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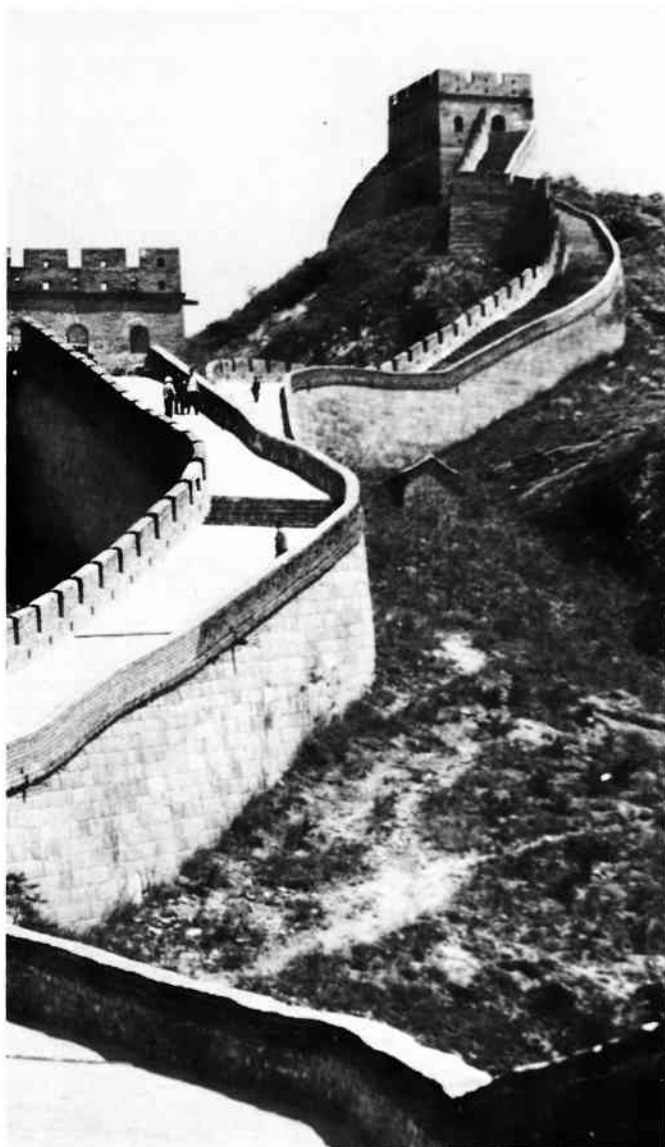
New China

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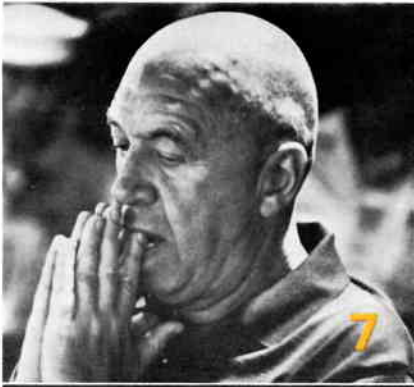


New China

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Association Convenes . . . and Normalization Center Opens 4

USCPFA News by Margaret Chau and Elaine Budd

Otto Preminger Visits the Peking Film Studio 7

China Eyewitness interview by Helen Rosen

Mayor Yin and the Panda 9

Reviews of current books

Chinese Performing Arts Troupe 12

U.S. Report: On stage and on the town

Two-Week Tours: How Much Do You See? 15

A China tour leader's experiences by Peggy Seeger

Will More Exams Mean Better Students? 17

Pat Howard on recent changes in education

Old China in Early Photographs 22

Selections by Helen Gee from two current exhibitions, "The Face of China" and "Imperial China"

China on Africa's Fight for Independence 28

Susan Warren examines the role of the U.S. and the Soviet Union

Chi Pai-shih 32

Primerose Gigliesi profiles modern China's master painter

Struggle Made Us Strong 36

William Hinton talks to Chen Yong-gui about the Socialist Education Movement

Fruits of the Earth 40

Easy-to-make vegetable recipes by Barrie Chi

USCPFA Addresses 47

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Association Convenes . . . and Normalization Center Opens

USCPFA Holds Fifth National Convention

In 1974, 350 old and new friends of China – Asia scholars, teachers, students, missionaries – from 36 cities met in Los Angeles at the first convention of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. On Labor Day weekend 1978, 1,200 delegates representing almost all the 126 USCFA locals gathered in San Francisco to discuss China, evaluate the activities of the past year, elect officers, and develop new programs for the year ahead.

Nineteen educational sessions, led by Association activists and long-time China residents like Joan Hinton Engst, focused primarily on recent developments in China. Pat and Roger Howard, Canadians who taught in Guangzhou (Canton) for two years, spoke about changes in higher education. John Service described his recent trip to Tibet. Other sessions covered the four modernizations, art and culture, economic planning, China and Africa, the current situation in Taiwan, and prospects for normalization.

Organizational issues and friendship work were discussed in 30 workshops and committee meetings. The financial situation of the USCPFA has changed drastically with the additional revenue from sending 2,000 Americans to China in 1978. The tours also necessitated increasing the national staff to 15. In 1979 there will be 5,000 visitors sent to China via the USCPFA, generating a projected income of \$1.4 million. The success and handling of the tours were evaluated in light of the great time and effort expended on all levels and in order to make improvements for 1979. Budget resolutions for new staff and programs were discussed at national committee meetings.

Normalization of relations and trade-union outreach received considerable attention in workshops and educationals. Admitting China to the 1980 Olympics in place of the Chiang regime in Taiwan will become a major campaign, seen as part of the overall effort to speed normalization of relations between the U.S. and China.

The relationship between normalization and employment in the U.S., and the effort to engage the interest of trade-union mem-

bers and officials in China were topics of a trade-union panel. There was a noticeable increase in the number of union members in attendance this year.

The plenary mandated that the following positions be created and programs funded: Executive Director to coordinate the national staff around the country; Coordinator to organize the Olympics campaign; Media Coordinator to build a national normalization campaign; Outreach Coordinator to facilitate the work of the national outreach committee; a publications center in New York to produce and distribute pamphlets and *NEW CHINA* Magazine; a trade-union conference to develop resources especially for use with unions.

Controversy arose over two opposing resolutions dealing with the role of the USCPFA in relation to current events in China. An overwhelming majority called for free and open discussion in order to build friendship without advocating China's policies or requiring members to support them. A small minority, mostly supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, called for all locals to discuss a position paper that supported the "gang of four" and attacked the current leadership in China as "revisionists" who were "reversing the gains of the Cultural Revolution." Supporters of this position repeatedly disrupted the convention by shouting slogans at plenaries, contravening rules, monopolizing educationals with attacks on China, and crowding the hallways to hand out anti-China literature. While their behavior created tension, it did not stop the work of the convention. For the first time in four years, delegates acted on all the resolutions brought to the plenary.

Normalization Center Opens in Washington, D. C.

The Center for U.S.-China Relations in Washington, D.C., has begun its work of monitoring Congress and the Executive Branch, publicizing the importance of prompt establishment of full diplomatic relations with China, and providing local US-China Peoples Friendship Associations

with the information they need to carry on educational work on the issue. Votes were cast for four at-large members of the National Steering Committee. Frank Pestana, Unita Blackwell, Mark Sheldon, and Margaret Whitman will serve with the following regional delegates: *East* – John Dove (Boston), Roy Johnson (Washington, D.C.), Jan Ting (Philadelphia); *South* – Bill Funk (Atlanta), Dick Johnson (Austin), Bob McFarland (New Orleans); *Midwest* – Sylvia Fischer (Chicago), Jim Ladd (Detroit), Mildred Ptashne (Minneapolis); *West* – Junella Haynes (Albuquerque), Rick Pass (Portland), Don Porteus (East Bay); *Hawaii* – Clyde Hayashi (Honolulu). The new NSC elected Frank Pestana and Unita Blackwell co-chairpersons, Mark Sheldon vice-chairperson, and Don Porteus secretary-treasurer. Inuka Mwanguzi, of last year's NSC, and Maxwell Stewart, a leader in building U.S.-China friendship in the 1930s and '40s, were voted honorary members of the NSC by the plenary.

John Service, former Foreign Service Officer in China, introduced the convention's main guest, American-born dermatologist Dr. George Hatem, who has worked in China for 46 years. "George helped carry out the complete eradication of venereal disease and prostitution in China, but the job is not finished because in one area they still exist – Taiwan," Service told the delegates at the first plenary. Maggie Kuhn, convener of the Gray Panthers and featured speaker on Saturday evening, spoke about "The Role of the Elderly in Social Change in China." On Sunday Victor Li, professor at Stanford University, spoke about questions of democracy and human rights in China and the U.S.

Next year's convention will be held in the midwest. By that time the Association hopes to have 15,000 members.

The 1977 convention of the USCPFA in Atlanta voted to open the center in the belief that stepped-up activity in the capital would advance normalization of relations, a priority objective of the Association.

The center opened officially on May 20. Attending the office-warming were members of Congressional staffs, representatives of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic, Library of Congress officials, and representatives of the Asia Society and Americans for Democratic Action. Former Senator Hugh Scott, who has spoken out forthrightly in support of normalization, dropped in and wished us success.

With us also were many members of the Washington USCPFA, and three USCPFA national leaders - Co-Chairman Frank Pestana, Vice-Chairman Esther Gollobin, and John Dove, head of the National Normalization Committee and member of the National Steering Committee.

The *Washington Post* reported the opening and ran a photo of Scott and Pestana in conversation with Ms. Zhao Ya-qing of the Liaison Office.

Educational material being distributed by the center urges the Carter administration promptly to complete the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the island of Taiwan, abrogate the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Taibei regime, and recognize the PRC as the sole government of China, including its province of Taiwan.

In addition to keeping track of developments in Congress and the Executive Branch and providing information to those shaping decisions, the center will play a key role in the USCPFA's national normalization campaign, helping to schedule speakers, plan seminars and conferences, and publish a newsletter and pamphlets.

The center is a project of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association and the greater the activity of Association chapters in support of normal relations, the more attentively we will be listened to. The center will also develop contacts with other national organizations and make its growing resources available to them.

Readers of *NEW CHINA* magazine and all friends are invited to visit the center, find out firsthand what we are doing, and give suggestions. The address is 422 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

A warning is in order. The address is not easy to find. Indeed the *Washington Post's* story on the opening noted that the office is one of the hardest to locate in a city full of obscure addresses; a visitor arriving from downtown gets the impression "that No. 422 must be a large equestrian statue in the middle of [Stanton] Park." If you get lost, call for directions: (202) 547-0040.

The work of the center will be difficult and its objective will not be easily attained, so perhaps a hard-to-find office is appropriate. But if visitors persist, if all of us persist, our destination will be reached. - ELAINE BUDD

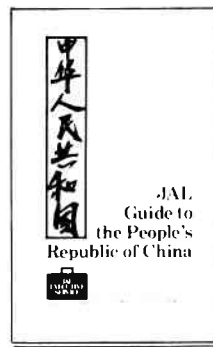
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Shirley MacLaine on her China visit:

"I used to think that it was human nature to want to grab up your own little ball of stuff and be safe for your old age. And I used to think that our system of capitalism served that intrinsic need. Since my trip... I think you can make human nature whatever you want. To collectivize a society is, in effect, to teach people to share."



A Chinese peasant woman on Women's Liberation:

"Always before when we quarreled my husband said, 'Get out of my house!' Now I can give it right back to him. I can say, 'Get out of my house yourself!'"



Shep Messing on admitting China to the Olympics:

"The IOC (International Olympic Committee) is archaic in all matters... China is pushing for a change and I'm all for them getting it."

The late Premier Chou En-lai on Personality Cult (1971):

"Mao Tsetung pictures and statues have been put up all over the place without regard for time or circumstance... In the elevator (of the Peking Hotel) there is a portrait of Mao. 'Is Mao watching the elevator for you?', I asked the operator. All this has been overdone and is harmful."

Li Fan-lan on her painting "The Cotton Harvest":

"We picked cotton in the fields and drove wagons or pulled carts on the road... Everywhere there was the sound of our laughter and song. I wanted so much to paint it... But it didn't come out well the first time - just a plain picture of women picking cotton. When other commune members saw the first version they said 'Fan-lan the bolls look alright and the women have on their new clothes, but where's our revolutionary spirit.'"



Jonathan Pollack on China's nuclear policy:

"The Chinese propose that all nations, not just the nuclear ones take part in a conference for 'the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons'... The Chinese also call upon the nuclear nations especially the superpowers to adopt 'no first-use' declarations and withdraw nuclear armaments within their own borders. So far no nuclear nation except China has adopted such policies...."



Ida Pruitt on old China:

"I think it's terribly important that people know something about old China. Because China didn't just jump out of Jove's head like Minerva. New China comes out of old China - not only the sufferings of old China, but its structure and the determination of the people to live as well as possible."

Joris Ivens on making a movie in China:

"We have preferred to capture reality at its most intense, in daily life. You can read political analysis anywhere. We thought that what the west lacked was to see the Chinese live, work, eat, laugh, and think. But daily life is perhaps the hardest thing to film."



A Toronto Symphony Orchestra player on performing Beethoven's Fifth in Canton:

"Playing for an educated Western audience will be boring after this."

Vice Premier Chen Yong-qui on listening to the people:

"We used to build dams by piling rocks as they came, fitting them together according to their natural shapes. We built the dams themselves in the shape of an arch because after our dams were torn out three times by torrential rains we finally summarized our experiences and found that by building arched toward the mountain, they held. . . . But now the county leaders were spreading a new experience. They were getting everyone to make straight dams. . . . They say straight dams are easier to build. At the very least these people are giving blind directives. The situation developed to such an extent that if we hadn't rebelled and seized power, there is no telling what might have happened."



Nina Shapiro Perl on a divorce trial:

"Now that the court had the consent of [the husband] Chen, a divorce was officially granted. A long period of time was spent discussing the custody of the couples' child. Here again the friends and coworkers participated in the discussion because they, rather than the judges, were in a position to know what would be best for the child."

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Otto Preminger Visits the Peking Film Studio

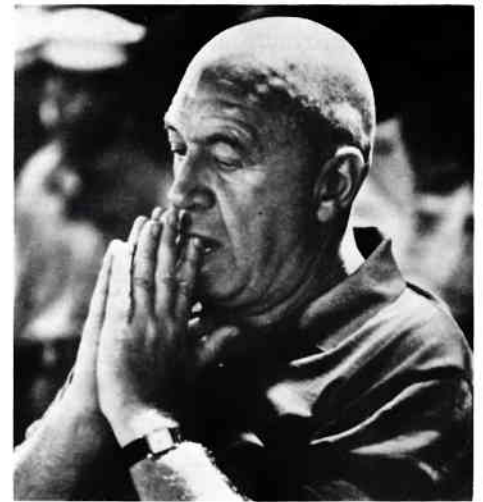
When American producer Otto Preminger visited a film studio in Peking, he noticed that the crew and visitors were speaking loudly while the film was being shot. "I asked the Chinese director how he could shoot with all that noise. He told me they weren't recording the sound. They dub it in later. When I asked why they do it that way, he joked, 'because we can't keep still!'"

This sense of jubilation, Mr. Preminger feels, is characteristic of people working in the Chinese film industry. "They don't seem as preoccupied with their worries, making money, or their work as people in the industry here. I think they do have the same desire to do something special, and in a way they have more freedom because they don't have to worry about money or getting jobs."

While Mr. Preminger had plenty of criticisms of the quality of the Chinese films he saw during his stay in the PRC, he did find two films he'd like to arrange to show in this country, and he made some progress toward the main purpose of his trip - getting permission to make a film in China. This was Preminger's second visit to China. His first was in 1949, and when I interviewed him, his pale blue eyes communicated his amazement about the changes he saw this time.

"When I was there in 1949 everything was filthy. There were children by the hundreds sitting in the gutter eating mud with their fingers, they were so hungry. Now everything is clean. People seem so happy about living and working without the distress of hunger and fear of the future they used to have."

Preminger, who produced the films *Advise and Consent*, *Exodus*, *The Moon Is Blue*, and *Tell Me That You Love Me*, *Junie Moon*, among many others, enjoyed his visits to film studios in Peking and Shanghai. He was particularly impressed by a young sound engineer who, after pur-



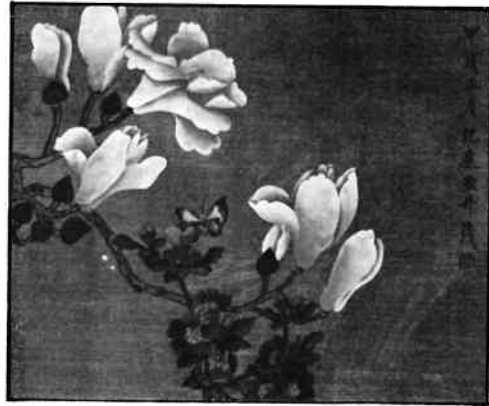
Otto Preminger. (Photo: courtesy of O. Preminger)

chasing sound equipment from West Germany, set out to produce his own. "He was very proud and happy that he could use his creativity this way. Until this new society came in, men like him would have just done what they were told; he was enthusiastic about trying to create a system that topped the West German one."

Many of the films Preminger viewed in China seemed to him unsuitable for American audiences. "Technically, they're very good, but the stories are not like ours, they're mostly 'propaganda.' I did see a wonderful animated cartoon I hope to help them release here, called *Uproar in Heaven*. It's based on an old Chinese legend about a war between the king of heaven and the king of the monkeys. In the original legend the king of heaven wins, but in the picture the revolutionary monkey king wins. Otherwise there's not a political thing in it and I think the people here would love it. I think it'll need a new narration. I'm hoping to interest Jose Ferrer in doing it. In my opinion it also needs a new sound track. The musical score is repetitious. And the sound track has faults - for example, you see people walking and hear their steps and then suddenly the footstep sound stops but they're still walking. But the color is extraordinary."

HELEN ROSEN is an audiologist who has assisted her husband, Dr. Samuel Rosen, in many research projects, including one in China on the use of acupuncture in treating deaf children.

China's rich cultural heritage is flourishing today in the fine arts. Paintings of traditional subjects such as birds, flowers, fruits, plum blossoms, grasses, landscapes and water scenes are inspired by old masters. Illustrations from the famous novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* have been painted in vivid color. Rural scenes of present-day



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The film Mr. Preminger would like to make in the PRC is about the life of the Canadian doctor Norman Bethune, who spent years in China during the anti-Japanese war and is considered a national hero. Preminger is hopeful about getting permission to shoot now that Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching) is no longer in charge of culture. Apparently she'd disliked Norman Bethune, prevented Preminger from getting a visa to visit China in the past, and held up the release of a Chinese film about the Canadian doctor. "They're showing the film now. I saw it and thought it wasn't very good. It begins with Bethune arriving in China and we don't know who he is. Of course most Chinese people are more familiar than Westerners with the story of his life. When I do the film, I want to start in Canada. Bethune was the first person to undergo a pneumothorax - the collapse of a lung - to treat his tuberculosis. He visited Russia, and he wanted the Canadian government to socialize medicine because in his hospital work he saw the rich being cured and the poor being left to die.

