China's Star Commune: How It Began

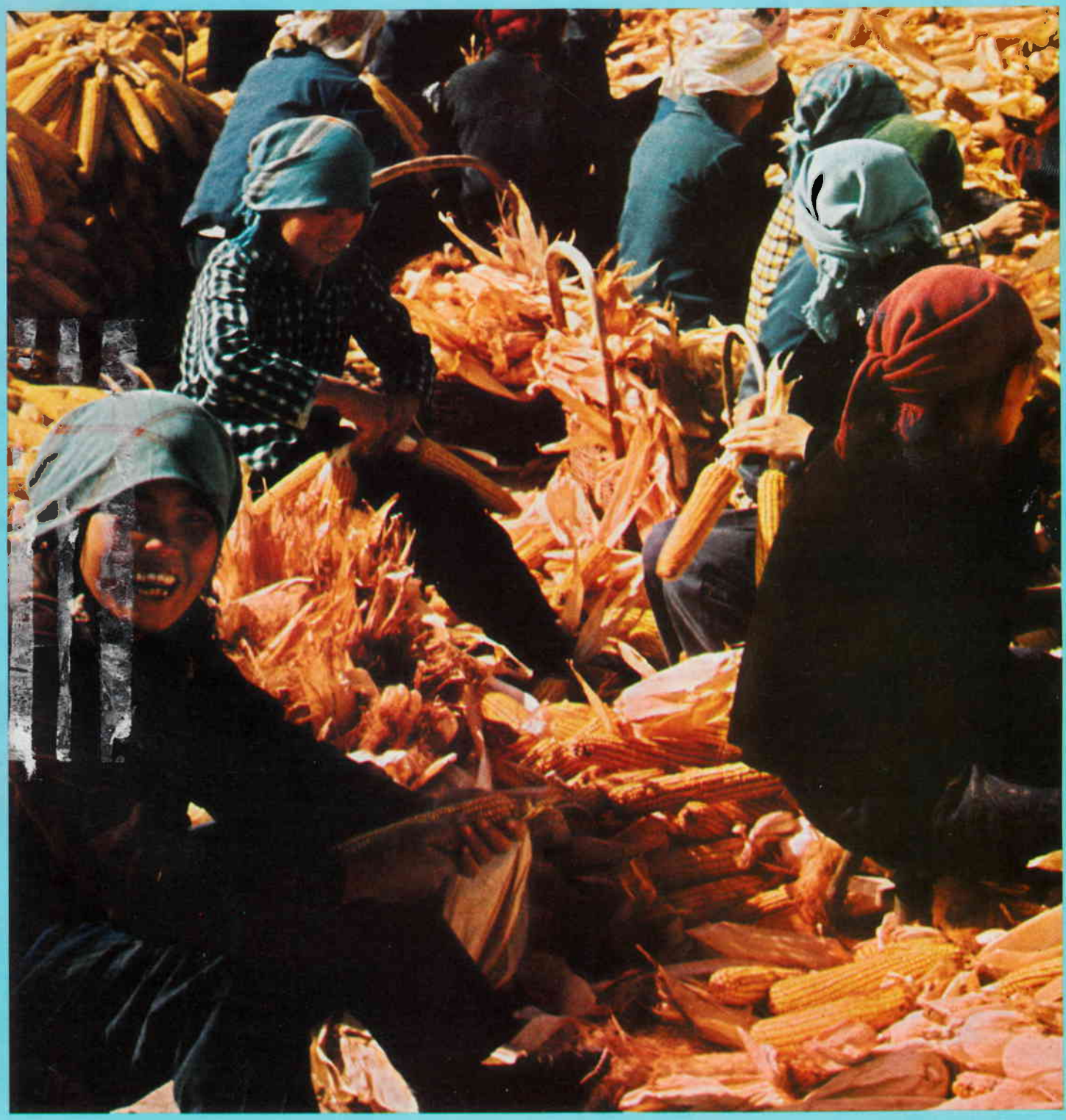
Summer 1977
One Dollar

New China

Sen. Mike Mansfield on the Taiwan Question

Divorce Trial

Korean War POW: Why I Chose to Live in China



Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association – Volume 3, Number 2

New China

Summer 1977
Published quarterly by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association
Volume 3, Number 2

Cover: Photo by David Nol
Another bumper harvest at Dazhai

6 USCPFA News

8 Letters

9 Peking Tent City

10 One China
(1) Mike Mansfield's Stand
(2) Normalization Conference

15 When "Enemies" Became Friends – Jim Veneris
A Korean War POW chose to live in China

19 Two Ways to Read the "Red Book"
William Hinton interviews Dazhai leader Chen Yong-gui

30 Muddy but Unbowed – Pat and Roger Howard

32 Our Roses Grow in China – Amalia Hinsdell
A living tribute to a wartime rescue

35 Divorce Trial – Nina Shapiro-Perl
What happens when a marriage fails

40 Friendship Has A History: John S. Service
– Joseph W. Esherick and Mark Selden

45 China at the UN: Law of the Sea

47 USCPFA Addresses

 Published quarterly. Yearly subscription rates – domestic, $4; foreign, $5; institutional, $8. NEW CHINA, 41 Union Square West, Room 721, New York, N.Y. 10003. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.

USCPFA News

Veneris Tour Beginning in October 1976, locals around the country were privileged to play host to a very special guest: Jim Veneris, Korean War POW and one of a handful of Americans who chose to go to China after the war. On a six-month leave of absence from the Chinese factory where he works, this was Jim's first trip back to the U.S. to visit relatives and friends.

Jim agreed to tour USCPFA locals in order to build friendship between the Chinese and American people. Although still angry and amused at the antics of the McCarthyites of the fifties who labeled him a "turncoat," Jim feels great respect and affection for the American people. He modestly disclaimed any ability as a public speaker, but was in fact one of the most forceful and engaging speakers most locals could remember. At hundreds of meetings and outreach events that introduced Jim to Americans from all walks of life, he was greeted with enthusiasm and deluged with questions about life in China. Despite a heavy travel schedule and severe hoarseness brought on by so much public speaking, Jim's zest for bringing the truth about the People's Republic to the American people never flagged. The many friends Jim made in all regions of the country will be happy to know they can reach him c/o State Paper Mill, West Branch, Jinan, Shandong Province, PRC.

A two-part interview with Jim Veneris begins in this issue.

Providence Jim Veneris spoke at a January program along with H. K. Chao, a former political prisoner of the Taiwan regime. Veneris's description of his lenient treatment by the People's Republic when he was a Korean War POW, and of his life, work, and family in China, contrasted dramatically with Chao's report on the injustice, torture, and inhuman treatment he suffered under the Chiang authorities in Taiwan. The talks helped make clearer the need for normalizing U.S.-China relations and putting an end to American support of the Taiwan regime.

St. Louis In mid-November Dr. Benedict Stavis, research associate at the Center for International Studies, Cornell University, gave an informative talk on China's agriculture, "Making Green Revolution: People's Communes and Rural Development in China." Also in November, an educational program at a membership meeting focused on health care. The panelists were Mark Selden of Washington University, Dr. Virginia Larsen, and other USCPFA members who visited China recently.

At an all-day China Festival in the Central West End on December 18, the USCPFA sold arts and crafts from the PRC, demonstrated calligraphy and Chinese painting, and showed slides on women, health care, national minorities, education, and the elimination of drugs and prostitution in China. Felix Greene's film *Freedom Railway* was shown in the evening, followed by a discussion of Chinese-African relations.

Cincinnati Following up last year's introductory workshop on China, the Schools Committee sponsored a two-part workshop in February on "How to Teach about China," with discussions of resource materials and demonstrations of model lesson plans – a slide show for elementary school teachers on "A Day in the Life of a Chinese Child" and a class on communes for high school teachers. China is an alternative curriculum for the sixth grade in the public schools, and the Social Studies Supervisor at the Board of Education has expressed interest in seeing a fully developed lesson sequence.

Also in February, the Schools Committee presented a China Week program at a high school in a working class community, coordinated by one of its members who teaches there. The following week a China Day was co-sponsored by the USCPFA and the Jerrald Baptist Church at the church in the West End, a working-class Black community. The day, part of the church's annual Brotherhood Week, drew children and teenagers from the local schools along with adults from the community. All responded enthusiastically to the achievements of new China.

Sarasota A diverse program of activities organized by ten activists and supported by 108 members has kept things hopping in western Florida. Vice-Chairperson Dr. Hal Serrie headed up a two-day seminar on normalization sponsored by the Unitarian Church. Several members have written articles for local papers on the Olympics, normalization, and political oppression in Taiwan. Chapter secretary Carolyn Money taught two contemporary history courses on the People's Republic for the community education programs in Charlotte and Sarasota counties. The state-funded courses began in January and ran for ten weeks, two hours a week. China programs have also been taken out to civic clubs, mobile home parks, schools, churches, youth groups, professional and political groups, and private gatherings. USCPFA members have also contacted the local Black newspaper, the Housing Authority, and several Black leaders in an effort to broaden outreach work. The chapter newsletter keeps 300 members and supporters informed of all this activity.

Detroit To familiarize more people with NEW CHINA, the chapter displayed the June 1976 interview with Detroit Judge George Crockett as part of the USCPFA booth at the city's annual Far Eastern Riverfront Ethnic Festival. Judge Crockett is especially well known in the minority communities. The display was also included in the USCPFA booth at the Michigan State Fair in September.

When Bill Lee of the Boston Red Sox spoke at the USCPFA Sports for the People Day, September 18, another NEW CHINA display featured the September 1976 interview with Detroiter Graham Steenhoven. Mr. Steenhoven, who headed the U.S. Table Tennis Team that visited China in 1971, was on the program in person as well. Both displays have proved useful in outreach work and now enjoy a permanent place in the U.S.-China FriendShop which opened in May 1976 as a USCPFA store/office/meeting place.

Summer 1977 NEW CHINA **Volume 3, Number 2**
41 Union Square West, Room 721, New York, N.Y. 10003

Austin In August about 40 people attended a USCPFA program at a library in the Black community to hear NSC member Bob McFarland speak on "How China Solved Its Social Problems." While turnout from the community was disappointing, other good contacts were made. USCPFA members are also trying to make more personal contacts among workers and minorities in order to expand outreach.

In October, 85 people came to a program commemorating Mao Tsetung that featured a brief account of his life and lively analyses of four of his essays. Two USCPFA members also appeared on local TV programs to discuss the significance of Mao's life.

Buffalo The chapter sent the following poem written by steelworker Ken Bellett. He read it at a memorial service for Mao Tsetung in September.

The Struggle of Mao

A selfish thought was foreign
to Mao Tsetung's great mind,
He worked and struggled all his days
for the freedom of mankind,

And never ceased to labor
from the moment of his birth.
The only force which made him rest
is the force that spins the earth.

He struggled to establish
the unity of the masses,
For in unity is our power
to destroy the ruling classes.

The works of Marx and Lenin
and the works of Chairman Mao
Have given us our weapons –
we know how to fight back now.

They never looked for glory
and never cared for fame,
So the only true memorial
is in struggling in their name.

So we'll carry on the struggle
that these great men left behind,
And we workers, all united,
will win freedom for mankind.

Chicago With some chapters already looking ahead to next year's National Day celebrations, Chicago's U.S.-China Friendship Day at Malcolm X Junior College last October deserves another mention. Besides presenting some of the works of Mao Tsetung and the workers and peasants of China in poetry, prose, and song, the day included excellent child care and a children's program that combined education and entertainment. Older children performed the playlet "Little Colt" (see NEW CHINA, Fall 1975) for the younger ones, and the puppet show of the children's story "Little Sisters of the Grassland" was performed twice, to the delight of kids and grownups alike. Other highlights of this ambitious day were small-group educationals and discussions, a bazaar, a Chinese dinner, an evening cultural program, and the new film on Tibet, *The Sun Rises Over Lhasa.*

More recent Chicago activities include an exhibit of photos, literature, and gift items from China at the mall in suburban Oak Park on two Saturdays; talks by USCPFA members at high schools, senior citizens' centers, and community centers; and a week-long series of classes at Farragut High School on "Values and Beliefs in China."

Philadelphia In February Philadelphia began an intensive outreach program with a film series at more than ten locations – churches, senior citizens' centers, Chinatown, community centers, and universities. Co-sponsors included Black community groups, churches, and overseas Chinese groups.

A four-part series on health care at the chapter office brought a good turnout, including a large number of newcomers to the Association. Working with church and community groups, the chapter also presented a big public program on normalization to commemorate the signing of the Shanghai Communique and the Taiwan February 28th Uprising.

New York City The Health Care and Program Committees put on a China program at a Conference on the New York City Health Care Crisis, December 11. Eighty people stayed through their lunch break to watch Joshua Horn's film *Away With All Pests*, and a lively discussion of the Chinese people's health care struggles ensued. A photo display and literature table also attracted lots of visitors.

Metropolitan New Jersey A number of activities have been held during the last several months in the cities where members live. In the fall, films about sports and education in China were shown to a meeting of a city-wide coalition of child care workers in Newark. Jim Veneris spoke at the Friends Meeting House in Plainsfield, and a "Friendship Festival" was held in East Orange around the time of China's National Day, with a sale of Chinese products and literature, a photo exhibit (courtesy New York City USCPFA), and a slide show by Ed and Lucy Bell, who were in China last summer on a tour by World War II veterans who had served in China. Educationals at membership meetings have included discussions about the "gang of four" and the question of normalization and Taiwan.

Koji Ariyoshi, an at-large member of the National Steering Committee, founder and

president of the Honolulu USCPFA, and among the first to take up the cause of building friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, died October 23, 1976, after a valiant battle against cancer.

Ariyoshi was the son of contract laborers from Japan who became small coffee farmers. Work on the Honolulu docks enabled him to study at the University of Hawaii, from which he graduated in 1941. He studied journalism for a year at the University of Georgia and later put this craft to the service of workers, editing for ten years a weekly union-oriented newspaper.

After Pearl Harbor was attacked, he was incarcerated in Manzanar Relocation Center with other Americans of Japanese extraction.

He volunteered for the Army and in October 1944 was assigned to Dixie Mission duties in Yan'an, the base of the Chinese Communists where he met many of the Revolution's leaders, including Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. His stories and slides of his Yan'an stay were features of the last two USCPFA conventions and inspired many in the work of building U.S.-China peoples' friendship.

(Adapted, with permission, from *China and Us*.)

Minorities Conference At the second National USCPFA Convention in Chicago, 1975, two national priorities were set: one, to educate the American people about Taiwan and normalization of relations between the U.S. and China; two, to reach out beyond our present constituency into working class and minority communities and involve them more in USCPFA activities and positions of leadership.

At the third National Convention in Philadelphia, 1976, a National Minority Caucus formed and sent representatives to a Western Regional Minorities Conference held at Ghost Ranch, New Mexico, in October. The conference's purpose was defined by its organizers: "to be a tool in implementing the national priority of outreach to minorities and the working class, . . . to develop recommendations regarding approach to minority communities, . . . and to develop concrete proposals such as implementation of tour guidelines of resolution 5A" (passed at the 1976 USCPFA National Convention and requiring every USCPFA tour to include a minimum of two minority and two working class members).

Forty-five people attended the Ghost Ranch conference and contributed a valuable perspective on the importance of doing minority outreach. In the summation they pointed out that the USCPFA, an American *people's* organization, was intended to be broad-based and made up of all strata of the American people. Yet right now it was in fact predominantly white middle class. To achieve its goals it therefore needed to fix priorities to help it change.

While all Americans benefit from education and information about socialist China, minorities in particular would have a special interest in China because of its progressive policy toward its 54 national minorities and effective handling of social problems such as drugs, crime, unemployment, and inadequate health care.

Many Americans suffer from misconceptions about China born of long years of limited contact and anti-communist propaganda. The conference participants agreed there were additional obstacles in building U.S.-China people's friendship among minorities. General outreach efforts often do not surmount the barriers of physical and social isolation of American minority communities, and there are differences among communities as to appropriate place, time, and manner or method of presentation of programs.

Everyone believed that including more minorities on USCPFA tours to China was an essential part of increased minority involvement in the Association. The ability of Black civil rights activists like Unita Blackwell Wright and Detroit Judge George Crockett to inspire both minority and general audiences by their accounts of visits to China was cited as an example.

Some delegates who had been to China on USCPFA tours mentioned how impressed they were to find the Chinese so well informed on minority struggles and experiences in the U.S. – "much more so than we were about China," said one person. "One of our guides talked to me for several hours about the United Farmworkers' strike in California – and in Spanish, too!"

Delegates resolved to help carry out the resolution to increase numbers of minorities on tours by publicizing the availability of tours to acquaintances and by enlarging contacts with minority organizations. The conference also recommended that USCPFA locals should appoint a minority member to tour selection committees.

A secondary function of the conference, "to develop guidelines for education work around racism in the Association," was seen as especially important with respect to tours. As one returned traveler put it, "the pace, new environment, and group traveling situation can get people tired and irritated; things come out that can ruin people's experiences on a tour." Travel orientations in which the question of racism was discussed have helped to clear the air and "prepare travelers to show each other the same equal respect that the Chinese show to each other and to all of us," one delegate said. Having more than one minority delegate on every tour also helps prevent minorities' feeling isolated and out of place.

The need to reach more working class people was also discussed. China, a country where workers are in command, could not but interest the millions of American workers, yet the USCPFA has barely scratched the surface in reaching them. The Minorities Conference resolved to take the lead in involving more workers, including minority workers, in friendship work. The participants left Ghost Ranch invigorated and more committed to carrying out the USCPFA national priority to do outreach to workers and minorities. For more information, contact James Hsu, National Minority Caucus Coordinator, c/o USCPFA, San Francisco.

Debbie Davison
Berkeley, Calif.

Letters

I see NEW CHINA all around me at the Stanford and Berkeley campuses and lots of non-academic bookstores. And what's more, people are reading it and are conversant with the issues. I enjoy it a lot too, and am surprised at a magazine on the left being so readable. I do, however, join with those readers who have written to the magazine suggesting that the tone of the articles should be more critical – i.e., dealing with problems that are still not "happily" solved and relating a more (Western-style) realistic approach.

Diane Ostrofsky
Palo Alto, Calif.

The last two issues of NEW CHINA were excellent. It seems as though some subtle but to me important changes have occurred. There is less of an insipid *National Geographic* writing slant and more informational articles phrased in strong clear language. Whatever it is that you are doing, keep it up.

Skip Hibbard
Denver, Colo.

As members of the National Activist Tour we read with interest the article "Incident at Tian an Men" [December 1976] written by three members of our group. The article did an excellent job of summarizing the events that we all witnessed. However, the article should have stopped there. The section entitled "Cultural Revolution Deepens" is, in effect, an editorial, and we question the friendship value of it. The final paragraph gives the misleading impression to the readers that none of us met or had any discussions in China which indicated that there was still ongoing debate over fundamental economic and political issues. This is simply not true. To gloss over this could have very harmful effects on our credibility and thus damage friendship work.

Members of study tours must guard against the feeling that they are experts on current events in China after a three-week tour. We are invited guests and friends and what we observe are but partial exterior manifestations of internal conflicts. In the spirit of friendship we should not impose a Western need for instant analysis.

Jan MacKinnon
Phoenix, Ariz.
Craig Justice
Pomona Valley, Calif.
Joel Leidner
Los Angeles, Calif.
Hal Serrie
Sarasota, Fla.

I'd like to comment on the June 1976 issue of NEW CHINA, which contained articles about Marine Lt.-Colonel Evans Carlson and Korean POW Pete Jones.

I'm an ex-Marine and I was trained by one of Col. Carlson's top NCOs. I also worked with a man (Recon. Co., First Marine Div., Korea, November '52–October '53) who was a "Raider." They were The Best.

On page 36, Mr. Jones stated he apologized for fighting against China during the Korean War. This was and is unnecessary. The Chinese are intelligent and *know* we were the brainwashed ones. If and when I visit China, I'll shake their hands.

T. G. Rolfes
Cincinatti, Ohio

In response to your questionnaire in the June 1976 issue of NEW CHINA, I particularly liked the article on "People's Justice" because it is convincing, being written by a progressive member of the judiciary. I also like all the articles about Chou En-lai, because they show, theoretically and practically, socialism in action.

