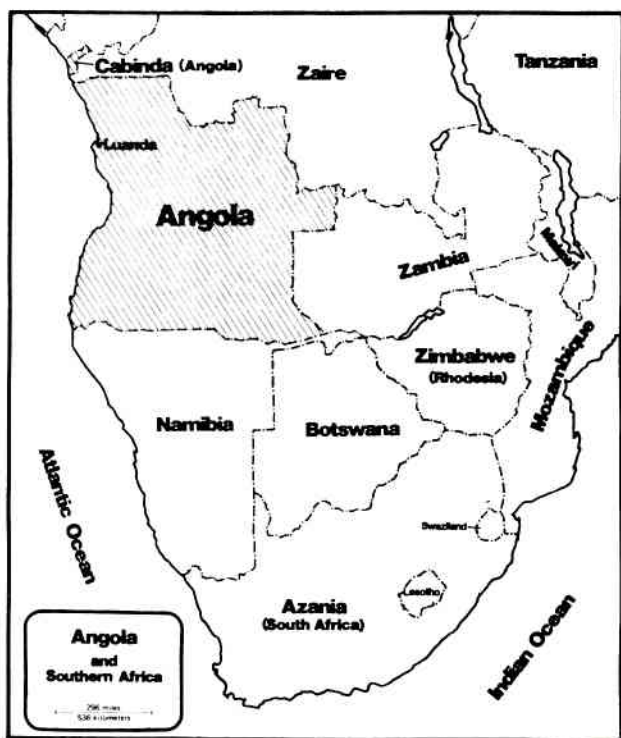
Today, the Chinese still call for withdrawal of the Soviet-Cuban forces from Angola. While they have repeatedly condemned South Africa, they still maintain that the Soviet-Cuban invasion force seeks to establish itself permanently as the major foreign roadblock to independence.

According to the Belgian newspaper *Clarte et Exploit*, the Soviets have already moved toward control of the diamond industry and iron mines. Another example of the USSR's activity in Angola was the purchase of 5,000 tons of coffee at 180 escudos per bail. On the world market, the price was 467-472 escudos per bail.

Politically and militarily, the evidence points in the same direction. The *New York Times* of May 6, 1976, reported that MPLA members who continued to call for the withdrawal of the Soviet-Cuban forces were arrested by Interior Minister Nito Alves, after his return from the Soviet Union's 25th Party Congress. Prime Minister Lopo di Nascimento, while on a visit to the Soviet Union in early spring 1976, stated, "We attach an extraordinary importance to our relations with the Soviet Union." Subsequently, a joint Soviet-Angolan communique announced that Soviet specialists, including defense and armaments experts, would work in Angolan government offices. The *London Times* of June 9, 1976, reported that Soviet and Cuban officials were in charge of the principal government offices, including defense. And a Reuters dispatch of October 9, 1976, carried the significant news that Angola's President Agostinho Neto had signed a 20-year friendship treaty with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in which both countries pledge to continue to develop cooperation in the military sphere "in the interests of strengthening their defense capacity."

According to the Chinese analysis of Soviet motivations in Angola, these events can only mean a continuation of the USSR's attempt to bring Angola under its control and turn that country further and further away from its goal of national independence.

At present, China has the same policy it adopted regarding Bangladesh so long as India had de facto control there – it will not recognize the government in Angola. It will not consider recognition before the withdrawal of foreign military forces. ●



Map showing strategic location of Angola in relation to oil routes around Southern Africa and to people's struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Azania.

tance (CMEA), which usually acts as their instrument for controlling the economies of the Eastern European countries. Cuba is completely dependent on Soviet purchases of its sugar crop. Right now, it is \$5 billion in debt to the USSR.

The Chinese know that with this kind of situation the possibility for independent Cuban action in the world is very slim. In the context of this relationship, the Chinese see no other way to characterize the use of the people of Cuba by the Soviets than as cannon fodder for their intervention in Angola. In the Chinese view, these Cuban troops were brought in not to liberate Angola, or defend it against South Africa, but to increase Soviet control of Angola.

The Soviets also began infiltrating into MPLA through the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), which is deeply influenced by the Soviet Union. They began purging people in the group's leadership that were calling for national unity. Moreover, the PCP had strong influence in Portugal and

several hundred miles into Angola, followed by more Cuban and Russian troops. The number of Cubans eventually reached about 15,000. South Africans numbered between 5,000 and 6,000.

These facts verify the Chinese position that the Russian-Cuban forces came in well before the South Africans invaded. The Chinese stated that the Soviet Union actually used the South African invasion as a pretext to allow them to invade in greater force. It was, according to the Chinese, "a case of a thief crying thief in order to avoid being caught."

This massive interference by the Soviet Union led to a military defeat of the two other liberation organizations, UNITA and the FNLA, and the installation of the Soviet Union in Angola. Even though the South Africans have withdrawn, the Soviet-Cuban forces still remain, never having even once engaged the South Africans in combat.