"His love-life is also very interesting. He went to China with a woman, but this is left out in the Chinese film. He was a great ladies' man. And for a film, that's very interesting. Now I don't know how the Chinese are going to react to it. I'll have to show them my script before they let me shoot there. And I will certainly not lie the way Antonioni did. He submitted a different script from the one he shot. I wouldn't cheat like that. And I would give them a second negative of my film; they can make any changes or cuts they want for the version that's released in China, but I must control what's released here. And they might do this. I found the directors of film production and distribution very, very interesting and reasonable. They gave four dinner parties for me and told me I could come back whenever I wanted."

Mr. Preminger has long identified himself with progressive causes. He defied the infamous Hollywood blacklist during the McCarthy era, and has stood firm against censorship and racism. Though from a distance he might resemble a Prussian general, this image breaks down as soon as he begins to speak with his characteristic honesty, directness, and firm convictions. "I think President Carter is making a terrible mistake by not normalizing our relations with the PRC. They resent the fact that we only have a liaison, not a real ambassador. I don't think Taiwan is any business of ours. And Taiwan has about 17 million people, while in China there are 850 million. Because of the tension between the Soviet Union and China, now's a good time for us to begin diplomatic relations. If we don't, we might miss the boat."

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Mayor Yin and the Panda

The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By Chen Jo-hsi. Trans. Nancy Ing and Howard Goldblatt. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1978. 220 pp. Cloth, \$8.95. The publisher of this volume of eight short stories has dubbed it the "first dissident literature" out of the PRC. The Taiwan-born Chen Jo-hsi emigrated to the mainland with her husband in 1966 and lived there until 1973. In a virulent introduction to the volume, Simon Leys, author of *Chinese Shadows*, makes much of the fact that the author wrote no fiction during this period, attributing the silence to a fundamental incompatibility between art and communism.

It's difficult to set all this anti-Chinese drum-rolling aside and consider the stories on their own merits, but I think it's worth the effort. Chen Jo-hsi is a talented writer, and her stories make thought-provoking, if painful, reading for friends of the PRC.

The theme of most of the stories is the personal discomfort of China's intellectuals (especially those born or educated abroad) during the ideological upheavals of the Cultural Revolution and of the anti-Lin Biao/Confucius campaign. In one story, a woman worries herself sick for fear that her pre-school child will repeat the daring curse his friend has uttered: "Chairman Mao Is a Rotten Egg." In another, "Residency Check," a young woman who dresses to show off her beauty and is suspected of cheating on her husband, becomes off-limits to the foreign intellectual who would like to befriend her. In "Night Duty" a talented teacher has been demoted to making tin kettles and guarding the kitchen. He lets a thief get away because he believes the court won't find a peasant guilty anyway. In another story, a misguided Red Guard youth engineers the execution of an old-time revolutionary and is later punished for it.

These stories are intriguing because, by implication, they justify the present government's effort to reinstate many intellectuals and to let them use their talents to benefit the nation. The attack on the "gang of four" for suppressing freedom in the arts and inspiring fear also makes more sense after reading these stories.

Where Chen Jo-hsi seems to dip into slander is in her simpleminded attacks on

official efforts to impress foreign visitors. Several stories show the Chinese cleaning up towns and stocking markets with food that is not for sale. Americans returning from China have remarked on how uncomfortable they felt when they were taken ahead of long lines and given other special privileges. From Chen Jo-hsi's stories we see that the special treatment of foreign guests causes resentment among the Chinese too. But the practices described are hardly unique to the PRC. I remember my own



resentment when a group of young Chinese women basketball players were taken to an affluent Washington, D.C., suburb to see how "typical" Americans lived.

The story I liked best, the last in the book, is called "Nixon's Press Corps." It is the only one in which the author seems to suggest a remedy to the problems she describes. In preparing for a possible visit from the American press, the local Party officials decide that all clothes-drying racks should be taken down, since they're unsightly. The main character in the story refuses; she simply doesn't want to be bothered putting hers up again. It's made clear that she can't be punished for resisting a ridiculous order and that the only thing the Chinese people really have to fear is fear itself.

Despite the author's long residence in China, her stories are an outsider's view. If there was even one story that showed a positive accomplishment of the Cultural

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With texts by Clark Worswick & Jonathan Spence

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A Pennwick/Crown Book. 8½" x 11". 152pp. 116 duotone plates. \$22.50 at your bookstore or send check to Crown Publishers, One Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. N.Y. and N.J. residents add sales tax.

Revolution, I'd be more inclined to trust her motives. But as it is, the book stands more as a record of one outsider's disillusionment in a turbulent period than a picture of life as it's lived in the People's Republic. — RONNI SANDROFF

China: An Introductory History. By Milton W. Meyer. Littlefield, Adams & Co., Totown, N.J., 1978. 219 pp. Paper, \$4.95. A short introductory history of China is badly needed and would be very helpful to Western students and general readers. Unfortunately, Milton Meyer of California State University, Los Angeles, has not been able to fill the bill.

He has not kept abreast of the research that has been done on ancient China and is not sufficiently familiar with what has been going on in new China to be able to guide his readers intelligently. In a cryptic author's note, the cover blurb tells us only that the author "experienced military duty in the mainland Chinese cities of Kunming and Sian [Xian]" during World War II and was then engaged in "postwar foreign service duty in Djarkarta and Hong Kong." Since no explanation is given, one can surmise that the author was in some branch of intelligence service.

The author is either ignorant of current research that has been carried out in the People's Republic of China or else distrusts it and chooses to ignore it completely. For example, Meyer states: "The origins of the Chinese people are still conjectural, but historical China rose in the north China plain along the banks of the Yellow River. The first of the traditional dynasties for which archeology has yet to find proof, is the Hsia. . ." (p. 15).

Quite a different account, however, is given by Wang Yeh-chiu, director of the Chinese National Cultural Relics Administrative Bureau. He says that China has already uncovered a major portion of this period that is still presented by Meyer as a missing link in the country's archeological history, a history that goes back 7,000 years. According to Director Wang, two sites straddling the Yellow River, bordering Shanxi (Shansi) and Henan (Honan) provinces, often termed the "cradle of Chinese civilization," have been identified as bearing relics of the Hsia Dynasty.

Western historians have for centuries displayed and even flaunted their ignorance of Chinese history, and our politicians have followed suit. It is about time that a correction is made. The days are gone when a Western scholar could go to China and hire a couple of students to translate historical materials for him and return home as a world-renowned Professor of Asian Studies. Perhaps, in this instance, such a custom might have produced a better book, but

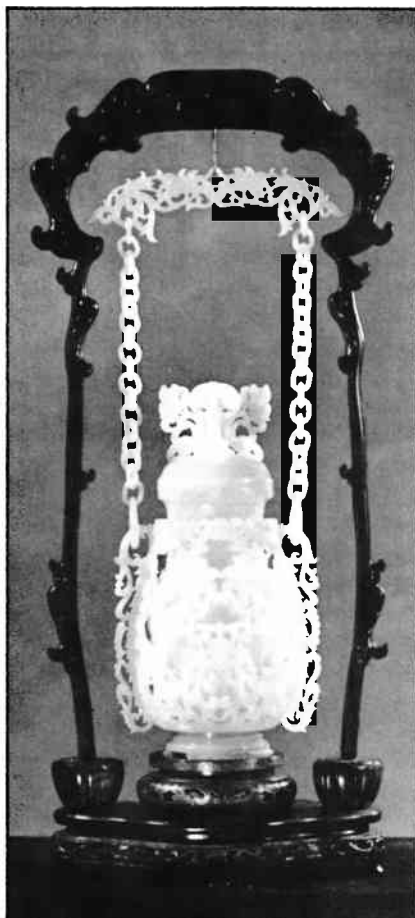
the Chinese people do not regret the demise of this old form of "scholarship." — CHARLES J. COE

The Key to Chinese Cooking. By Irene Kuo. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1978. 532 pp. Cloth, \$15.00. Eureka, a Chinese cookbook that doesn't use MSG. If I were impressed by only one thing in this cookbook it would be Ms. Kuo's relegation of MSG to the bitter past. This former restaurateur has written a comprehensive, interesting, and — most important — reliable cookbook. It is clear that she knows much about the different methods of Chinese cooking. I found unusual recipes I have never come across in other books, such as "Beer Roasted Duck" and several dishes for vegetarians made with gluten, a mixture of unbleached flour and water. She has very attractive names for the dishes; "Vinegar Slithered Green Cabbage," for example.

I would, however, offer several words of caution. This is a book for the experienced if not gourmet cook. A careful beginner may be able to use it, but it is somewhat verbose and disorganized. It is difficult to find recipes since the book is arranged in two different ways, by categories of food and by methods of cooking. Ms. Kuo also tends to call for too much salt in her recipes. (A faithfully followed recipe for hot and sour soup was too salty.) I advise testing the salt content of all the recipes.

Unfortunately the price of this book is a little too high. There are many others available which are much less expensive and equally good. — BARRIE CHI

The Giant Panda at Home. By Margaret Rau. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1977. 80 pp. Illustrated. Cloth, \$5.99. (Available only directly from publisher.) The author portrays a year in the life of a female giant panda, following her from mating through pregnancy, giving birth, cub-raising, seasonal migrations, and back to mating season. Every aspect of the panda's existence is touched upon — evolution, diet, habits, even the conservation efforts being undertaken by the Chinese government — all in a narrative that is as lively as it is informative. Along the way the reader is also introduced to a number of the rare creatures that share the panda's Sichuan (Szechuan) habitat, such as the Takin and the Blue Sheep. Her brief descriptions of them serve to enhance the overall picture of the panda's daily life. The book is liberally illustrated with a number of very attractive pencil drawings by the Swiss artist Eva Huelsmann depicting the panda, her brood, and their neighbors in their natural surroundings. The content and the straightforward tone make the book interesting to adults as well as children. — PAULA HOLLAND



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U.S. REPORT

Chinese Performing

The Performing Arts Company of the People's Republic of China, the largest group of Chinese artists ever to perform outside the PRC, toured the United States from July 5 to August 8, 1978. Sponsored by the National Committee on United States-China Relations and the Metropolitan Opera, the company of 150 artists appeared in New York City; Wolf Trap Farm, Va.; Washington, D.C.; Minneapolis; San Francisco; and Los Angeles. Their repertory included excerpts from the revolutionary ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and *Red Detachment of Women*, minority folk dances, classical and contemporary music, and excerpts from traditional Peking Opera, a centuries-old art combining song, dance, drama, and acrobatics.

In New York the company visited the World Trade Center, ate hot dogs in a delicatessen, saw *The Wiz* on Broadway, gave a lunchtime performance for employees at the UN, met dancers at the studios of Martha Graham and the Dance Theater of Harlem, and gave pointers to members of Chinatown dance and musical groups.

PADDY KAN and CHONG-KEONG KAN are staff photographers for the New York Chinatown Media Program Council.



The Monkey King in a scene from the Peking Opera *Monkey Makes a Disturbance in Heaven*. (Color photos: Hsinhua News Agency)



The dancers observe a rehearsal of the opera *Carmen*.



Scene from the Peking Opera *Autumn River*.

Arts Troupe on Stage and on Tour



The Peking Opera troupe at the UN. Li Xiao-chun, front center, plays the Monkey King.



The dance troupe in the Rose Garden of the UN.



Piano soloist Liu Shi-kun.



The Bow Dance from *The Dagger Society*, a full-length dance-drama about a peasant uprising in the mid-nineteenth century.



At the Dance Theater of Harlem.



Members of the Chinese Music Ensemble of New York get tips on playing the *yang qin*.



Teaching the Peacock and Bow dances to the Overseas Chinese Dance Group of New York.

Peking Alphabetic Dictionary

Volume One: Chinese-English

by TIANN Honng Wenn

田 红 文

New Research

The Peking Alphabetic Dictionary is the result of new research based on the Pinxxiee (拼写) principles.

- Pinyin (Pinvin) by the Committee of Language Reform in Peking
- The letter-doubling technique for the four tones, e.g., ma (mā), mma (má), mmaa (mǎ), maa (mà)
- The use of the letter v as a silent letter, e.g., vi = yi
- The use of silent endings for Han radicals, e.g., -xx = 女 as in Maxx (妈); -yj = 广 as in Mmayj (麻); none in Mmaa (马); -dd = 骂 as in maadd (骂)
- Capitalized nouns
- The use of block letters for surnames, e.g., ZHOU Enxn Llai

This Pinxxiee dictionary has the power to facilitate English translation and to transcribe both classical Chinese (Haanzii) as well as modern spoken language (Putonghua) in one unified phonetic alphabetic system.

Revolutionary Contribution

The Peking Alphabetic Dictionary is a revolutionary contribution to the Chinese language reform in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions: "The written language must be reformed; it should travel the common direction of the phonetic alphabet of the world's languages."

“文字必须改革，要走世界文字共同的拼音方向。”

"Wenzii biixu ggaaigge, yao zzoou Shiijee Wenzii goongtonngde Pinvin Fangxiaang."

Cultural Continuity

To preserve cultural continuity with the entire sino-logy, the simplified character alphabet uses 26 letters which integrate latin letters with Chinese characters.

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IE 俄	IF 佛	IG 歌	IH 喝		
I 一	VI 机	IK 科	LI 了	MI 模	NI 思
OP 喔	TP 坡	QI 期	RI 日	SI 思	TI 特
U 乌	V 兀	W 我	X 希	Y 了	Z 子

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ma (mā) mma (má) mmaa (mǎ) maa (mà)

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mama hemp horse curse

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Two-Week Tours: How Much Do You See?

To see the Great Wall, a people's commune, or relics of the past; to learn the history of an ancient civilization or the development of a modern revolution; to study, sightsee, or shop—there are many reasons for wanting to visit China. Now that the US-China Peoples Friendship Association is offering two-week tours (China Study Tours) to the general public, prospective tourists have the same questions, no matter what the motivation for making the trip. What will I see and learn in two weeks? Will they show me only what they want me to see? Will I see the real China?

China Study Tours vary in many respects — time of year, cities, facilities — but all have similar itineraries, including visits to factories, communes, schools, hospitals, revolutionary memorial sites, and scenic spots. Having recently led such a tour, I offer our first week's experiences as a basis for deciding whether such a trip is worthwhile.

CST No. 26, consisting of two groups of 50 and 48 people, left New York City in the middle of May. We traveled together to Peking and from there followed two separate routes. Team A, led by a professor from Connecticut, a Canadian scholar, and me, traveled to Peking, Changchun, Harbin, and Guangzhou (Canton), took two overnight train rides, and covered more than 2,000 miles in 12 days.

A Typical Week in China

Saturday. The group arrives at the Friendship Hotel on the outskirts of Peking. The hotel, a huge complex of buildings, also houses the foreign experts working in the city. It is somewhat of a disappointment to those who would have preferred the more elegant Peking Hotel near Tian An Men Square. Miraculously, all but two members overcome the exhaustion of the two-day trip from New York to visit the museums and throne rooms of the Forbidden City. Some of the hard-core travelers, not wanting to waste a minute, taxi "downtown" after dinner for shopping and sightseeing.

Sunday. After the first, and for many the last, Chinese breakfast (Western breakfasts are available), we join residents of Peking for a boat ride at the Summer Palace. In the late nineteenth century, the dowager empress of the Ching Dynasty

used all the funds in the treasury, earmarked to build up the country's navy, to construct this resort for herself, including lake, hills, and a marble boat. The afternoon features our first and major shopping expedition to Liu Li Chang Street. On one narrow lane we find shops selling stone rubbings, antique jade, porcelain, jewelry, and paintings by traditional and modern masters. The next



stop is the Friendship Store, four floors of arts and crafts especially for the foreign visitor. Thirty-two members of the group reserve a room for dinner at a popular Sichuan (Szechuan) restaurant. This provides a pleasant opportunity to sample one of China's best cuisines and discuss some of the questions we hope our tour will answer.

Monday. The two-hour bus ride to the Great Wall is filled with the sights and sounds of the communes and towns of Peking's suburbs. A full-scale bicycle race proceeds amid Zbigniew Brzezinski's motorcade to the same destination, a traffic jam, and roads lined with bike-race fans of all ages. As we approach the only man-made structure visible from a space-ship, our enthusiasm is dampened by the announcement that we only have one hour to spend: one of the problems of increasing tourism is parking space at the wall. A picnic lunch and a short ride to the Ming Tombs fill the rest of the day. After dinner most of the group feels comfortable enough to venture into the city alone, shopping, walking, taking photographs.

Tuesday. The disappointment of the previous day is forgotten after five minutes with the students and teachers at the No. 150 Middle School. We visit math and English classes, chat with the English students, and ask teachers about their methods. Some of the students write their names in our notebooks and ask us to write to them. The

Huang Tu Gang Commune hosts us in the afternoon. Touring the workshops of the bean-thread noodle factory introduces us to the concept of self-reliance. Dividing into small groups, we meet some of the families in their homes. A banquet at the Peking Duck Restaurant, a ritual for all tourists, provides our dinner. We are joined by Joan Hinton, an American now working on the Red Star Commune. She returns to our hotel with us and continues the stories of her experiences and impressions.

Wednesday. On our last morning in Peking we visit the Mao Memorial. Later, after a stop at the arts and crafts exhibit in the Peking Museum, there is still enough time for a final stroll around Tian An Men and Wang Fu-ching, the major shopping area for the Chinese people. This street is lined with several large department stores, an arts and crafts store, and one of the largest bookstores in the country. In the next 20 hours we cover 725 miles by train in comfortable first-class compartments. Most of the daylight hours are spent observing and photographing the countryside as we travel north to Changchun.

Thursday. Our local guides in Changchun, practiced at not wasting precious time, give us a much appreciated guided tour of this city once occupied by the Japanese. They continue with a brief history of the city and its special features after we arrive at the hotel. Built for the Russian advisers of the 1950s, the South Lake Hotel is our most luxurious accommodation—it is surrounded by lilac bushes and has sitting rooms in all the suites. That afternoon at Jilin University, the students discuss with us what they can learn from foreign countries. After visits to classrooms, laboratories, and libraries, we discuss with professors and administrators the recent changes in education. We learn that in the next two years the university will be accepting foreign postgraduate students. An informal gathering later in the evening with our four permanent and several local guides offers the opportunity to probe a little deeper and ask some of the questions we have been accumulating.