In criticism, I would say that certain articles from movie stars and entertainers give a false impression of a "rosy" life in China. We have to win friends for China, but not through opportunism.

I would also like to suggest that you print articles from other friendship organizations and Chinese news agencies; and, why not, Chinese comics?

John Kilborn
Tubingen, West Germany

Please allow me to tell you how much I enjoyed your June issue. As an American Black, I was very proud to see four articles that describe the views of Blacks on China. Because Black people have suffered oppression and humiliation like the Chinese people, they have a great interest in learning the method the Chinese used in winning political power, world respect, and dignity. Please continue using articles reflecting the views of Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos,

Photograph by Jim Oestereich

and Blacks on the People's Republic of China.

Bradley M. Polk
Los Angeles, Calif.

I am extremely disappointed with your magazine.

If you wish to use NEW CHINA as a tool for making friends in the U.S., may I suggest that you include some facts and statistics from which certain conclusions can be deduced. The propaganda which you've been printing is offensive. I'd like to know what's going on in the People's Republic and your magazine does not satisfy that purpose. I cannot recommend your periodical to anyone with serious interest.

G. E. Garland
New York, N.Y.

May I offer a commentary on Chieu Chang's article, "Private Cars? Who Needs 'Em!" in the September 1976 issue of NEW CHINA?

Like the writer, I made two short trips to the People's Republic, and was both surprised and pleased at the almost total absence of private cars there. The Chinese people are visibly healthier for their use of bicycles and their own feet for getting around.

But while China is definitely on the right track in its emphasis on people-oriented mass public transportation and urban planning methods, the abovementioned report glosses over some very real problems.

The level of traffic noise in China is intolerable. In their battle for the right of way with pedestrians and cyclists; buses and trucks never let up on blaring their horns. Since there is no physical separation of bikes and buses, the persistent use of horns is inevitable and absolutely necessary to avoid accidents.

While the injury and death rates from motor accidents in China are not even comparable with the slaughter in the U.S., nevertheless injuries and deaths do occur from human error, poor traffic patterns, and unnecessary speeding. Bus and truck drivers constantly come within inches of cyclists and pedestrians, at speeds up to 40 miles an hour. There seem to be no speed limits on motor vehicles, or regulations on overtaking and passing other vehicles or on making turns into oncoming traffic. Regulations prohibiting two on a bike are grossly ignored, and jaywalking is as common as in New York City.

In addition, another recent visitor to China noted that the train accommodations are very comfortable, and I agree: the ride on a Chinese pullman is smooth, the food excellent, and the compartments with their flowerpots, doilies, and jugs of hot tea are a rare treat. But on these same pullmans the average citizen travels in three-tiered open bunks and hangs out in the aisles. Men, women, and children are bunched up almost as badly as on a New York subway. It was embarrassing for at least some of us "first-class" passengers to walk through this type of car on the way to a fabulous meal in the dining car.

The production of motor equipment in China is increasing. The use of passenger cars for government and taxi service is growing Motor bikes are now on sale in department stores and a few are in evidence in the streets. With Mao's egalitarian concepts and socialist planning, it is not likely that China will ever waste its resources in consumerism as in the U.S. or the Soviet Union. But problems and contradictions they do have, and they should not be glossed over by their friends.

Oliver Leeds
Brooklyn, N.Y.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincerest thanks for your excellent periodical. In an age where the very media which should assist us in understanding different peoples present us with such distorted images of reality, it is an unbelievable pleasure to come across a magazine

which is countering this "brainwashing." You really deserve the highest praise. Please keep it up!

We shall do our best to circulate our copies as widely as possible.

Jocelyn and Anthony Lewis
New Plymouth, New Zealand

Letters to NEW CHINA *have been excerpted for publication.*

Peking Tent City

"Being afraid will neither stop an earthquake from happening nor help us to deal with one if it does happen."

So spoke an interpreter to 22 USCPFA activists from the southern United States as they arrived in Peking just three days after the big quake had struck the area. He was calming their natural anxieties and explaining the precautions being taken to protect them.

The southern group, representing 12 USCPFA locals, had felt the quake while visiting Shenyang, 250 miles northeast of the epicenter. On reaching Peking, they encountered some unusual and generally unreported aspects of the ability of the Chinese people to cope with natural disasters.

Arrangements had been made for our group to live in tents on the grounds of the Cultural Palace for the Laboring People, within the "Forbidden City." The atmosphere in this "tent city" was calm and relaxed. Rows of army tents were neatly pitched under tall cedars, with cloth-covered tables conveniently placed between the rows. There was a well-stocked first aid station and an efficient mobile toilet facility. In each tent were seven or eight cots made up with sheets and blankets. Water faucets were installed at the end of each lane.

Down our stone-paved "street" was a large table where beer, wine, and soft drinks were available, and some of our group were quite excited at the sight of ice cream being served.

Throughout Peking we had seen the phenomenal appearance of a multitude of tent cities, with nearly the entire populace moved outdoors. The makeshift shelters were of canvas, mats, quilts, and brightly colored vinyl strung on bamboo poles, trees, lamp posts, and fences. People were going about their normal activities, but with one major adjustment: all were on the alert for any new earthquakes.

When our interpreters were assured of our well-being, they went off to their homes to visit families they hadn't seen since the quake hit, although they had received word that all was well. On their return we heard some of their stories.

One family was installed on the grounds of the office building where some of them worked, along with other staff families. They were living and eating quite satisfactorily. In fact, the cooks were outdoing themselves in the kitchen of a neighboring office. They were preparing vastly more meals than they were accustomed to, but were regarding their work in a new light – the food must be more plentiful and of the highest quality so the people would be strengthened for the crisis.

Another interpreter told us that her husband, even though ill with a kidney ailment, had helped other families set up and move into their shelters. The child of still another was reported to be positively enjoying his new camping experience.

For us, one of the striking aspects of the mobilization was the absence of looting. People had left their homes vacant and were now leaving their shelters unattended as they went off to work or school or market. Yet we saw no increase in the number of police or army personnel. The same factors that keep

crime low in China in normal times clearly extended to this crisis situation as well: growing economic equality and eliminating the class basis for crime mean that the people look out for each other's interests on the principle of "serve the people."

Self-policing was in operation during the earthquake mobilization. We learned of signs warning that a handful of "bad elements" might be on the loose. People were urged to be vigilant, and apparently they were, for we heard of no instances of looting and encountered only a spirit of confidence and unity.

On our last day in Peking, we were able to learn how the mobilization had been accomplished so swiftly and smoothly. The key to the people's impressive response was education and organization. From pre-school on, the Chinese are taught that natural disasters can strike any place, any time, and they learn what to do if that happens. Emphasis is put on preparedness, self-reliance, and cooperation to overcome difficulties.

Political organization provides the channels for quick and effective action and dissemination of information. In the quake emergency, for example, it took only half an hour from the time a new warning was issued by geologists for the entire city of Peking to respond. All gas, water, and electricity were immediately shut off to prevent fires, explosions, and water contamination. With the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its center, the communications network speedily passed information through the provincial, municipal, and district Revolutionary Committees to factories, communes, army units, hospitals, and neighborhood Revolutionary Committees. This organization, built from the grassroots up, offers the strongest basis for fast and unified action.

An officer of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, who gave us details about the mobilization, said that even though "we are not so used to earthquakes in Peking," the combination of preparedness and organization carried the people through the crisis and fortified them with confidence in the face of tragedy.

As we left the People's Republic, we noted that most of the Western press was publishing sensational reports about the damage, fear, and suffering the earthquake was causing the Chinese people. To us, this reporting did not give an accurate picture. In China, the news was not the earthquake – everyone knew about that. The news was how all the people were throwing themselves into the struggle to save lives, rebuild damaged areas, and conquer the disaster.

Mike Dobbins
Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Irene Evans
Sarasota, Fla.

One China

(1) Mike Mansfield's Stand

Mike Mansfield, who recently retired as U.S. Senator from Montana and Senate Majority Leader, returned from his sixth visit to China in October 1976. It was his third visit since the signing of the Shanghai Communique in 1972.

In China Enters the Post-Mao Era: A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate *(Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 1976), Mansfield urges the U.S. government to seek normalization of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the basis of the Shanghai Communique. While a number of top U.S. political figures have come out for "friendship with the PRC," thus far only Mansfield has dealt with the Taiwan question firmly, underscoring the Chinese principle: "Taiwan is a part of China and when and how it will be absorbed into the life of the mainland is an internal affair" (p. 7). He points out that the U.S. presence on Taiwan is the main obstacle to normalization.*

The following excerpts are from a section entitled "Taiwan: Untying the Gordian Knot." Footnotes are omitted.

For other NEW CHINA *articles on U.S.-China relations, see "One China: Taiwan and U.S.-China Relations" (Vol. 1, No. 2); "One China: The Road Ahead" by Paul T. K. Lin (Vol. 1, No. 3); "Floriwan: A Fable for Our Times" by John S. Service (Vol. 1, No. 4); "Why China Invited Nixon" by Frank Kehl (Vol. 2, No. 2).*

There is only one obstacle to normalization. It derives from the events of 1949 when the forces led by Mao Tsetung drove Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland to the offshore island of Taiwan. In the final years of that civil war the United States poured $2 billion of aid into a doomed cause. It was an intervention in China's civil war and it persists today through continuing U.S. recognition of the Republic of China on Taiwan, through the furnishing of that government with military advice and arms, through the conduct of joint maneuvers with its armed forces, and through many ties between the American and the Nationalist governments which are designed to preserve Taiwan as an entity separate from the Chinese mainland.

Time has proven that the justification presented to Congress for the defense treaty [signed in 1954] with the Nationalist regime was based on a distorted view not only of America's long-range interests in the Far East but also of the nature of the People's

Republic of China. America's security was not involved in the future of Taiwan. The specter of political consequences at home, not military probabilities abroad, was the prime factor in distorting United States policy toward the Chinese civil war and in subsequently consolidating the distortions.

Concerning the Taiwan question, the Shanghai Communique stated:

"The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of 'one China, one Taiwan,' 'one China, two governments,' 'two Chinas,' an 'independent Taiwan' or advocate that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined.'

"The U.S. side declared: *The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position.* It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes." (Italics supplied [by Mansfield].)

Although the number of U.S. military personnel has been reduced substantially since 1972, there are still some 2,000 American servicemen stationed on Taiwan, including a military advisory group. Only this year the remaining U.S. military advisers were withdrawn from Quemoy and Matsu, islands not covered by the security treaty. The Indochina war, the "tension in the area," to which the language in the Shanghai Communique referred, is long since over. The bulk of the remaining American forces on Taiwan are engaged in activities which, if Americans put themselves in Chinese shoes, would be considered intolerable, since the activities are carried out on China's territory.

United States military involvement with the Nationalist government through the supply of military equipment has accelerated since 1972, not lessened. By the end of the current fiscal year a total of some $1.1 billion in military equipment and materials will have been provided by the U.S. to the government on Taiwan since the Shanghai Communique was issued, $378 million of that on a grant or credit basis. Additional military sales of several hundred millions of dollars are being planned for the 1978 fiscal year.

Official stimulus to economic ties continues. It is "business as usual" with U.S. private investments still flowing in, many protected by U.S. government guarantees through the Overseas Development Investment Corporation. Authorizations of direct loans and guarantees by the U.S. Export-Import Bank to finance sales to Taiwan totaled $1.24 billion in the 1972–75 period. United States firms are engaged in a major program which will make Taiwan dependent on nuclear power for half of its energy requirements by the early 1980s. No government agency has received new policy directions concerning the adjustment of U.S. relations with Taiwan in the light of the Shanghai Communique.

The answer to the Taiwan problem is not to be found in Peking but in Washington. It is a domestic problem for the United States. "If this issue is not resolved and is prolonged, the responsibility is not on our side but on yours," said one Chinese official. Another added: "The one who ties a knot must untie it."

Much of the ambiguity concerning the Taiwan problem seems to stem from the hope that with sufficient delay, the problem will go away. A device in this connection is the insistence that China renounce the use of force in regard to Taiwan. As far back as 1955, China was prepared to agree to a joint statement renouncing the *general* use of force to settle disputes with the U.S. but would not renounce its use specifically against Taiwan. To appreciate what is involved in the renunciation of force question, the issue should be examined from the Chinese perspective. As the Chinese see it, Taiwan is an integral part of China and, under the Shanghai Communique, the United States does not dispute this contention. While there is no reason to assume that the final withdrawal of U.S. forces will lead to the use of force against Taiwan by the mainland, there is also no reason to expect China to formally renounce its possible use against what it regards as a Chinese province. Indeed to do so would be to cast a doubt on the validity of its claim to sovereignty over the island.

(2) Normalization Conference

Members of 20 church, sport, academic, and China-friendship groups gathered in Washington, D.C., last December to push for normalized relations between the United States and China. During two days of listening to talks, questioning panelists, and sharing ideas, 380 participants advanced

their understanding of the issues and tasks involved in normalization work.

A conference statement passed at the closing plenary session noted that "of the issues between our two countries that still need resolution, Taiwan is the major one." It reiterated the U.S. acknowledgment in the 1972 Shanghai Communique that "all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China." It called for a program of action to fulfill the three preconditions for genuine normalization mentioned in the Communique: "the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces and installations from Taiwan, the abrogation of the mutual defense treaty with the government of Taiwan, and the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from that government."

The keynote speaker at the opening session, Harvard professor Ross Terrill, said that 1977 was a crucial year for Sino-American relations. "Like seeds broadcast in changing weather," he said, "they may either grow or wither."

In order for the seeds of normalization to grow, Terrill pointed out, the U.S. must withdraw its military and diplomatic presence from Taiwan. But while appearing to withdraw, the U.S. is actually cementing its relations with the Nationalist regime on Taiwan: during the past two years, U.S. credits and aid to Taiwan for military hardware have increased, and five new Nationalist consulates have opened on U.S. soil.

Terrill refuted a common claim that abrogating the mutual defense treaty of 1954 means "abandoning" Taiwan. "In fact what it abandons is a regime called the Republic of China which history abandoned in 1949," he said. "Treaties are not written in stone," and in fact, according to Article 10 of the treaty signed in 1954, the agreement may be terminated by either party upon one year's notice.

A panel following Terrill's speech brought out various positions on the Taiwan question. Donald MacInnis, past director of the China Program of the National Council of Churches U.S.A., said many church organizations favor "self-determination" for Taiwan.

Howard Sollenberger, former director of the U.S. State Department Foreign Language and Foreign Service Institutes, advised "new, creative ways" of maintaining a U.S. presence in Taiwan, following the "Japan formula." (Japanese corporations continued trade with companies on Taiwan after the Japanese government broke relations with the Nationalists and recognized the PRC.) Sollenberger also emphasized that the U.S. "is at a point of opportunity" to initiate the normalization process with China.

Frank Pestana, a Los Angeles lawyer and National Chairman of the USCPFA, said that the "American people have a stake in normalization occurring as quickly as possible." He added, "Normalization has been a long time a-coming; it should be achieved by next year at the latest." He noted that "the talk of self-determination is misplaced: the people of Taiwan are Chinese."

The second day of the conference began with reports on Congressional views toward normalization. John Holum, legislative aide to Senator George McGovern (D.-S. Dakota), said: "The three demands [of the PRC for genuine normalization] are not difficult to meet. Nor should we try to extract concessions from the Chinese. We're simply wrong – we have been for 27 years."

John Isaacs, legislative aide to Representative Stephen Solarz (D.-New York), said normalizing relations with China "is not a hot issue" in the Congress. He said that "members of Congress worry about selling out another ally after Vietnam, and would like to see security assurances for Taiwan." To this Holum responded: "I don't think there can be any formal security arrangements [with the U.S.] – it would be like China having security arrangements with Texas!"

Both Isaacs and Holum indicated that Congress is not particularly interested in normalizing relations with China at this time. Isaacs advised appealing to the Carter administration and Holum suggested using "newspaper editorials and public forums" to pressure the administration.

A panel discussion on cultural and educational exchanges with China highlighted the importance of people-to-people relations. Several panelists said that normalization would open the door to more and longer-term exchanges between the two countries.

Eugene Theroux, an attorney and former president of the National Council on U.S.-China Trade, opened the panel on trade with the remark: "I'm surprised that China will let American businessmen into China, since it was the Western powers which in the name of trade unraveled Chinese society." Theroux said that American business is reluctant to switch its interests from Taiwan to China. "From a strictly business point of view, Taiwan is a more attractive trading partner, because American businessmen can go there and do whatever they want. It is not as in [the People's Republic of] China where, as they say, 'Politics and trade go hand in hand.'" Theroux added, "The idea that trade [with the PRC] would take a major spurt after normalization is not necessarily true. Some Chinese conditions of trade will not change: China will not become a business playground for companies looking for cheap labor, joint ventures, and extraction of royalties; and China will not make products with U.S. brand names."

Hugh Donaghue, who as vice-president

In one of many demonstrations held in the U.S. on February 28, people from the northeast marched from a rally in New York's UN Plaza to a conference on normalization and the Taiwan question. (Photo: S. Marcus)

of Control Data Corporation had recently negotiated a computer sale to China, was impressed by the Chinese emphasis on self-reliance. "The Chinese are not frivolous," he said. "They won't buy things they don't need. Importation of high technology is in selected areas and on their terms." Donaghue was distressed by the "ridiculous" conditions the U.S. government tried to impose on the computer transaction, until it was approved by President Ford in October 1976. "I hope the Chinese never treat us the way we treat them!" Donaghue said.

At informal workshop sessions, participants raised suggestions for normalization work. Some people advocated primarily appealing to the new administration, specifically to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance. Others emphasized the primary importance of a grassroots campaign to mobilize the kind of support for normalization that will not fade if presidential interests change. Others saw the necessity of basing the campaign among the American people, while also using petitions and other forms of pressure against the U.S. government.

Questions and doubts about Taiwan surfaced at the workshops, but discussion clarified people's understanding of the history and current situation on the island. From the Chinese point of view, the "Taiwan question" has two aspects, domestic and international. Internationally, the U.S. persists in intervening in China's civil war, a civil war that on the mainland ended long ago. Domestically, the civil war must be concluded – peacefully or by force – and China reunified. The time and method of reunification are for the Chinese people themselves to decide. Most participants accepted the essence of this position, and at the final plenary, an amendment advocating "self-determination" for Taiwan was soundly rejected.

The clarification and struggle over differences, both among organizations and within them, represent a positive advance in the movement to normalize diplomatic relations with China. Those who attended the conference left with new understanding of the issues, interest in the campaign, ideas and resources for local programs, and contacts for building joint events with other groups. Some of them were put into action in varied events in different cities timed to coincide with the two anniversaries that fell on February 28, 1977: the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Shanghai Communique and the thirtieth anniversary of the "2/28 Uprising" on Taiwan.

Coalitions to continue the campaign for normalization have been set up in a number of cities.

Marjorie King
Philadelphia, Pa.

USCPFA Statement of Principles

Goal:

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

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

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

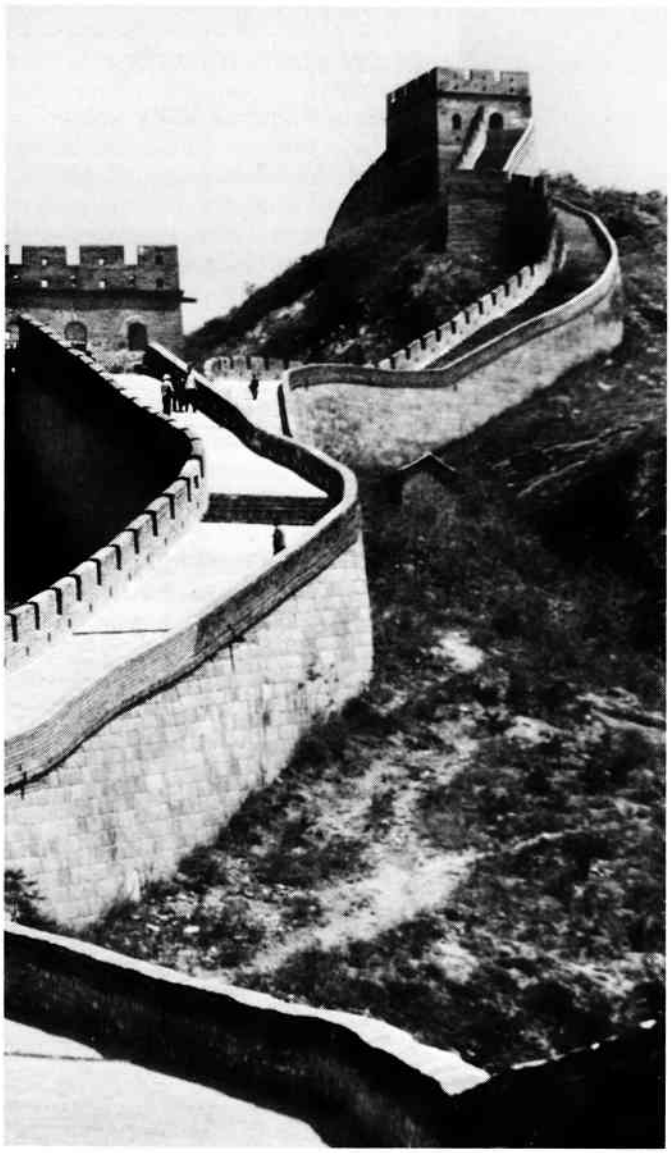
Our educational activities include production and distribution of literature, films, and photo exhibits; sponsoring speakers and study classes; speaking out against distortions and misconceptions about the People's Republic of China; publishing newsletters and pamphlets; promoting the exchange of visitors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

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

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

For information, contact your local Association.
Addresses, inside back cover.