In the Chinese view, Soviet-Cuban forces staged what amounted to an armed invasion

# Who Goes to College

*Making knowledge*



Middle-school graduates leaving for the countryside get a big send-off. Later some may be chosen by their fellow commune members as



# - and Why?

by David Crook

*serve the people*



"In the first moon of the year 1932, the price of grain being high, Chen A-jin, in order to keep alive, agrees to sell his daughter A-ping, aged nine. The three parties (Chen the seller, Zhang the buyer, and two middlemen) agree that the girl shall work for the Zhang family for a period of ten years for the sum of 70 silver dollars, to be paid in a lump sum, free of interest. The Zhang family will provide the girl with food, clothing, and shelter. If she kills herself or runs away and if the Chen family fails to return to the Zhang family the sum paid for her, the middlemen shall compel them to repay it. The girl is to be freed in the tenth moon of the year 1942, when she is 19."

This deed of indenture is in an exhibition at the Peking Foreign Languages Institute where my wife and I teach English. Chen A-ping, the daughter in the deed and now a local government official in southeast China, gave it to *her* daughter when the girl came to study at the Institute – she wanted to remind her of the life of the working people of old China, who had practically no chance of going even to primary school, much less secondary school or college. This was forcefully illustrated by a former poor peasant. Asked if he had ever been to school before Liberation, he replied, "What! Me? Go to school? Why, one day I passed the village school where the sons of the landlords and rich peasants were studying. I just peeked in the door and when the teacher saw me standing there in my rags he came out and slapped me in the face and sent me packing for just *looking* in the school. That was as close as I ever got to going to school in the old days."

The exhibition traces the "two-line struggle" in the Foreign Languages Institute before and since the Cultural Revolution. It links this struggle with the current movement to revolutionize education, in which the Minister of Education has been sharply criticized as a follower of the former Vice-premier Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-ping).

The prominent display of the deed of indenture served to remind everyone of Cheng A-ping's hope that her daughter and all new college students would never forget that it

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candidates for college. (Photo: N. Woronov)



A bill of sale that made a young girl the property of a rich man. Later it was given to the woman's college-bound daughter to remind her of the bitter past. (Photo: D. Crook)

was the now liberated working people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, who had recommended them for college and who had high hopes that they would take advantage of the opportunity to acquire the political consciousness and the technical skills to serve the people and help build socialism in China.

One aspect of both the campaign and the exhibition is of special interest to friends of China: the recruitment of new college students and the way in which the recruitment process has changed over the years – especially since the Cultural Revolution. The enrolment of the daughter of the former indentured servant Chen A-ping epitomizes the change, as shown by a look at some of the interpreters-in-training who come to our flat at the Institute once a week to chat for an hour or two in English.

One such student, a demure-looking girl, turned out to be an intrepid horsewoman who herded sheep and cattle in Inner Mongolia before becoming a student of English. Another gentle-looking girl, casually told us that she had belonged to the pig-slaughterers' team on a state farm. A stocky, broad-shouldered boy had been a truck driver; another had worked for six years in the far northeast helping to open up the frozen wasteland on the Chinese side of the Sino-Soviet border. A petite, pigtailed girl had delivered over 20 babies while working in a commune as a barefoot doctor. Others have been teachers in commune schools, shop assistants, steelworkers, fishermen, commune accountants, veterinarians. One was a member of a county Party Committee. A good number of those in the senior year come from the more educated and still privileged strata of Chinese society; their parents may be government officials, army officers, professional people, administrative

personnel. But the majority – especially of the more recent recruits in the first and second years – are from worker and peasant families. Whatever their background, all must have done two years' work or more in a factory or commune or have served at least two years in the armed forces. They do not consider themselves merely as coming from worker, peasant, or soldier families, but as workers, peasants, or soldiers in their own right. So Chen A-ping's daughter is at home with her fellow students.

It took the Cultural Revolution, launched by Mao Tsetung himself, to open the college gates wide to hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. Now, colleges are no longer dominated by an intellectual elite. Many of Mao's directives, such as "Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years' study," serve as guidelines for recruiting college students.

Well before the start of each academic year, recruiting teams are sent out by colleges all over China. Each team is assigned several areas, not necessarily near to the college or close to one another. At this time young people in the communes, factories, and army units may apply to go to college, or they may be nominated by others without actually applying.

The first step, after filing the application or nomination, is crucial: the candidate must be "approved by the masses" – the workers, peasants, or soldiers with whom the applicant has been living, working, and studying for two years or more. Without this recommendation, no candidate is considered.

What are the standards for recommendation? They are anything but academic. The key question is the candidate's attitude toward serving the people and building socialism. If sent to college, will he or she study for the Revolution, or, in the words of Confucius, "study to become an official"? The workers and peasants, though they themselves never went to college, are competent and strict examiners on this point.