Friday. Our first factory tour is of one of the largest motor vehicle plants, which turns out 30,000 trucks a year. Although we see the complete assembly of the trucks and ride in the Red Flag limousine, the high-

USCPFA Statement of Principles

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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.

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light of the tour is a visit to one of the factory's nursery schools, where we are presented with songs, dances, and acrobatics by five- and six-year-olds. Changchun is also the home of China's second largest film studio. Here we not only meet some very well-known actors and actresses but view an education documentary, watch a Romanian film being dubbed, and visit the set of a new feature film. Some of the group stays until dinner for further discussions with the performers on new developments in the arts. The musicians from the studio later give a public performance which includes choral and instrumental pieces, a local opera, and the revival of a violin concerto popular during the sixties - the "Butterfly Lovers."

Do You See the Real China?

Two weeks is hardly enough time to see any country, much less one the size of China. What you experience, however, gives you an idea of the life of the Chinese people. You are introduced to the economic and political theories that form the basis of the society. You meet an extraordinary number of people of all ages and occupations. You learn how the society's values are transmitted in the schools from nursery to university, and how its ideals are nourished by cultural performances. You get a sense of what has been accomplished in the last 30 years and what is projected for the next 20.

This is the result of traveling many hundreds of miles by bus, train, and plane, observing both the countryside and the cities. You also visit people in their homes, factories, theaters, and even hospitals. You walk around on your own in the cities that you visit. You go to local department stores and shops, noticing what and how much is available to the people. With the name of your hotel on a card in Chinese, you feel free to wander around, eating in small local restaurants, poking into local markets, riding on buses. You get up early in the morning to watch or participate in the Tai Chi exercises in the park or to watch the city come alive.

Are the factories and communes that you see models of their kind? Are the students you meet exemplary? Probably. Are the homes you visit spruced up? Of course. But I think you are able to judge whether there is a great disparity, in either the countryside or the city, between what you are shown and the way that the Chinese people really live.

* * *

Recent China travelers: Do you have experience you would like to share with our readers - a special person you met, place you visited, shop you found? Please send a 250-350-word description to the Travel Column, NEW CHINA, 41 Union Square West, Room 721, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Will More Exams Mean Better Students?

by Pat Howard

A teacher evaluates recent changes in education

Well, what are we to think? Exams have been restored, including entrance exams for university. Up to one-third of university students are being recruited directly out of senior middle school with no need to first work two or more years. Editorials in the Chinese press call for greater respect for teachers and intellectuals in general and better discipline in the classroom.

Around the world many friends of China have been thrown into confusion by these changes in education and other fields, changes which have occurred since the death of Mao Tsetung. Some people have concluded that Hua Guo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-ping) are leading China down the same blind alley to capitalist restoration as was attempted by Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shao-chi) in the early sixties. It is necessary to analyze these changes concretely, to penetrate beneath the surface in order to understand their real significance.

Take exams, for example. Many Westerners were very impressed during the Cultural



Guangzhou high school students celebrate: the poster demands "smash the gang of four." (Photo: P. Howard)

Revolution when they heard that Mao had criticized exams in which students are treated like enemies to be ambushed with surprise attacks in the form of unusual and difficult questions. For this certainly seemed an apt description of their usual function in most Western schools and universities. So

few people worried when they heard that exams had been abolished in China's schools during the Cultural Revolution.

But inside China there was some difference of opinion on this question. Some people thought it was a good thing to abolish exams. They pointed to their role in feudal society where the only way to become an official and escape a life of manual labor was to pass the imperial examinations. They added that in the capitalist countries and particularly in the Soviet Union, which modeled its education system on the ideas of Dewey, success in exams is for many the key to entrance into a privileged stratum of bureaucrats and professionals. In China, just as open-door education* and the integration of academic work with productive labor were viewed as "new socialist things" to be nurtured and developed, so too exams

*Open-door education is a system whereby students spend a certain amount of time, usually from one day to a month or more, in army units, factories, or communes doing productive labor and learning from workers, peasants, and soldiers. The goal of these programs is to break down the traditional gap between intellectuals and those who labor with their hands.

Canadian PAT HOWARD spent four years in China, 1973-77. For two of those years she taught at the Guangdong Institute of Foreign Languages.

were seen by some to be "old feudal-capitalist things" to be eliminated without further ado.

But some people were not so sure. Especially among the teachers there was fear that the baby was being thrown out with the bath water. And so exams did not disappear altogether. In 1972 Chou En-lai recommended the use of university entrance exams but within two years the policy had been reversed because of criticism of this decision as rightist. In our own institute some people went so far as to tell third-year students that they were not bona fide "worker-peasant-soldier students" because they had taken these entrance exams in 1973.

In the fall of 1975, not long after we arrived at the Guangdong (Kwangtung) Institute of Foreign Languages, some students of a third-year English class criticized their teachers for "threatening them with a surprise attack" in the form of a test. We discovered that this was not even a major exam, but simply a review quiz to see if the students had grasped the main points of a recent lesson. We were surprised when the teachers quickly backed down and called off the test. Although the teachers felt the students were wrong, they were afraid of being criticized as "bourgeois rightists" by the students if they persisted. The students, however, were genuinely afraid that they would fail. After several arguments with the students we discovered that most had never taken an exam and were terrified at the prospect.

The situation disturbed us. Teachers were expected to evaluate students on the basis of their performance in class without any written or oral exams. Many students were overwhelmed by feelings of incompetence and ignorance, never having had a chance to find out how much they really knew, nor to systematize their knowledge through preparing for and taking an exam. Of course, to serve such purposes a test must be a good one.

But if it has already been decided that all exams are bad, there is no need or possibility of analyzing what distinguishes a good test from a bad one.

But why then did Mao say exams are "surprise attacks"? The answer is very simple. He didn't. He wasn't talking about exams in general. Mao was not opposed to exams *per se*. He stressed the importance of exams at Kangda, the university set up in Yan'an (Yenan) which has served as a model of socialist education ever since. It's not all exams which are bad but, as Mao put it, those exams which "treat the students like enemies and seek to ambush them."

Exams were reintroduced in all of China's schools in 1977. In our own institute this was done only after considerable discussion

involving students, teachers, and cadres as to why they are useful and how to put together good ones. In the discussions before the exams many teachers talked about the problems created in recent years by the lack of tests. Upon graduation they were expected to evaluate their students' abilities. This evaluation would be important in decisions about job assignment of graduates. Some teachers said they felt that under the circumstances they hadn't been able to make an objective assessment, nor even an honest one. They always felt constrained to give exaggerated estimations of their students' abilities for fear that they would be accused of "looking down on the students of worker and peasant backgrounds."

Behind the debates over exams lie deeper and more serious contradictions. One of these is the very real gap between the city and countryside. Many primary and middle schools in the countryside are inferior to those in the cities. Most young people finish school sooner in the countryside. Students from peasant families, especially from villages in outlying areas, are often seriously handicapped if they go on to university. Many teachers in our institute were very disturbed by this and wanted to find ways to help these students catch up to the level of their classmates. But it was a difficult problem to tackle. All too often teachers who brought up the problem were accused of having condescending attitudes toward workers and peasants. In the political atmosphere created by the movement to "beat back the right deviationist wind," their suggestions for special classes, special tutoring, etc., were rejected as a veiled attack on the recruitment system that emerged out of the Cultural Revolution. But this "defense" of the integrity of peasant and working-class students only served to obscure from view problems stemming from the gap between the city and countryside.

But won't entrance exams mean that once again students who come from homes without a lot of books and from schools that are not up to city standards will be squeezed out? Ignoring the problem or denying it will not make it go away. The exams are necessary because China needs to develop well-qualified professional people as rapidly as possible. Because of the disruptions in the school system which occurred during the Cultural Revolution and the slowness of the schools in getting back on their feet, there is an acute shortage of university-trained people. Most post-secondary institutions in 1976 had enrollments far below those of 1966. Many scientific and research institutions are only reopening this year. For over ten years there have been no graduate programs in the universities and relatively little basic theoretical research. As a result China's industry and agriculture have run up against

numerous scientific and technological bottlenecks that are holding back rapid development. China is a poor country with an enormous population and cannot afford to ignore this situation any longer.

It is essential to develop a method of recruitment that will draw out promising young people who have already developed research and analytical skills. Some of these students will be found in graduating senior-middle-school classes. But the majority will be recruited from among young people in all kinds of work who have continued to sharpen their analytical ability and broaden their knowledge through independent study and practical work since leaving school.

But regardless of whether students are drawn from graduating middle-school classes or from young working people, all of them must first pass a political test. They must be recommended by those who have worked with them. Those who have shown by their attitudes and actions that they have a poorly developed socialist consciousness are not eligible to take college entrance exams, no matter how high their grades.

But what about the millions of young people graduating from middle schools in the countryside, especially those from remote mountain districts and national minority areas? Will they be squeezed out by the new admissions policy? With the movement of millions of educated youth to the countryside, rural elementary schools were given a real shot in the arm as many took up teaching posts. At the same time a large number of graduates from teachers colleges in the cities volunteered to go to the countryside and remote areas to work in rural elementary and middle schools. All of this has helped considerably to upgrade rural schools and there is no lack of fully qualified young people from peasant families who can handle university. But the overall quality of rural schools still falls short of urban schools and upper-middle-school education in particular is still much less available than in the cities, where it is rapidly becoming universal. There is also a considerable gap in educational opportunities for young people in remote areas where in some schools the teachers are unable to teach in *putonghua*, the national dialect used in all universities. But it is the present movement to expand and improve post-secondary education that will provide the teachers who can close this gap between urban and rural education. There has been no change in the policy of sending

*All those who wish to go to university must do well in the entrance exams. But because of the importance of recruiting students from all parts of the country, including the more remote rural areas with inferior schools, applicants from such areas are not required to get quite as high marks as students from big cities like Peking and Shanghai.

educated youth and new and experienced teachers to work in the countryside and national minority areas. There is no reason for pessimism about the prospects of today's young peasants playing their full role as China's future revolutionary intellectuals.

But even if China were to set a quota of 80 percent peasant students to match the distribution in the general population, this alone could not guarantee the narrowing of the gap between city and countryside. If the schools merely drain off the best of rural youth for professional work in the cities, the

result will be quite the opposite. The Chinese recognize that it is necessary to recruit as many outstanding students from rural areas as possible, but they see as even more important the orientation of education in general and the development of science and technology in particular to raising rural productivity and the standard of living and general quality of life in the countryside. It is this political orientation which guarantees the preservation and further development of new socialist things which enable students, teachers, and intellectuals in general to

maintain systematic and meaningful relations with the peasantry.

But these new socialist things are not without their own contradictions. In recent years it was thought that the key to preventing the emergence of an educated elite divorced from working people lay in recruiting students only after they had spent two or more years working on communes or state farms, in industry, or in the army. But many young people found that after two to seven or eight years of working they had forgotten a lot of what they studied in middle school and had to review it all before they could tackle university-level courses. This was particularly true for scientific and technical subjects. This meant that some university courses were actually remedial courses. At the same time university programs had been shortened to three years. While it is true that much irrelevant material had been eliminated, it is also true that many units complained that graduates sent to them were unable to do the jobs they had supposedly been trained for.

So what's the solution? Well, for the time being up to one-third of university students will be recruited directly out of graduating senior-middle-school classes. There is talk of extending the length of courses and incorporating many ways to enable these students to work in factories and communes for short periods while they are going to school. At the same time a major push has begun toward rapidly developing mass education programs outside the traditional universities to permit far more working people to continue studying after they leave middle school. This includes the "July 21st" workers' colleges in mines and factories with full- and part-time courses, and the communist labor universities and peasant colleges in the countryside. The importance of these new universities situated within factory and mine complexes and in the countryside cannot be overestimated. These are neither junior colleges nor second-rate schools for those who can't make it into the "big name" universities. In fact, the old established universities are providing some of their best profs to teach in these new colleges. Some of the biggest of these worker and peasant colleges offer full university-level programs in scientific and technical fields as well as the social sciences, humanities, and fine arts. Others offer one- and two-year programs. Naturally, being a rather recent innovation, the level of organization and academic standards vary, but all of these new colleges are playing an invaluable role in raising the general educational level of the working class and peasantry.

A mass education movement is sweeping over China with a flood of spare-time and short-term courses held in factories, agro-technical stations, commune and county-



High school students like these (in a chemistry lab in Xian Middle School) will now make up one-third of university freshman classes. (Photo: J. Zobel)



Productive labor is still part of the curriculum in China. Xian high school students help at the Beacon Light Commune on the outskirts of the city. (Photo: J. Zobel)

level hospitals, as well as correspondence courses and classes on radio and TV. More books are also being published for use in self-study by workers, peasants, and educated youth in the countryside. Friends have written to us describing the evident enthusiasm with which many people, young and old, are responding to this chance to study so as to make a greater contribution to socialist construction. In Guangdong Province alone, one million young people took the entrance exams in December in hopes of being accepted for one of the 10,000 places available for new students in the province's post-secondary institutions. The old universities alone cannot fill China's needs for trained people, so worker and peasant universities are expanding rapidly and in the future will assume increasing importance in solving the crisis in education.

But how did this crisis in education come about? It seems to us that at the heart of this development was a manipulation by the "gang of four" of a fundamental confusion in people's minds about the relation between politics and expertise. During the Cultural Revolution the "gang of four" and those working with them put forward "two estimates" of China's educational system. In speeches and writings they insisted, first, that a revisionist line had dominated education in the 17 years from 1949 to 1966. Second, they claimed that most of the teachers and students in China's schools had a bourgeois world outlook. Labeling them bourgeois intellectuals was tantamount to calling them class enemies. As a result, in many schools real and fabricated mistakes of teachers and cadres in education were treated as crimes. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and others asserted that the educational system was turning out "white experts" (i.e., ambitious intellectuals concerned only with expertise and not social and political issues). They called for the introduction of more and more politics into the curriculum.

Rather than analyzing the subject being studied so as to lay bare its intrinsic political character and open up the important political questions within it, politics tended to be attached rather mechanically and superficially, like a homily about studying to serve the Revolution or a slogan added almost as an afterthought. This sort of "politics" was a lifeless thing quite remote from the concrete struggles that are the driving force of the Chinese Revolution. Concern with expertise was identified with denial of the primacy of politics. Members of the "gang of four" in their agitational speeches finally stated openly, "The more knowledge one has, the more reactionary one becomes."

In 1957, in his talk "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the

People," Mao criticized comrades in the Party who, he said, "are stiff in their attitude toward the intellectuals and lack respect for their work." In order to break through this mistaken attitude Mao analyzed the intellectuals as they appeared to him at the time. He said that most of the intellectuals had shown they were in favor of the socialist system, many were studying Marxism, and a small but steadily increasing number had become Communists, while a minority remained skeptical or even hostile. At our institute we found that among the teachers only an insignificant minority remained somewhat skeptical about socialism while a solid majority was not only in favor but actively orienting their teaching to deepening their students' understanding of why "only socialism can save China."

And yet among the teachers we kept running up against a certain fear of being misunderstood, of being attacked as bourgeois rightists. This fear led to a failure on the part of many to boldly challenge what they perceived as mistakes, such as elimination of exams, poor organization of open-door education, failure to deal with or even admit the existence of great differences in knowledge or ability among the students, deterioration of the scientific character of language texts due to repeated hasty rewriting to incorporate current political issues, exhaustion of students owing to overly long stints of labor, the repeated attrition of study time by political activity, the students' reluctance to give their all to their studies for fear of being criticized for neglecting politics by fellow students, Party cadres, or members of the workers' propaganda team - to name a few of the problems which prevented the many gains made in the Cultural Revolution from being consolidated and which only now are finally being faced openly.

Such problems could be found in every school in China to a more or less serious degree, depending on the level of consciousness of the teaching and non-teaching staff and students and the relationships between the masses and the Party. Our own institute had no real followers of the "gang" but all of us were more or less influenced by them. This showed up in confusion and poor handling of a number of problems.

There were often problems with open-door education. Especially in the factories many departments found it difficult to integrate language studies with social investigation and productive labor. Whenever the students spoke a foreign language they felt divorced from the workers. At one factory the leadership asked the students to translate into Chinese a manual for a machine recently imported from Japan. The manual was in a very rough English translation from the Japanese and very technical. It was such a difficult task that students and

teachers had to divide up the job, each working on a few pages. They spent many long hours searching through technical dictionaries and learning about the machine and its operation from the workers until finally, after several weeks, they completed the job. One teacher asked a cadre in charge how they would use the Chinese text prepared by the students and teachers. "Oh," he said, "we already understand this machine inside and out. We just thought we ought to give you a practical task with which you could make use of your English studies." The teacher was appalled. Translating the manual had been very frustrating because of the overly technical language and numerous grammatical errors, and yet they had all spurred themselves on in the belief they were performing a useful service for the workers. A few days later the students and teachers had a meeting with the workers and cadres of the factory to sum up their open-door experience. Many teachers and students talked about how proud and pleased they felt to be able to translate the manual and make a contribution to socialist construction. Neither the teacher nor cadres or workers enlightened them as to the reality of the situation. In fact, the teacher who knew better just went along and said similar things. It was not until after the exposure of the "gang of four" that he told this story to illustrate the dishonesty that had crept into student-teacher-worker-peasant relations as a result of distortions spread by this faction in the Party's leadership.

Another teacher described how during the movement to "criticize Lin Biao and rectify work style" in 1972-73, all the teachers had been full of enthusiasm for their work and the relations between teachers and students were warm and comradely. But with the movement to criticize Deng Xiao-ping and "beat back the right deviationist wind" in 1975-76, the situation deteriorated. One day she learned that one of her students was ill and needed medicine that wasn't available in the school clinic. She made a trip into the city to buy the medicine. But when she arrived at the student's dorm with the medication, she received no warm words of appreciation but only a haughty accusation that she was trying to corrupt the student with bourgeois privilege. This experience took the wind out of her sails for some time after.

How could this happen? The answer lies in the influence of articles in the press which implied that all educated people were "bourgeois intellectuals." Students were told that it was their duty to supervise and criticize their teachers and to be on guard against attempts to transform revolution into counter-revolution.

Behind this line is an assumption that



University language students working at the Guangzhou clock factory try to contribute to production by translating a technical manual from the Japanese. (Photo: P. Howard)

mental and manual labor are inherently antagonistic, that mental labor is intrinsically corrupting. This confusion is not really surprising when we consider the thousands of years in which power and authority in China rested with those literate few who flaunted their freedom from manual labor and their disdain for the lowly manual workers.