Fly to China all the way on JAL.



Now you can book your entire flight to Peking and Shanghai on one airline.

Japan Air Lines has convenient daily flights from New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles—plus three flights a week from Vancouver—to Tokyo.

Then on to China on JAL's twice-weekly flights.

On Mondays, JAL flies from Tokyo to Osaka, Shanghai and Peking—then nonstop back to Tokyo.

On Wednesdays, JAL flies nonstop to Peking and returns to Tokyo via Shanghai and Osaka.

And all the way, you'll enjoy the hospitality that has made JAL famous throughout the Orient. You'll sip fragrant green tea. You'll watch first-run films. And you'll be pampered with small courtesies like steaming hot towels.

For reservations and more information, see your travel agent or call Japan Air Lines.

	Mon FI 785 DC8-62	Mon FI 786 DC8-62	Wed FI 781 DC8-62	Wed FI 782 DC8-62
TOKYO LV	9:00AM		9:00AM	
AR	↓	9:25PM	↓	9:35PM
OSAKA LV		↑		8:30
AR	10:05			7:40
LV	10:55			↑
SHANGHAI LV	↓			4:20
AR	12:30PM			3:30
LV	1:20			↑
PEKING LV	↓	4:15PM	↓	1:45PM
AR	3:05PM		12:35PM	

JAPAN AIR LINES

When "Enemies" Became Friends

by Jim Veneris

A Korean War POW chose to live in China

It was up north, in the mountains of North Korea. I'd gotten separated from my outfit during a night retreat, and somehow stumbled onto this cave. It was cold as hell – the coldest winter they'd had in years – and my clothes weren't doing such a great job of keeping me warm. No food, nothing to drink. And surrounded by the "enemy" – North Korean soldiers and Chinese People's Army volunteers. I could see them all around me from my cave.

I couldn't sleep for the cold or for thinking what to do. Because I'd been told about "the enemy," and what would happen to me if I surrendered to them. The Communists were cruel and ruthless. They hated Americans. They didn't take prisoners, they just killed whoever they captured. Or worse, they'd torture you or starve you to death to try to get military information. American newspapers had told us that, and American officers. And American politicians like Joe McCarthy. And they were on our side, right? But if I didn't get out of that cave, I'd freeze to death.

I'd only been in Korea a couple of months, and in some ways I was pretty ignorant then, but I wasn't completely green, and I didn't think I was a coward. When I first joined the army, back in World War II, I was just a kid of 18, full of piss and vinegar and patriotism. But I'd fought all through that war, in those Pacific island jungles, and I'd held up my end. And that war had a different feeling about it than this one. World War II was rough on us ordinary GIs and, sure, we complained about this and that, but morale was

Born in a small town in Pennsylvania, Jim Veneris joined the U.S. Army early in World War II and fought in the Pacific until 1945. In 1950, with the outbreak of the Korean War, he re-enlisted and was sent to Korea. He was soon captured, and spent three years as a POW. After the armistice many Americans were surprised to learn that 21 American POWs, including Jim Veneris, had chosen to go to China rather than return to the U.S.

For 23 years Jim Veneris has lived and worked, married, and raised a family in China. In 1976 he visited the U.S. to see relatives and friends, returning to China early in 1977 "in time to spend the Spring Festival with my family." Contacted by the USCPFA, Jim agreed to attend the Association's National Convention, and, in the time he had available, to travel around the U.S. as the guest of USCPFA locals to help promote friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. He was disappointed to find that a few people – and some of the news media – still considered him a "turncoat," but he was very happy to meet the many thousands of Americans who greeted him as a friend and deluged him with questions about life in China.

Part I of Jim's story covers his experiences in Korea. Part II, about his life in China, will appear in a forthcoming issue.

high. We were united with most of the world's people – the Russians, the Chinese, and people all over Europe and Asia and Africa – against the fascist forces of Germany and Japan. And we felt it, felt we were helping liberate people from something really evil.

One of the reasons I'd re-enlisted, when Korea came along, was for thinking about all my buddies out there, fighting and dying, while I was safe at home. And when we went to Korea, they'd told us that the North Koreans were like slaves. That they were just being made to fight by their Communist slavemasters. But I'd noticed that the North Koreans were fighting us like hell. They were the *fightingest* slaves I'd ever imagined. They just didn't seem to want to be "liberated."

Morale on our side? It stunk. I remember going to a medical station once, just for something minor, and there were these two guys lying outside on stretchers. They looked in pretty bad shape. So I said to the doctor, "Hey, don't you want to treat them first?" But the doctor got a real angry look on his face, and he walked over to one of the guys and *kicked him in the ribs*! Jesus, I didn't know what to think. Later I found out that both those guys had deliberately shot themselves in the leg – just badly enough to be sent home. Because they didn't want to fight in that war anymore. And things like that were happening all the time.

So I had a lot of questions on my mind, while I was sitting up in that cave freezing my tail. But I also knew what American bombing was doing to North Korea – it was technically a United Nations command, but almost all the planes and the pilots were American. We were knocking North Korea *flat*. You could hardly see a building left standing, not even peasants' huts. And when the pilots couldn't find any other targets, they'd drop their load of bombs just on some farmer or farmer's wife all alone out in the middle of some field, or a cow, or just anything that moved! And we'd bombed Chinese territory, across the Yalu River, which is what brought China into the war. We'd killed thousands of Chinese citizens. So maybe these Chinese and Korean soldiers had reason not to feel very friendly toward American prisoners.

I kept peeking out of the cave to see what was going on, and finally I spotted what sure looked like a bunch of prisoners. So maybe they didn't kill everyone they captured. And by that time I was so cold and so tired and so hungry I just had to take the chance. I kind of crept down out of the cave, stuck my hands in the air, and walked toward them shouting, "I surrender, I surrender," on the chance they'd understand me. They kind of surrounded me, and when they realized I was an American they took me over to a Chinese officer who spoke English.

Jim Veneris (center) with some *New China* editors and Magazine Committee members after his talk in New York City. (Photo: New China Photos)

The first thing he did was give me a cigarette! He could tell I was scared, so he carefully started to explain their policy on POWs. They didn't kill prisoners, or mistreat them. They followed Chairman Mao's policy of leniency toward prisoners. They had no quarrel with ordinary American soldiers, or with the American people. The war wasn't *our* fault. They'd take good care of us, and when it became possible they'd send us home again. I guess he could see I didn't really believe him, because he explained all over again! I still thought it was a trick.

At first they put me with a bunch of prisoners, most of them American, but some other nationalities too. They got me something to eat right away. Then, because American planes were bombing all around the area, they divided us into small groups and took us off to Korean peasants' huts that were scattered all over the mountains and hard to spot from the air. I didn't know what they were up to at first. When we got to our hut, the Chinese guard talked to the Korean peasant for a while. Then he stuck his hand in his pocket, pulled out this wad of money, and counted some out into the peasant's hand. It was to pay for our food and clothes! I couldn't believe it – it just wasn't the kind of thing that happened in any army I knew about. Later I was told very matter-of-factly that this was standard practice for the Chinese Communist army from way back during the Revolution. They were just following Chairman Mao's policy, not to take anything from workers or peasants – not even something as small as a needle or a piece of thread – without paying for it.

So where were all these "ruthless" Communist soldiers we'd been told about? Me, I was still suspicious. I thought maybe this was somehow an act they were putting on for our benefit. We'd also been told how clever and underhanded they could be. For a long time, and I was a prisoner for three years, there was this struggle in my mind between what I'd been told about the Communists and what I was actually experiencing. But like Lincoln said, "You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool *all* of the people *all* of the time." Finally I just had to admit to myself that it wasn't any act – that they had a way of thinking, a way of doing things, that I'd never seen before.

I could tell so many stories. How they kept us fed, even when the didn't have much food themselves. How they risked their lives to *get* us food when American planes were bombing their supply lines. How they saw to it we all had warm, quilted clothing – and boy, did we need it during those Korean winters. How they got us athletic equipment, so we had some recreation (we even had our own little "Olympics" between the different prison camps). How they threw a Christmas party for us, wine and all. How they managed to get special food for the prisoners who had special religious diets – like some of the Turkish Muslims who couldn't eat pork. Or this skinny guy who had an ulcer. They got hold of a nanny goat from somewhere so he could have fresh milk. And I tell you by the time he went home that guy was *fat*!

But I've got to tell about two incidents I'll

never forget. There was this American boy from the South in our camp, who never got any mail and never wrote any letters home. We knew he had a family, and he always seemed upset when other people were getting their mail. The Chinese guards noticed this, and took him aside to talk to him. They found out he'd never even learned to read or write, and was ashamed to let anyone else write for him. Next thing you know, they'd quietly moved him down to headquarters where there was someone who could teach him to read and write English. In six months he was back, reading and writing, and I've never seen anyone so happy and so proud. Yeah, that was how "cruelly" they treated us.

The other story's about a Chinese doctor I met. Now one thing we had in the camp was really good medical care. They didn't always have the latest medicines or equipment, but those doctors – and they were all volunteers who'd come all the way from China especially to work with us prisoners – took such pains, they really seemed to care about us. Sometimes, when a bunch of wounded prisoners would be brought in, the lights in the medical tent would be on 24 hours a day, and the doctors would be operating around the clock. So one day – I'd cut my finger or something like that – I asked one of the doctors why he worked so hard. Why had he come out there in the first place, and why was he so willing to help his country's "enemies"? He grinned and said, "International solidarity."

I said, "And what does *that* mean?" So he started to tell me about the Communist view that working class people all over the world should unite and help one another – and that someday they *would*. How it was really class differences that counted, and not all the national or ethnic differences that sometimes seemed so important. And that made a lot of sense to me just from my own experience.

I was born in the little town of Vandergrift, just outside of Pittsburgh. My grandfather had come from Greece, and he, my father, and me were just plain working stiffs. And my friends – good friends, that I could count on – they were black and white, and all different nationalities. Irish, Polish, Italian, and so on. Working people like us. And I had a hell of a lot more in common with them than any of us had with the bosses who hired us and laid us off and made all the rules and thought they owned us because they paid our wages. And a hell of a lot more in common with my army buddies I'd fought with through World War II and Korea than with the people who'd sent us off to war.

And this Chinese doctor told me how *he* had learned about international solidarity, which was quite a story. It seems that way back in the thirties, when the Communists held just a few base areas and the Revolution was a long way from being won, they had almost no doctors or medical supplies and lots of their sick and wounded were dying for lack of medical care. And then this Canadian doctor, Norman Bethune, had come all the way from Canada to China, and made his way to the base area at Yan'an (Yenan), because he believed in the Revolution and wanted to help in any way he could. He'd saved many lives, and tired himself out caring for the sick and wounded and passing on his medical knowledge to the young Chinese who worked with him. Bethune had died in Yan'an of blood poisoning, but ever since the Chinese people remember him with great love and respect. He was a perfect example of international solidarity.

Forthright, enthusiastic, tireless, Jim brought life in socialist China home to thousands of Americans. (Photo: M. Jahr)

And my doctor, in Korea, had been one of Bethune's young students in Yan'an! That was why he had volunteered to come to Korea. He felt he had to use the skills and knowledge Bethune had passed on to him to serve not only his own people, but other peoples of the world.

I learned a lot while I was in that prison camp. Were we "brainwashed" by the Chinese and Korean Communists? Well, they certainly held classes in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, once they got us settled in permanent camps. What was socialism, what was the dictatorship of the proletariat, why there was exploitation, and class antagonisms, in capitalist societies. Hell, if you had something good, wouldn't you want to pass it on? At first the classes were for everyone, but later on, just for those who wanted to go. Brainwashing? Well, you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink if the water isn't sweet.

Why would any of us have listened to those ideas if they hadn't made sense according to our own experiences? I'd grown up during the Great Depression, when so many millions of people couldn't get jobs, even though they were good workers and really wanted to work. Was that all just economic "conditions" that nobody could help, or was it the result of the capitalist system? And I'd worked at all sorts of jobs and known all sorts of bosses. Including bosses who treated their workers like garbage – like the theater owner I worked for all through high school, cleaning out all the muck after the last showing at night, for $3.50 a week. And after a couple of years – business was booming, and he was sure getting his profits – when I asked for a raise, he told me to get lost, because he could always get someone else to work for $3.50.

So I'd figured he was just mean and greedy, and after high school I left home looking for a decent place to work. And didn't find things much different. When we got back from World War II, a lot of us thought things would be different. All we

wanted was to get a job, get married, and settle down. But no matter how hard you worked, how willing you were to work, there was still that struggle to get a job. There were still those layoffs that "weren't anyone's fault." There were still those bosses who didn't give a damn about your welfare, just about profits. And it was all the same, whether it was the little theater in Vandergrift or the big auto plant in Detroit where I worked just before going to Korea.

The U.S. was a rich country, and who had created that wealth? Wasn't it people like my father and my grandfather, and all the rest of the working people who'd farmed the land, worked in the mines and factories, built the bridges and the roads and the big cities? And who really profited from all that wealth – wasn't it the big capitalists who owned and controlled everything? I'd never really thought in terms of working class, capitalist class. But it began to make sense. And I learned that in China, and in Russia and North Korea, the working class had taken over. They were changing everything around, so that things were run in the interests of the working class.

In 1953, the final truce agreement between the UN forces, the Chinese, the North Koreans, and the South Koreans was signed. It brought about a cease-fire and an exchange of prisoners. Now one of the provisions of the truce was specifically about POWs. It said that *any* prisoner held by any of the combatants had the right to go and live in any country he chose. It also said that all prisoners were to get copies of the truce so they could study its provisions. In fact, the Americans had pushed hard to have that included, apparently expecting that many Chinese and North Koreans would decide not to return to their homelands, which would be a great propaganda victory. I guess it didn't turn out that way. We heard later that many prisoners held by the Americans and South Koreans were never given copies of the truce, but were instead told their own countries didn't want them anymore. We also heard that many Chinese prisoners were taken to Taiwan against their will.

In our camps, copies were passed out, and there was a hell of a lot of discussion and quiet thinking. Many of us were really impressed by what we'd seen and heard of socialism from the Chinese and North Koreans. Some of us just had to go and see for ourselves what was happening in China. But some had families and other ties at home, or weren't sure enough to make such a big break with everything they'd known. Some guys changed their minds half a dozen times before they finally decided.

A surprise: childhood friend Ralph Poynter came to hear Jim's talk in New York. They had not seen each other for over 25 years. (Photo: New China Photos)

When it was announced that 21 Americans, including me, were going to China, a few to Russia, and a few staying in North Korea, the storm really broke. We were traitors, we were turncoats, we were crazy, we were everything in the book. We were immediately given dishonorable discharges, and all the back pay due us was forfeited. Politicians like McCarthy made speeches about us, and American newspapers just tore us apart. Never mind what the truce said. Never mind that President Eisenhower had signed that truce in the name of almost 200 million American people. Never mind that therefore those 200 million American people had given us *permission* to go where we wanted to go.

They couldn't explain it any other way, so they said we were "brainwashed." Well, I'll tell you who did a pretty good job of brainwashing, and it wasn't the Chinese. McCarthy and his bunch sure filled our heads with a lot of garbage about the Chinese and the North Koreans when they sent us off to fight that war. And the military authorities did a pretty good job on the POWs who went home. Those guys were really pressured not to say anything good about the Chinese, to keep their mouths shut about what it was really like in those camps. They'd get dishonorable discharges, and no back pay, and they'd be blackballed when they tried to get a job. I know, because I've talked to some of them, including one guy from Milwaukee who got in a whole lot of trouble because he didn't keep his mouth shut. Most of them did keep quiet, and I don't really blame them. Hell, they had to go back and live with a whole system that was just interested in having bad things said about China and communism. But they all know the truth.

I've been asked whether I consider myself an American or a Chinese now. I've spent 23 years in China, and I've never been sorry I made my choice. My life is bound up with the Chinese people. My wife and children are in China, and close friends from the factory where I've worked most of those years, and the friends I made in my three years at a Chinese college. I'm a part, as everyone in China is a part, of the great struggle to build socialism. I love the Chinese people, and I will never forget Chairman Mao. It was his teachings that saved my life at a time when I expected only death, and it was he who offered me a new life in socialist China.

But that doesn't mean that I won't always be an American, and proud to be one. I have great faith in the American people; I love them. It wasn't the great masses of the American people who labeled me a turncoat, it was McCarthy and his bunch. All those years when there weren't any government relations between China and the U.S., and hardly any contact between the Chinese and American people – I don't think that was the will of the American people, just of the few people whose interests it was to keep the American people from really knowing what was going on in China. One of the great times of my life was when Nixon came to China and the Shanghai Communique was signed. Boy, was I happy, and so were all my friends. Because the Chinese and American people *should* get together.

That's what I believe. That's what I hope. The American people are a great people. The Chinese people are a great people. Long live the friendship between the Chinese and American people! ●

Two Ways to Read the "Red Book"

Part I of an interview by William Hinton

Dazhai leader Chen Yong-gui talks about the struggle to transform peasant life

Dazhai (Tachai) is a household word in China. It is the name of a small rural community of 80 families that for years has led the way for hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants in transforming their way of life, transforming agricultural production, and transforming nature. Dazhai is located in Xiyang County, some 400 miles southwest of Peking, in the rugged Taihang Mountains. The people of Xiyang, after seriously taking up the study of Dazhai's example, have in the course of complex class conflicts set out on the socialist road, put public interest in first place, formed a county-wide network of strong collective communities, determined to be self-reliant wherever possible, "thought big," in terms of land reclamation and irrigation projects, and have since 1967 quadrupled their output, thus becoming the first Dazhai-type county in China. In 1975 a national agricultural conference recognized 300 Dazhai-type counties and issued a call to turn one-third of the nation's counties into Dazhai-type counties by 1980.

Prior to 1949 Dazhai was so poverty-stricken and obscure that the only people outside the community itself who knew that it existed were absentee landlords who collected rent and interest, and county officials who collected taxes there. The path into Dazhai was so narrow that you could not shift a carrying pole from one shoulder to the other without bumping your load on the canyon wall. A poor village full of poor people on poor land, Dazhai had a lot of five things – hired shepherds, hired laborers, beggars, children for sale, and suicides.

Since 1966 the production at Dazhai has been so high that the people of this village-

Chen Yong-gui, center, with members of the Hsiyang County Party Committee – an example of the "three-in-one combinations" of old, middle-aged, and young who are carrying forward the work of the Revolution. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

Author and past National Chairman of the USCPFA, William Hinton *writes and farms in Pennsylvania. The articles in this series are drawn from many hours of conversation with Chen Yong-gui in 1971.*

wide collective have voluntarily limited the amount distributed to each family so as not to leave China's city workers, not to mention other peasants, too far behind. With their surplus they have built up large accumulation funds and used them on the one hand to reclaim land in the river bed, level the flanks of Tiger Head Mountain, and bring water to previously parched fields, and on the other to build a fine village school, an excellent clinic and small hospital, and simple new housing for all the brigade's families.