The Foreign Languages Institute exhibition displays minutes of meetings held in people's communes to discuss candidates for college. One set deals with a young woman called Pei Yu-fang. Despite her youth, Yu-fang had held several responsible positions in her commune brigade, including those of militia commander and Women's Association chairperson. According to those taking part in the discussion, she was a hard worker, studied Marxism-Leninism well, "firmly resisted capitalist tendencies in the countryside," and was frank and open-hearted in criticism and self-criticism. One speaker said: "She's a really good comrade. She's a woman but she always goes to meetings,

even when they're at night. And she urges the other women to do the same." This was a blow at a dying but still not dead Confucian tradition in the countryside that at night woman's place was in the home. Pei Yu-fang was recommended by the people to go to college.

Minutes of another meeting at a commune in another part of China dealt with Xue Xu-an. She was a secondary school graduate and her parents had urged her to apply to be transferred to a job in the city, where life is easier and living standards are higher. This was in keeping with the tradition of old China, where for thousands of years educated young people drifted from country to city in search of government posts. This trend has been reversed in the China of today, where 13 million city school graduates have gone to settle in the countryside, mostly since the Cultural Revolution. Xue Xu-an rejected her parents' proposal. The very day it was made she defiantly called on other educated young people in her production team to take part in one of the dirtiest jobs on the land – carrying human excrement, in buckets swinging from shoulder poles, from the village latrines to the fields. She showed her public spirit, too, by calling on other school graduates in her village to pool their books and form a library. She was also active in persuading old folk to discard superstitious practices such as burning incense and kowtowing to old pictures of gods during the lunar New Year – which a few still did in this remote mountain area – in the hope of obtaining good harvests. The fact that Xue Xu-an was recommended for college in-



Classroom in a wheatfield: biology students learn to breed a new strain of wheat. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)



volved an interesting contradiction: that it is precisely those who show by their words and deeds that they are willing to spend their whole lives in the countryside, building up new, socialist villages, that the peasants recommend as most suitable to leave the countryside, at least for a few years, to receive a college education.

After recommendation at the grassroots level, the next step on the candidates' road to college is approval by the county leadership. Finally, there are interviews with the recruiting teams sent out by the colleges. There may be several such teams in one area, so the approved candidates list the colleges in order of their preference, while the recruiting teams do much the same with the students, after reading preliminary reports on them. Then the interviews take place. These are not academic interrogations. They generally consist of a few questions to give some idea of the applicant's general knowledge and to ensure that the candidate is suitable for the particular type of training which each college provides. The Foreign Languages Institute, for instance, which trains interpreters, would not wish to recruit students with organic speech defects.

The results of the new admissions policy at the Institute were shown in some statistics at the exhibition. During the four years 1971-75, the Institute enrolled over 2,000 students. Almost two-thirds of them came from families of workers and peasants, one-quarter came from the families of military personnel and political cadres, and the remainder came from the families of other laboring people (technicians, teachers, clerical workers, etc.). None at all came from "exploiting-class families." This was quite an improvement from 1960-62 when fewer than half of the Institute's students were from worker and peasant families, and one-sixth of the students came from "exploiting-class families."

The selection process is not all smooth sailing, of course. The number of college places is limited and some applicants will be rejected (they may apply again the following year or later, when their previous applications will be taken into account). On the other hand, some students have gotten in "by the back door" - that is, through the influence of friends or relatives holding responsible positions. This aid may be solicited or it may not. Sometimes leading local personnel, knowing that a certain applicant is the son or daughter of a veteran revolutionary who fought against the Japanese or the Kuomintang, may think that such persons deserve special consideration for their services to the Revolution. So, of their own accord, they recommend the veteran's children. When such cases occur and the beneficiary finds out, he may reject the privilege thrust upon him - or he may wink



A college student's education combines both mental and manual labor, theoretical and practical work. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

at it. In some cases people in influential positions have pulled strings to get their children into college. In 1973 a campaign was launched against "getting in by the back door." By now the problem is on the way to being solved all over China.

It is not surprising that these new college students should feel outraged by the contemptuous charges of the Minister of Education that, far from being real college students, they are not even up to the level of secondary school pupils; and above all by the accusation that their poor qualifications are an obstacle to the modernization of China. The students oppose the Minister's attempt to abolish the rule, made during the Cultural Revolution, that all college entrants must have worked or served in the armed forces for at least two years. They denounce his proposal to skim off the "academic cream" of the secondary school crop - especially in the natural sciences and foreign languages - and send them straight to college. It is still more understandable that they should angrily oppose the Minister's backer, the recently removed Vice-premier, Deng Xiao-ping, without whose guidance and support the Minister of Education would have been unable to advocate such a proposal. Deng's policies, they say, would

inevitably lead to the restoration of capitalism in China. That would have meant a setback for the 47 families of the worker-students of French at the Foreign Languages Institute and for the former indentured servant Chen-A-ping.