It is now recognized more clearly, however, that it is wrong to think that the resolution of the contradiction between manual laborers and intellectuals lies only in changing the heads of the intellectuals. Workers and peasants must also come to respect and understand intellectuals and the work they do. This is a very different thing from the awe laced with hatred and resentment characteristic of the attitudes of working people toward intellectuals in the old society. Today in China workers and peasants are no longer awed by theory and analysis. They themselves are studying science and technology, history, literature, and philosophy. They themselves are conducting scientific experiments and writing

books. When students, teachers, administrators, scientists, and even members of the Central Committee go to work for a while in factories or communes, they not only work side by side with workers and peasants, they study together too. The mutual respect and understanding that will grow out of the continuation and deepening of this process will make future mistakes in policy toward intellectuals less likely and more easily corrected if they do occur.

It is our feeling that the present changes in education in China do not at all represent a turn to the right, but rather an attempt to correct past mistakes so as to consolidate the gains achieved by the many changes implemented during and since the heady days of the Cultural Revolution. This is not to say there is no danger that the right will try to exploit the critical mood of the Chinese people to turn the effort to correct errors into a total rejection of the new socialist things which emerged out of the struggles of the past ten years. Many rightists worked together with the "gang of four" to create confusion and general disillusionment, but

others were fooled by them and rejoiced at their downfall, thinking their own time had come. There are two dangers. One comes from recalcitrant rightists still in the Party's leadership. Most people are aware of this danger and watching for it. Another comes from honest confusion about how to understand and deal with the contradictions which remain the driving force of the Chinese Revolution.

The political study and discussion we participated in during the months after the collapse of the "four" were the most fascinating and thoroughgoing of our four years in China. When we left China in August 1977, the mood among our Chinese friends was one of immense relief after a crisis, and sober-minded optimism and determination to face up to problems and get down to work to solve them. Nothing that we have heard since then leads us to believe these efforts are misguided. Quite the contrary, letters from friends in China are more and more confident that China's present leadership is really on the right track. ●

OLD CHINA

FOR THE FIRST TIME PHOTOGRAPHS OF FEUDAL CHINA as seen by pioneer cameramen, both Western and Chinese, have been brought together in two comprehensive exhibitions. *THE FACE OF CHINA*, organized by *Aperture Magazine* and shown earlier this year at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, will travel to the St. Louis Art Museum (November 3, 1978 - January 7, 1979), the Cleveland Museum of Art (July 11 - August 26, 1979), San Diego's Fine Arts Gallery (September 15 - October 28, 1979), and the Art Museum of the University of California at Berkeley (beginning December 1979). *IMPERIAL CHINA*, organized by the American Federation of Arts and The Asia House and first exhibited at The Asia House Gallery in New York City, will be shown at Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History (October 1 - November 12, 1978), the Everson Museum of Art in Syracuse (December 3, 1978 - January 14, 1979), the Yale University Art Gallery (February 4 - March 18, 1979), Houston's Museum of Fine Arts (June 10 - July 22, 1979), and the Denver Art Museum (August 19 - September 30, 1979).

Both exhibits are accompanied by handsomely printed, book-length catalogs available at the museums and through bookstores.

- HELEN GEE



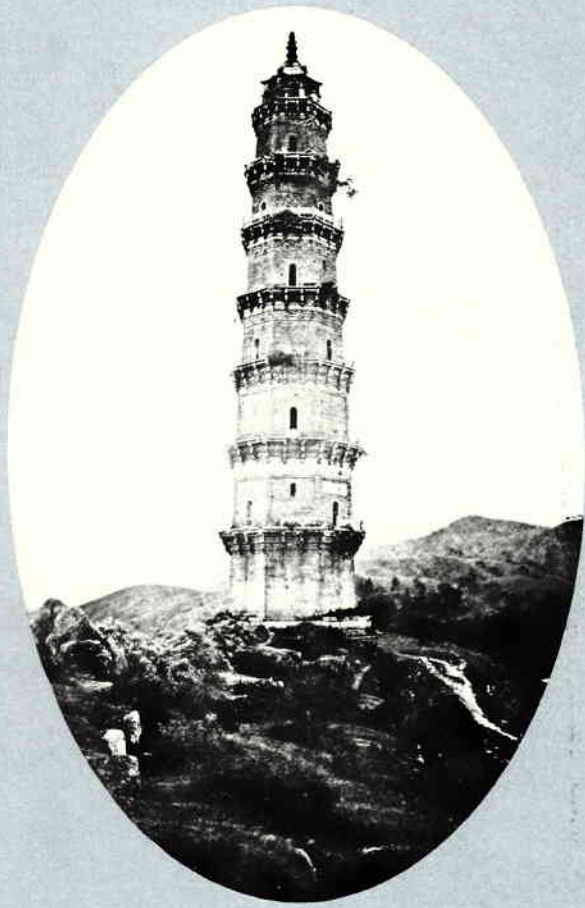
"Woman with Bound Feet," 1900, by Underwood and Underwood. From The Face of China, lent by the Library of Congress.



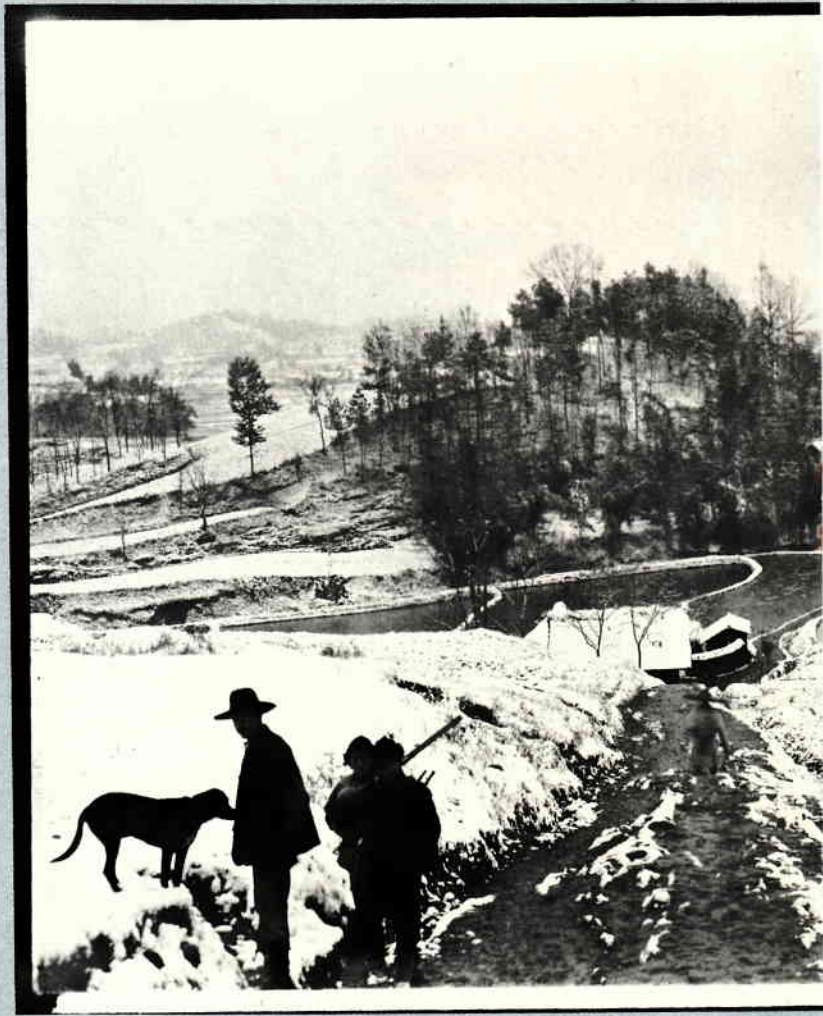
*"Confucian Temple from An-ting Gate, Peking," 1860, by Felice Beato.
From The Face of China, lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum.*



*"Official at Canton on a Visit," c. 1863, by M. Miller.
From Imperial China, lent by the Royal Asiatic Society.*



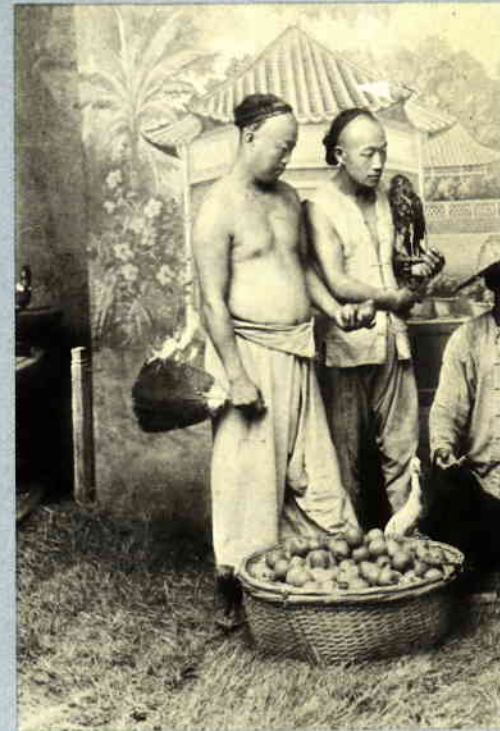
*"A Pagoda in South China, Near Ch'ao-chou fu,"
c. 1870, by John Thomson. From Imperial China,
lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.*



*"Countryside South of Ichang, Hupei," 1909, by E. H. Wilson,
lent by the Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University.*



*"Criminals Awaiting Death by Strangulation," 1900s, by E. H. Wilson.
From The Face of China, lent by the Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University.*



*"Street Vendor Selling Pears, Shanghai,"
From Imperial China, lent by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.*



Thomson. From *The Face of China*,
University.



"The Empress Dowager Posed as the Goddess
of Mercy," 1903, by the court photographer Yu. From *Imperial
China*, lent by the Freer Gallery of Art.



"1870s, attributed to L. F. Fiesler.
Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.



"The Shop of Wah Loong and Cumwo, Hong Kong," c. 1870, by John
Thomson. From *Imperial China*, lent by Janet and Louis Lehr.



"Chinese Woman and Servant," c. 1868, attributed to John Thomson. From The Face of China, lent by the Elaine Ellman Collection.



"Taku Fort after Explosion of the Magazine," 1860, by Felice Beato. From Imperial China, lent by Paul Walter.



"Seventeenth Century Astronomical Observatory of the Emperor K'ang-hsi," Peking, c. 1877, by Thomas Child. From The Face of China, lent by the Bibliothèque Nationale.



"Garden in Canton," c. 1870, by John Thomson. From Imperial China, lent by the Janet Lehr Gallery.



"Western Businessmen with Dispossessed Chinese Peasants in Rattan Factory," c. 1875, photographer unknown. From The Face of China, lent by Daniel Wolf.

China on Africa's Fight for Independence

by Susan Warren

The role of the U.S. and the Soviet Union

Since the events in Angola in 1975, the attention of the world has turned to Africa. The news is full of events in Zaire, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Eritrea, southern Africa, and elsewhere. In 1977 and 1978, perhaps no other issue dominated United Nations deliberations to the same extent as African issues. For these reasons, our UN correspondent, Susan Warren, has answered some questions on Africa and China's perceptions and analysis of the situation there. Ms. Warren's comments represent her understanding of China's positions; she is not a spokeswoman for the Chinese, who can and do, as she says, speak very well for themselves.

Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua, in a UN speech in 1977, said: "The African countries are indeed faced with the trying

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task of 'rebuffing the tiger at the back gate while repelling the wolf at the front door.' " What did he mean?

The Foreign Minister was summarizing China's view of the role of the two superpowers in Africa in a typically Chinese way. China sees the world today as a complex of three worlds. It points out that post-World War II events effectively broke up both the socialist and imperialist camps as they had existed in the immediate postwar period. In its view the Soviet Union has long ceased to be a socialist country. Today the U.S. and the USSR both command vast economic and military resources that put them in a class by themselves. They are the two superpowers who make up the first world in China's three-world view. Look around the globe. Wherever there is trouble and turmoil, they are there, contending with each other for control in a life-and-death battle for supremacy. Africa is a key arena in this fierce contest.

In Africa, Moscow has mounted a concerted drive to establish an unbroken belt

of influence across the continent: from Angola through Zaire in the west, to the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, and the Indian Ocean in the east, and from its abortive efforts in Egypt and Sudan in the north, to its infiltration and meddling in the embattled liberation movements of the South, it is on the move, with military aid and massive military intervention its prime instrument.

The U.S. adopts another approach. It has huge interests in Africa—particularly southern Africa—and is intent on acquiring more. To protect these investments, check people's liberation wars, and counter Soviet expansion, Washington pursues the policy of offering deceptive proposals for "black majority rule" which, in essence, preserve white minority domination. In Africa its main form of penetration and control is through the export of capital and technology.

China regards both superpowers as a common threat to the African people. It sees the African people, on the other hand, as part of the Third World of poor, un-

developed, formerly colonized countries who fight hardest against racism, colonialism, and imperialism because they suffer most from them. They are the main revolutionary force today opposing and weakening the whole imperial system. Though they have changed the face of the world with their historic liberation victories, the battle is far from over. Some, such as Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South-West Africa), must still engage in armed struggle for freedom. All are faced with enormous problems of growth and development. The imperialists, and now primarily the two superpowers, have not bowed out. Each in its own way continues to employ every new device and tactic for preserving old and carving out new areas of influence and control. They use their monopoly position in the world market to try to dominate the economies and political life of the African countries. That is why Foreign Minister Huang Hua warned against letting the Soviet "tiger" slip in through the back gate while expelling the U.S. "wolf" through the front!

If the Chinese see the two superpowers as adversaries who both threaten the peace of the world, why do they call the Soviet Union the more dangerous source of war?

The Chinese feel that each particular country or region will decide which superpower or imperialist country poses the most immediate threat to it in its particular context. However, taking the world scene as a whole, and certainly in Africa, the Soviet Union represents the main danger. They point out that in the last decade – and particularly under the umbrella of detente – the U.S.-Soviet balance of power is rapidly shifting in favor of the Soviet Union. In their view the United States continues to be an aggressive country. Its nature has not changed. But it has been weakened by a number of post-World War II defeats and is enmeshed in economic and monetary crises, internally and internationally. It is therefore mainly preoccupied with holding on to what it has. The U.S. is, in China's view, *strategically on the defensive*.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is seen as the "Ivan-come-lately" on the imperial scene. Also riddled with internal and external problems and short of foreign exchange to pay for the grain, equipment, and technology it buys from the West, it desperately needs a redivision of the world's resources and markets. As a latecomer it is hungrier, more aggressive, and more willing to take risks which could trigger events that might escalate into a big war. This has become especially apparent in Africa in recent months. Lacking the enormous financial

reserves, productive capacity, and technological superiority of the U.S., it relies heavily on sheer military clout. It is, in short, *on the offensive*. Its internal economy and political life are more highly centralized and monopolized than even those of the U.S. It can place its whole economy on a war footing with greater speed and less disruption than its rival. Moreover, while U.S. imperialism is well known to the African people for what it is, the Chinese point out that Moscow continues to drape itself in the mantle of its socialist past and is able to deceive people by using socialist rhetoric to cover its expansionist acts.

This is why China believes that though the U.S. has not changed its policies of aggression and domination it would be wrong and misleading to put the two superpowers on an absolute par and not single out the Soviet Union as the greater danger. After all, analysis is for the purpose of developing a people's strategy. It is necessary to zero in on and not blur the primary target.

Some observers in the American press say that China opposes the Soviet Union in Africa only because it is China's chief rival there.

This talk about China's quest for hegemony in Africa is the easiest canard to put to rest. If a country seeks hegemony there should be some concrete evidence of it, shouldn't there? Well, do the Chinese have soldiers in Africa, or any other part of the world outside China for that matter? Is China sending massive arms shipments to Africa? Or surrogate troops? No. Has it ever asked for a single base or port facility in any African country? Has it ever bought cheap and sold dear in its trade with African countries? Has it ever demanded subservience to its dictates by first supplying and then withholding arms and spare parts? Has it ever required any country to whom it has given aid to support China's policies?

In recent months China has been compelled to revoke its aid to Vietnam and Albania. While both these countries have been publicly attacking China and its policies and provoking hostile incidents for a considerable period of time, they have now unleashed a virulent campaign pointedly aimed at discrediting China's eight-point foreign aid policy. In one sense this is a recognition of the enormous appeal and effectiveness of that policy. After all, Vietnam and Albania are not the only countries which have received Chinese aid, though they have received the most over the longest period of time and, in the case of Vietnam, largely gratis with some interest-free loans. China has, within its capacity, provided aid to dozens of developing countries in Africa

and elsewhere. As NEW CHINA's UN correspondent, I have had occasion to talk to and interview representatives of Third World countries who universally agree that in giving aid China bends over backwards to avoid even the semblance of pressure to conform to its policies.

This interview is not the place to review the broad spectrum of facts which lie behind these admittedly disturbing developments in regard to Vietnam and Albania. Nevertheless, these events do impinge on some of the questions relating to China's aid. Perhaps it will suffice to remark that in their zeal to prove that China uses its aid to exert pressure on the recipient country, Vietnam and Albania have succeeded in proving just the opposite. In its 56-page letter to China of July 1978, Albania details a whole series of communications to Peking over many years on precisely how China should manage its internal and external affairs. Yet, by Albania's own admission, Chinese aid continued from 1954 to 1978. Who was pressuring whom?

In the case of Vietnam, everyone who has been following international events in any depth for the last decade knows that the Chinese have had reservations about certain aspects of Vietnamese policy, just as the Vietnamese have had toward China's. This in no way interfered with China's aid to Vietnam. The Chinese have always had, and continue to have, the highest praise and appreciation for the heroism and selflessness of the Vietnamese people in their war for national survival. China maintains, however, that because it gives aid without pressure to accept China's policies, it doesn't follow that, when Vietnamese authorities engage in open, hostile attacks against China and Chinese nationals in Vietnam, China is obliged to help them do it. Today, China must provide for the resettling and employment of 160,000 Chinese returnees expelled from Vietnam.

The question is sometimes asked, "Isn't it inevitable that when China becomes a strong, modern, industrialized country it, too, will behave like a superpower?" Who can read the future? But in one of the most unusual statements ever made by a government in power, China's Vice-Premier, Teng Hsiao-ping, declared before a Special Session of the UN General Assembly that when China is economically developed and has become a powerful socialist country, it will still belong to the Third World and will still stand together with the oppressed nations. However, he said, if one day China should change "political color," turn into a superpower, and play the tyrant in the world by subjecting others to bullying, aggression, and exploitation, then the people of the world should identify it as social-imperialist, expose it, oppose it, and work

together with the Chinese people to overthrow it!