The person at the center of this extraordinary transformation of a whole way of life is Chen Yong-gui, son of a lifelong hired laborer who died a beggar. He began his political life in 1945 as a member of the Communist Party branch in the village, became branch secretary in 1947, secretary of the county Party Committee in 1967, a member of the Shanxi provincial Party Committee and Revolutionary Committee soon afterward, and is today a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, a member of its Political Bureau, and a Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China. At the Second National Learn from Dazhai Conference convened in Peking on December 20, 1976, Chen Yong-gui made a major speech exposing the intrigues of the "gang of four" against learning from Dazhai, and reaffirming the goal of mechanizing China's agriculture in the main by 1980.

In 1971 I had the opportunity to talk with Chen Yong-gui for several days. The topics of our conversations ranged far and wide, but always returned to the political outlook that enabled Chen to unite and lead his poverty-stricken neighbors so boldly forward on the socialist road. How was it that he had always put "public first, self second," had taken the socialist transformation of China seriously, had formulated a vision of what poor working peasants could build with their own hands, and had never once deviated from this? From the start he seemed to have grasped Mao Tsetung's ideas and applied them in practice.

With mechanization of agriculture a priority in China, hand-tools and draft animals are steadily being replaced by tractors. These tractors were specifically designed for the rugged country of the north. (Photo: R. Gordon)

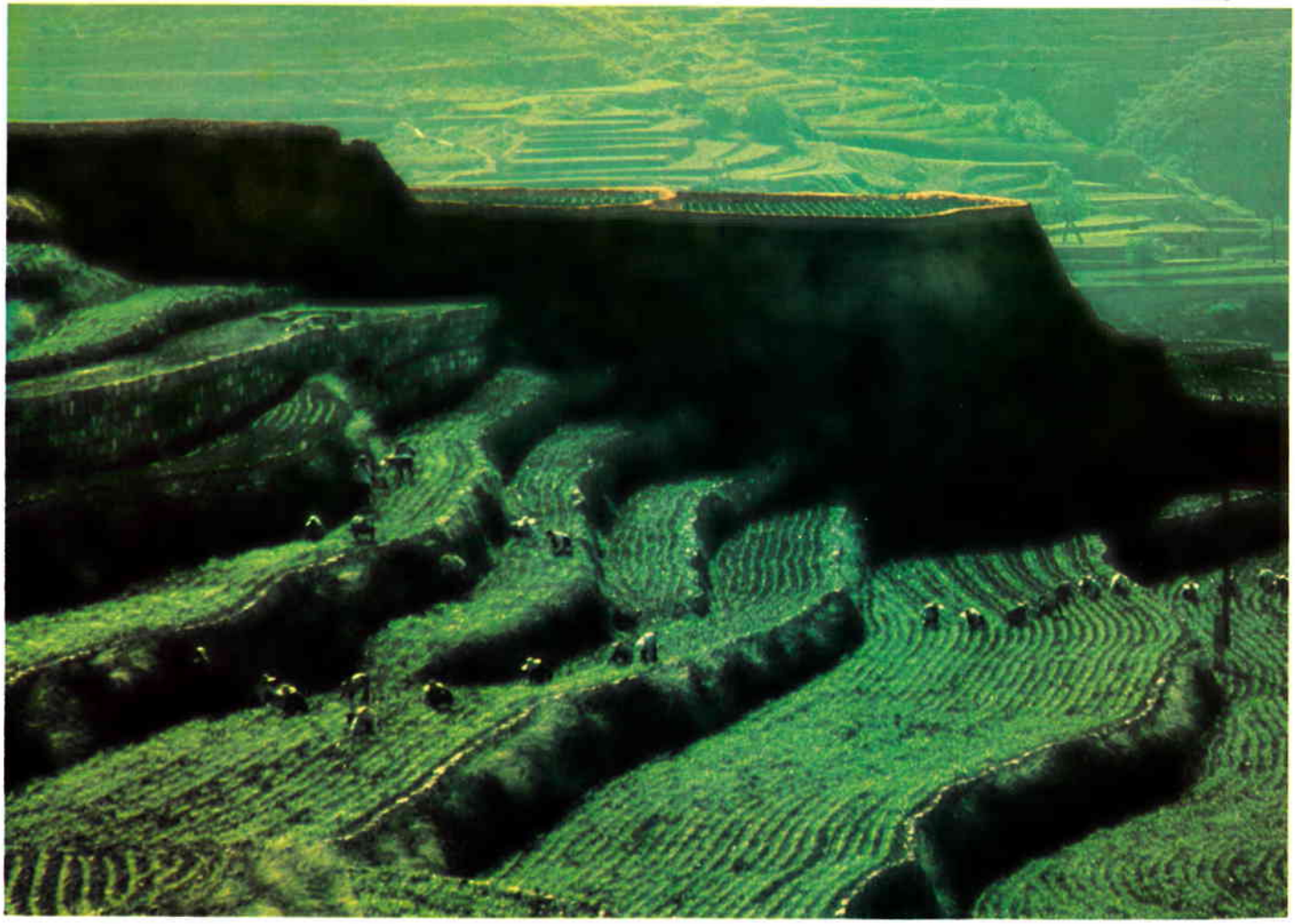
Before a network of aqueducts and canals was built, the peasants of Dazhai had to carry water to the fields in buckets. (Photo: R. Gordon)

The First Thing Is Class Feeling

Hinton: Why did Chairman Mao's Thought mean so much to you and why did you take hold of it so firmly?

Chen: I never saw a quotation from Chairman Mao until after the flood of 1963. Then a People's Liberation Army soldier gave me a copy of the *Quotations*. But up to now I haven't studied well enough. We are so busy working that it is hard to squeeze out a little time to study. If we put study first it can hold up and delay our work. In this situation the truth is that I have not studied hard enough.

How do we study Chairman Mao's teachings here in the countryside? We



After a devastating flood in 1963, Dazhai peasants had to rebuild the terraces they had labored to carve out of the mountainsides. The restored terraces, following the contours of the terrain, control effects of heavy rains and prevent floods. (Photo: M. Bald)

Getting a field ready for planting. (Photo: C. Gilmartin)

Using the most primitive methods, the Dazhai peasants have literally moved mountains to change the landscape of their North China county. (Photo: C. Gilmartin)

peasants never had a chance to go to school. When I was eight years old I went to work for a landlord. Now, all the kids go to school, but in those days peasants had no such chance. What could an eight-year-old do? Sweep up for the landlord, carry water, take the ox up the hill to pasture. I was "word blind." I didn't learn to read anything until the *Sao Mang* (wipe out illiteracy) movement. By that time I was 43 years old.

Each day, by the time I put everything in order and got to class, everyone else had almost finished. Only once did I attend the whole session. That was the first night and I more or less obeyed the discipline of the class. I was sitting there thinking, "What a long time this is taking!" but since I was there I couldn't very well just walk out. I had no choice but to listen to the teacher and obey the discipline. But after that first night the teacher couldn't control me anymore. I finally decided to study on my own. When somebody read a newspaper out loud I took a copy, followed along, and tried to remember the characters that way. Thus I could get the gist of the article and learn the characters at the same time. So that's how I learned. Now I can read more than 80 percent of the *People's Daily* and the *Shanxi Daily*. If new characters turn up I can't make head or tail of them. As for printed Party documents, I can read about 80 percent. But if they are corrected in script I can't read the corrections. Now it's easier to study Chairman Mao's works because the printed characters in the book are quite clear.

When it comes to studying Chairman Mao we feel this way: the first thing is your class feeling. If your working class feelings are deep, then even if you can't read well, you can still study well. This is because Chairman Mao's works and his revolutionary line are created for working people. The policy is made for workers. Everything is in their interest. Once you have a feeling for the working class you do things right even if you are not so literate.

Out of Practice Comes Theory

Dazhai was liberated [from the Japanese] in 1945. The struggle was very sharp. Our village was occupied by the Japanese, but underground Party members often came there. Eighth Route Army men too. I had deep class feelings about the Eighth Route Army. When underground workers came, they always sought me out. If they needed grain or shoes for the army, I ran around a lot arranging things. Someone must have told the Japanese. In 1944 they grabbed me. I was put in jail in the county town, about three miles from our village.

I remember when I went to jail there was deep snow [shows about six inches with his hands] and when I came out the grass and flowers were up [again shows about six inches with his hands]. So it must have been four months that I spent in jail. I was questioned for ten days. They asked about the Eighth Route Army and they had all kinds of ways to torture you. They beat you with sticks. They used an iron rod. They want to know where the Eighth Route Army is, how many Communists there are in the village and what work they do. They torture you, give you five minutes to talk, then torture you again.

"Where are they? Where are they? What do they do? What do they do?"

I took one hell of a beating. "Kill me, but I don't know anything. I'm just one of the people." But sometimes I wavered a little in my thinking. They have so many tactics. Some beat you up, others try to buy you off. They offer you a post as an official.

In 1940, 46 people from our village were killed. We know what happened when these people were captured. The enemy beat them up. Some of them talked, so they beat them again. They talked again – and in the end the enemy killed them all anyway. But the enemy got a lot of information from them. Only one of them was the son of a rich peasant. All the rest were poor and lower-middle peasants. So when I was caught I never expected to live. When I came out my arms were all skinny, my hair in patches. On the third day in prison I was beaten up. My face was bleeding. The white towel on my head was all red, soaked with blood. When the villagers sent me food, I put the blood-soaked towel in the bowl and sent it back to show them the blood debt the enemy owed us. We had to pay them back. I thought it would be the last thing I could send the villagers before I died.

I was captured in the winter of 1944 and let out in the spring of 1945. The reason I was released was because the enemy liked money and because they were already badly defeated. They built watchtowers all over the mountains. But the Eighth Route Army knocked out their blockhouses one after the other. Since the Japanese were getting such a beating, the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party workers thought the Japanese might try to kill us before withdrawing, so they thought of every way to get money to get us out of jail right away. The poor and lower-middle peasants of our village got money together and bought me out. Doesn't the enemy love money? The Eighth Route Army and the underground Communists helped gather the money to get me out.

While in jail we didn't let out any secrets. I didn't expect to live then, but no matter what, I had decided not to talk. So how did I stand firm through all this? I learned from the Communist Party! In the same jail with us there was a district Communist leader named Wang Ru-ren. He was captured in An Ping Commune, Yangjiafeng Brigade, now named Ru-ren Village. He inspired many of us. He kept up a hunger strike. No matter how much they tortured him he didn't give an inch. If you want to know something you will get nothing, nothing. They tortured him, then offered him money and an official post. In the end they beat him to death. He made a deep impression on all of us. If you are afraid of death you can't wage revolution. Without a stiff backbone you can't wage revolution. They really beat him up, and finally they beat him to death.

Why could this comrade be so strong? Because he was working to liberate the oppressed people. And we were very impressed. No matter how slick the enemy, no matter how brutal, we learned to believe in one thing – stand stiff and never give up. Wang Ru-ren's spirit is summed up in the slogan "Fear neither hardship nor death." When we look back now we can see that he lived up to this slogan, and that this slogan of Mao's comes as a summary of years of revolutionary struggle – "Fear neither hardship nor death." If I told you that at that time we knew this slogan, that would be an example of apriorism [knowing before the fact]. There were many examples of this spirit in practice. They didn't arise from what Mao said. He summed up this spirit of the Chinese people. It was out of revolutionary practice that this slogan was created.

We're Going to Die Anyway, Why Not Struggle?

At that time I hadn't studied any of Chairman Mao's works. I had never even seen any of them. So why did we resist like this? Because Chairman Mao led us to rise in revolution. For thousands of years, who knows how long, we were oppressed. Therefore if a political party leads us to overthrow all that, we fully support it. If we don't wage revolution we die anyway.

Take my father. He never died in battle, but he committed suicide. He was about 70 years old. When he was young and strong he could work. The landlord wanted his labor. But when he got old the landlord didn't want him anymore, so he had to go begging. At that time there were many beggars. When you beg you go to one family, they may give you a little, but never enough to fill your stomach. In one day you have to go to many, many families, many, many villages, and still you can't get enough to eat. Father was old and weak. When you go begging the landlord's dogs bite you. You suffer more than when working for the landlord. And you have to say all sorts of good things to him. You call whoever comes to the door "grandfather," treat him like the older generation to show respect. Even if it's just a child who comes to the door, you still call

Too old to work in the fields or do construction, these peasants are still young enough to make the straw mats used everywhere in China to cover *kangs* (beds). (Photo: C. Gilmartin)

A secretary and deputy secretary of the Dazhai Brigade Party branch (foreground). Leadership at all levels takes part in productive labor. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

There is no Jade Emperor in heaven.
There is no Dragon King on earth.
I am the Jade Emperor.
I am the Dragon King.
Make way for me
you hills and mountains,
I'm coming.

Peasant Song, 1958

The vast collective effort of the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) inspired an outburst of popular folksongs. This son
ruler of heaven, controlling all gods and mortals. The Dragon King was the lord of the waters, changing the cour
acceptance, shaping the consciousness of many peasants for centuries. By 1958, however, thousands of small villages
self-reliant spirit of New China.

天上沒有玉
皇地上沒有
誰是我就是
玉皇我就
是誰是喝令
三山五岳开
道我来了

一九五八年中国民歌

g, like many others, refers to familiar mythical figures of Chinese folklore. The Jade Emperor was the legendary supreme
es of rivers, governing the rainfall, and commanding the ocean tides. These superstitious beliefs fostered passivity and
had joined together and begun major projects in water conservation and land transformation. This song reflects the

him "grandfather" or "young master." Young people today don't even know all these terms like "master of the house," "Little Lord," etc. You call him anything if only you can get a little scrap of food. But each year father became weaker and weaker, older and older, and nothing to his name except his mouth. He had no way out but to die.

At that time 50–60 percent of the Chinese people were in this situation – so why fear death? "We're going to die anyway, so why not die struggling?" Chairman Mao knew this situation of the poor peasants in China and that's why we wanted to follow him and fight for liberation.

So in 1945 we were liberated. It was July 15 by the lunar calendar and it was just the date of the Festival of the Dead. For liberation to come on that day was significant. We used to say, "Even the devils have their festivals." The Japanese devils came on the Devil's Festival eight years before. We fought them for eight years and on the Devil's Festival we drove them away. But so many people died in our county, so many! so many!

Righteous Anger Leads to Wrong Action

Our whole province [Shanxi] was liberated in 1948. After Xiyang County was liberated the battle moved south to Cehong and Laiyuan. Peasants from here went to help. I was a leader of the stretcher-bearing brigade. One night the battle went on until very late. There were 12 wounded Japanese soldiers to carry back. And that time I did wrong. We were carrying these wounded soldiers from the front. I became angry the minute I saw them. It was very dark when we went over the top of the mountain. I ordered them thrown off the cliff.

The next day I was called in. They wanted to know what happened to the wounded Japanese. Where are they? Thrown down the gully! *Ai ya*! Didn't I get criticized that time! I was removed from my post. They didn't let me lead the stretcher-bearers anymore. I had to sit in a room several days to think it over. Then they transferred me to grain transport. I said, "You can shift me to another job, but as long as it is a Chinese who leads the stretcher-bearers the same thing will happen."

[Song Li-ying, the remarkable woman who served as assistant village leader and headed up all women's work in Dazhai, interrupted here.]

Song: It's just like in the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*. When we think of Yong-gui's wrong action at that time we are reminded of the heroine of the *Red Detachment*. She fired too soon [out of hate and righteous anger] and made surprise attack impossible. First Yong-gui had merits. He did well. An award was sent to our village for his good work in the liberation of Yangquan. Then he did this thing.

Chen: In our village the Japanese killed more than 40 young men, and this was a small number compared to other villages. In 1940, in another village, they killed 378 people in ten minutes. They surrounded the village before dawn. The men of the village, on the alert, had moved out at midnight. Only women, children, and old people were at home. The Japanese called everyone together, then slaughtered them by machine-gun fire. They threw hand grenades. You couldn't find a whole body anywhere. Arms and legs were scattered all over the place.

Why did the Japanese imperialists hate the Chinese people so much? Because we resisted. They killed off the whole village that time. No one was left. Even some women who had gone home to visit relatives, they sought them out and killed them too. They saved only ten young women who were taken away for their use. All the rest were killed. We never found out what happened to those ten. So this is the cause of the national and class hatred toward imperialists and militarists.

As for the landlords, they oppressed and exploited us in every village. Now, when we remember this, we have more strength to go on with the Revolution. The young people growing up have nothing like this to remember. At the time of land reform we fully agreed with Chairman Mao on the need to overthrow the landlords and divide the land. We fully supported this whole Revolution. It was our cause. Thinking this way does not depend on how well one studies Mao's writings – it's not a matter of "study well and you'll accept what he says, study poorly and you'll reject it." Class stand determines what you accept. The line and policy of the Party were clearly in our interest. Of course we followed. If the line and policy of the Party had been in the interest of the imperialists and the landlords, no matter how hard we studied we could never have followed it. We had our natural feelings. We rose up on our own against our oppressors. We didn't have Chairman Mao's books then, but we had his policies and his directives. And they were all in our interest. It didn't matter whether we could read or not, we followed Chairman Mao. Of course, once you take such a class position, studying well makes a great difference.

What About The Socialist Road?

Hinton: Many people followed Chairman Mao in overthrowing the landlords but afterward not many saw the need for building cooperatives as early as you did. What made you take the socialist road as soon as the land had been distributed?

Chen: There really was a problem. Many were satisfied after land reform. They got land. They were satisfied with their land, their warm *kang*, their wife and children. We had trouble getting some people to join the army. They said first they had to find a wife. Then once they were married they said first they had to have a child. Then they said they wanted to wait until the child grew up and got married. By then they were too old anyway. How could they join the army at that late date? This kind of thinking comes down to the question of whether to continue the Revolution or not. Land reform was only the first step in a long march. But some were

Almost all of Dazhai's housing was destroyed by the 1963 flood. These remaining homes have been preserved as a record of the difficult past. (Photo: C. Gilmartin)

quite satisfied with that. The next step was to organize, first into mutual aid teams. I'll try to tell you what I thought – if I go into detail it would take two, three, four days, and we wouldn't get through.

To organize along collective lines was very much needed in Dazhai. Chairman Mao's call to take the collective road exactly fit Dazhai's situation. Why? Because we were short of hands. The Japanese had killed almost all the strong youth of our village. So many were killed that after liberation there were not enough able-bodied people left. We had mainly women, children, and old people. The few families that still had young men alive were the wealthier families – upper-middle peasants, rich peasants, and landlords. They had the money to buy their sons out. It was mainly the poor and lower-middle peasants who were short of able-bodied family members. Another factor in this was that in the winter of 1945 more than 20 poor peasants' sons volunteered to join the People's Liberation Army to take revenge for their brothers and fathers who had been killed. So some 60 families in the village were in serious difficulty when it came to getting production going. At that time we had not studied Chairman Mao's teaching that "people are most precious." We had never heard of it. We didn't understand it. It was only afterward, when we studied Chairman Mao's works, that we could see what was happening at that time. Through study we deepened our understanding. But at the time the practical problem that we faced was that there were not enough people to do the work. We never studied Chairman Mao's idea that "people come first." That came later, but if you compare this with the situation we faced you can see how exactly it fits, how correct it is. Not only did we need this thinking then, but we also needed it later. The spirit of putting the people first is deep in our hearts. The exact words spoken by Mao I can't repeat, but the spirit is deep within us and we don't waver.

We were short of able-bodied people and short of draft animals. The Japanese ate *tutou shao niu rou* [potato and beef goulash] made out of our work animals. They only cared about eating beef, but never gave a damn about how we were to live without work animals. So we learned from practice. Why did the Japanese eat all our draft animals? Why did Chairman Mao call on us to organize? Who cares for us and who oppresses us? This is clear in practice. So we took up the idea of organizing ourselves very early. There was also a question of tools. The Japanese ate our draft animals and burned our tools for kindling. So we had few able-bodied people, few draft animals, and very few tools.