China's new college students do have their difficulties and shortcomings. They have a long way to go to satisfy the demands made on them in the arduous task of building socialism. But they have a far richer experience of life, a greater capacity for combining theory with practice and for making use of what they learn than did the students of the privileged strata who filled the colleges before the Cultural Revolution. As the teachers continue to transform their world outlook, and as teaching materials and methods become better adapted to the needs of worker-peasant-soldier students, there can be little doubt that the latter's staunch support for socialism, their moral fiber, and their physical toughness will speed up China's modernization, rather than hold it back. The new college students will play an important part in ensuring that China is a strong, socialist country with advanced industry, agriculture, science, technology, and national defense by the end of the 20th century. ●

# New Developments in Cancer Research

by Han Suyin

## *Mass involvement aids search for environmental causes*

On my trip to China in the autumn of 1974 I spent a full morning at the Cancer Hospital and Research Institute of Peking, where I met again my friend from university days, now director of the hospital, Dr. Wu Huanxin, and also the Party Secretary and cancer specialist, Dr. Li Bing.

Cancer in China, they told me, was not considered a "priority problem" before 1958. A survey in five main cities prior to 1949 placed it in ninth or tenth position as a cause of death; this appears to have remained true until 1953-54. The prevalence of other diseases, epidemics, and tuberculosis relegated cancer to a category of low importance.

But immediately after Liberation in 1949 there were mass drives that eradicated such diseases as smallpox, bubonic plague, cholera, and venereal diseases. Mass-line movements involving the population also brought schistosomiasis and tuberculosis under control by the 1960s.

Cancer then rose from ninth or tenth place to second or third place as a cause of death. Today, some half a million deaths a year are due to cancer. The lengthening of the life span is also a factor in this rise.

"Our statistics are more accurate than previously," said Dr. Wu. "In old China there were no birth or death certificates, which became compulsory in 1953-54. These documents help us to determine the pattern of the disease."

In Shanghai, cancer is the first cause of death, heart disease the second; in Peking, heart disease ranks first, cancer second. But the approach to cancer, at first, was heavily "conservative." Until 1958, treatment was available only in the cities; very little was done in the rural areas. Investigation teams

made surveys but only went to rural areas for a few weeks, collected some material, and rushed back to the cities.

The Great Leap Forward in 1958 broke this elitist attitude. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that began in 1965-66, however, really changed the whole orientation of medical care, and also of investigation, research, and treatment of cancer. "We began to understand that (a) our research and investigations must be primarily oriented toward the rural areas and (b) that they could not be successful except by practicing the mass line as in any other disease.

"And then we realized that until now our attitude had been: let the patient come to us. Now we knew that we must find the patients before they had to come to us — early detection, and, if possible, prevention. This is our orientation now."

The first radium institute for cancer was

founded in Shanghai in the 1930s. In Peking a hundred-bed hospital for cancer treatment was built in the early 1950s, but it catered "only to higher personnel, diplomats, and so on." In 1958, five cancer hospitals were set up in five main cities.

Today, the plans are to build in Peking an up-to-date cancer research institute. But fully equipped cancer hospitals cost five to six times more than ordinary hospitals, and "some of the equipment we cannot yet make ourselves."

At the moment there is still a scarcity of beds, and two-thirds of the patients are treated as out-patients, through the network of street committees and nurses. There is a 99 percent rate of follow-up of cancer patients even when they return to distant provinces such as Xinjiang (Sinkiang). This efficiency is possible through the local networks of committees, in which someone



A bicycle speeds this barefoot doctor on her rounds in the countryside. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

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Among HAN SUYIN's many writings about China is a two-volume biography of Mao Tsetung. A selection from the second volume, *Wind in the Tower*, was published in the December 1976 *New China*.

A longer version of the present article can be found in *Eastern Horizon*, XIII (1974), No. 6.



takes responsibility for bringing the patient for checkup.

There are now five cancer research institutes, and 14 new cancer hospitals will be completed within a year or two. The plan is that each province will have at least one cancer hospital with research facilities. "Within the next five to ten years, we shall have overall coverage for early detection and treatment of cancer at county level."

The studies and surveys conducted during the last few years, especially in rural areas, were the basis upon which the research institutes and the hospitals are being built. These studies and investigations delineated areas in China where one form of cancer was prevalent, and work was divided among the research institutes, with each studying particularly the most prevalent form of cancer where it is located.

In Peking Dr. Wu and Dr. Li have been especially studying cancer of the esophagus for the last five years, because this disease is very prevalent in certain provinces in North China.