Why is Africa so important to the superpowers?

Europe is the prize in the Soviet-U.S. competition, but Africa, together with the Middle East to which it is linked, is today the principal theater of action. Africa's abundant natural resources and its potential as a great market make it a coveted plum. It is also of enormous strategic consideration. Just look at the map. Africa is joined to the Middle East and abuts the oil-rich Persian Gulf states. It is a bridge to Asia. There are excellent deep-water ports on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, the Indian Ocean, and the eastern shores of the South Atlantic. Above all, it dominates the sea lanes which tie the oil-producing states to Western Europe, the United States, and Japan. The latter have become vulnerable to the extent that their normal commercial access to the essential raw materials and oil they need to survive is threatened. Whoever controls these strategic waterways and raw materials can apply pressure in peacetime, cut vital communications during war, and isolate Europe from its chief ally, the United States. For example, the Soviet Union is reported to have a naval base at Aden. It lost a base at Berbera in Somalia, but if, with Moscow's help, Eritrea can be subdued by military or political means, the Kremlin may have access to the major Red Sea ports of Assab and Massawa. It could then cement its control over key oil routes through the Red Sea and Suez Canal. The massive Soviet-Cuban presence in the Horn of Africa and Angola and the establishment of naval anchorages and facilities along the oil route around the Cape of Good Hope to Europe and America are perceived in the West as threats to its very existence.

The impact of recent events in South Yemen and Afghanistan, where Moscow has consolidated its influence, points up Africa's strategic position in the wider global contest between the superpowers in the African and Asian countries encircling the Indian Ocean with its crucial oil and trade routes.

Why doesn't China condemn the actions of the European nations in Africa as vigorously as it does those of the USSR?

China sees the countries of Europe, Japan, Canada – the lesser capitalist countries – as a kind of middle section between the first world and the Third World. This “second world” has broken out of the strait-jacket of complete U.S. domination characteristic of the early post-World War II years. But these countries are still the object

of economic penetration, control, and threats by the two superpowers. Although they still have innumerable ties to the U.S., they now often take independent positions, resist control, and demand an equal relationship with Washington. Today it is the Soviet Union with its military and naval forces massed in Eastern Europe and encircling Western Europe from the sea north and south that poses the gravest threat to West European security.

While Britain, France, Belgium, and West Germany try to maintain their control and exploitation of certain African countries, they are not in the same league with the two superpowers. In the Chinese view, taking Africa as a whole, they are no longer the main force dominating and oppressing the African continent. As a matter of fact, acting strictly in their own interests, their relations with African countries have undergone certain changes. They often feel compelled to make certain concessions to African and other Third World countries. For example, after the 1973 oil embargo, the European Economic Community (EEC) called for dialogue in defiance of Kissinger's policy of confrontation. At the Fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Nairobi, Kenya, 16 West European countries, in a joint statement, welcomed the passage of a resolution offered by African and other Third World countries to implement their demands for a new international economic order. The statement called for an integrated commodities program, a Common Fund, and the renegotiation of the strangling debts of the developing countries. Both superpowers had opposed all three points. Today the EEC has established special relations of aid and trade with 36 African nations.

The Chinese feel it is possible and necessary to unite with the second world countries against the two superpowers. They have in their own revolutionary history always placed enormous importance on winning over the middle forces against the main enemy. This does not mean that they discount the contradictions that exist between the second world and Third World countries or the internal contradictions in either. It means they advocate unity and struggle. Their three-world view is not only an analysis but a strategy to unite all who can be united to weaken and ultimately destroy the ability of the two superpowers to dominate Africa and the world. This strategy dictates how you judge a country or a revolutionary group. Do you unite only with those who pass an abstract “purity” test or do you unite with all whose position objectively undermines the hegemony of the two superpowers?

Let's take the recent events in Zaire.

Moscow's overall aim in Africa is to oust the United States, and also the secondary imperialisms which still retain influence, and to monopolize the immense natural resources of the African continent. Specifically, in Shaba Province it wanted to exacerbate the economic difficulties of Zaire, bring down the Mobutu government, and draw Zaire into the Soviet orbit through its manipulation of its Katangan clients. When the Soviet-armed, Cuban-trained Katangans invaded, the French and Belgians, with a “lift” from Washington, intervened. No one doubts they were primarily concerned with the interests of the French and Belgian monopolists in Zaire. But – *the principal aspect of the conflict was the Soviet aggression against Zaire, through the Katangans, in the context of the USSR's overall goals in Africa.* The actions of the French and Belgians objectively helped to frustrate Soviet designs. China supported Zaire against an outside invasion engineered by that most aggressive superpower on the move with military force throughout the African continent.

The Chinese believe it is in the course of such struggles that the African people gain political experience and begin to recognize who their true friends and real enemies are. China says that where the superpowers, and primarily the Soviet Union, have free rein and are dominant, the new democratic and socialist revolutions cannot begin to succeed.

China claims that the Soviet Union tries to create splits among African liberation movements and countries and is basically hostile to African unity. Can you comment on that?

China believes that whatever contributes to the unity of the Third World advances the cause of liberation, independence, and progress. Unity among African countries and liberation groups promotes the whole world revolutionary cause. Whoever exploits or maximizes differences among them is playing the superpower game of “divide and rule.” The superpowers' aim is to break off countries or segments of the people's movements and attach them to their own blocs. Each has its own rhetoric to camouflage its penetration and expansion. Washington uses its superior economic and technological strength. Moscow relies on arms which it gives or withholds according to its own interests, encouraging dependence – not independence. It uses the slogans of national liberation and adulterates their content to justify its actions.

For example, it decides which African countries or liberation groups are “progressive” or “reactionary.” This is a right, in China's view, that belong to the people of a country or movement, acting from its



Soldiers and civilians demonstrate in Kinshasa, Zaire, May 17, 1978, against Katangan mercenaries. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

own experience. This Soviet tactic creates doubts and suspicion, foments conflict, and undermines the unity necessary for victory. As David Sibeko, a representative of the Pan African Congress of Azania, told the UN, "Both the two liberation organizations in Azania (the Pan African Congress and the African National Congress) have been recognized by the Organization of African Unity. But the Soviet Union supports one group and attacks another, creating splits instead of unity." China recognizes both organizations as contributing to the liberation of the Azanian people and calls for the unity of all who fight the vicious apartheid system.

China considers that the Kremlin's criteria of "progressive" and "reactionary" have everything to do with Soviet designs and nothing to do with the interests of the African people. Egypt, the Sudan, and Somalia were all once labeled "progressive." When they refused to accept the onerous strings attached to Soviet aid and arms, they became "reactionaries" in Moscow's eyes. Zaire, too, was dubbed "reactionary" when it defended its territorial integrity

against the Katangans. Was this Katangan force "progressive"? It was originally formed by the notorious Moïse Tshombe who, with the backing of Union Minière, the Belgian mining conglomerate, led a secessionist movement to dismember the Congo (the former name of Zaire) against the recognized leader, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. Later, the Katangan mercenaries entered the service of the Portuguese against the Angolan liberation movements. When they saw which way the wind was blowing, they switched allegiance once again, this time to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). There they were armed by Moscow and trained by Cubans, first to fight other Angolans and then to intrude into Zaire to fight other Africans.

There is another aspect to Soviet splitting activity. The 85-member movement of non-aligned nations is an important factor in coordinating the worldwide interests of the great majority of Third World countries. Its reason for being is to enable developing countries to steer clear of the great East-West power blocs and to chart

their own independent course. Until recently, the Soviet approach to the non-aligned movement was one of suspicion and hostility. Now Moscow has shifted gears and succeeded in getting its own allies into the movement to press for adoption of pro-Soviet positions in an effort to make the movement an adjunct of Soviet policy. More and more non-aligned countries are charging that Cuba, in particular, is a stalking horse for the Kremlin in the non-aligned movement. In light of its intervention in the Horn of Africa, along with the Soviet Union, they question its non-aligned status and right to be part of that movement.

How does China see the differences among African countries and liberation movements?

Obviously, China recognizes that in African countries there are differences in social and political systems, in levels of wealth and economic development, in attitudes to-

continued on page 41

Chi Pai-shih

by Primerose Gigliesi

A traditional artist and modern master

In the tiny narrow Peking street of Liu Li Chang, well known for its art and antique shops, the delightful works of the great painter Qi Bai-shi (Chi Pai-shih) have re-appeared. Once again in Rong Bao Zhai, the shop where fabulous reproductions of masterpieces old and modern are made, visitors can see, in all their freshness and grace, paintings of the old masters which a wrong policy had managed to ban for a number of years.

Today, replacing the monotony of the shop's offerings during that past period, a monotony only occasionally broken by good pieces, are the splendid paintings of the major masters of contemporary Chinese painting – Wu Zuo-ren, Li Ke-ran (Wu Tso-jen, Li Ke-jan), Li Ku-chan, Lin Feng-mian, and others – artists until only recently considered reactionary.

Qi Bai-shi's return brings back his tiny animal and insect world, his fluffy baby chicks, his flowers, the common things of daily life. This is all the more moving when we recall that Qi Bai-shi first showed his paintings in Peking in a stationery shop in this same tiny street. Appropriately, today the shop is an art store.

Qi Bai-shi's life spanned almost a century. One of China's first great modern painters, he was 86 years old when the People's Republic came into being. He easily adapted the old Chinese concepts of art to the needs of the newly emerging society, for he had long combined such traditionally required motifs as clouds, flowers, and plum blossoms with the



Qi Bai-shi by Wang Zi-wu.
(From *Meishu Magazine*)

humble objects of working people's lives, things no traditional painter thought worth considering.

Born in a poor peasant family in 1863, he began working early in life as a carpenter and woodcarver. Never ashamed of his origins, he later signed many of his paintings simply *Kemu Laoren*, "The Old Woodcutter."

In his autobiography (published in 1962 by the People's Art Publishing House) which, unfortunately, does not trace his life beyond 1948, he wrote: "I was born in Hunan Province in the county of Shangtan on the twenty-second day of the eleventh moon of the second year of the reign of the Ching emperor Tong Zhi" (1863). His ancestors had always worked the land. "In

those days," he said, "peasants remained peasants generation after generation, and the poor were always poor."

His grandfather, although he knew no more than 300 characters, and some only approximately, taught him to read. He remembered the old man's long sheepskin-lined gown, a garment that had probably cost a lifetime's savings. His first character was *chih*, from his boyhood name, Ah Chih. Learning one character every two or three days, he went to this "school" for three years. His "homework" was written in the dirt with a stick. But sometimes below the character a face would appear with two round eyes like those of the little baby who lived in the neighbor's house. If a moustache was added, the face became that of the local storekeeper.

His first contact with a brush came when he entered the village school, which he attended for only a year. Poverty forced him to abandon his studies. Qi Bai-shi's first real attempt at sketching was to copy a folk picture of the god of thunder, one of those images hung on the door when a child was born. The result was miserable, so the boy climbed up on a stool to trace the picture on thin paper. This time the result was more satisfactory and he began to draw with great enthusiasm and pleasure. When his friends asked him to draw for them, he turned to the wonderful world around him – horses, oxen, chickens, insects, crabs, prawns – the world he loved more than anything else and to which he remained loyal all his life.

The bitterness of the poverty he knew during his childhood appears often in his later works, though somewhat muted by time. One of his paintings, for example, portrays some taro plants. It includes this verse recalling the years of near-starvation during which his family could scarcely feed

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Prawns. (Woodcuts courtesy of *New China Magazine*)

itself: "A nip in the autumn air and a plot of taros / Makes a good store of food for the family that's poor: / Though many years have passed you can still savor the taste; / Taros are delicious roasted over cow dung." A painting of wild plants brought back to him the same famine year when he had to gather weeds for the family to eat: "They feed the stomach as well as six-months grain; those who have prospered should not forget their taste."²

When he was 15 his family apprenticed him to a carpenter because he was too frail for work in the fields. A year later he was apprenticed to a woodcarver famous in the district for his skill. This man loved the gentle, intelligent boy, who in turn was fascinated by his master's ability. In those times woodcarvers worked only on motifs sanctioned by tradition – the basket of flowers, the noble figure, the intellectual who has passed the imperial examinations – themes made boring by endless repetition. To these Qi Bai-shi began to add fruits, birds, animals, crabs, and fish from the world of his childhood.

The first textbook on painting that Qi Bai-shi used was the *Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual*. It was a turning point in his life as an artist, because from it he learned the art of painting in a scientific way. Too poor to buy a copy for himself, he traced each of its woodcut prints on a thin sheet of bamboo paper, working patiently at night by the light of a pine-wood torch. This effort immediately influenced his woodcarving; his pieces began to show better taste and composition. He sketched constantly, using any rough paper his neighbors brought. He also began the habit of giving a painting to the masters of the houses where he went to do carvings.

Qi Bai-shi did not study under a teacher until he was 26, when an old portrait painter came to the village. A year later he studied calligraphy with a member of the local gentry, and at the same time learned the art of poetry from the tutor of the rich man's son. He quickly grew into a complete all-round artist, as his newfound knowledge shaped the talent, originality, and freshness of his early days.

He excelled in painting in colors, but among his best works are monochromes – large leaves of banana trees torn by the wind and rain, lotus flowers, crustaceans, a humble rake, a broom. In a painting done with the great artist, Xu Bei-hong (Hsu Pei-hung), large taro leaves brushed in with only a few strokes serve as a background for the pair of chickens painted by his friend. The strokes are quick and sure, neither casual nor too meticulously drafted. The

²In old China, poor peasants often had grain to eat only half the year.

same is true of a late painting of a large *rhodea japonica* on which he wrote in an uncertain hand: "Long live the motherland! - Bai-shi at the age of 95." Standing erect on a thick stem, the cluster has the color and brilliance of ripe cherries. The leaves are light gray with hints of blue and marked by veins in darker strokes. The plant is often used as a symbol of China. The painting appeared on the cover of *Poems of Mao Tsetung* published in Peking in 1961.

Qi Bai-shi's smooth, calligraphic way of painting might allow us to classify him among the individualist and expressionist painters. Yet he often introduced an extraordinary precision and love of detail when dealing with the insect and animal world. In a painting of a single stalk of ripe sorghum, for example, done with a few essential brush strokes that range from a light golden brown to a deeper hue, a vividly real grasshopper sits on a leaf, its transparent wings pale blue and its body a very light green and pink. In another, a tiny scarlet insect and a butterfly with wings as light as tracery are about to settle on the white petals of pear blossoms.

When he was 40, he took his first long trip away from home to the city of Xian (Sian). "Take inspiration from the mountains and rivers," the masters of the past had said. The lines of the serried peaks and rocky slopes of Shaanxi (Shensi) Province helped him understand for the first time the technique of "wrinkles," a brush stroke described in the old art manuals.

For the next eight years Qi Bai-shi traveled the length and breadth of China - Hebei, Jiangsu, Guangdong, Jiangxi (Hopei, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Kiangsi), and even to the border between China and Vietnam. When he came back to his home village at the age of 48, he used his travel sketches for an album of landscape paintings entitled "Mountain Scenes." A friend borrowed some of these and never returned them. Today only 22 are known to exist.

Landscapes, however, did not best suit his temperament. He was spontaneous and impulsive. He refused to accept the rigid rules of the various schools of the great landscape artists. He also disapproved of the custom of painstakingly copying the old masters: "I have no use for hands that can only imitate."

In 1918 when he was 55, war reached his village, and he went to Peking to live in the monastery at Fayuan. He placed a price list for his paintings and the engraving of monogram seals in the stationery shop in Liu Li Chang. His customers were few, however, and his work badly paid.

One day, Chen Shi-ceng (Chen Shih-tseng), the famous painter of flowers done with very strong strokes, saw a seal cut by Qi Bai-shi and came to see him. The painter

noted Qi Bai-shi's fresh and personal style but also his limitations. He advised him to find his own way instead of trying to please the whole world. His sixtieth year began the period of his big purple-red flowers with long leaves in varied shades of black ink.

Qi Bai-shi's famous morning glories belong to the period in which he met Mei Lan-fang, the great Peking Opera artist. In Mei's garden were innumerable flowers. Qi Bai-shi said in his autobiography: "There were nearly a hundred varieties of morning glories alone, some as big as a bowl. I had never seen such a colorful sight before and that was when I started to paint them." Mei Lan-fang asked Qi Bai-shi to teach him to paint plants and insects and produced some good work himself.