By organizing as a collective we could overcome these difficulties. First we studied and saw the advantages of organizing. That is, first we solved the question of determination to organize. At this stage some were willing to organize and some were not. The people's attitude toward this depended a great deal on the Party leadership, on whether or not the Party members wavered. At that time we taught the advantages of organizing. Once we started talking about it the attitude of the two classes began to show The landlords, rich peasants, and upper-middle peasants were comparatively well-off. Twelve of these families had strong men. They organized into a mutual aid team with the upper-middle peasant as leader. A landlord joined in.

New housing, built from the rock of former mountains, is a source of pride for the people of Dazhai. (Photo: C. Gilmartin)

The Old, the Young, the Sick, and the Weak

I was in my twenties then. I was able-bodied and strong. They called their team the *Hao Han Zu* – the Stalwarts' Team. I was organized into their team. All the families with able-bodied members became members of this team. The very name means that each outshines the other in ability to work. This left all the labor-short families stranded. Those families had only women, children, old, sick, and weak people. They weren't a bit happy about the situation. "What about us?" they said. They were all poor and lower-middle peasants. I heard them grumbling and I thought about it. Where did the able-bodied members of these families go? Some had been killed by the Japanese. Others had joined the People's Liberation Army. Now who will care for them?

They were very unhappy. They said "We have *fanshened* [stood up] but there is no change. What is the use of our *fanshen*? We still can't live. We don't have animals, able-bodied workers, or tools. Without these, what use is the land to us? We can't eat the land."

At that time I didn't think in terms of political line. I just thought: "These are poor peasants and I am a poor peasant. They suffered in the old society and so did I. These difficulties are not just theirs. They are mine too. The road we take must solve all difficulties, why not theirs?" I came to this through class feelings, not through any recognition of two lines. So I got out. I withdrew from the Stalwarts' Team. I wanted to be in the same team with the children and the old people. So I organized such a team.

I was a strong young man. When the labor-short families heard that I was doing this they were very happy. They didn't see it as a matter of class feeling. They were concerned about their very survival. They loved me because I was strong and good at farming. The Stalwarts, on the other hand, laughed at us. "That Chen is crazy," they said. "Such a strong laborer getting together with old people and children! He really is out of his

mind." They said all sorts of things about us. "Anyone with half a catty [about half a pound] of grain at home would never become king of the children."

What moved me was the fact that the main workers in these families had been killed off by the Japanese. We organized and then started production. It's a pity we didn't save some of the tools that we used at that time. People today ought to see them. Now sometimes I complain a lot when people don't listen. At that time the youngest of the old people was 60 years old and couldn't do any hard work. The oldest of the young people was 12 years old. If youngsters like that work too hard they can ruin their health. I was the only one who was able-bodied, strong, and in the prime of life. I'm not boasting. I really was strong as an ox then.

Hinton: What was their thinking about why you wanted to join them?

Chen: They just welcomed it. They had never dreamed of such a thing. They didn't say I was stupid. If they said that I might leave them. The Stalwarts said I was stupid, but not those families!

I thought, in these families the old have worked all their lives for landlords, the young had fathers and brothers killed. They have had the same past as mine, but after liberation they all got land. This should be a great happiness. But actually their happiness could not get off the ground. *Fanshen* made no difference to their livelihood. So they complained about the Party. Are they reactionaries that they complain about the Party? No. They have a practical problem to solve. So many different factors showed up. But I looked at the positive side. I worked for the landlord at eight years of age. Now some of the children are already ten. Surely we can find something useful for them to do. Old people have lots of experience farming. Young people will grow up. All this was positive. And I looked at it from the angle that we were all oppressed. At that time I didn't think about waging revolution against my own selfish thinking before waging revolution in the world as we do today. I didn't think about that at all.

"Why Does Yong-gui Stay with Us?"

I made two big baskets. I could carry 200 catties [220 pounds]. Four kids could carry 100 catties. I didn't have any theory about taking the heavy burden on myself. I just took up the hard jobs out of class feeling. I wouldn't let old or young do the hard work. I did the hard work myself. Gradually the old and young began to understand why I stayed with them. They discussed this problem behind my back. "Why does Yong-gui, so strong and able, stay with us? Why does he take all the hard work on himself? He is protecting us. He does the work of two or three." They thought I felt sorry for them. They thought I had a soft heart. But after the rich peasants started to slander us, saying, "In the fall there'll be quite a scene to see," they began to see the difference between the two classes.

Throughout China, old and young work and learn together in the spirit of Dazhai. (Photo: J. Polumbaum)

Without the attacks of the class enemy we would not have been educated so fast. They gradually came to understand that this man came because of class feelings. He was against the rich and for the poor. Gradually they learned the advantages of organizing. Bit by bit their consciousness rose higher and they supported me more and more. They worked together with me all day. Back in the village, instead of eating at home, they filled up their bowls and came to my house to eat. Old and young all did this.

In answer to the attacks we had a saying:

"The old have experience, the young will grow up.
As long as we listen to the Party we'll never go wrong."

The Stalwarts wanted me back on their team. But I refused. They kept saying that our Old-Young Team would certainly fail. So we used this jingle to combat them. In the beginning there were about a dozen in the Stalwarts Team and ten families in the Old-Young Team. All the rest were *dan gan* – "go-it-alone" peasants.

The old and young followed me everywhere. After a while we got so we could talk about why the poor are poor. We recalled the Anti-Japanese War, and how the Japanese had seen the Chinese as little better than dogs. We thought back over these things and thought about why. Why are the poor poor, the rich rich? Our liberation didn't come easily. Our victory was bought with blood and sacrifice. The old people recalled the past. The young were educated by their stories. The young, not knowing about the past, not knowing about exploitation and oppression, came to learn about it. So then we began to think about how to unite and educate the masses. Now what we say is "serve the people." But I didn't know this saying then. Now I think back and I realize that what I was doing was serving the people. That's why they supported me. Remembering what I had done and studying these things, that's how I learned – living study. If you want me to repeat, to memorize, I can't do that at all. It was only after Mao's "Red Book" of quotations came in 1963 that I read "Serve the People" and made a decision to consciously serve the people. But from practice I learned the importance of serving the people. I will do it all my life.

Why is it that the young and the old people united so well? And even to this very day have united so well? It is due to the practice of our common struggle over the years.

That very first year, 1946, we did much better than the other group, the Stalwarts. Old and young, all were satisfied. Politically and ideologically we were all united as one person. They couldn't get on without me or I without them. As compared to the other group, why could we achieve so much? Even though we had so little able-bodied manpower, yet we still beat them in produc-

tion. Without such a comparison it would have been hard to see what was right and what was wrong. It would have been hard to convince people. But with this comparison we had firsthand experience for repudiation. We repudiated all the slanders they had spread. We used facts to repudiate slander. This educated all. We got a deep understanding of the necessity of unity and we increased our determination to take the collective road. Those who tried to wreck were repudiated. We didn't realize that it was a two-line struggle, a question of which class would win out, as we understand it today. We just asked "Do you dare slander us any more?"

It was only after 1963, when the People's Liberation Army man gave us the "little red book," that we began to study out of it. We started studying, then looked back and examined what we had done in the past to see if we had done the right thing. Then we looked forward to see what we should do in the future. For someone with my level of literacy, if you want to remember the exact words of Chairman Mao – impossible. I can't say the exact words. In 1966, the year I went to Albania, in the summer after the Cultural Revolution had already started, the regional Party Committee hurriedly called a meeting for activists in the study of Mao Tsetung Thought. They wanted to show how loyal they were to Chairman Mao, how well they had studied his works.

I went. *Ai ya*! At that meeting they really lit into me. I got into no end of trouble. They had gathered together all those people who could read, talk, and memorize quotations. I couldn't remember a single one. In each county they had picked out the activists. A girl from Tuzhuang Commune, Mahu Brigade, was one. A man from Wangcai Commune was another. Both of these could recite from memory 90 to 100 quotes, one after the other. What could I do? I was put on the spot! I said I had opinions about this. I said I didn't agree that those who could memorize the most were those who had studied the best. But the cadres of the regional headquarters said that if you can't commit it to memory you haven't studied well.

I said, "What is the standard? Isn't it to see how you use the knowledge, how you apply it in practice? I don't know all these people but I do know the two from my own brigade. They put Mao Tsetung Thought into practice. If you only know how to talk and repeat quotations, and don't carry them out in practice, then there is a problem concerning your attitude to Chairman Mao."

Judge Loyalty by Actions

There were three delegates there from our brigade – Guo Feng-lian, Song Li-ying, and myself. We were the worst memorizers in the whole meeting. We didn't really decide at that time whether we had the right position or not. I have thought a lot about it since. I have thought a lot about the past, recalling the past. Only after thinking it over very carefully did I decide – *zhong bu zhong, kan xin tong* – loyalty can be judged only by actions.

At the meeting I said, "Who says these people study well? Isn't it better to look at what they do? If they haven't enough money they hold out their hand and ask for money from the state. If they haven't enough grain they hold out their hand and ask for grain. Talk about support for world revolution! They can't even support themselves. If they can't use the quotation in practice, then what good does all this memorizing do?"

I prepared to debate this. But just then I was notified that I was going to Albania. Guo Feng-lian and Song Li-ying stayed at the meeting. They had to make a self-criticism over and over again. They had to write it all out. The cadres said Chen and Song are old, so there may be some excuse, but Guo Feng-lian is young – why can't she memorize? And they wouldn't let these two go back to Dazhai. After I left, our two were in the worst position. They were the worst at memorizing – the worst in the county, the district, and the whole province! They were sent to Changxien to study the advanced experience there. [This place was noted for the way in which even little children could rattle off Mao quotes at the drop of a hat.] And when they came back they had to make a self-criticism and a plan concerning how many quotes they would learn each day thereafter. They had to guarantee to memorize quotations according to this plan before they were allowed to go home. Then they had to report back every five days on their progress.

When I came back from Albania, Xiao Kang, vice-secretary of the county Party Committee, told me he had already memorized 30 quotations. He never even asked me about Albania. He wanted me to know that he had improved while I still lagged behind.

The problem here is, once we have a book of quotations, how should we study it? They called their method "studying in a living way." But in reality it is nothing but anti-Mao Tsetung Thought. Without the Cultural Revolution to raise these problems, what would have happened? Only after the Cultural Revolution, after the mass movement for the living study of Mao Tsetung Thought, could this Thought be popularized. Before that study meant memorize, but memorizers couldn't use it. Now we use, we apply, what we study. I didn't agree with the two activists chosen by the regional meeting in 1966. They didn't agree with us. So here comes struggle between two kinds of thinking, two lines. We don't admit that they study well. We want them to start studying all over again. This is a question of how to study Mao Tsetung Thought.

Some claim that books are enough to learn all these things, but not us. We learn mainly from practice. ●

Young women prepare a terrace for seeding. (Photo: D. Nol)

Today's "foolish old men" continue to transform China, creating productive land where before there was only wilderness. (Scrolls from a series by Huhsien peasant-artists Cheng Min-sheng and Chang Lin.)

Muddy But Unbowed

by Pat and Roger Howard

When we went to Hua County with our third-year English students, we were sent to live and work with the poorest teams in the poorest brigades of the commune. The peasants have enough to eat and wear and have begun to save money for radios, bicycles, and sewing machines. But the difference between their lives and ours back at the Foreign Languages Institute in Guangzhou (Kwangchow) was still startling. We asked one commune leader how the commune was striving to help the more backward units. He said the Dapu Brigade we were working with was poor but not backward. What he meant was that the peasants of our brigade have a very high level of political consciousness, and concentrate their efforts on producing grain and sugar cane for the state rather than on more individually profitable sideline occupations. Their poverty is due to a shortage of labor power and poor soil.

As part of the drive to increase production, the people of Xin Hua Commune are redirecting the course of a river that runs through the Dapu Brigade. When the task is completed it will add 33 acres of fertile, level rice paddies suitable for mechanized farming. A large percentage of the brigade's labor force, joined by a nearby army unit and the students of our Institute, worked on the project.

By the time we arrived to join in the labor, the new river bed had already been dug down to the water level. As the underground water seeped into the channel, everything turned to mud. When it became impossible to shovel the thick, heavy mud, everyone began digging it out with their hands. The diggers slowly sank into the sticky stuff while they worked. Others carried basketfuls of mud and earth on shoulder poles up the two sides of the channel to the banks of the future river. The baskets were heavy and it was a difficult climb up the steep slopes and yet, to our astonishment, the peasant women actually *ran* up the paths with their loaded baskets. We were all exhausted in no time. We were amazed at the peasant women, who seemed not to know the meaning of exhaustion. When we filled their baskets, they complained if we did not fill them completely. Some of these women looked almost 50.

If you just concentrated on your own job, the task seemed impossible. But if you lifted your head and watched the hundreds of people around you working, you could see the river changing direction right in front of your eyes.

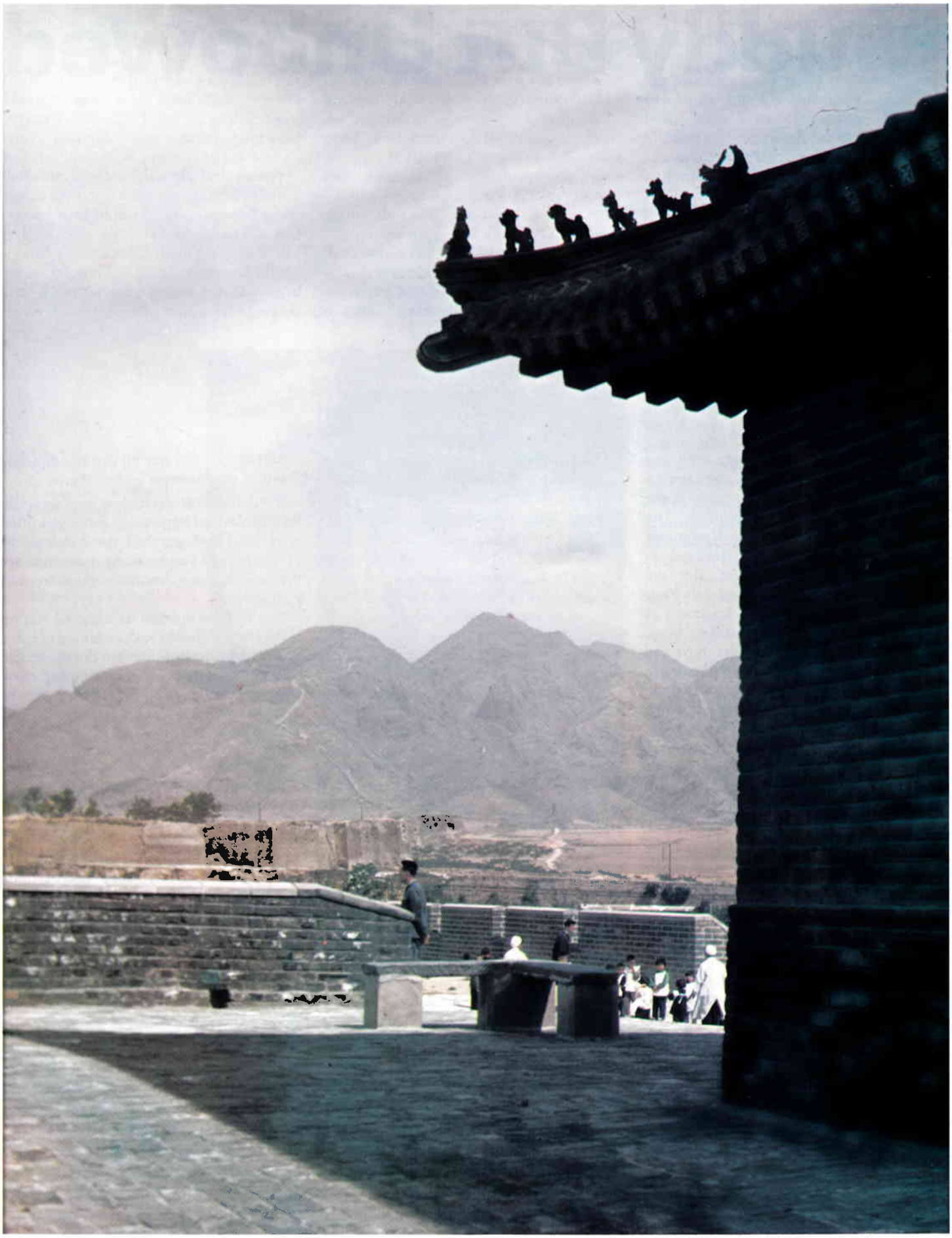
Our brigade finished its assigned section of the channel thanks to the addition of labor power from our Institute. But did the people then go home to have a good rest and enjoy a few days holiday? Nope. Off they went to help the other brigades finish, too. ●

PAT *and* ROGER HOWARD *went to study philosophy in Peking in 1973 and returned to China in 1975 to teach English. They have frequently written for* People's Friendship, *published by the Canada-China Friendship Society of Saskatchewan.*

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains
by Mao Tsetung

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another graybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

From Chairman Mao's concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, June 11, 1945.



Shanhaiguan, the starting-point of the Great Wall, where Oliver Hinsdell and other crew members landed after bailing out. Amalia Hinsdell was the first American to visit this area of China in 25 years. (Photo: A. Hinsdell)

Our Roses Grow in China

by Amalia Hinsdell

A living tribute to a wartime rescue

When I sat with my daughter, Dru, and watched Richard Nixon's televised climb of the Great Wall of China, my heart stirred with the possibility of fulfilling a dream of my late husband, Oliver Hinsdell.

He had been a B-29 pilot in World War II. During the winter of 1944, while on his first bombing mission over Japanese-held Manchuria, his plane had been raked with flak. One engine caught fire and spewed black smoke. The noise from the runaway engine was horrendous, crew members shouted confusedly to one another through the flames and terror. Four men panicked, bailed out, and were lost. As the plane rapidly lost altitude over the Bohai (Pohei) Gulf, Oliver and the remaining six crewmen held on until land was sighted, then parachuted onto the beach. They were safe, but were 600 miles behind enemy lines.

Oliver and the crew had landed near the village of Shanhaiguan, where the Great Wall of China begins its serpentine journey westward. My husband knew little of Chinese politics, but had been advised by his commanding officer to "head for the hills and look for Communist guerrillas if you get into trouble," since Mao Tsetung and his army were fighting the Japanese in the northern part of China. Heeding the officer's advice, the men struck off toward the hills, wandering through marshes until they encountered a peasant. Fortunately, he

American fliers receive heroes' badges from Chinese women in Yan'an, winter 1945. (Photo: courtesy of A. Hinsdell)

was an ally from the village of Shanhaiguan, which was a pocket of Chinese resistance. The nervous fliers were escorted to the home of the mayor, and news of their rescue was radioed to Yan'an (Yenan), headquarters of Mao's army. Yan'an radioed back: "We will save these men. It will take a year but we will get them out alive."

So the American fliers began a 1,500-mile trek from Shanhaiguan to Yan'an, a journey comparable to climbing up and down the Rocky Mountains the same distance as from New York City to St. Louis, in the dead of winter.

Both peasants and soldiers walked with Oliver and the crew. Sometimes only a single guide led the men from hamlet to hamlet, along the mountainous route, through Japanese blockades and patrols. Once their guide was a 12-year-old boy. At other times, members of the guerrilla forces escorted them, as did a thousand Eighth Route Army soldiers, who marched with them for miles on one occasion.

The route was circuitous, the terrain

AMALIA HINSDELL, *a former educational administrator, now lives on the West Coast where she gives lectures and seminars on China and Chinese history.*

steep and rugged, the winter raw and bitter. Although food was scarce, the Chinese shared what they had and gave the Americans clothes and shelter. After the war, Oliver told me many stories about the warm relationship that existed between soldiers and peasants. Previously, soldiers looted, destroyed crops, razed houses, raped women, and abused peasants. But the Communist soldiers held to an ethic of respect for the peasants. As they marched, they sang songs like "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention," which admonished: "Don't take a single needle or thread," "Don't damage people's crops." This respect won the favor of the peasants and was a decisive factor in winning the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek's armies following the World War II armistice.

In a dimly lit Yan'an cave, 1945, the American fliers share a dinner with their Chinese hosts. (Photo: courtesy of A. Hinsdell)

Despite the difficulties they encountered, Oliver and his fellow pilots walked the 1,500 miles in six months. In a Yan'an cave house, Mao Tsetung gave a dinner in honor of the rescued Americans, where they ate and drank toasts to the victory of the Allies.