The story of this type of cancer begins in Lin County. This county in Henan (Hunan) Province was made famous recently by the construction of the Red Flag Canal, completed in 1969, which brings water from the Zhang (Chang) River, across the Taihang Mountains, to irrigate 80,000 hectares (about 198,000 acres) of once drought-ridden plains. Linhsien, which is very close to the Taihang massif, has the highest incidence of esophageal cancer in China, "almost 50 times the national average."

During the construction of the canal, the fieldwork medical teams lived, labored, ate, and integrated with the inhabitants. "Our medical teams began to change their attitude. Now medical workers no longer want to go back to the cities; they want to stay and work and research on the spot.

"Due to the studies we undertook, our teams became what we call complete. They now consist not only of doctors but also of laboratory workers, biochemists, chemists, geologists. All stayed in peasant families, and really began to understand the local people. And this is the standard now.

"Only thus shall we be able to understand cancer, not only to treat it, and perhaps find a means of preventing it.

"If we can find out why cancer of the esophagus is so common in Lin County, can we not alter this cancer-causing factor and thus prevent it?"

Since 1949 the standard of living in Lin County has risen considerably, and in the last four or five years, due to the water from the Red Flag Canal, it has risen sharply. There has been a vast improvement in diet, but mortality from cancer of the esophagus remains the same as always.

"Why is this? Our research teams had to



In a Shanghai cotton mill, a special medical team educates workers on the latest developments in cancer research and prevention. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

delve into every aspect of the lives of the people to try to find out the cancer-producing factors. I think we have to date seen 88.4 percent of the people in an area including the whole of the Taihang Mountains area.

"We began our research where the bulk of the Taihang massif lies. From there we carried investigations outward. And we found that the nearer we got to the central core, or massif, of the Taihang Mountains, the higher was the incidence of cancer of the esophagus.

"Between 1969 to 1972, we investigated for cancer 7,300,000 people, covering 14 counties and one county town (Anyang). This study of esophageal cancer is done through the mass line. It could not have been possible otherwise to cover so much ground and so many people. We mapped out the incidence of esophageal cancer in each county. While it is only eight per 100,000 in Peking, it rises to 139.8 per 100,000 as we get to the core of the Taihang Mountains. As we get away from the Taihang massif, it begins to drop, from 58 per 100,000 to 31, 27, 17. There seem to be concentric belts of incidence, radiating from a core in the Taihang massif.

"Since 1971, in the last three years, we have done further investigations, covering the three provinces and one city (Peking) affected by the Taihang range - 181 counties and 49 million people. We are investigating everyone.

"This brings us to the geological factor in cancer inducement. We have to study everything: the water, the earth, the vegetables, everything. For example, there are no fresh

vegetables during the winter here, so the peasants pickle cabbage. These pickles contain nitrites, which turn into nitro-amines which can cause cancer.

"We then realized that our teams must include geologists, chemists, virologists. We had to study the rocks forming the Taihang massif, the metals in the soil, the plant content of nitrites.

"We also found something which confirms that the cancer is somehow related to the geological formation. The Taihang massif is split. Part of it is on the other side of a wide swathe of lower-lying land, where there is a low incidence of cancer of the esophagus. In the remnant of the Taihang massif, to the south of the lowland, the incidence rises again."

Dr. Wu felt one should look for more than one factor causing this cancer. Heredity is also being investigated, since many villages are clan villages (starting as one family or at most two). Eight such clans were investigated in the Anyang district, through the mass line. Meetings of the oldest people in the villages were called. Over 300 cases of esophageal cancer were traced genealogically in this manner. No hereditary factor has yet come to light. Investigations, however, are continuing.

People coming from other provinces to work in the coal mines in Hebei were also studied. So far, they do not seem to get cancer of the esophagus, but it may be too early to tell. Checkups on them will be performed.

With the construction of the Red Flag Canal, villages from the Taihang massif were moved to Hubei Province. The inhabi-

tants of these villages still show a high incidence of cancer, while the local people do not.

"Factors conducive to cancer of the esophagus may already have been implanted in these people before they settle elsewhere. We are continuing studies; perhaps their children will show an altered pattern of incidence.

"So now you see," said Dr. Wu, "what an immense amount of work remains for us to do. From now on we will rely heavily on this pattern of research — mass-line movements in the countryside. We are now reappraising all work previously done, all our study. We did not know what a treasure-house of knowledge we could find in the rural areas, now we know. Chairman Mao was absolutely right."

This was not all. "We have now discovered and are studying a precancerous

hyperplasia (increase in the amount of tissue) of the mucous membrane of the esophagus," said Dr. Li Bing. "We have followed up several hundreds of thousands of these patients; more instances are showing up all the time. Some develop cancer, others revert to normal. In certain counties close to the Taihang Mountains, 50 percent of the people over 50 years old have this condition; people of the same age in Shanghai, Zhengzhou, or Peking do not have it. If we can master this precancerous condition, then preventive work can be done among those not yet afflicted. At the moment we are treating this hyperplasia preventively, with vitamins (C and A) and with Chinese medicinal herbs.