Qi Bai-shi fused the rigid conventions of



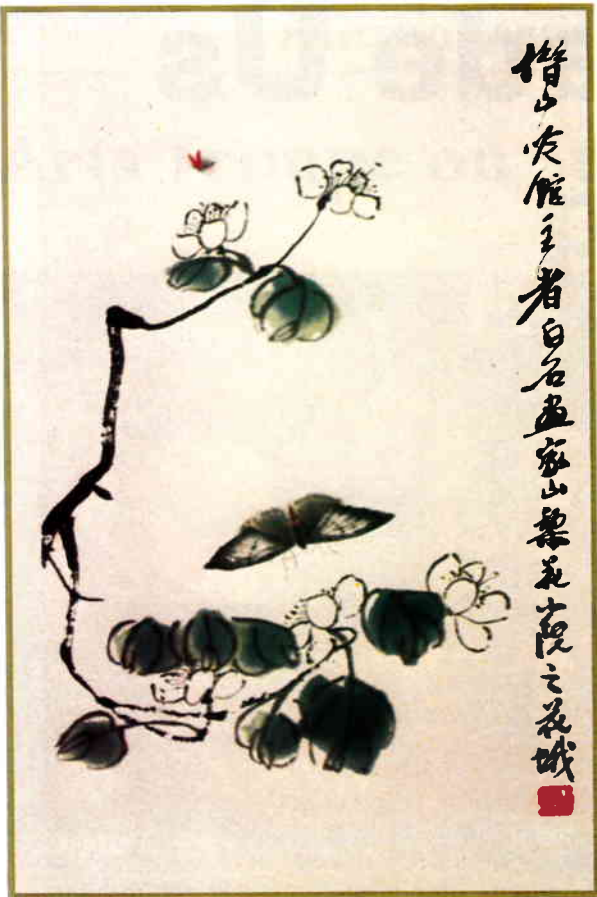
Chickens by Qi Bai-shi and Xu Bei-hong. (Courtesy of P. Gigliesi)



Rhodea Japonica. (Courtesy of P. Gigliesi)



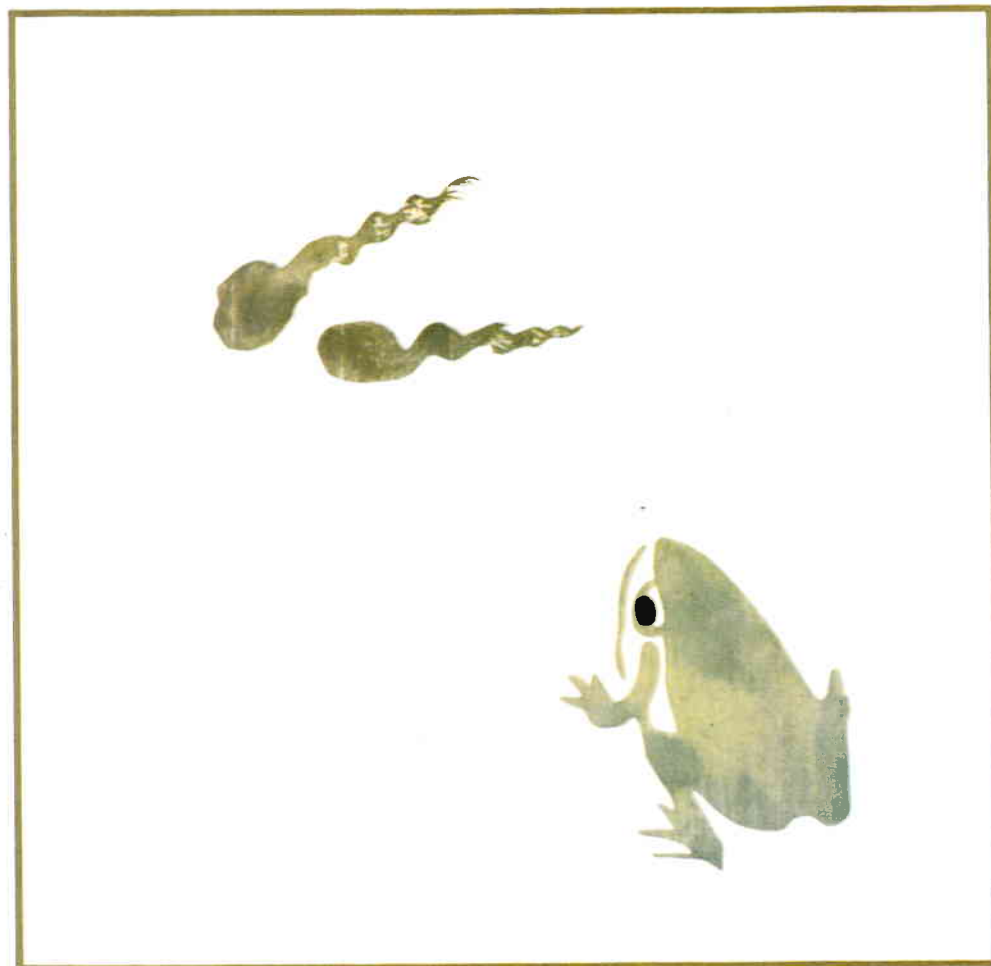
Grasshopper and Sorghum Leaf. (Courtesy of P. Gigliesi)



Pear Blossoms and Butterfly. (Courtesy of P. Gigliesi)



Silkworms. Detail from woodcut.



Frog and Tadpoles. Detail from woodcut.

the academic school with the honesty and simplicity of folk art. But his work was characterized most of all by the clear-cut, realistic way he looked at the world. "I have painted thousands of insects and hundreds of birds," he said, "but I never once saw a dragon - so I never painted one." He refused to paint the formal, the unreal, the intricately ornate. The inscription on a painting of an ordinary pumpkin reads: "Every time I was tempted to change its shape, it was hard for me to discard the real for the grotesque."

Qi Bai-shi became famous in his last years. His long art life ended in 1957 when he was, by his own account, 96. His real age, however, was 94. The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that Qi Bai-shi twice avoided a year said to be inauspicious by simply calling himself a year older.

Like every Chinese artist, Qi Bai-shi studied nature intimately and with love, synthesizing what he felt with what he saw in the natural world. His art appealed to millions because he worked unpretentiously with the spontaneity of a man of the soil who never forgot the hard and simple life of the peasant. He spoke to the new generation in a language that expressed new ideas, nearer to the China of our days, closer to the mentality of a people who, by combining long experience with a new political consciousness, have become the masters of their own destiny.

Struggle Made Us Strong

by William Hinton

Chen Yong-gui recalls the Socialist Education Movement

Note: In Part V (Autumn 1978), Chen Yong-gui (Chen Yung-kuei) began his account of the Socialist Education Movement, and told how higher cadres intervened in Dazhai (Tachai) Brigade and in the whole of Xiyang (Hsiyang) County to challenge the revolutionary achievements there. In so doing, the unprincipled among them, and the followers of Liu Shao-qi (Liu Shao-chi) in particular, set the people against their

chosen cadres, set the cadres against each other, and brought them up on false charges. Class struggle took on a literal life-and-death meaning, as the brigade fought back against those eager to destroy their unity.

Many of the issues fought out during the Cultural Revolution in China as a whole were fought out in Dazhai and other key brigades in Xiyang County during the Socialist Education Movement, which Mao Tsetung had launched to develop and consolidate socialism in the countryside. The confrontation there between Liu Shao-qi's reactionary ideas and Mao's revolutionary policies both laid the groundwork for the Cultural Revolution and showed how necessary that great upheaval was. — THE EDITORS

WILLIAM HINTON, farmer and writer, has published several important books on China. Currently he is working on a sequel to *Fanshen*, which will be a contemporary look at Long Bow Village. These interviews with Dazhai's leader, Chen Yong-gui, took place during a visit in 1971.

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

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

PART VI

Hinton: During the Socialist Education Movement many brigades suffered from Liu Shao-qi's line, but Dazhai was the main target. The struggle must have been very sharp.

Chen: Yes. In Dazhai Brigade there were also some people who almost killed themselves.

In 1964 production levels at Dazhai were high. Yet the work-team came.* *Ke liao bu de!* [Extraordinary! Beyond belief!] Thousands came from five administrative levels — province, region, county, commune, and brigade. At the start they were very arrogant.

*To carry out the Socialist Education (or Four-Cleans) Movement, work-team regiments of Party cadres, numbering in the thousands, were deployed throughout China. Each regiment was assigned to a county, then divided into work-teams, or small groups, allocated to single communities.

According to them there had to be something wrong with Dazhai's yield figures. How could there possibly be such high production on such poor mountain land? Dazhai people must have exaggerated their production figures or hidden some of their land. They suspected us of concealing land in other brigades to make the real area planted larger than the area reported. They mobilized people from all the surrounding brigades to say which land was theirs and which belonged to Dazhai. Then they brought crowds of people here to measure the land. In the meantime all the Dazhai cadres were set aside [suspended]. When the land measuring started, the spirits of our people dropped very low. When this work reached midpoint, spirits fell even lower. But as the work drew to a close, spirits soared.

At the start the work-team leaders said, "You claim 802 mu [1 mu = 1/6 acre]? Why, twice 802 will hardly suffice!"

But the final tally came out to be 796 mu, six less than the 802 that we claimed.

When they heard this, our people's spirits rose to the heights. Actually the team measured everything twice. The first survey took a month. Then they thought it over, decided that their figures were wrong, and measured everything again. They added in every conceivable scrap of land to make the total higher, but all they could possibly stretch their figure to was 796 [133 acres]. Clearly we had concealed no land.

Checking All Grain

Hinton: How did the people regard the work-team?

Chen: The prestige of the work-team was high at first. The people had no idea of any struggle going on inside the Party. Later, when they felt that there was something

wrong, they didn't dare say so. The work-team had such great power. When it arrived it listened to all those who were critical, all those who were dissatisfied with Dazhai's leadership. Of course all the bad elements were dissatisfied. Their land and their houses had been divided among the people. Why wouldn't they be dissatisfied? Backward individuals were also grumbling. They had all been criticized by the cadres and they were not so happy about that.

After the team members failed to find any problem with the land area we reported, they decided we must have falsified our production figures. So they looked into our grain supplies. They weighed all the grain held by the people and all the grain in the warehouse and they checked the figures for all the grain sold to the state. They did this carefully, checked everything in detail, and found nothing wrong. The figures all coincided with our Dazhai figures.

Then someone hit on the regulation that grain figures must be corrected for moisture. There was no precise rule as to how much should be deducted. Dazhai had never deducted anything for this. And the reason was that after the harvest our people were always busy with planting and other urgent tasks. They didn't get around to distributing grain until much later. By that time the grain was already dry. It never occurred to anyone to deduct for excess moisture. The grain we sold to the state was not corrected for moisture, nor was the grain we distributed to the people.

Then the work-team said, "You have gone against policy. Not only do you not carry out the Party's policy, you make policy of your own. You are like a little Central Committee here, doing as you please." They said we should deduct 20, 30, 40, or even 60 percent for high moisture. They started rumors among the people, especially among the more backward elements, saying, "You call your leaders good? Why, they didn't even deduct for moisture! You never really got the grain they said you got. You labored hard for grain but got paid in large measure with water. What kind of good cadres are these?" Thus they tried to split the rank and file away from the leadership.

When I saw what was happening I realized that, as Chairman Mao said, "the serious problem is the education of the peasants," and I took steps to prevent any split among us. I talked to the people about the old society. "Remember the past. Have you really gotten the worst end of things since Liberation? Are things better now or worse than before? Have we done right or wrong? The work-team says that from this struggle you'll get more than you got in the land reform. They say your cadres have grafted so much that you will all get plenty.

But consider this: on the one hand, they say that our production is not as high as we have claimed; on the other, that the cadres have grafted great amounts. Isn't this a contradiction? They also say we violated policy by not deducting for moisture in the grain. But nobody thought of deducting it because the grain was dry when it was distributed. They say if we don't deduct for high moisture it makes our production look higher than it really is. Well, we didn't deduct. What more is there to say?"

The Work-Point Record

Hinton: So you won each time?

Chen: No. When the work-team cadres couldn't win on any of these three issues—concealed land, exaggerated production figures, high-moisture grain—they tried another trick. They attacked the integrity of the cadres from another angle. They said that Dazhai cadres had reported extra work-points for themselves. We denied this absolutely. We said we had never reported a single extra work-point.

But on the work-team there was one cadre who had earlier come to Dazhai with the head of a central government ministry. The minister had come to look into everything here. Our cadres talked to him at night and sometimes during their noon hour, but they never missed work to meet with him. On the day that he left, however, they met with him at noon, and to be sure that there was nothing left out of their report on the situation here their talk ran overtime. That afternoon they reported for work in the fields one hour late. When I said categorically that our cadres had never inflated their work-points, this work-team cadre who had accompanied the minister slammed his notebook on the table and pointed to the day and the hour when several Dazhai cadres had reported late for work. The brigade records for that same day recorded full work-points for all.

Well, we had to do a self-criticism then. It was true. The records did not show that anyone was one hour late. But the rank-and-file brigade members didn't agree with our self-criticism. They said our cadres reported late to work because they were working for the brigade and not for personal reasons. So why should they criticize themselves? And they challenged the work-team cadres: "In the past, in the course of your work, have you never missed an hour in the office? You earn a salary from the state, but when you are sick not one penny is deducted from your salary. Furthermore, you pay nothing for medical care. Do you mean to tell us that you have never missed one hour in a year? Ha! Not ten, not a hundred would be a figure high enough for you!"

Since the people would not allow me to make a self-criticism on behalf of the

brigade cadres, the work-team cadres countered with a charge that I was against the team. They said the team represented the Party. To take a stand against self-criticism was to take a stand against the team and hence against the Party.

Prepare for Battle

Hinton: When did you realize you would have to fight back?

Chen: On the day that they arrived, the work-team cadres hardly had time to put down their bedrolls before they announced their four-point program: (1) dig the worms from Dazhai's flagpole; (2) unite with those who have grievances against the cadres; (3) whoever opposes us is a counter-revolutionary; (4) the fruits of struggle will exceed those won in the land-reform movement.

When I heard "unite with those who have grievances against the cadres," I thought, "These people have no class analysis. There is something wrong."

"Awake the whole village, prepare for battle," I told our cadres.

And I thought, "You rely on whomever you like. I'll gather the working-class forces. You gather the bourgeois forces. We'll do battle."

The work-team called our members and cadres together to study Wang Guang-mei's "Taoyuan experience."^{*} They studied it ten times. I got angry during this study.

"Why do you try so hard to have everyone study this Taoyuan experience?" I asked Cheng, the local work-team leader.

"Oh yes, old Chen, you're still the smartest one," said Cheng. "You understand." Then he turned to the other members of the study group. "Look at you. You're so dumb. Chen sees the essence right away. Of course we mean to have achievements. If not how could we report to the leadership?"

Hinton: What did he mean by achievements?

Chen: The Four-Cleans[†] work-teams

^{*}Taoyuan, or Peach Garden, was the name of a brigade in East Hebei (Hopei), where Liu Shao-qi's wife, Wang Guang-mei, had through secret investigations managed to overthrow numerous good or comparatively good cadres. She then replaced them with notorious opportunists who were willing to follow her line. Wang Guang-mei also used tremendous amounts of state aid to attempt to make a breakthrough in the brigade's production.

[†]The Socialist Education Movement was also called the "Four-Cleans Movement" because cadres at all levels were examined in four ways: 1) politics (political line, carrying out Party politics, etc.); 2) ideology (world outlook); 3) organization (fitness for Party membership); and 4) economics (primarily the handling of public money).

concentrated on graft and corruption. The more illegal money and grain they could report on, the greater their achievement. So that's all they were concerned about. They never mentioned two-line struggle, the capitalist road or the socialist road – so they didn't teach the masses anything.

"You won't get anywhere," I said to Cheng at the study meeting.

But the very next day I had to leave to attend the Third National People's Congress in Peking. I didn't feel like going because I wasn't at ease, but at the same time I wanted to go because this was my first chance to attend a National Congress. The work-team was very happy when the time came for me to leave. I was worried but I went anyway.

"We'll settle accounts later," I said.

But I never expected the meeting to last 40 days. During that time the people I left behind were harshly attacked.

The work-team cadres would call in our accountant Jia Cheng-rang and say to him, "Song Li-ying [women's leader and vice-chairman of the brigade] has exposed your crimes. Others have told us all about you." With such tricks they tried to force him to admit serious crimes.

Then they would call in some other cadre and say, "Jia Chen-rang has told us all about you . . ."

Then they would add, "None of you is forthright like Chen Yong-gui. He has made a clean breast of all his crimes in Peking." And they would put documents on the table saying, "This is the material revealed by Chen in Peking."

Restore the Cadres' Good Names

Hinton: Were team members able to gather any evidence?

Chen: In fact the work-team did get some support from below, from backward people who had been criticized by the brigade cadres for selfish attitudes. Such people had grievances against the cadres. So did the landlords and rich peasants. They hated us from the very beginning. Such people provided all the "facts" the work-team needed. With confessions, with "proof" from the rank and file, team members wrote up reports, stamped the material with their official seal, and sent it on up to higher levels.

This was dangerous! The work-team reported directly to Tao Lu-jia and Wei Heng, longtime leaders of Shanxi (Shansi) Province. They in turn reported to Liu Shao-qi. Every five days they reported to Liu Shao-qi. According to this material, Dazhai was much worse than Taoyuan.

Meanwhile, at the National People's Congress, Chou En-lai, in his report, praised Dazhai and confirmed Dazhai's experience. The work-team said Dazhai was muck

[swamp dirt], but Premier Chou said Dazhai was good, Dazhai's spirit should be spread all over the country. I thought that since the Premier had praised us, the charges against us would be lighter. But when I returned home I found Dazhai in a mess. On the day I arrived home, all the brigade cadres gathered round me and wept all afternoon. The rank and file, on the other hand, didn't dare come near me.

The brigade cadres came around, clasped my hand, put their arms around my shoulders, and said, "We were just waiting for you. If it weren't for you we would have found a way out long ago [suicide]. Now that we've seen you we can go in peace."

I told them all to go back home. I said that I needed a rest, that we'd solve the problems later. Then, in the evening, I went to the work-team office. All the cadres there were regional department heads or people of similar rank. The person in charge was Jing Zhi-sheng, head of the Organizational Department of the Regional Party Committee. Then there were assistant heads of the Propaganda Department, and lots of bureau heads and assistant-heads. I confronted a certain Liu Yu-ze, a department vice-head. He was looking over some documents. I got angry and pounded my fist on the table.

"How can you sit so calmly looking at documents when you've destroyed my cadres? Restore their good names for me!"

Liu was startled and jerked his head back so hard that he strained his neck and had to be sent to the hospital. After spending a week there he returned to Yuci County and never came back.

After pounding the table like that in the work-team office, I went back to talk to the Dazhai Party members. I criticized them for thinking about suicide and I asked about conditions in the brigade.

"What about the landlord, and the rich peasants?"

"They don't dare speak out."

"And the people?"

"They are even more scared. They only get together up in the gully."

"What kind of cadres are you, that you can't stand struggle?" I asked. "Let's go and talk to the peasants. We won't die at their hands. Let's ask the people if they want us to live or die."

Take the Case to the People

We went up there to the fields on the mountain where the people were working. By rights we should have asked the work-team for permission to talk to them, but I just spoke out.

"Here are all the Dazhai cadres," I said. "Have they committed crimes that deserve death?"

The people all looked in the direction of

the work-team cadres who had followed us.

"No," I said. "Look this way, look at me. No matter what crimes our cadres have committed they don't deserve death. But the work-team has tried to drive them to death."

In ten minutes we won the people over. Even some of the activists on the work-team came over to our side and started to attack the team.

"The work-team deceived us and spread lies about the cadres," they said.

It was getting dark. I stopped talking. I turned to the work-team leader.

"Can you accept this charge?"

He shook his head.

Hinton: But Premier Chou had already made a public statement of support . . .

Chen: Yes. And later, when Premier Chou heard about all this, he sent a cadre named Pei to find out what was going on. Then he ordered the work-team out. Pei worked together with the Dazhai Party branch for a month and proved that we were clean in four ways [politically, economically, organizationally, and ideologically].

The struggle was very fierce, both inside and outside the brigade. Fierce is good. It educated us. It helped us to be cautious and careful when handling all struggle. With the struggle so fierce, if we failed to handle even a single point well, they would use it against us. So we stressed tactics. First, we united the cadres; second, we relied on the people – again and again.

That's why the Four-Cleans work-team said "Your mothers . . . we've never seen a Communist Party branch as united as the Dazhai branch."

In other places, when the work-team would take one Communist aside and tell him all the supposed complaints from another, this Communist would think, "That bastard! He spoke against me. I'll speak against him."

But in Dazhai when this was tried people said, "No one could have said that about me." They refused to hit back at comrades! So they couldn't set us against each other.

Once the work-team went to Jia's second brother. They tried to win him over to the side of the team to fight the Party branch. But he said, "No. I won't do anything against my conscience."