Until his death six years ago, Oliver dreamed of returning to China to thank the Chinese for all they did for him. When it became possible for Americans to go to China, my daughter and I applied for visas to visit, to thank the Chinese on his behalf, and to retrace, in part, the path of his dramatic rescue. After a year of waiting, the invitation came: "I have the pleasure to inform you that the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries would like to invite you and your daughter to visit China this year."

To symbolize our gratitude to the Chinese people, we chose two bare-root bushes of the Peace Rose to take with us as a living gift. The Peace Rose had been developed during World War II by a Frenchman, Fearing that the flower he was so painstakingly perfecting would be destroyed by advancing German troops, he sent bushes to several different countries for protection. In each country, it was given a different name. After the armistice, the rose won international prizes for its beauty, and was then uniformly named the Peace Rose.

Two of the rosebushes, wrapped and dormant in a long box, went to China with Dru and me. On the way, I struggled on and off planes, awkwardly clutching the bulky parcel. At each hotel, I managed to refrigerate the roses, hoping they would survive the long journey to Peking.

My daughter and I were among the first Americans to visit China in many years. We crossed the border by walking across the Lo Wu Bridge, north of Hongkong. Guangzhou (Canton) was our first stop and we visited nine cities in all. On tour, our days were crammed with activities. We saw schools, from nurseries to universities, including the picturesque Peking University, visited hospitals, watched three major operations performed under acupuncture anesthesia, inspected factories and mills, talked with people in communes and city apartments. We saw the Imperial Palaces, the Temple of Heaven, and innumerable museums. We went boating with people on their days off, and were delighted by performances of children all over China.

In the streets and parks, curious crowds of hundreds surrounded us. Dru stopped in a people's market to purchase a musical instrument that looked like a mandolin, and in minutes a crowd gathered around us. They looked with curiosity at Dru's levis. They were amused that she was wearing Chinese shoes. There was much laughter as she tried to play the instrument. Good will bounced back and forth between us. We found the Chinese people have an appealing sense of humor that is spontaneous and captivating.

In Shanhaiguan, our host, Fang Dao-ye, had talked to several people who remembered watching my husband's mammoth plane fall and seeing the smoke from the crash. He told us several stories about the fliers' experiences. "One of your men fired at us. But we understood," our host quoted one villager. I thought again how apt a symbol the Peace Rose was.

In Peking, we were to present the roses at a dinner hosted by Chen Mai-yuan, who had given a simple dinner for Oliver years ago in a cave house. This year the gourmet meal (comprised entirely of duck specialties) was held in a world-famous restaurant. Chen Mai-yuan, although ill and in pain, came to be with us, and we appreciated the great effort he made to do so. It was as rare an event for him to meet Americans as it was for us to be in China.

After the meal I took out an album of wartime Chinese photographs, sketches of China which Oliver had made, and two letters which he had received in China. Included was the note Mr. Chen had written a quarter a century ago inviting my husband to dinner. Chen Mai-yuan saw his handwriting and his signature on that scrap of paper, a mere scrap because paper was so scarce during the war. He was impressed that it had been saved all that time and brought all the way from America. He kept pointing to his name and grinning as we excitedly talked.

We brought out the box containing the roses, pulled away the tape, and opened it. They were living! The bushes had sprouted little green shoots. Pale to be sure, but healthy. We were later told that they were taken to Chairman Mao as an expression of our gratitude to the people of China.

Once again, the Chinese people had shared with this American family. They shared their food and their homes, and showed us their industries, their productive land, and their healthy, confident children. Best of all, they gave us their friendship. At the dinners in our honor, many toasts were made: "May the friendship between America and China grow and blossom like the Peace Roses!"

I have fulfilled my husband's dream of returning to China to thank the people who saved his life. I have my own dream now. I hope the bridge to China will never again be closed. Perhaps I will be able to return for another spring in China, to see the roses blooming. ●

Divorce Trial

by Nina Shapiro-Perl

What happens when a marriage fails

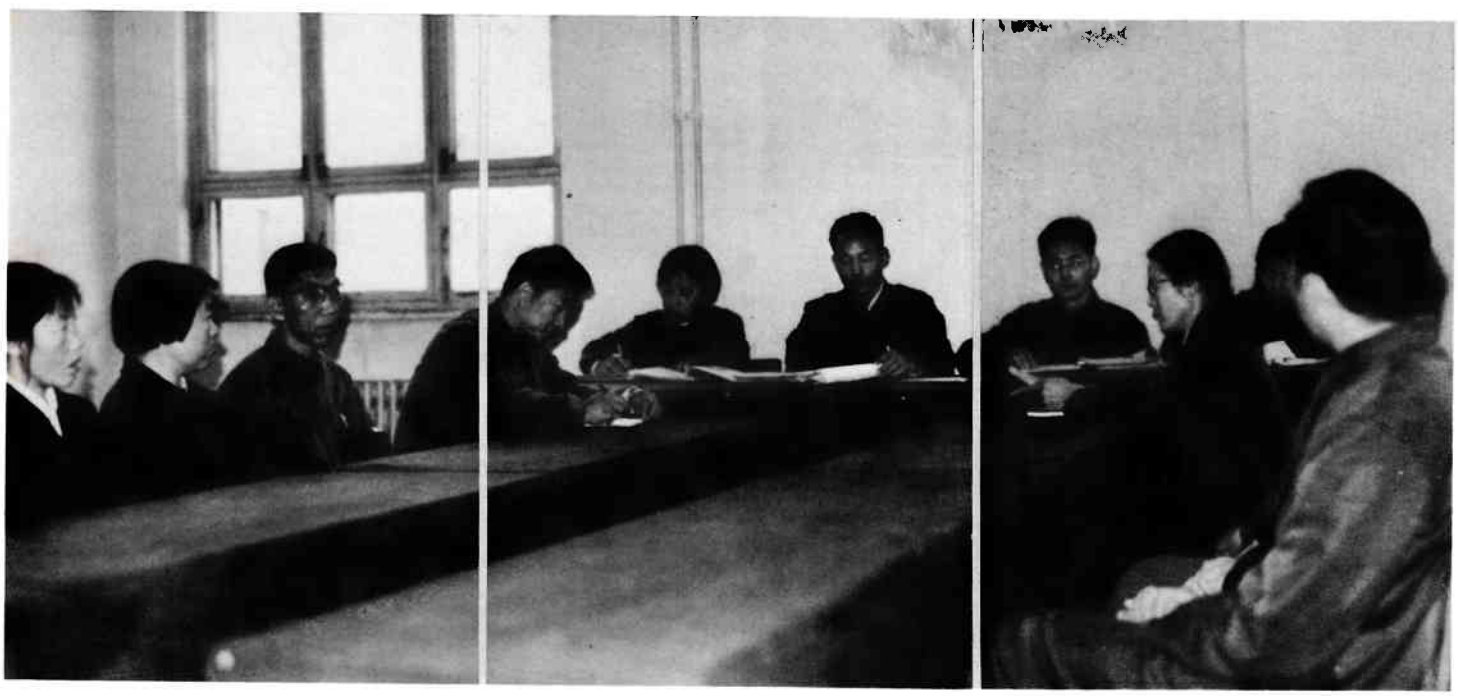
For eight years friends, co-workers, and neighbors had tried to help Sun You-chan and Chen Xi-jie resolve their marriage difficulties. These people, who intimately knew the couple and their problems, were now assembled at the Peking Middle Court, on an October day in 1975, to hear Sun You-chan submit her second request to dissolve the marriage.

Also on hand was a delegation of ten Americans, all newly elected members of the 1975 National Steering Committee of the USCPFA. They had repeatedly asked their Chinese hosts for a chance to witness some sort of court proceedings. On this day they were, at last, ushered into a large, modestly furnished room to listen to a divorce trial. What they were to learn was not only how the Chinese court and community handled a particular divorce case, but also something about how the Chinese people feel about marriage and divorce in general.

The hearing took place at the Iron and Steel College where Chen Xi-jie was a teacher. In China the court "comes to the people" – where they work, where they live. In other words the judges, rather than the defendants and the witnesses, do the traveling. This makes it possible for friends and neighbors to participate in the hearings without missing many days' work. The judges were seated on a low dais, about one foot above the floor. Lu Wen-xiu was the chief judge, and two other judges sat at his side, one a woman, Liu Shu-chen. After the court personnel were introduced and the court procedures started, Lu Wen-xiu asked the couple to sit at facing tables before him and present their cases to the court as "simply and factually as possible."

Sun, who was requesting the divorce, rose to speak first. She said she was studying at the Iron and Steel College when she first met the instructor who was to become her husband. They courted briefly, and were married shortly after her graduation in 1964, when Sun was 24. She recounted that the marriage began to sour in 1967 after the birth of their child, Chen-chi, now seven years old. Sun claimed her husband suffered from Confucian ideas – "he disregarded my ideas and intelligence and treated me as his possession." Her suffering from the relationship interfered with her work at the Research Institute of Metallurgy and, at times, led her to walk aimlessly about the streets with her daughter because she did not want to go home. Chen was suspicious and resentful about her time away from home. The relationship worsened when both she and Chen alternately fell ill, and finally Sun moved out.

NINA SHAPIRO-PERL *teaches sociology at Quinebaug Valley and Mohegan community colleges in Connecticut.*



The divorce hearing. Friends and co-workers of husband (l.) and wife (r.) participate at all stages in the process of resolving marriage problems – and will also help the couple adjust to being divorced. (Photos: H. Rosen)

The leaders of the Revolutionary Committee at Sun's workplace counseled the couple in the hopes of resolving the marriage problems, and Sun returned home to try again. But late in 1972 she again moved out and filed for a divorce with the Peking Eastern City Court. Within the year her case came to trial, but because her husband contested the divorce, and the court found too few grounds for separation, the couple was urged to reconcile. With the help of friends and co-workers in a neighborhood-based "conciliation committee" designed to solve personal problems, the couple tried to work out their differences, but to no avail. Now, three years later, Sun stood before the Peking Middle Court hoping this appeal trial would dissolve her marriage to Chen.

It should be noted that such lengthy proceedings are an exception in China. When both partners agree in their desire for a divorce, it is granted speedily. One account records the process lasting only ten days. Other divorce trials witnessed by Westerners suggest that the process is generally completed within a year's time. This particular proceeding had a touch of irony because it was taking place in the same college where Sun and Chen had once fallen "freely in love."

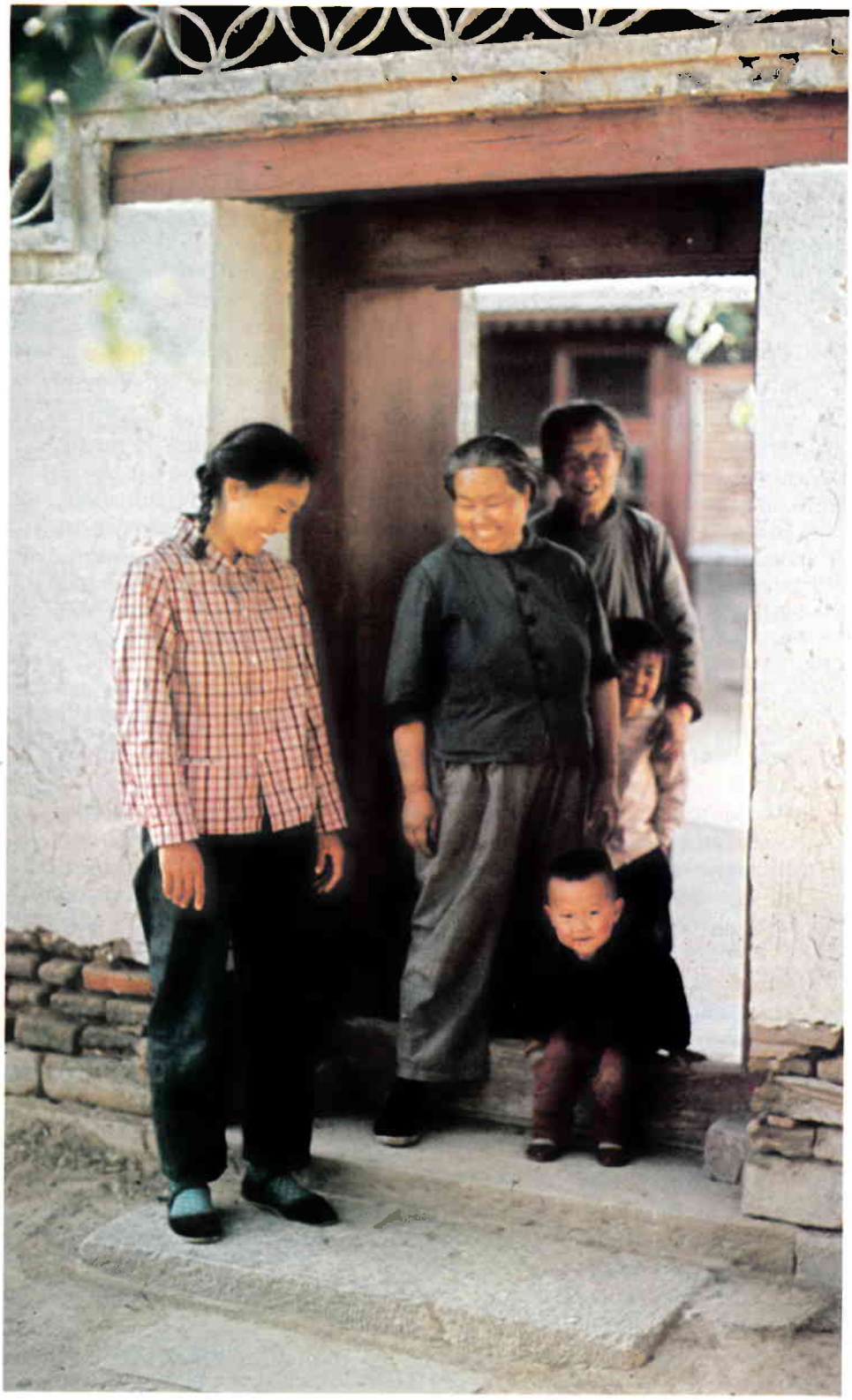
Sun and Chen's freedom to choose each other is not taken for granted in today's

Equal participation by women in all aspects of production is seen as a precondition for eliminating male supremacy. (Photo: N. Woronov)

Courtship in New China: boating on Peking's Summer Palace Lake. (Photo: M. Bald)

China. Less than 30 years ago, people were forced upon each other in arranged marriages based on the prophesies of matchmakers consulting horoscope charts. The woman's family exchanged the daughter in marriage for a "bride-price" paid by the groom's family. For impoverished parents the bride payments offered an escape from debt and starvation, while for the daughter it was the start of a life with a man she neither knew nor chose.

Marrying a stranger was only the beginning of the miseries that lay ahead of many young couples in China before Liberation. Old China's families were full of friction. Women were subservient to their fathers, husbands, and later their sons, and endured countless humiliations. Wife-beating was a common practice by husbands who, frustrated by their own failures to bring their families out of poverty, shored up their self-respect by lording it over their wives.



A four-generation family outside their home. The 1950 Marriage Law helps to strengthen extended families like this one by ensuring the rights of women and children. (Photo: A. Hinsdell)

No matter how brutal a marriage became, women had no legal right to divorce. If a woman ran away, her family was crushed by being forced to return the bride-price, which in most cases had long been spent. While men had a legal right to divorce, they seldom exercised it, since they could not afford to "buy" a second wife. Even rich men rarely chose divorce, indulging instead in the all-too-available solution to an unhappy marriage: concubines and prostitutes.

But thousands of young men and women registered their revulsion to arranged marriages – many men fled the home and sought refuge in the army; thousands of girls simply ran away. At one point in the nineteenth century the government was forced to create housing for virgins refusing to enter arranged marriages. This was known as the "Girls' Revolt." Mao Tsetung wrote about even more extreme types of resistance, such as the many young women who committed suicide en route to the wedding ceremony. Other women found refuge in the nunneries established by Catholic missions.

The patriarchal Chinese family structure was a central force in keeping the feudal, and later the capitalist-colonialist, ruling classes in power. And the breaking of those shackles was instrumental in the freeing of the Chinese masses. During the revolutionary war, a massive mobilization of women helped defeat the Japanese and Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang) armies. When the war was over, a new Marriage Law was enacted by the Communist Party in 1950 which codified many of the rights already won by the masses in the process of resistance.

The Marriage Law guaranteed immediate personal freedom for both sexes: the right of men and women to choose their own partners, free of family interference; the right of widows to remarry; and the right of either party to initiate divorce. But this law would have been mere rhetoric if it wasn't for the even more basic changes taking place in Chinese society. The previous subservience of girls and women had been rooted in their economic dependence on fathers, husbands, and sons. After Liberation, women had the right to own, manage, and inherit family property. The possession of property – and the guarantee of employment for urban women – staved off the possibility of isolation or starvation if a women should find herself alone by accident, circumstance, or choice.

In 1952–53 a massive effort to bring awareness of the new rights into every home was carried out by the Women's Federations and the trade unions. This educational drive opened the eyes of the masses of people to the pain the old system had wrought in their personal lives. The frustration and anger long bottled up in marital relationships burst into the open as women grasped that divorce was a concrete choice, backed up by the assurance of economic security. Said one peasant woman: "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!' "

A divorce boom took the lid off the pressures that had built up between spouses in a lifetime of humiliation and frustration. In 1951 alone, before the campaign had swung into gear, there were 409,000 divorces officially recorded, a rate almost one-third as high as in the United States.

But the popularity of divorce lasted only a brief period in China. The main concern of the Communist Party and most of the Chinese people is to encourage strong marriages, rooted in a solid bond of love and mutual support. A good marriage obviously can give great personal pleasure to the partners, provide a good home life for children, and, also, strengthen socialist society as a whole by allowing people to concentrate on productive work. Individuals are strongly encouraged by their friends and co-workers to postpone marriage until their mid-twenties. What might seem to foreigners as undue interference in the private lives of individuals is seen in China as an expression of concern for their futures. Women, in particular, benefit because they have time to fully establish their productive and political lives before getting married and having children, and are more likely to continue being active outside the house.

To return now to the divorce trial of Sun and Chen. Their testimony was listened to not only by the judges, but by co-workers, friends, and neighbors who had taken a day off from work to participate in the three-hour hearing. These witnesses seemed concerned not only about whether the divorce itself would be granted, but about the welfare of the couple and their child. They listened intently to all that was said.

After Sun completed her story, the judge asked Chen to present his case. He rose to tell the court that he did not want a divorce. He countered Sun's accusations with a modest defense and contradicted her view that the marriage had been good for only a short time. Chen criticized himself for bringing the teacher-student relationship into the marriage and he said he found his marriage to Sun to be the best when they were both participating in political activities. As he

From The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China

CHAPTER I: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1: The feudal marriage system based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangement and the supremacy of man over women, and in disregard of the interests of the children, is abolished.

The New-Democratic marriage system, which is based on the free choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on the protection of the lawful interests of women and children, is put into effect.

ARTICLE 2: Bigamy, concubinage, child betrothal, interference in the remarriage of widows, and the exaction of money or gifts in connection with marriages, are prohibited.

CHAPTER V: DIVORCE

ARTICLE 17: Divorce is granted when husband and wife both desire it. In the event of either the husband or wife alone insisting upon divorce, it may be granted only when mediation by the district people's government and the judicial organ has failed to bring about a reconciliation.

In cases where divorce is desired by both husband and wife, both parties should register with the district people's government in order to obtain divorce certificates. The district people's government, after establishing that divorce is desired by both parties and that appropriate measures have been taken for the care of children and property, should issue the divorce certificates without delay.

When one party insists on divorce, the district people's government may try to effect a reconciliation. If such mediation fails, it should, without delay, refer the case to the county or municipal people's court for decision. The district people's government should not attempt to prevent or obstruct either party from appealing to the county or municipal people's court. In dealing with a divorce case, the county or municipal people's court, should, in the first instance, try to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. In case such mediation fails, the court should render a decision without delay. . . .

ARTICLE 18: The husband is not allowed to apply for a divorce when his wife is pregnant, and may apply for divorce only one year after the birth of the child. In the case of a woman applying for divorce, this restriction does not apply.

CHAPTER VI: MAINTENANCE AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN AFTER DIVORCE

ARTICLE 20: The blood ties between parents and children are not ended by the divorce of the parents. No matter whether the father or mother has the custody of the children, they remain the children of both parties.