"We have developed a method of doing periodical smears of the mucosa cells for checkups on the esophagus," Dr. Li said. "We invented a very small plastic instru-

ment, like a small sponge, which is easy to swallow and to regurgitate. It does not cause pain, only slight discomfort, and the whole process takes 40 seconds. Barefoot doctors can do this test easily. In 18 days, we collected 14,000 smears. People cooperated with us, of course — the mass line. The peasant associations were the most active in organizing people to come to be tested. Reluctant people were persuaded by other members of their production teams or brigades. All this helped tremendously. We could never have done it any other way."

The peasants of Lin County have a ditty about all this now. Previously, they said, Lin County was the "three-cannot-pass: no water passes here, no road crosses here, and no food goes through the gullet." Now "two passes" have been achieved — water and roads. Soon the third will be conquered.

Now in China, 150 million individual investigations for cancer have been done, not including obvious cancer cases, all through the mass line.

"We cannot wait for good buildings or adequate equipment to conduct these studies. We are now thinking in terms of prevention as well, and a lot more studies are necessary."

Dr. Wu showed me photographs of experimental chicken farms run by the cancer institute. A total of 30,000 Taihang Mountain chickens are being investigated for cancer of the esophagus.

"In this, too, we practice the mass line," said Dr. Wu laughingly. "Any chicken which looks unwell or vomits is given to the postman to bring to us. Any sheep off its food is also sent in.

"And now we are investigating field mice. An old peasant in the county knows the language of field mice, and he is helping us catch them. Schoolchildren are being mobilized to bring mice in to us."

Teams in the field also include geologists and chemists. "Medical work cannot be separated from other disciplines. We are also studying old Chinese medical books for clues to the diagnosis of cancer and anti-cancerous herbal remedies of the past. Drugs in the Chinese pharmacopeia which prevent or restrict tumor growth have been described; we must also investigate them."

Finally, we spoke of the impact of this work upon the doctors, researchers, and geologists who went down in complete teams to investigate. "They are changed. When they see how the people grasp the mass line . . . they are shaken. They want to stay forever, never to return to the city. . . . Now they understand that we cannot wait for the patient to come to us. We must go out and look for the patient. The importance of screening everybody, whether there are clinical signs or symptoms of disease or not, is a great lesson to them." ●



This neighborhood clinic in Peking is one small link in a system that allows medical workers to gather data at the grassroots all over the country. (Photo: P. Wilkerson)



# Silk Workers

by Agnes Smedley

Just as I arrived in Guangzhou (Canton) in the hot summer months of 1930, another general was killed by his bodyguard for the sake of the 50 Chinese dollars offered by a rival general. Such events had begun to strike me as sardonic. The Guangdong (Kwangtung) Provincial Government was semi-independent, but in the hands of generals who took by violence what they considered their share in the loot of the south. They whirled around the city in bullet-proof cars with armed bodyguards standing on the running boards. Such was the spirit of the generals and of the officials whom they brought to power with them.

I interviewed them all and put no stock in what they said. They treated me magnificently, for foreign journalists seldom or never went south in the hot summer months. So I had a government launch to myself, with an official guide to show me factories, paved roads, new waterworks and the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. For truth I depended on Chinese university professors, an occasional newspaper reporter or editor, teachers and writers, the German consul in Guangzhou – and on my own eyes and ears.

The real reason I went south in the hottest part of the year was to study the lot of the millions of “silk peasants” in a silk industry which was rapidly losing its American markets to Japanese magnates. But I did not

wish to see the silk regions as a guest of the powerful Guangzhou Silk Guild, for the Guild, after all, was like a big laughing Buddha, naked to the waist, his fat belly hanging over his pajama belt. At last I found a group of Lingnan Christian University professors who were engaged in research in the industry. One young expert

was leaving for the Shuntek silk region for a six weeks’ inspection tour. I went with him to the Guangzhou Silk Guild, where he argued with a suspicious Guild official until given permission to travel on Guild river steamers and enter the region in which millions of peasants toiled. There the millionaires of the South Seas had erected many

Peking June 10, 1976

Our Chinese friends are concerned  
that the rain might worsen  
our colds,  
and yet we stand  
near the stone of Agnes Smedley,  
“American Revolutionary Writer  
and Friend of the Chinese People.”  
My eyes trace the gray sky  
seeking to trade my tears for raindrops.  
But what do I know of this woman?  
Only that she bravely came across the world  
to fight  
alongside people who knew, like she did  
what it means to be hungry, and cold  
and at the mercy of those with power.