"If you oppose us you are an active counter-revolutionary," they threatened.

But he simply said, "No. I'm not."

Just as a person who has never stolen can resist the charge of being a thief, so he refused to admit being a counter-revolutionary.

As a result the work-team thought, "This brigade is so united, how can we accomplish our task?" They saw documents about the great accomplishments of work-teams in

other places, how they had found such big grafters, etc. So this work-team, without any such achievements, became nervous. They sought a better record than the work-team in Taoyuan Brigade but came up with nothing.

Thus they educated us. We had to make even greater efforts to rely on the masses. If you don't have truth on your side you can't stand firm in struggle. We also feel strongly that unity is important. Without unity your group can be influenced, split, and broken up. At the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party Mao said "unite." We were glad because we had felt this so strongly in our practice.

Smashing the Cadres Once Again

Hinton: Was the Four-Cleans Movement in Shanxi Province carried out correctly or not?

Chen: Before Mao Tsetung's Twenty-three Points* were made public it was wrong. After that it should have been corrected, but the correction was only on the surface. If the leading cadres had gone into things deeply, they would have had to struggle against themselves and bring out their own mistakes, so actually many things were not corrected.

Generally speaking, all the activists who had followed Liu Shao-qi on the capitalist road were still considered to be "good" cadres while all those who had followed Mao Tsetung's line were declared to have problems, big or small. Even after the Cultural Revolution began, the cadres at the county seat together with "Master Clear Sky"† of Tianxin Commune, who was on the County Party Committee, formed a tight little clique. They wouldn't let anyone touch the "good" cadres.

In the end I myself went to Tianxin Commune to affirm that Li Chian-zhou was actually a capitalist-roader. I didn't mention his name. I only said, "In the Communist Party there is a 'Clear Sky Bao.' You will have to get him out. In the Communist Party, in our socialist society, how can there

*An article written in 1965 by Mao Tsetung which posed the struggle in terms of the capitalist versus the socialist road. In it, Mao saw "Party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road" as the primary target for the movement. This document was used by socialists in their counteroffensive against Liu Shao-qi.

†This is the Li Chian-zhou mentioned in the next paragraph, a follower of Liu Shao-qi's line who, while appearing to help people, was restoring capitalist practices. His nickname refers to "Clear Sky" Bao, a feudal official of old who was thought to be just and honest because he once took grain to where people were starving.

be a 'Clear Sky Bao'? How can we ever return to feudal times?"

Then, reluctantly, people began to criticize him. He was strongly supported by some Red Guards from Anhui. But after we produced evidence that exposed his wrong line they didn't support him anymore. They saw him clearly after that.

So even as the Cultural Revolution began, the cadres in power put the spearhead once again on the same cadres who had been smashed down in the Four-Cleans Movement. The suppression here was the most severe in the whole province. How could we not resist? How could we not rebel? With the experience of many years we could tell right from wrong, we could see what was going on!

In Wujiabing Brigade there was a cadre, a team leader named Guo. His team, the best of six, increased production every year. Nevertheless, he became a target during the Four-Cleans Movement. He was overthrown. He was struggled against. He nearly died. At that time the poor peasants of Wujiabing wanted to merge their brigade with ours. Since they had this demand, we mobilized the poor peasants of Dazhai to carry it out. "After you join our brigade," we said, "we'll elect Guo as a joint-brigade committee member."

"But," said the leaders of the work-team, "Guo is a target of struggle."

"That's just the man we want," we said. "If you kick him down, he's the one we want. It's because he is your target that we want him!"

Wang Guang-mei! If I See Her, I'll Bite Her

Hinton: Didn't the Twenty-three Points (Mao's program) turn the tide?

Chen: The North China Bureau of the Communist Party held a meeting to discuss how to carry out the Twenty-three Points in the Four-Cleans Movement. They wanted me to give my open and sincere opinion as to what should be done and how the movement could be carried through to success.

I thought, "On the one hand, I am happy. It is such a big meeting, and they are asking for my approval. On the other hand, here are all these big cadres - Li Xue-feng* and the like. This is a high-level Party meeting and the line has already been set. How can I say anything?"

When they discussed how to carry out the movement in advanced brigades, they suggested sending in a few people to work with and rely on the members of the local Com-

*Head of the North China Bureau of the Communist Party before he was appointed to the Peking City Committee when Peng Zhen (Peng Chen) fell. Later removed, but appointed to a leading post in Hebei Province.

munist Party branch. I agreed with this approach. I thought if a team came to Dazhai and set me aside they could never achieve unity in the brigade. But if a few cadres came to work with the local branch leaders, that would help to clarify the situation. It would be good.

They asked me if this method would do. I was going to say, "I like it."

But what I actually said was, "The top knows best."

If I had said, "I like it," they would have thought that I had problems that I wanted to cover up.

Nevertheless, I thought that the meeting was held in accordance with Mao Tsetung's line and showed some trust in the masses and in the lower cadres. I was happy.

But then, when the work-team actually came, it did just the opposite! The cadres went into the advanced production teams and began to mess things up. Their slogan was: "Advanced brigades have the most problems." And they brought out their Peach Garden experience all over again! That Wang Guang-mei! What a bad apple! If I see her, I'll bite her.

At the meeting they said they wouldn't use Wang Guang-mei's "experience," but when they came that's what they actually used. They held an advance meeting in Hongdong County and An Zi-wen* himself set the slogan. "Advanced brigades have the most problems."

Hongdong, like Xiyang County, was the scene of a "battle of annihilation."

Later, at various meetings, I often complained about the suffering we Xiyang people went through. But Hongdong people said, "We got it worse!"

So when the Red Guards started rebelling against these capitalist-roaders we were all for it. We had a common cause!

Settling Old Accounts

Hinton: Did you ever settle accounts with the misleaders of the Four-Cleans Movement?

Chen: At the start of the Cultural Revolution we asked that a number of them be brought back to face criticism.

Jinggou Brigade, for instance, held a repudiation meeting to confront Bo Hong-zhong ("Home Return Corps" Bo).† I went

*A leading Shanxi cadre who became head of the Organizational Department of the Chinese Communist Party and carried on Liu Shao-qi's line.

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

there to say a few words because I figured it would be a relaxed affair. And I was right. He was standing there listening happily as the people talked!

"What kind of a repudiation is this?" I asked.

Then I told about his "home return" crimes. I played a key role in heating up this meeting.

Then I made a mistake. I was so angry I shook my finger and waved my hand in his direction. People rushed up, grabbed his arms, pushing his head down, and made him bend forward.

He started yelling.

"What are you yelling about?" I asked. "Do you think this is suffering? How many people did you force to commit suicide when you were leading the work?"

This was my mistake. If I hadn't gestured at him, manhandling of this sort would not have occurred in the whole county.

After that we brought back a lot of people from the provincial and regional levels – seven or eight, even as many as 12 leading cadres – for repudiation. And each of them had to do the "airplane" [bow their heads and hold their hands up behind their backs]. It was hard for me to stop the people then because I had a hand in initiating this to start with. If it hadn't been for that first mistake we wouldn't have had such things in Xiyang County.

I was very unhappy about Bo Hongzhong. But I didn't feel so strongly about the other regional and provincial cadres. So I scolded people severely when they made others do the "airplane."

We Were Pressed into Steel

Hinton: What gave you the courage to resist the work-team as you did?

Chen: When I resisted all the wrong attacks of the work-team it wasn't an individual fight. I judged by Mao Tsetung Thought. Are these things in accord with Mao Tsetung Thought or not? I also relied on the masses. Without mass support one cannot resist such power. No individual fight can succeed.

They sent people here to dig for worms. We were considered to be the worms. But in the Cultural Revolution Liu Shao-qi was pulled out. So you can see who was really the worm!

Now we feel that Liu Shao-qi and his agents in the province, region, and county did a good thing in pressing us. If they hadn't pressed us so hard we wouldn't have become so tough. We were pressed into steel. They really suppressed us terribly. Suppress, suppress, suppress. We were very unhappy. But when we look back now we feel it wasn't so bad. It turned into a good thing.

RECIPES

BARRIE CHI

Fruits of the Earth

Tons of tomatoes and pyramids of peppers are everywhere in the heat of a Peking summer. Sometimes they are sold right off the street, sometimes from a meticulously arranged fruit stand. For a fruit and vegetable lover it is heaven to be in China in the summer.

Prices are very low on seasonal vegetables, yet sometimes it is difficult to get these vegetables in a restaurant, as they are considered too ordinary to serve to guests. Yet a request for these "lowly" but lovely items is always honored.

Who can ever forget the melons and the special tables outside the fruit markets where one can stand and eat a slice of melon? As a result of that melon-eating summer, one of my children said her first sentence: "Me eat xigua (watermelon)." But for me, nothing beats the luscious fresh lichee. Once you have tasted a fresh lichee, you are lost to the canned variety.

Too often people are afraid to try Chinese cooking because they have heard of its complexity. Yet one of its most remarkable aspects is the simple yet varied ways in which vegetables are prepared. In most of the kitchens I visited there was always one simple vegetable dish being prepared. I have passed some of these super-simple recipes on to my students, who are amazed at how easy they are to make and how good they taste. Unfortunately, in this country, the price of fresh vegetables is sometimes prohibitive. Because of this I have included a recipe using frozen vegetables, that sometimes necessary evil.

When fresh vegetables are in good supply, try these simple little dishes – and let your imagination create new stir-fry delights.

Broccoli and Green Peas

Serves 4 to 6

- 1 10-oz. box cut or chopped frozen broccoli, thawed
- 1 10-oz. box frozen peas, thawed
- 2 Tbs. soy sauce
- 2 cloves garlic, minced
- 3 Tbs. cooking oil

● Drain thawed broccoli and peas. Heat oil

in skillet or wok. Toss garlic in oil until lightly browned. Add broccoli and peas and stir-fry 3 or 4 minutes, gradually adding the soy sauce.

Eggs with Tomatoes and Cucumbers

Serves 4

- 1 cucumber, peeled or unpeeled
- ½ lb. tomatoes
- 4 eggs
- 3 Tbs. cooking oil
- 1 tsp. salt

Dice the cucumbers and tomatoes. In wok or skillet that has been over flame for 30 seconds, heat the oil until it is medium hot. Beat the eggs with salt, pour into the skillet, and scramble lightly. Add cucumber and tomatoes and cook until eggs begin to solidify.

Garlic Spinach

Serves 3-4

- 1½ lbs. fresh Spinach
- 4 cloves garlic, minced
- 1 tsp. sugar
- 1 or 2 Tbs. oil.
- ½ tsp. salt

Wash spinach and plunge into 2 quarts of boiling water. Boil for 2 minutes and drain. Rinse with cold water and drain again. In a wok or skillet, heat oil and add garlic. When garlic is brown, add the spinach. Cook on high heat for 3 minutes, stirring constantly. Add salt. Just before serving add sugar.

Steamed Sesame Eggplant

Serves 4

- 1 1-lb. eggplant, very fresh, with skin
- 2 Tbs. soy sauce
- 2 Tbs. sesame oil
- 2 cloves garlic

Wash eggplant, cut in half lengthwise, and steam in a steaming basket until quite soft, about 20 minutes. Cut into long strips. Combine sesame oil and soy sauce. Crush garlic and add to sauce mixture. Mix eggplant with sauce thoroughly and serve. ●

China on Africa's Fight for Independence

continued from page 31

ward the superpowers and even toward their own people. There are disputes, often rooted in the colonial past, and even occasional armed conflicts. There are also struggles among different internal political forces – revolutionaries, progressives, reactionaries, agents of various stripes, etc. – that reflect the class composition of any given society. All play their part. But they do not change the fundamental fact that, at present, in order to survive as sovereign, viable states, all African countries must oppose the domination of the colonialists and superpowers. As the Chinese see it, this is not a matter of choice but an inescapable reality. This is the main trend that overrides all other differences and is the basis of Africa's growing unity. In China's view, those internal forces that genuinely want revolution, who represent the interests of the workers and peasants, must win leadership as the best fighters not only for the people's democratic rights and welfare, but for uniting all forces to accomplish the national democratic task of freeing the country from all outside control.

Doesn't China also think of some groups and countries as progressive and others as reactionary?

Is the answer to who is "progressive" and who "reactionary" fixed for all time and under all circumstances? Doesn't it change with changes in the real world and the job to be done? Where superpower rivalry is bringing the world closer to a new war, aren't those who, albeit in their own interest, are forced to oppose superpower domination and aggression objectively more "progressive," at least in that sense and for that time, than any regime tied hand and foot either to Moscow or Washington?

The Chinese reason that those who fight for common goals should seek common ground and unite against their main enemies. Differences should be settled among brother African nations by patient consultation and negotiation. They point to the recent conference of heads of state of six West African countries in Monrovia which reconciled longstanding differences among Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal as an example of what is possible if Africans are left to solve African problems. China has made a point of treating all liberation movements which contribute to the fight against colonialist and racist regimes on an equal basis and in a friendly way. It has provided various kinds of assistance, accord-

ing to its ability and the particular circumstances.

The Chinese have applauded the decision of the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) 14th Summit Conference which demanded an end to all outside interference and the suppression of mercenaries hired to fight proxy wars. They also have acclaimed the 15th OAU Summit which reaffirmed its determination to fight for the total liberation of the peoples of Africa, and which rejected all forms of domination, condemned the existence of foreign military bases in Africa and pacts with extra-Africa powers, called on African states to strengthen cooperation among themselves and to settle their own disputes peacefully to forestall foreign intervention, and renewed its commitment to a genuine policy of non-alignment.

Why do the Chinese say the Cubans are Soviet puppets and mercenaries?

It is understandable that those who ask this question cannot reconcile Cuba's revolutionary past with the real nature of its role in Africa today. Yet the revolutionary past of the Soviet Union was even more "noble" and "glorious." It is a hard fact of life that one must face and deal with the realities of today.

The nature of Soviet aid to Cuba, as elsewhere, has not been of the kind to encourage diversity in its economy or genuine independence. Rather it creates an all-round dependency on Moscow. By the early 1970s, Soviet military aid to Cuba had reached an estimated \$150 million annually. Thirty-four percent of Cuba's trade is with the Soviet Union. Moscow buys, at far beyond the average world price, almost all of the island's sugar crop. After twenty years sugar is still the single-crop mainstay of the Cuban economy. As a result, Cuba must import grain, cotton, fuel, and other daily necessities from the Soviet Union thousands of miles away. The Kremlin subsidizes Cuba at the rate of \$2-3 million a day. It supplies Cuba's entire oil requirements, including the aviation fuel needed to sustain its Africa airlifts.

Is this generosity or "internationalism" as Havana and Moscow claim? Or is it a way of creating dependency, permitting the donor to control the main levers of Cuba's economy and its military and to attain strategic bases in the Western Hemisphere? In this case, 90 miles from the USSR's chief adversary, the United States.

Cuba's indebtedness to the Soviet Union

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is obviously enormous. At the same time, Africa has become a major theater in the Soviet-U.S. battle for primacy. Direct armed intervention has become the main form of Soviet expansion. And Cuban armed forces have been its principal instrument. This was true in Angola in 1976. It was also the case in the Horn of Africa. In the invasion of Zaire's Shaba Province in 1977 and again in 1978 it was expedient to use "Katangan exiles" from Angola who were no more "revolutionary" or independent of Soviet-Cuban manipulation than were the "Cuban exiles" from Miami, armed and trained by Washington, in the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco. In the Horn of Africa, after Ogaden, Cuban units, with Soviet backing, are said to be poised for an attack on Eritrea. Moscow and Havana are desperately seeking a "revolutionary formula" to extricate themselves from the embarrassing predicament of turning against a movement they themselves had so recently pronounced "progressive" and supported.

Cuban Vice-President Rafael Rodríguez said at the UN Special Session on Disarmament that Cuban forces were just doing their modest bit in Africa, "to the extent possible for a small country," to safeguard the independence of other peoples. He did not explain how this "small country," dependent on the Soviet Union and with no substantial military-industrial capacity of its own, managed to transport, equip with advanced weaponry, and maintain an expeditionary force in Africa variously estimated at 40-50,000 men. Can anyone doubt that the logistics and type of armament involved are far beyond the resources of Cuba and are entirely provided by the Soviet Union?

One cannot help remembering that throughout Angola's fight against the Portuguese not one Cuban soldier came to help. Only when freedom had been won did they become involved. In China's view the Kremlin dictates strategy and provides the wherewithal, and Cuba contributes the manpower. The Kremlin has devised the perfect means of fighting to the last Cuban. Under the circumstances, is it surprising that a large part of the non-aligned world is questioning Cuba's credentials as a "non-aligned" country? They cite its military ties to the Soviet Union, its economic dependency, and its role as a surrogate for Moscow.

Some say that China's position is hypocritical. China gave aid to Korea, and China and the Soviets gave aid to Vietnam. The Chinese didn't condemn the Vietnamese for accepting Soviet help.

The question is for what and against whom aid is given. Does anyone doubt that in the cases of Korea and Vietnam China was

giving help against the onslaught of what China then considered the most powerful aggressor in the world? Chinese volunteers went to Korea only when U.S. troops were approaching its own borders and only after innumerable warnings. Does anyone deny that this aid was to help the Korean, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean (Cambodian) people resist superpower aggression and win their independence? That it was absolutely free and unconditional? Didn't it strengthen the worldwide anti-imperialist cause? China has always given aid to oppressed countries and peoples fighting for liberation against an alien power. In Africa, it supported the Algerians against the French, and those who fought the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and elsewhere. China gave aid to all three Angolan liberation movements which contributed to the fight for freedom. It terminated aid to all three when massive Soviet arms followed by Cuban troops transformed the freedom fight into a bloody civil war between brother Angolans.

Can China's aid to Korea and Vietnam be compared with the Soviet practice of supplying arms first to one undeveloped African country and then another, introducing tanks, aerial bombardment, and napalm, maximizing battles between African peoples as in the Horn of Africa? Does this Soviet/Cuban "aid" actually weaken imperialism? It does not. It deepens differences and generates splits between African countries and liberation movements and creates the climate and conditions in which the imperialists, and in this case the Soviet social-imperialists, pursue their own ends.

Distorting China's position, some say that China considers revolutionary forces "tainted" if they accept Soviet help. Those who say this claim that revolutionary forces must get help from wherever they can in order to have any chance of success. Strangely enough, they don't apply the same yardstick to all three Angolan movements that fought the Portuguese under extremely difficult circumstances.

China does not oppose help to countries or liberation movements in Africa which are fighting foreign imperialist oppressors or racist minority regimes. It does believe that in making revolution a country or people must rely primarily on itself. It opposes the notion that revolution can be exported. It totally opposes all "help" in which Africans are led to forget who are their main enemies and are incited to slaughter other Africans for the greater goals of the Kremlin.