After divorce, both parents continue to have the duty to support and educate their children.

After divorce, the guiding principle is to allow the mother to have the custody of a breast-fed infant. After the weaning of the child, if a dispute arises between the two parties over the guardianship and an agreement cannot be reached, the people's court should render a decision in accordance with the interests of the child.

spoke, he kept looking at his wife, who was busily taking notes. When Judge Lu directed Chen to state why he did not want a divorce, he replied sadly that marriage is a solemn thing that should not be broken lightly. He felt that there was a good basis for his marriage and that for the good of his daughter the "tragedy of divorce" should be avoided.

To the Americans witnessing the trial, Chen was a more appealing person than his wife, who seemed cold and unstable. It was Chen and his parents who had taken care of the daughter during periods of marital discord, though Sun said she thought Chen's parents were not educated enough to properly care for the child. But at least one American visitor was puzzled about why Chen was contesting the dissolution of an obviously unhappy marriage. She passed a note to the American next to her asking, "What would your verdict be?" and the reply was the same as her own: "Give them the divorce, give the father custody of the child."

When Chen finished speaking, Sun rose angrily to exercise her right to respond. Crying out that her husband had lied and rambled on, with great bitterness she restated points she had made before, until Judge Lu interrupted her, saying sternly, "Be frank, stick to the point, for you have talked too much already."

A number of the couple's friends were then called on to voice their opinion of the couple's prospects for reconciliation. Marital problems are customarily taken up and resolved through an informal process initiated by friends and co-workers who form what is called a "conciliation committee." At the brigade level in the countryside, or the street committee level in the cities, people come together to solve their own problems. As a law professor at Peking University told American judge George Crockett, "We do not rely mainly upon our courts to solve civil disputes. Instead these are settled at the grassroots level. . . . The masses understand that they have a responsibility to make a social investigation and solve the problem on the spot."

A member of the conciliation committee rose to recount how over the years they had taken up the responsibility of discovering the source of marital conflict and reconciling the couple. They had brought Chen to admit his feelings of superiority to his wife and Sun struggled tirelessly with Chen to get him to overcome this tendency. Another comrade told how Sun's work and study had been damaged by her preoccupation with marriage troubles. With the help of criticism and self-criticism, Sun examined her own bourgeois outlook which had led her to place importance on Chen's "bad looks" and her own creature comforts. (Chen alleged that Sun coveted a new sofa, while Sun, an asthmatic, claimed she could not sleep on a regular bed.)

But most members of the conciliation committee testified that their efforts at mediation had failed. Their consensus was that a divorce would relieve the couple of the burdens and suffering which were making them miserable and damaging other areas of their lives, such as work and study. The marriage might have been saved if Sun and Chen had used proletarian ideas of mutual help and respect and based their marriage on the strong foundation of political dedication to the revolutionary cause. But now, said one of Sun's co-workers, "the crack is too big."

Chen then announced that he was finally resigned to a divorce, since Sun wanted it so much. But Judge Lu urged the couple to talk it over again, announcing a ten-minute recess of the court. When the court returned, Chen and Sun agreed that "divorce might be the best thing for the sake of the Revolution."

"Behind that axiom is a real meaning," said one American witness to the trial. "Here were two young people bound up in an emotional situation that they genuinely believed was damaging their productive work."

Now that the court had the consent of Chen, a divorce was officially granted. A long period of time was then spent discussing the custody of the couple's child. Here again, friends and co-workers participated in the decision because they, rather than the judges, were in a position to know what would be best for the child. Since Chen-chi had spent much of the last four years of her parents' separation with her father and his parents (and perhaps, also, as the Americans thought, because Chen was the warmer and more responsible parent), he was given custody of the child. All of the details of the custody arrangement were spelled out by the court to insure there would be no future misunderstandings. Sun agreed to a child support payment of six yuan ($3.50) a month. Though she originally wanted custody of the child, she accepted the decision, which included her rights to frequent visitation and a two-week vacation with her daughter.

The details of the division of property were also carefully worked out. Chen-chi's clothes and belongings were to remain with her. Items received from Sun's and Chen's families would be returned to them. Other property was divided on the basis of primary use – Sun being given the radio and sewing machine, while Chen retained a bicycle and camera.

After the judge outlined the agreement, the couple was asked to leave the room while the judges and conciliation committee discussed the settlement. One man urged that education for both parents be continued so that future problems could be worked out. It was obvious that these friends and co-workers would still be involved in helping the divorced couple keep to their agreement and adjust to the separation. While much of what was said was put in formal, theoretical terms, the Americans present were impressed by the feelings of sympathy and understanding that lay beneath the statements.

When Chen and Sun returned, Judge Lu announced that the Court had agreed that the judgment of the Lower People's Court be withdrawn and the divorce, custody, and property settlement be carried out on the basis of the couple's mutual consent. Sun and Chen signed a written statement affirming the verbal decision.

In China today divorce is the uncommon, rather than the usual, solution to marital problems. Though divorce statistics are hard to come by, from all accounts it appears to occur rather infrequently. At one commune with 4,400 households, Western visitors reported that three to five divorces based on incompatibility had taken place in a five-year period. Based on records kept in a neighborhood hospital in Shanghai, one British observer learned that out of the 3,373 women whom the clinic served, six were listed as divorced.

Not only are most marital disputes resolved through collective action at the grassroots level, but many of the social causes of divorce have been thoroughly eliminated. The people of China are assured food, clothing, jobs, health care, education, and the right to choose their own mates. And undoubtedly the "late marriage" campaign has sensitized young people to the importance of careful mate selection. And, too, perhaps the persistence of feudal ideas tends to discourage some men and women from the "radical" act of divorce. These factors, alone or combined, may account for the low divorce rate in China.

But a low divorce rate should not suggest the absence of marital problems. Conflicts over in-laws, alleged or real infidelities, division of household chores, new leadership roles of women, etc., create stresses between married couples which sometimes crush the marriage in spite of the help of a conciliation committee, and divorce becomes necessary, as in the case of Sun You-chan and Chen Xi-jie. However, there are many avenues open for solving these problems aside from divorce. The tradition of male dominance, for instance, described as a "Confucian" custom, is a subject for continuing discussion in study groups and among co-workers and neighbors. The motivation to overcome problems like male chauvinism is strong because eradicating them will help the whole society build a more solid socialism, as well as allowing individual marriages to flourish. ●

John S. Service

by Joseph W. Esherick and Mark Selden

In March 1945, Mao Tsetung talked at length with a young U.S. Foreign Service officer in Yan'an (Yenan), the Communist capital during the war against Japan. "Between the people of China and the people of the United States," Mao observed, "there are strong ties of sympathy, understanding, and mutual interest. Both are essentially democratic and individualistic. Both are by nature peace-loving, non-aggressive and non-imperialistic" (*Lost Chance in China*, pp. 372–73). John Service, the young officer who recorded those words, shared Mao's belief in the basis for friendship between the Chinese and American people. He also saw that the friendship of the two countries was being sorely tested by continued U.S. support for the corrupt and repressive Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek. Accordingly, he recommended an evenhanded policy of neutrality in China's internal political struggle – a neutrality which would be expressed in aid to all parties, including the Communists, who were actively resisting Japanese aggression. After four months in the Communist areas (and a total of 29 years in China), Service was convinced that massive popular support made the Communists certain victors in a postwar showdown with the Kuomintang. For the U.S. to align itself with the Kuomintang and channel millions of dollars of wartime aid exclusively to that government was to adopt a posture of hostility toward the Chinese people and confrontation with their future government. Regrettably, policy-makers in Washington rejected Service's advice and embarked on a road which did indeed insure decades of U.S.-China confrontation.

The accuracy and perceptiveness of Service's reporting from China was no accident. Jack Service, as he is known to friends, was born in Chengdu, Sichuan (Szechuan), in 1909, the son of a YMCA

At home in Berkeley, Calif., 1971. (Photos: courtesy of J. Service)

JOSEPH W. ESHERICK *edited* Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service *(1974) and is co-author of* Modern China: The Making of a New Society from 1839 to the Present *(1973). He teaches Chinese history at the University of Oregon in Eugene.* MARK SELDEN*'s books include* The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China *(1971). He is co-director of the International Development Program at Washington University in St. Louis.*

Service (lower l.) and his family in Shanghai, a year after evacuating Sichuan because of the upheavals of the 1911 Revolution.

With other members of the Dixie Mission, Service (center) does volunteer work improving the airstrip in Yan'an. Figure in black, back to camera, is George Hatem (Ma Hai-de), an American doctor who joined the Chinese revolutionaries at the end of the Long March in 1936.

In Yan'an, September 1944, with Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Mao Tsetung, and Yeh Chien-ying.

New China Bookshop

As a service to our readers we offer the following items on some of the subjects covered in *New China*.

Mao Tsetung Poems. The first official English translation in one volume, including the poems published on New Year's Day 1976. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1976. 53 pp. Silk binding, $2.50, paper, $1.00.

China's Voice in the United Nations by Susan Warren. 2nd ed. On major aspects of China's foreign policy, including its positions on detente and the superpowers, Third World unity, the Middle East, nuclear arms and disarmament, raw materials and development, energy and food. World Winds Press, 1976. 146 pp. Paper, $1.95.

Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution by Agnes Smedley; edited by Jan MacKinnon and Steve MacKinnon. Sketches and stories about a variety of women – peasants, workers, guerrilla fighters, urban elite – in China of the 1930s. Feminist Press, 1976. 240 pp. Paper, $3.95.

Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-type Counties Throughout the Country by Hua Kuo-feng. A report to the first National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture summing up the conference decisions and mapping out plans for the future. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1975. 72 pp. Paper, 35 cents.

Inside a People's Commune by Chu Li and Tien Chieh-yun. In-depth reportage of the growth and struggle of a pioneer people's commune in China, describing the nature, organization, and function of these new-type socialist collectives, and the life and work of China's rural people. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1974. 212 pp. Paper, $1.50.

New Women in New China. Changes in the political and economic life of Chinese women since Liberation. Women talk of their new spirit as workers in the oilfields, factories, and communes, as electricians, pilots, doctors, bridge builders. Foreign Languages Press (Peking), 1973. 80 pp. Paper, 50 cents.

Inside the Cultural Revolution by Jack Chen. China's revolutionary struggles from the 1957 "Hundred Flowers Campaign" to the 1967 "January Storm" in Shanghai which triggered the Cultural Revolution, and the uncovering of the secret, often violent, May 16th Movement that culminated in Lin Piao's attempt on Chairman Mao's life. The author was a journalist, editor, artist, and translator for *People's Daily* and *Peking Review* at the time of these events. A classic book. Macmillan, 1975. 483 pp. Cloth, $15.95.

When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet by Anna Louise Strong. Long out-of-print, this important book describes the events of 1959 when the serf-owners' rebellion was crushed, serfdom was abolished, and the Tibetan people started on the road to fundamental change. Appendices contain three important resolutions relating to the establishment of Tibet as an Autonomous Region of China and "Tibet: From Serfdom to Socialism" from *China Reconstructs*. Illustrations. Red Sun Publishers, 1976. 329 pp. Paper, $3.95.

Wind in the Tower: Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution, 1949-1975 by Han Suyin. A readable, detailed account of major developments after Liberation, with stress on Mao's role in keeping China on a socialist course and drawing out the initiative of the people. Covers the struggle against Liu Shao-chi, the Great Leap Forward, the Sino-Soviet split, the Cultural Revolution, the anti-Lin Piao/anti-Confucius campaign. Little, Brown, 1976. 404 pp. Cloth, $12.95.

Fanshen: Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village by William Hinton. A vivid account of the land reform at Long Bow village, the revolutionary upheaval that led to it, and how the peasants "transformed themselves from passive victims of natural and social forces into active builders of a new world." Vintage, 1966. 637 pp. Paper, $3.95.

Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service edited by Joseph W. Esherick. Service, a State Department official in Chungking during World War II, visited the Communist base at Yan'an in 1944, reported on the widespread popular support for Mao's forces, and urged the U.S. government to end its aid to the corrupt Chiang regime. Vintage, 1975. 409 pp. Paper, $3.95.

Please list all items being ordered and their prices. Include your name and complete address with zip code. Add 25 cents for postage and handling for each item, plus sales tax if you are a New York resident. Mail your order prepaid to: New China Bookshop, 41 Union Square West, Room 721, New York, NY. 10003.

secretary and his wife. Service is quick to acknowledge the influence of his parents: "My father really loved China and loved the Chinese people. He had gone to China four years before my birth and by the time I was knowledgeable or aware of these things, he had been in China quite a long time, spoke Chinese very well and had, I think, an unusually close, intimate working relationship with the Chinese in the YMCA. . . . My father always felt that he was working *with* the Chinese and *for* the Chinese and for Chinese welfare. I think this attitude of intimacy and friendship toward the Chinese was one that I absorbed from him fairly early."

After high school in Shanghai and Berkeley, California, Service went to college at Oberlin, a school with long China connections, where, in addition to his academic work, he excelled on the track and cross-country teams. Then in 1933, Jack Service took and passed the Foreign Service exams and returned to China as a clerk in Kunming, Yunnan. (His father, who disliked the often hard-drinking, chauvinistic, and anti-Chinese consular officers he had known, was not particularly pleased with this career choice.) At first, Service's work was largely routine clerical business, and his life then was "the normal 'treaty-port' foreign consular officer's life." He had become accustomed to the chaos of modern China. "I had grown up with the realities of opium-smoking, banditry, the disturbances and corruption of the warlord government and so on. There had been continual civil wars in Sichuan all through my childhood." It was only in 1941, with his arrival in Chongqing (Chungking), Kuomintang China's wartime capital, that his political consciousness began to grow.

One source of this new awareness was a number of Chinese friends, intellectuals and newspapermen, "who really began to open my eyes." It was through them that Service began to appreciate the moral and political bankruptcy of the Kuomintang government and the seething discontent which it bred. He also learned of the dynamism and appeal of the Communist movement in North China.

Service's own travels through Kuomintang China – by truck, by car, and often on foot – provided a second course of political awareness. Living and eating in small Chinese inns, listening to the conversations of Chinese in streets and markets, and observing everything that went on about him, he came to know intimately the suffering of the Chinese people under an oppressive regime. He was always hungry for information on the living conditions of ordinary Chinese. "Traveling around China, I always made a habit of looking up the local missionaries, either Catholics or

Protestants. I would talk to them about local conditions. I didn't talk politics – national government, Kuomintang, Communists, this sort of thing – it usually didn't enter the conversation. All I usually inquired about was what the local government was like. What are the local conditions in tax collection? What's the local price of a conscript? How much can a small boy be bought for or a small girl? A lot of these missionaries were astonishingly well informed about this sort of human life in day-to-day detail because of contacts with their church members. From this sort of day-to-day assimilation of minute data about local conditions, you got a horrifying picture of conditions in Kuomintang China."

But a full understanding of the political situation in a divided wartime China would only come with Service's two sojourns in Yan'an in 1944 and 1945. In the summer of 1944, the U.S. government made use of a visit to China by Vice-President Henry Wallace to prevail upon Chiang Kai-shek to allow a military observer mission – known as the Dixie Mission – to travel to the Communist capital at Yan'an. Although Service's friend Edgar Snow had earlier broken the Kuomintang's information blockade and told the world about conditions in the Communist areas, the Dixie Mission brought the first U.S. government officials to Yan'an. Jack Service accompanied that mission as its ranking political officer. The new China that he found growing in Yan'an was utterly different from anything he had known before.

"It was, literally, another world. The change is very hard to make real – the difference in atmosphere between Chongqing and Yan'an in 1944. This was on *every* level, in *every* aspect. It was just all-pervasive. The people that we came in contact with in Chongqing, government people. intellectuals, were all demoralized. Inflation was killing them. . . . They were just waiting for the war to be finished so they could go home.

"You go to Yan'an. You are not expecting anything like what we saw. We thought of the Communists as being a relatively minor force and, Jesus, they were full of confidence and enthusiasm. They were going places. There was none of this business of sitting and waiting. They had no idea of going home. They'd been in the boondocks for years. Simply, there was overwhelming morale. They knew they were on the winning track. It was going to take time, but eventually they were going to win."

The months Service spent in Yan'an, observing conditions, collecting data, and interviewing the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, convinced him of two things. First, with an effective program and overwhelming popular support, the Communists were clearly the wave of China's future. "Basically, I was perfectly confident – and some others were too, although not all of them shared my idea of how short the period would be – that the Communists were the strongest and most vital force in China because they had the interests of the people at heart and had popular support. Sooner or later, they would control China. In fact, I made a bet with a scoffer one day in Chongqing that it would be five years. They did it in five years almost precisely!" Service's reports of the time were equally frank. In one, after describing the economic, political, and social reforms which generated popular support for the Communists' guerrilla warfare against Japan, he concluded: *"With this great popular base, the Communists likewise cannot be eliminated.* Kuomintang attempts to do so by force must mean a complete denial of democracy. This will strengthen the ties of the Communists with the people: a Communist victory will be inevitable" *(Lost Chance in China*, p.249).

Secondly, Service was convinced after his extensive talks with Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and the other Communist leaders that the Chinese Communist Party genuinely desired friendly relations with the United States. Mao concluded an eight-hour interview with Service on August 23, 1944, with these words, based on the concrete situation at that time: "America does not need fear that we will not be cooperative. We must cooperate and we must have American help. This is why it is so important to us Communists to know what you Americans are thinking and planning. We cannot risk crossing you – cannot risk any conflict with you" (*Lost Chance*, p. 307). Service was equally convinced that the interests of the United States lay in cooperation and that it should not risk conflict with Mao and his party.

But Service's advice was not heeded. More than that; for making an honest analysis of Chinese conditions and recommending a policy of neutrality in China's internal affairs, Service along with virtually the entire corps of Chinese-speaking Foreign Service officers, would be pilloried by Joe McCarthy and Chiang Kai-shek's "China lobby" and charged with responsibility for the "loss of China." He was forced out of the State Department in December 1951. Six years later the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the decision against him and ordered his reinstatement. But it took even longer for the accuracy of his reporting and the soundness of his advice to be recognized. That time seems finally to have come. In September 1974, for example, then Senator William Fulbright welcomed him to

Slides and Filmstrips on China

How China Kicked the Habit
59 slides or a filmstrip, plus script in English and Spanish, and resource materials, about drugs in old China and how new China rid itself of drugs completely. Purchase, $25; one-week rental, $5. (Specify slides or filmstrip.)

Women in China: The Long March Toward Liberation
120 slides, plus a script, documenting past oppression and the present struggle for equality. Purchase, $45; one-week rental, $5.

Children of China
120 frames in filmstrip, plus script and resource material, on historical background and childhood education today. Purchase, $15; one-week rental $5.

Available from:
US-China Peoples Friendship Association
41 Union Square West, Rm. 1228
New York, N.Y. 10003

Historic reunion: Services greeted by Premier Chou En-lai in Peking, 1971.

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on detente as "a great prophet who was not heeded at the proper time."

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1962, Service moved to Berkeley, California, where he became an associate of the University's Center for Chinese Studies. There, any number of China scholars have come to know him as one whose quiet and unassuming manner masks a deep, humane, and intensely personal knowledge of modern Chinese politics and society. He has twice returned to China, in 1971 and 1975, and written and spoken of the tremendous achievements that the new China has made. He remains an active friend of China and is an Honorary Member of the USCPFA National Steering Committee. This friendship for China has always had one irreducible source: honest to the core, Service reported life in China as he saw it. He saw the achievements of the Chinese Revolution, compared them to the poverty and despair of the old China, and concluded that the Chinese Communists were a popular force which the United States government would have to acknowledge and deal with. Though that honest analysis ultimately proved unacceptable to Washington, it was the basis for a profound friendship with the Chinese people in the 1940s, as it is in the 1970s.