Please,  
let me stay  
under the hemlocks  
just a moment longer  
in the rain  
near an American woman  
my heart  
buried at the Cemetery of Revolutionary Martyrs  
is so full  
of love for my own people.

ELLEN MASON

AGNES SMEDLEY (1892–1950) wrote about her working-class origins and the situation of women in the autobiographical novel *Daughter of Earth*. Most of her other books are about people and events of the Chinese Revolution up to the victory of 1949. She is buried in the Cemetery of Revolutionary Martyrs in Peking.

“The Silk Workers” is collected with other Smedley sketches and stories in *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution*, ed. Jan MacKinnon and Steve MacKinnon, 1976 (Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, N.Y. 11568). From *Battle Hymn of China*, ©1943 and renewed 1/9/71, by Agnes Smedley. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

ELLEN MASON is a factory worker and a poet. She visited China in June 1976.

large filatures; the spinners were all young women.

Next day the young expert and I boarded a river steamer. Some 20 or 30 Guild merchants were the only other passengers. The steamers had armor plating and machine-guns to protect the merchants from "bandits." The "bandits," I learned, were peasants who took to the highway for a part of each year in order to earn a living.

I once calculated that, if these "bandits" had attacked and captured our steamer, they would have secured enough food to feed a whole village for months. At meal times the merchants hunched over the tables, eating gargantuan meals and dropping the chicken bones on the floor. They talked of silk, money, markets, and of how much their firms were losing. The silk industry was indeed fighting for its life, but if there were losses, it clearly did not come out of the hides of these men. I pined a little for Jesse James.

My young escort was awed by these men, but when he spoke of the silk peasants or the girl filature workers, hostility and contempt crept into his voice. His particular hatred seemed to be the thousands of women spinners, and only with difficulty could I learn why. He told me that the women were notorious throughout China as Lesbians. They refused to marry, and if their families

forced them, they merely bribed their husbands with a part of their wages and induced them to take concubines. The most such a married girl would do was bear one son; then she would return to the factory, refusing to live with her husband any longer. The government had just issued a decree forbidding women to escape from marriage by bribery, but the women ignored it.

"They're too rich - that's the root of the trouble!" my young escort explained. "They earn as much as eleven dollars a month, and become proud and contemptuous." He added that on this money they also supported parents, brothers and sisters, and grandparents. "They squander their money!" he cried. "I have never gone to a picture theater without seeing groups of them sitting together, holding hands."

Until 1927, when they were forbidden, there had been Communist cells and trade unions in the filatures, he charged, and now these despicable girls evaded the law by forming secret "Sister Societies." They had even dared strike for shorter hours and higher wages. Now and then two or three girls would commit suicide together because their families were forcing them to marry.

For weeks my escort and I went by foot or small boat from village to village, from market town to market town. The fierce

sun beat down upon us until our clothing clung to our bodies like a surgeon's glove, and the perspiration wilted our hat bands and our shoes. At night we took rooms in village inns or pitched our camp beds under mosquito nets in family temples. All the roads and paths were lined with half-naked peasants bending low under huge baskets of cocoons swung from the ends of bamboo poles. Market towns reeked with the cocoons and hanks of raw silk piled up to the rafters in the warehouses. Every village was a mass of trays on which the silkworms fed, tended night and day by gaunt careworn peasants who went about naked to the waist.

At first curiously, then with interest, my escort began to translate for me as I questioned the peasants on their life and work. Their homes were bare huts with earthen floors, and the bed was a board covered by an old mat and surrounded by a cotton cloth, once white, which served as a mosquito net. There was usually a small clay stove with a cooking utensil or two, a narrow bench, and sometimes an ancient, scarred table. For millions this was home. A few owned several mulberry trees - for wealth was reckoned in trees. But almost all had sold their cocoon crops in advance in order to get money or food. If the crop failed, they were the losers. Wherever we

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traveled the story was the same: the silk peasants were held in pawn by the merchants and were never free from debt.

Only as we neared big market towns, in which silk filatures belched forth the stench of cocoons, did we come upon better homes and fewer careworn faces. The daughters of such families were spinners. It was then that I began to see what industrialism, bad as it had seemed elsewhere, meant to the working girls. These were the only places in the whole country where the birth of a baby girl was an occasion for joy, for here girls were the main support of their families. Consciousness of their worth was reflected in their dignified independent bearing. I began to understand the charges that they were Lesbians. They could not but compare the dignity of their positions with the low position of married women. Their independence seemed a personal affront to officialdom.

The hatred of my escort for these girls became more marked when we visited the filatures. Long lines of them, clad in glossy black jackets and trousers, sat before boiling vats of cocoons, their parboiled fingers twinkling among the spinning filaments. Sometimes a remark passed along their lines set a whole mill laughing. The face of my escort would grow livid.

"They call me a running dog of the capitalists, and you a foreign devil of an imperialist! They are laughing at your clothing and your hair and eyes!" he explained.