Can you talk a bit about the liberation movements in southern Africa and how China sees them? Could we start with Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)?

Zimbabwe is a country where 263,000 whites are twisting and turning to maintain power over 6.8 million black people. The black people of Zimbabwe have been carrying on an expanding armed struggle against the Ian Smith regime for 11 years. The alliance of fighters, the Patriotic Front, combines forces led by Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The OAU and the "front-line" states of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, and Botswana have thrown their full weight behind the Patriotic Front. They have been bombed and invaded and have suffered economic loss as a consequence. The Patriotic Front has liberated areas inhabited by some 700,000 black Zimbabweans where all signs of Ian Smith's administration have disappeared. The Front is running schools, stores, and cattle-disinfecting stations in the area.

The Chinese firmly support the armed struggle of the Patriotic Front. They believe that no ruling group voluntarily gives up power and privilege. In the end it is the armed struggle - as it has been in Zimbabwe - which forces the other side to negotiate. From their own experience the Chinese advise, "Fight and negotiate." Negotiations alone cannot succeed. They are just another section of the battlefield. The Chinese also warn against negotiations which are merely delaying tactics or tricks to evade a genuine transfer of power to the majority. This, they say, is the essence of Ian Smith's latest fraud - the so-called "internal settlement" that is touted to promise black majority rule. In that "agreement" all the institutions of real power - the civil service, the judiciary, the police, the army - remain firmly in the hands of the white minority. If proof were needed, look what happened when Byron Hove dared to speak out about flagrant racist practices in the Ministry of Justice he was supposed to be heading! The white minority kept the substance of power and the black majority was given the shadow of authority to make it look good!

In and out of the United Nations, the Chinese have joined with the OAU and other Third World countries in denouncing this latest deception. They also point out that apart from support from Pretoria, Smith is able to hang on because, on the one hand, the U.S. and Britain overtly or covertly back his "internal settlement" and are trying to split the Patriotic Front and, on the other, Moscow is also busily sowing dissension within the liberation movement. The Chinese stress combining the fight against racism and for liberation with that against superpower interference, control, and divisive intrigues as the only path to genuine freedom and independence.

What is happening in Namibia (South-West Africa)?

Namibia is strategically located north of the Cape of Good Hope along the South Atlantic. Of its 900,000 people, some 90,000 are white. It is a mineral rich country with substantial deposits of uranium. South Africa, Britain, and the United States have large economic interests in Namibia. Once a German colony, it was turned over to South Africa as a Mandate Territory by the League of Nations after World War I. This mandate was repudiated by the United Nations in 1966, but South Africa has refused to withdraw, defying repeated UN resolutions. Instead, it has continued to build its military presence there and currently has an estimated 50,000 troops, with tanks, armored cars, helicopters, air strength, bases, and a sophisticated communications network.

Pretoria has been fragmenting Namibia into separate areas for whites and non-whites, and along tribal lines for the latter, as in its own notorious bantustans. Its aim is to destroy the growing national unity around the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). As in South Africa, the Vorster regime has stepped up its terror and repression in Namibia. It crosses the borders of independent African states to "mop up" freedom fighters, massacre refugees, and persecute, arrest, and detain Namibian nationalists. It refuses to withdraw its military forces and is determined to annex Walvis Bay, Namibia's sole deep-water port.

In the face of Pretoria's illegal occupation the UN has recognized SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people and has endorsed its right to fight for self-determination and national independence "by all means at its disposal." For over a decade SWAPO has led an increasingly effective armed struggle.

Like his Rhodesian counterpart, Ian Smith, South African Prime Minister John Vorster has been playing the game of "internal settlement" and for the same purpose - to preserve white South African domination while presenting a facade of black majority rule. In this way he hoped to disrupt the unity of the black liberation movement and break out of South Africa's growing international isolation. These efforts have met with setbacks and failure as a result of the unyielding struggle, and particularly armed struggle, of the Namibian people with the support of all Africa and people throughout the world. Under these circumstances, Pretoria was finally forced to commit itself to the "settlement proposal" of the five Western nations - the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada - which includes a gradual troop

withdrawal, elections, and an end to its illegal occupation.

Speaking at the UN General Assembly's Ninth Special Session on Namibia in April, Sam Nujomo, president of SWAPO, without rejecting the proposal, expressed serious reservations. He pointed out that it leaves South Africa with extensive powers to influence the outcome of the proposed election for a constituent assembly and the whole transitional process. During the transitional period Pretoria would still have an entrenched administration throughout Namibia; it would be permitted to retain its huge paramilitary police force, and another 1,500 troops strategically located; its claim to Walvis Bay is tacitly conceded. Under such conditions, Nujomo said, fair, free, and democratic elections would be impossible. He demanded that the UN representative provided for in the plan have more effective powers and control than allowed for in the proposal.

On June 10-11 the African front-line states convened a summit in Luanda, Angola, which was also attended by the Central Committee of SWAPO. On July 12 a Luanda joint communiqué by SWAPO and the five Western governments was issued in which the two sides agreed to proceed to the Security Council to open the way for a settlement based on the proposal of the Five. At the 15th OAU Summit Meeting two resolutions were adopted on Namibia. The first was a strong, comprehensive political resolution of support, in the context of the ongoing struggle on all fronts - military, political, and diplomatic. The second was a special resolution in which the African leaders welcomed the Luanda joint communiqué. The OAU thus confirmed a two-track approach.

On July 27 the UN Security Council passed two resolutions on Namibia. One took note of the Western proposal and asked the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia and to submit a report, based on his findings and in accord with previous Security Council resolutions on Namibia. The other declared Walvis Bay to be an integral part of Namibia.

Following the Security Council vote, Sam Nujomo repeated SWAPO's previous reservations. He noted that even at this late date Pretoria was threatening to withdraw from the whole operation and reinstate its so-called internal settlement. He insisted that it was misleading to say at this stage that the diplomatic process had already succeeded. The situation was still full of uncertainties, imponderables, and dangers. He said that if this effort should fail either by design of the enemy or default of the United Nations, the Namibian people would, if need be, take up arms to renew the resistance.

China voted for both resolutions. Explaining China's vote, Chen Chu emphasized that the first resolution refers only to the Security Council's "taking note of the proposal for a settlement" submitted by the Five without asking the Security Council to approve it. China's affirmative vote, he said, did not signify approval or total endorsement. In China's view, this proposal has serious defects. China differs in principle on the whole question of the dispatch of UN forces and so has grave reservations on that aspect of the proposal. It also feels that the Security Council should enjoin Pretoria to withdraw *all* its military, police, and administrative forces immediately, totally, and unconditionally, and to transfer political power to the Namibian people. Chen Chu noted that the promised "gradual withdrawal" of South African military forces remained a mere commitment on paper. Most important, the proposal fails to support the continuing struggle of the Namibian people. As for Walvis Bay, China has always considered it an inseparable part of Namibia and calls for its immediate rather than "early" reintegration.

Chen Chu concluded his remarks saying that to achieve genuine and complete independence, the Namibian people will have to fight on, be alert, and frustrate sabotage on the part of Pretoria. The South African racists, he said, "will not shun evil and do good and become Buddhas overnight." He closed on a note of caution against interference and control by the superpowers, especially that one which presents itself as the "natural ally" of the African people.

The issue of South Africa has been of key concern in the UN General Assembly and the Security Council. What approach do the Chinese take?

The Chinese see the growing resistance of the Azanian people to the whole system of apartheid and brutal repression as a most significant development in Africa as a whole. They regard the rise of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania as supporting each other and forming an irresistible torrent that will sweep away the last strongholds of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

When Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, was murdered, and newspapers, organizations, and individuals opposing apartheid were either gagged, banned, or detained, the Chinese UN delegation denounced this suppression in the strongest terms. It supported the African states' resolution calling for stringent economic and military sanctions against South Africa and, as we have seen, repeated this call in the debate on Namibia.

The Chinese are totally opposed to every aspect of the Vorster regime's barbaric practices. They vehemently condemn the South African scheme of exiling blacks to separate, desolate, barren territories and calling them "independent bantustans." They see this as an "attempt to put the shackles of oppression on the Azanian people in legal form." They support the just demand of the Azanian people for equal rights throughout the whole of South Africa.

The Chinese also point out the role of the superpowers in South Africa. We have already spoken in another context of Soviet maneuvering to split and control the liberation organizations in South Africa. As for the United States, its direct investment in South Africa is \$1.665 billion. The total value of U.S. direct, indirect, and portfolio investment in that country is estimated at about \$5 billion and has been crucial to South Africa's economic boom since World War II. It is only exceeded by British interests. The 375 U.S. companies with direct investment include those corporate giants which wield enormous U.S. domestic and world power – General Motors, Ford, Mobil, IBM, General Electric, and others. U.S. banks, including Bank of America, Citibank, and Chase Manhattan, have outstanding loans and credits of more than \$2 billion. Much of this is loaned to South African government organizations. These tremendous vested interests are the source of the consistent U.S. and British vetoes of every UN resolution demanding economic sanctions against Pretoria. They also help keep the Vorster regime afloat and facilitate the continued oppression of black Azanians.

A word about the effort of some to equate China's vigorous opposition to Soviet expansion in Africa with support for or even collusion with South Africa. China's objection to Soviet/Cuban intervention in Angola is, with an ulterior motive on the part of some, distorted to mean support of South Africa. China condemned the Vorster regime for sending troops to Angola and demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the South Africans. In the UN Security Council, China's Permanent Representative, Chen Chu, declared that the Chinese government has not entered, and never will enter, into any direct or indirect political, economic, trade, or other contact with the South African racist regime.

In China's view, what is the significance of recent events in the Horn of Africa?

The Horn of Africa straddles the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. It is close to the source of oil and its shipping routes. The two superpowers are jockeying fiercely for influence and control in this region.

When the Somalis expelled the U.S. Peace

Corps in the late sixties, the Soviets immediately began to infiltrate. Naming itself Somalia's "natural ally" and offering "friendly assistance," it gave Somalia aid and weapons, military advisers and installations, and helped train troops of the West Somali Liberation Front of the Ogaden region. In return it won the use of the port of Berbera on the Gulf of Aden opening into the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

When Ethiopia ousted the U.S. in 1977, Moscow saw another "vacuum" to be filled. The problem was how to move into Ethiopia and not alienate Somalia. A technique, since used in other parts of the world, was devised. In the course of the Podgorny-Castro visits to Africa in the spring of 1977, Moscow proposed a confederation of Somalia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen which would consolidate its influence and control over the oil shipping lanes from the Mideast. Somalia saw this as a threat to its sovereignty, expelled the Soviet and Cuban advisers, and ultimately renounced the Somali-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. In retaliation, the Soviets poured close to \$1.6 billion worth of weapons and thousands of Soviet military personnel and Cuban troops into Ethiopia. Utilizing its vast sea and air transport facilities, Moscow once more demonstrated to the world its ability to convey men and war materiel thousands of miles from its homeland. China points out that the Ogaden issue, which had been a border dispute between two African countries arising from the past when colonial powers arbitrarily fixed boundaries, had been escalated from occasional small-scale conflict into an international issue and the most violent and mechanized war on African soil since World War II. Moscow, with full knowledge of Somali military capacity and deployment because it had supplied and directed it, was now doing the same for the other side. Both were killing each other with Soviet-made weapons.

What is the Ogaden issue all about?

The Somalis regard the Ogaden issue as a case of self-determination, while the Ethiopians see it as a question of territorial integrity. The Somalis actively support the Western Somali Liberation Front and say that Ethiopia's claim to the region rests on nineteenth-century treaties when the Ethiopians joined with the British, French, and Italians in carving up the Horn of Africa. In Somali eyes these claims are no more valid than those of the former colonialists who have been forced to withdraw. No one denies that the Somalis are the ethnic majority in the Ogaden. Ethiopia, on the other hand, takes the position that has been endorsed by the OAU, namely that the borders in-

herited from the past be kept intact. Otherwise there would be endless chaos in Africa, which had been almost completely colonized.

China generally supports the OAU position but recognizes that the complexity of the problem requires patient, protracted, and sympathetic handling. It sees the Ogaden problem as a strictly African one that should be settled by Africans themselves, through joint efforts and the help of the OAU and other African countries. Even if the problem can't be solved at once, a status quo can be maintained and the situation kept from deteriorating while negotiations go on. This is the approach China has taken in its own border disputes.

Didn't Ethiopia invite Soviet and Cuban aid? Doesn't a sovereign state have the right to ask for help against aggression?

Juridical rights are not really the question. Imperialists also use such "invitations" to justify intervention. Didn't Thieu invite the Americans to Vietnam? Doesn't Park Jung-hi ask the Americans to stay on endlessly in South Korea? Does that make their cause just? It is not form but essence that counts. As Chairman Mao was fond of asking – *for whom and for what?* Does it advance the cause of the people against their real enemies? Does it weaken or strengthen the whole anti-imperialist cause?

To China, both Somalia and Ethiopia are Third World countries, developing countries. Both need to consolidate their independence and build their economies. Both are strategically located and the object of superpower contention. Neither is the other's main enemy, though there are differences between them. Are these differences brought nearer to solution by the Soviet/Cuban intervention? Moscow justified its intervention by branding the Somalis "aggressors." Now that the Somalis have withdrawn their troops from the Ogaden, have the Russians and Cubans withdrawn? Now we hear talk of the "Eritrean splittists" – and the Soviets and Cubans stay on.

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

The excessive nature of the Soviet/Cuban intervention, and their continued and growing presence in the Horn, confirms the view that it was never meant to solve the Ogaden dispute, but to establish a permanent Soviet bridgehead in the Horn of Africa.

How does China aid African countries and liberation movements?

China provides political support and material aid to those oppressed countries and peoples fighting for liberation against imperialist, colonial, or racist regimes and superpower domination. Since it considers African unity decisive, and all 49 members of the OAU nationalist countries as consolidating their independence and developing their national economies, it gives aid, to the degree it can, to all on an equal basis. Though China's aid is limited by its present capacity, it is quite substantial. Since 1970, Peking has provided Africa with \$1.6 billion in grant aid, almost double the amount pledged by Moscow.

To China, aid is a two-way street. There are no "donors" and "benefactors." China regards aid as a mutual effort in which the peoples of the world opposing imperialism and hegemony support each other.

The ground rules for China's aid have come to be known as the Eight Principles. It is aid that has no strings attached. It is designed to make the recipient country self-reliant, not dependent on China. It is aid which in no way infringes on the sovereignty of the recipient country. The loans China makes are sometimes interest-free, more often with low interest. If a country has difficulties in repayment, the time limit is invariably extended. Projects built with Chinese help are those which generally require less capital investment and yield quick returns, thus increasing the immediate income of the recipient country and generating capital for further development. In its aid China provides the best quality material and equipment it produces. If the recipient country finds anything not up to agreed-upon specifications, China will replace it at its own expense. Before leaving an aid project, Chinese technicians see to it that the personnel of the recipient country have mastered the necessary techniques for maintaining and developing the project independently. Tanzanian UN Ambassador Salim told me that Chinese experts and technicians are "China's best ambassadors." They relate to the people of the recipient country, live on the same level as their counterparts in that country, and demand no special amenities or privileges.

Most people have heard about the 1,160-mile Tanzam Railroad linking landlocked Zambia with the Indian Ocean at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. I would like to mention

briefly just a few of China's other recent aid efforts in Africa. In 1977, China turned over to the government of Cape Verde 2,000 tons of wheat. A stadium was constructed in Mogadishu, capital of Somalia, with Chinese help. In Sierra Leone, in 1977, six Chinese-aided agrotechnical stations were built. Chinese doctors gave assistance in Madagascar and a Chinese medical team provided aid in Mozambique. In Upper Volta, the Banfora Reclamation Area for rice production was developed with Chinese cooperation, and workers from Sierra Leone and China jointly built the Kambia Bridge spanning the great Scarcies River. This bridge constitutes a major link connecting Sierra Leone and Guinea and is a significant contribution to the development of the national economies and good neighborly relations in this West African region.

China's aid in Africa has a history. Could you comment on that?

In 1964 the late Premier Chou En-lai visited ten African countries. The Eight Principles governing Chinese aid formulated at that time were an expression of internationalism which took into account the terrible consequences suffered by Third World countries from Western and Soviet "aid." They were based on the idea that aid was mutual and both parties - big or small - were equals. It was a complete break with great-power chauvinism.

On his African tour, the Chinese Premier restated the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence* which guide Chinese relations with African countries in their opposition to imperialism, their neutrality and non-alignment, their approach to settling disputes through peaceful consultation, and their stand against outside interference. To promote African unity against its common enemies, he recalled his proposal which had won wide acclaim and played such a positive role in the success of the Bandung Conference of 1955 - "to seek common ground on major questions and reserve differences on minor ones."

Premier Chou En-lai was jubilant over what he observed on his African trip. Speaking in Somalia, he derided the colonialist myth of the "dark continent, ignorant and backward." He saw an "awakened and advancing" Africa, where the people had "risen like lions." He noted that the African people had undergone a radical change and described them as brave, warmhearted, full of vitality and daring. His eye was always

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on the main current in the historical development of Africa and he concluded that an excellent revolutionary situation prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the continent. Coming, as it did, in the second half of the twentieth century, Chou En-lai saw this as a development of world significance. Though he knew the road

would be long and tortuous, he expressed his confidence that the African people would never tolerate new foreign masters. They would frustrate all superpower schemes and demolish the last bastions of colonialism and racism on the continent. His great faith in Africa's future was part of his faith in the Third World as a whole. He

pointed out, even then, that the national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America had become the driving force in the worldwide battle against imperialism.

China, today, continues to follow the revolutionary path of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai. ●

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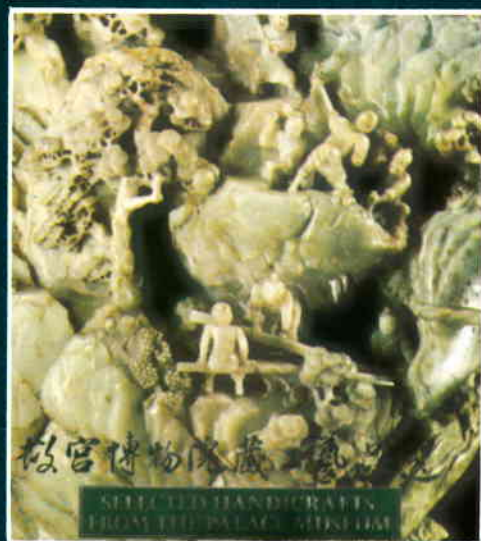
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