In his 1974 testimony before the Fulbright committee, Service compared present U.S. policy to the bankrupt policy of the 1940s. "In 1944–45, in the face of the Chinese Revolution and the developing conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists, some of us in China suggested that American national interests, and Chinese independence, would best be served by American neutrality in Chinese internal affairs. . . . Today the United States is the only major country in the world, and in fact one of the relatively few countries which still recognize the regime governing the small island of Taiwan as being 'The Republic of China' – even though we do not challenge that 'Taiwan is a part of China.'" We continue to recognize and favor, with millions of dollars in military aid and sales, the same Kuomintang government which the Chinese people so decisively rejected in the 1940s. As a result, he pointed out, "we stand alone as the only country bound by military treaty to prevent any Chinese action beyond discussion to bring about that territorial integrity and unity of China to which in the past we were so long and deeply committed. . . . The Taiwan issue, if left long unsettled, will be a time-bomb ticking away for the future. It will poison our relations with China and cause complex and recurrent tensions throughout Asia."

Thus, while welcoming the opening of a new page in U.S.-China relations since the Nixon visit of 1972, Service continues to underline the barriers to extending the relationship as a result of U.S. policy toward Taiwan. He remains, nevertheless, optimistic that these barriers can ultimately be overcome. The sort of intimate and friendly relations that were so obviously possible in the 1940s are still an attainable goal. ●

Law of the Sea

How will the ocean's riches – the gold, uranium, copper, and manganese deposits worth billions – be mined? Which people will harvest the food of the sea? How will the ocean's oil be distributed? Which nations will benefit? Can the sea's resources be held in common for all the world's people?

Delegations from over 150 member-states of the United Nations have been trying to answer these and related questions in the Third Law of the Sea (LOS) Conference, which concluded a fifth session in September 1976. Once written, the Law of the Sea will be an international agreement governing the development of the ocean's resources, as yet untapped and unexploited. Crucial issues remain unresolved. Debate centers upon the rights nations have over the seas off their shorelines, transit through straits which lie within the territorial waters of coastal states, and the powers an international authority would have to regulate maritime activities, including exploitation, research, development, pollution, and sharing resources.

Conflict over these issues is sharp, as industrialized nations, primarily the U.S. and the USSR, and developing countries – the "Group of 77," as they term themselves – pursue their radically different interests.

The Soviet Union and the United States, locked in a global contest for world supremacy, increasingly find themselves short of key materials. Each has a hungry eye fixed on what one U.S. law-of-the-sea expert called the "trillion-dollar opportunity." Each is intent on ensuring the mobility of its surface and submarine fleets in order to control the strategic sea lanes of the world for military and political ends. With flagrant "land-grabs" no longer feasible, a "sea-grab" becomes imperative. The positions of the two superpowers often coincide; as *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann observed, "The big maritime powers have global military and economic interests that result in unconfessed tactical alliances at the sea-law conference." However, it is a collusion that extends only so far as they need each other to achieve their immediate common goal of partitioning the seas to their own advantage.

The "Group of 77" represents a dynamic new grouping of non-aligned, developing Third World countries striving to lift themselves out of abysmal poverty and skyrocketing debt by fighting to defend their natural resources, and their economic as well as political independence. China, as a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World, has from the beginning opposed the old maritime order and stood squarely with the other developing countries for a markedly transformed Law of the Sea which would accurately reflect new historical trends and serve the interests of the majority of the world's people.

The nature and powers of an international authority over the deep seabed areas were the focus of debate in the fifth session. Ling Ching, chairman of the Chinese delegation, at the plenary session reiterated China's support for the "Group of 77's" stand on utilization of the international seabed areas. This calls for all activities within the international seabed areas to be exclusively directed and carried out by a strong International Seabed Authority. Ling Ching insisted on the principle of equity as the only way to guarantee that the international seabed resources become truly the "common heritage of mankind."

This position rejects those of the U.S. and the USSR. The U.S. has agreed to the concept of an International Seabed Authority but holds that a "parallel exploitation system" should be accepted. Under this plan, technologically advanced and capital-rich private corporations could mine and develop resources jointly with the International Seabed Authority. If this position were accepted, U.S. corporations would overwhelm others, due to their superior technology. The USSR, in an essentially equivalent proposal, wants to place all signatories of a final sea-law treaty on an equal footing with the International Seabed Authority and empower them to exploit the seabed riches without ratification by the Authority. Thus, in both plans, developed industrialized nations would have immediate advantages over poorer countries. China's delegates have calmly counseled resistance to intimidation and pressure emanating from U.S. threats to unilaterally authorize private corporations to begin mining deep seabeds unless the U.S. position is approved. It has also joined with other Third World countries in refuting Soviet accusations that the Third World nations were trying to monopolize the international seabed resources and to obstruct the progress of the conference.

Significantly, LOS participants have yet to agree upon a full definition of the "economic zone." As proposed, nations would have jurisdiction over an oceanic "economic zone" extending 200 miles from their land boundaries. Within this zone, states would have the power to develop or regulate fishing, mining, research, etc., according to their own needs, or through agreements with their neighbors. The Chinese delegation pledged full support to the position of many developing nations on the *exclusive* nature of the 200-mile economic zone. The U.S. and the USSR, after early adamant opposition to the very concept, now accept the idea of an economic zone, but want to attach conditions that would permit them to continue exploiting these areas. The Soviet delegates were especially insistent in this regard. In effect, the superpowers intend to have it both ways. The Chinese spokesmen pointed out the logical absurdity of "recognizing" the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of coastal states over the economic zone and, at the same time, defining the zone as accessible to other nations as "part of the high seas."

(NEW CHINA readers may have noted in recent months that a number of developing countries, as well as the U.S., Canada, individual West European countries, the European Economic Community (EEC), and the Soviet Union have each unilaterally declared 200-mile economic or fishing zones. The reasons prompting these outwardly similar moves are varied and complex. Only some of them can be briefly sketched here. 1) For a number of years at the LOS conferences the developing countries have urged the establishment of *exclusive* economic zones to conserve their offshore resources as part of their overall effort to achieve a new international economic order. But their legitimate demands have met with opposition and obstruction, primarily from the Soviet Union and the United States. Hard-pressed by the continued plunder of their natural wealth and infractions against their sovereignty, their declarations of a 200-mile zone were acts of self-preservation. 2) The West European countries, the EEC, and the United States adopted 200-mile fishing zones partly in response to popular demands for protection against overfishing in their zones, and partly as chips to be used in future bargaining sessions of the LOS Conference. 3) On the other hand, the Soviet decree announcing "provisional measures for the preservation of marine resources and regulation of fisheries in seas up to 200 miles" shrewdly incorporates the "international principle" it has

CLASSIFIED ADS

The classified rate is 50 cents a word. There is a 15-word minimum and a 60-word maximum. The advertiser's address counts as two words. Deadline for the next issue, published in mid-July, is May 15. Send copy – prepaid – to New China, 41 Union Square West, Rm. 721, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

Los Angeles – May 1st Bookstore Publications from and about China. Quantity distribution for classroom use and resale; write for list. 27061 W. 7th St., Los Angeles, CA 90057. (213) 384-3856.

Children's Toys Beautiful, sturdy, and educational toys from the People's Republic of China. Books New China, Inc., 53 East Broadway (Chinatown), N.Y., N.Y. 10002. (212) 233-6565. Open 10 am to 7 pm seven days a week. COME IN & BROWSE.

$1.00 brings 25 different Chinese stamps and my price list. L. K. Stoddart, Box 3982, Hollywood, CA 90028.

Women in China – The Long March Toward Liberation Slide show and script produced by the NY USCPFA. 110 slides, available for purchase $45. Four weeks required to fill orders. Rental, $5, in greater NY metropolitan area only. Excellent for high school and college courses and women's groups. Order from NY USCPFA, 41 Union Square West, Rm. 1228, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

Comprehensive literature packets on: health care – $7; literature and art – $6; women – $5; and education – $5.50. Also, Friendship Kit for kindergarten through grade 3 – $7. Includes maps, stamps, a game, papercuts, etc. Send orders and inquiries to USCPFA-New York, Rm. 1228, 41 Union Square West, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

USCPFA pamphlets on "The Taiwan Question: Roadblock to Friendship" and "Opium and China: New China Kicked the Habit." Single copies, 25 cents; 50-200, 20 cents; over 200, 15 cents. For single or small orders write to the nearest USCPFA chapter; for bulk orders write USCPFA National Office, Addresses, inside back cover.

been trying, thus far unsuccessfully, to impose on the LOS Conference – namely, that if a coastal state is not able to land 100 percent of the harvestable fish or other sea products in its zone, it should allow other states to step in and exploit the unused portion. When the next session of the Conference resumes, Moscow thus has its "decree" to offer as a model "international principle" in dealing with the 200-mile economic zone and to serve as a weapon in its rivalry with the U.S. for domination of the world's maritime resources.)

The Chinese spokesmen made clear at the fifth LOS session that the "freedom of the maritime research," like the "freedom of the high seas" espoused so vociferously by the two superpowers, was a key question relating to the sovereignty and security of the coastal countries. They strongly supported the position of the developing countries that all maritime research within the territorial waters, the economic zone, and the continental shelves must be carried out with the approval and consent of the coastal countries involved. At the root of their concern is the determination not to be deprived of both their offshore resources and the scientific data bearing on such resources obtained within the 200-mile exclusive economic zone. In addition, they are keenly aware that "research ships," whether sailing in or beyond the 200-mile zone, are often used to gather intelligence rather than further science. The *Glomar* incident provides an excellent example of this form of "research": the *Glomar Explorer*, ostensibly a research ship, was commissioned by the CIA for a covert operation in the Pacific. The Chinese delegation maintained that to protect the rights and interests of the small and medium-sized countries, the exclusive economic zone should be explicitly defined as an area under national jurisdiction. Only then could these countries' maritime resources be freed from the plunder and domination of those with overwhelming naval strength, advanced technology, and abundant capital.

In his remarks to the final sessions, Ling Ching addressed himself to the question which, above all others, seems to preoccupy the media in relation to the Law of the Sea Conference – namely, the lack of progress. The Third World countries, he said, want to safeguard their maritime rights and interests while the superpowers are not reconciled to the loss of their hitherto unchallenged privileged position to occupy the seas. The superpowers' desire for maritime supremacy, he concluded, is the basic reason why the conference fails to make due progress.

The conference will meet again in May 1977, in New York.

Susan Warren
New York, N.Y.

The US–China Peoples Friendship Association

National Office: 2700 W. 3rd St., Rm. 102, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057 (213) 388–9569

West Coast

Western Region: 50 Oak St., Rm. 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102 (415) 863–0537
Denver: P.O. Box 4502, Santa Fe Station, Denver, Colo. 80204
East Bay: 2054 University Ave., Rm. 401, Berkeley, Calif. 94704
Eugene: 1710 Olive St., Eugene, Ore. 97401
Fresno: P.O. Box 5634, Fresno, Calif. 93755
Hawaii: 410 Nahua St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96815
Humboldt County: P.O. Box 352, Trinidad, Calif. 95570
Long Beach: P.O. Box 14617, Long Beach, Calif. 90814
Los Angeles: 2500 W. 6th St., Rm. 218, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057
Mid-Peninsula: 424 Lytton, Palo Alto, Calif. 94301
New Mexico: P.O. Box 26771, Albuquerque, N.M. 87125
North Bay: P.O. Box 894, Sonoma, Calif. 95476
Olympia: 5104 Brassfield Rd. S.E., Olympia, Wash. 98501
Orange County: P.O. Box 986, Anaheim, Calif. 92803
Phoenix: 2026 Campo Alegre, Tempe, Ariz. 85281
Pomona Valley: P.O. Box 172, Alta Loma, Calif. 91701
Portland: P.O. Box 10595, Portland, Ore. 97210
Sacramento: 1919 Rockwood Dr., Sacramento, Calif. 95825
San Diego: 6701 Vista Del Mar, La Jolla, Calif. 92037
San Francisco: 50 Oak St., Rm. 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102
Santa Barbara: P.O. Box 2052, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93102
Seattle: 1314 N.E. 43rd St., Seattle, Wash. 98105
Sonoma County: P.O. Box 7217, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95401
South Bay: 2516 Lansford, San Jose, Calif. 95125
Taos: P.O. Box 214, San Cristobal, N.M. 87564
Tucson: 2451 N. Santa Rita Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85719
West Side Los Angeles: P.O. Box 24480, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

Western Region Organizing Committees
Corvallis: P.O. Box 1362, Corvallis, Ore. 97330
Hawaii Island: P.O. Box 1660, Keaau, Hawaii 96749
Kauai: c/o Morimoto, RR 1, Box 140, Lihue, Kauai, Hawaii 96766
Maui: P.O. Box 967, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii 96793
Pasadena: 1105 Armada Dr., Pasadena, Calif. 91103
Rogue Valley: 610 Long Valley, Ashland, Ore. 97520
Salinas: c/o Alice Michael, Box 851, Salinas, Calif. 93901
San Luis Obispo: c/o Lazof, 649 Pismo, San Luis Obispo, Calif. 93401
Santa Fe: P.O. Box 2328, Santa Fe, N.M. 87502
Whittier: 11348 Monte Vista, Whittier, Calif. 90601

Midwest

Midwest Region: 407 S. Dearborn, Suite 1030, Chicago, Ill. 60605 (312) 922-3414
Ames: P.O. Box 1085, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50010
Ann Arbor: P.O. Box 523, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104
Champaign-Urbana P.O. Box 2889, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820
Chicago: 407 S. Dearborn, Suite 1030, Chicago, Ill. 60605
Cincinnati: P.O. Box 23091, Cincinnati, Ohio 45223
Columbus: P.O. Box 3079, Columbus, Ohio 43210
De Kalb: c/o Loesser, 303 Delcy, De Kalb, Ill. 60115
Des Moines: 1532 11th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50314
Detroit: P.O. Box 793, Detroit, Mich. 48232
Greater Lansing: P.O. Box 1341, East Lansing, Mich. 48823
Indianapolis: 3529 S. New Jersey St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46227
Iowa City: P.O. Box 1625, Iowa City, Iowa 52240
Kansas City: P.O. Box 6179, Kansas City, Mo. 64110
Madison: 1127 University Ave., Madison, Wisc. 53715
Milwaukee: 712 E. Meinecke, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53212
Minnesota: P.O. Box 35416, Minneapolis, Minn. 55435
Mt. Pleasant: P.O. Box 151, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858
St. Louis: P.O. Box 3111, St. Louis, Mo. 63130
Yellow Springs: P.O. Box 242, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

Midwest Organizing Committee
Cleveland: P.O. Box 10299, Cleveland, Ohio 44110

East Coast

Eastern Region: P.O. Box 63, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. 02112 (617) 298–2497
Albany: 395 Hamilton St., Albany, N.Y. 12210
Amherst: 3 Langworthy Rd., Northampton, Mass. 01060
Baltimore: P.O. Box 7142, Baltimore, Md., 21218
Binghamton: SUNY, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901
Boston: P.O. Box 63, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. 02112
Buffalo: c/o Univ. Presbyterian Church, 3334 Main St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14220
Burlington: c/o Graves, 4 Logwood Rd., S. Burlington, Vt. 05401
Central New Jersey: Box 748, Princeton Junction, N.J. 08550
Connecticut Valley: P.O. Box 220, Farmington, Conn. 06032
Hanover: Box 272, Hanover, N.H. 03755
Ithaca: 211 Cobb St., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
Metropolitan New Jersey: P.O. Box 2563, Plainfield, N.J. 07060
Nassau County: P.O. Box 337, Glen Head, N.Y. 11545
New Haven: P.O. Box 2035, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520
New York City: 41 Union Sq. West, Rm. 1228, New York, N.Y. 10003
Norfolk: P.O. Box 11101, Norfolk, Va. 23517
North Jersey: 865 Lincoln Place, Teaneck, N.J. 07666
Philadelphia: 1717 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103
Pittsburgh: 5818 Stanton Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa., 15206
Providence: c/o Dagata, 69 Blackburn, Pawtucket, R.I. 02861
Stony Brook: P.O. Box 707, Stony Brook, N.Y. 11790
Storrs: P.O. Box 381, Storrs, Conn. 06268
Washington, D.C.: P.O. Box 40503, Washington, D.C. 20016
Westchester: P.O. Box 313, Main P.O., New Rochelle, N.Y. 10802

Eastern Region Organizing Committees
Charlottesville: 111 Washington Ave., Charlottesville, Va. 22903
Emery-Glade Springs: Rte. 2, Box 348, Glade Springs, Va. 24340
Mid-Hudson: c/o Barnett, 27 Dug Rd., New Paltz, N.Y. 12561
Plattsburg: Gravelly Pt., Mounted Rd., #8, Plattsburg, N.Y. 12901
Rarita Valley: P.O. Box 1904, North Brunswick, N.J. 08903
Richmond: c/o Bless, 4818 W. Franklin, Richmond, Va. 23226
Syracuse: 504 Allen St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13210

South

Southern Region: P.O. Box 1163, Auburn, Ala. 36830 (205) 821–3783
Atlanta: P.O. Box 54664, Atlanta, Ga. 30308
Austin: P.O. Box 1152, Austin, Tex. 78767
Birmingham: c/o Zukoski, 3715 Leeds Rd., Birmingham, Ala. 35213
Gainesville: P.O. Box 169, Gainesville, Fla. 32602
Houston: P.O. Box 6614, Houston, Tex. 77005
Knoxville: P.O. Box 16070, Univ. of Tennessee Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916
Miami: P.O. Box 011828, Flagler Station, Miami, Fla. 33101
Nashville: P.O. Box 12474, Nashville, Tenn. 37212
New Orleans: P.O. Box 15735, New Orleans, La. 70115
North Carolina Triangle: P.O. Box 2598, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514
Sarasota: P.O. Box 3953, Sarasota, Fla. 33578

Southern Region Organizing Committees
Charlotte: 708 Clement Ave., Charlotte, N.C. 28204
East Alabama: P.O. Box 1163, Auburn, Ala. 36830
Lexington: 114 Woodford Dr., Lexington, Ky. 40504
Mississippi: P.O. Box 8914, Jackson, Miss. 39204
San Antonio: P.O. Box 12254, San Antonio, Tex. 78212
Southwest Virginia: 337-A Chestnut St., Norton, Va. 24273
Tallahassee: P.O. Box 20324, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304
Tampa: P.O. Box 3123, Tampa, Fla. 33601
Tuscaloosa: 1630 10th St., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

RECENT ARRIVALS from THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, PEKING

Hua Kuo-feng chatting with youth in south Liaoning, an earthquake afflicted province.

LET THE WHOLE PARTY MOBILIZE FOR A VAST EFFORT TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE AND BUILD TACHAI-TYPE COUNTIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, by Hua Kuo-feng. A state of the nation address which sums up the program in agriculture including plans for full mechanization by 1980. This important speech on agriculture was suppressed by the "gang of four". . . . . *35¢*

AFTER THE TANGSHAN EARTHQUAKE — How the Chinese People Overcame a Major Natural Disaster. The gripping story of how the masses of Chinese people overcame the 1976 earthquake. Photos. . . . *75¢*

WHY CHINA HAS NO INFLATION. Why has the cost of living gone down for the typical working class family in the last 25 years? This question is answered along with an explanation of how a planned economy works for the best interest of all working people. Photos and graphs. . . . . *50¢*

GREAT VICTORY FOR THE MILITARY LINE OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG. This is a detailed criticism of Lin Piao's military strategy and tactics in the 1946-48 campaigns. Includes maps. . . . . *75¢*

NEW CHINA BUILDS. A large, hard-bound photo study of new socialist construction in industry; transportation, civic, residential, and public buildings; along with soil and water conservation. Includes many floor plans. *$20.00*

OTHER BOOKS FROM CHINA RELEVANT TO THE ARTICLES IN THIS ISSUE

ALONG THE YELLOW RIVER, a pictorial study of how a powerful natural force was harnessed. Many color photos. *$5.95*

HARM INTO BENEFIT, Taming the Haiho River. Millions of people working for ten years turned a menace into an asset. Photos. *$1.25*

MARRIAGE LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (1950) includes rights of women and children, and divorce laws. . . . . *25¢*

THE MAKING OF A PEASANT DOCTOR, by Yang Hsiao. A short novel describing the growth of a "barefoot doctor" in China's countryside. . . . . *cloth $3.00 paper $1.50*

FOR THESE AND OTHER TITLES WRITE YOUR LOCAL U.S. — CHINA PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP ASSN. or

China Books & Periodicals, Inc.
West Coast Center, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110
East Coast Center, 125 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003
Midwest Center, 210 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60606

• Write for our free catalog for 1977. •