One evening the two of us sat at the entrance of an old family temple in the empty stone halls of which we had pitched our netted camp cots. On the other side of the canal rose the high walls of a filature, which soon began pouring forth black-clad girl workers, each with her tin dinner pail. All wore wooden sandals which were fastened by a single leather strap across the toes and which clattered as they walked. Their glossy black hair was combed back and hung in a heavy braid to the waist. At the nape of the neck the braid was caught in red yarn, making a band two or three inches wide—a lovely splash of color.

As they streamed in long lines over the bridge arching the canal and past the temple entrance, I felt I had never seen more handsome women.

I urged my young escort to interpret for me, but he refused, saying he did not understand their dialect. He was so irritated that he rose and walked toward the town. When he was gone, I went down the steps. A group of girls gathered around me and stared. I offered them some of my malt candy. There was a flash of white teeth and exclamations in a sharp staccato dialect. They took the candy, began chewing, then examined my clothing and stared at my hair and eyes. I did the same with them and soon we were laughing at each other.

Two of them linked their arms in mine and began pulling me down the flagstone street. Others followed, chattering happily. We entered the home of one girl and were welcomed by her father and mother and



Agnes Smedley in China, about 1939.  
(Photo: J. and S. MacKinnon)

two big-eyed little brothers. Behind them the small room was already filled with other girls and curious neighbors. A candle burned in the center of a square table surrounded by crowded benches. I was seated in the place of honor and served the conventional cup of tea.

Then a strange conversation began. Even had I known the most perfect Mandarin, I could not have understood these girls, for their speech was different from that spoken in any other part of the country. I had studied Chinese spasmodically—in Dongbei (Manchuria), in Peking, in Shanghai—but each time, before I had more than begun, I had had to move on to new fields, and all that I had previously learned became almost useless. Shanghai had its own dialect, and what I had learned there aroused laughter in Peking and was utterly useless in the south. Only missionaries and consular officials could afford to spend a year in the Peking Language School. Journalists had to be here, there, and everywhere.

I therefore talked with the filature girls in signs and gestures. Did I have any children, they asked, pointing to the children. No? Not married either? They seemed interested and surprised. In explanation I unclamped my fountain pen, took a notebook from my pocket, tried to make a show of thinking, looked them over critically, and began to write. There was great excitement.

A man standing near the door asked me something in Mandarin and I was able to understand him. I was an American, a reporter, he told the crowded room. Yes, I was an intellectual—but was once a worker. When he interpreted this, they seemed to find it very hard to believe.

Girls crowded the benches and others stood banked behind them. Using my few words of Mandarin and many gestures, I learned that some of them earned eight or nine dollars a month, a few 11. They worked ten hours a day—not eight, as my escort had said. Once they had worked 14.

My language broke down, so I supplemented it with crude pictures in my notebook. How did they win the ten-hour day? I drew a sketch of a filature with a big fat man standing on top laughing, then a second picture of the same with the fat man weeping because a row of girls stood holding hands all around the mill. They chattered over these drawings, then a girl shouted two words and all of them began to demonstrate a strike. They crossed their arms, as though refusing to work, while some rested their elbows on the table and lowered their heads, as though refusing to move. They laughed, began to link hands, and drew me into this circle. We all stood holding hands in an unbroken line, laughing. Yes, that was how they got the ten-hour day!

As we stood there, one girl suddenly began to sing in a high sweet voice. Just as suddenly she halted. The whole room chanted an answer. Again and again she sang a question and they replied, while I stood, excited, made desperate by the fact that I could not understand.

The strange song ended and they began to demand something of me. They wanted a song! The *Marseillaise* came to mind, and I sang it. They shouted for more and I tried the *Internationale*, watching carefully for any reaction. They did not recognize it at all. So, I thought, it isn't true that these girls had Communist cells!

A slight commotion spread through the room, and I saw that a man stood in the doorway holding a flute in his hand. He put it to his lips and it began to murmur softly. Then the sound soared and the high sweet voice of the girl singer followed. She paused. The flute soared higher and a man's voice joined it. He was telling some tale, and when he paused, the girl's voice answered. It was surely some ballad, some ancient song of the people, for it had in it the universal quality of folk-music.

In this way I spent an evening with people whose tongue I could not speak, and when I returned to my temple, many went with me, one lighting our way with a swinging lantern. I passed through the silent stone courtyards to my room and my bed. And throughout the night the village watchman beat his brass gong, crying the hours. His gong sounded first from a distance, passed the temple wall, and receded again, saying to the world that all was well.

I lay thinking of ancient things . . . of the common humanity, the goodness and unity of the common people of all lands. ●

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To make our volume numbering coincide with the calendar year, this issue is Volume 3, Number 1, instead of Volume 2, Number 4. Current subscriptions will be extended to take account of the change.

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

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