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New China

William Hinton: Changing the Countryside

Alice Childress at Ren He

Dr. Spock in China

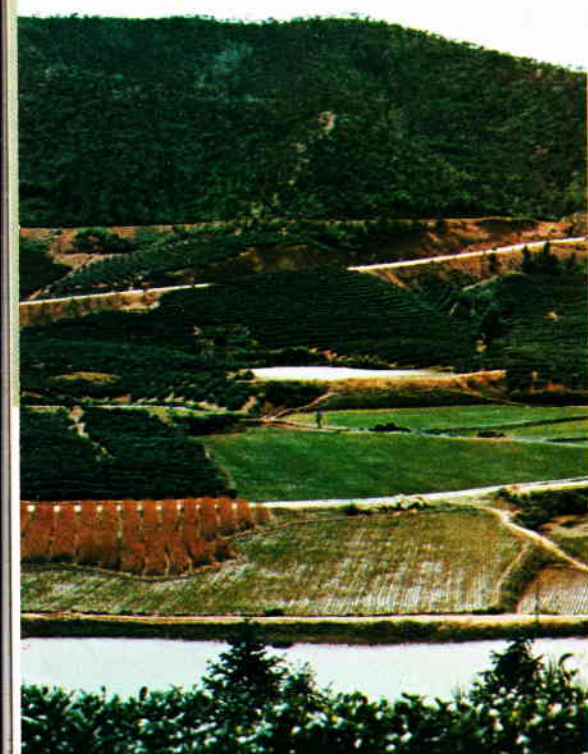
A Message from Soong Ching Ling

Women's work team near Red Flag Canal, Lin Hsien

Great Wall

Off Nanking Road, Shanghai

Nursery School outing at Peking railroad station


Multi-crop terrace farming, Shaohsing

Transformer factory, Shenyang

North China peasants

Cover photo by Christopher Snow

New China

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Note from the Editors

In the past few years, there has been a tremendous growth of interest in China on the part of the American people. To fill the knowledge-gap about China, the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association has decided to publish this first issue of *New China*. The Friendship Association consists of people from all sectors of American society who are interested in people-to-people friendship and in learning about and from China. We believe that *New China* reflects these interests.

New China's contributors are white, Chinese, and Black; men and women; young and old. Their occupations are equally varied: China scholar, farmer, writer, editor, doctor, Chinese government official, peasant artist, teacher-in-training.

The selections in *New China* also reflect a broad range of concerns. There is an analytic essay on the transformation of agriculture, a lyric piece, an interview, and an article relating the personal experiences of an American who has traveled to China. Another article discusses the way in which China has been brought to America by the mass media, and two contrasting reviews evaluate a recent TV documentary on China. There are also book reviews, a recipe, and a poem. All of these are introduced by a statement written especially for *New China* by Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen).

New China is a distinctively American magazine about China. It is a popular magazine rather than a scholarly journal, although we believe that even China scholars will find much of our material interesting. About one-third of *New China* consists of color photographs, including a center spread that can be used in a variety of decorative ways.

October 1974 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The accomplishments of the Chinese people during this quarter of a century have not always been accurately reported by the American media; we believe that *New China* will be a consistent source of reliable information. We also believe that *New China* will help to promote friendship and understanding between the Chinese and American peoples, and a better understanding of ourselves.

For more information about the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, please turn to the inside back cover.

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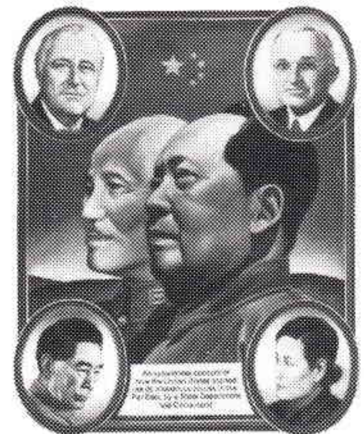

LOST CHANCE IN CHINA

The World War II Despatches of JOHN S. SERVICE

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RANDOM HOUSE

For Deeper and Wider People's Friendship

When sending you this message today, I think of another, my first to an American group after China's Liberation, written in 1950.

At that time I said that the great change in China could be seen from the presence, for the first time in history, of the word "people" in the title of our country. And that this was not just a word but a reality—our people at last in power in their own land.

Today I am writing to the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. In its name, too, "people" is the key word. It includes units in many cities in the United States which have forged regional links and are consulting on the founding of a national body and publication, *New China*. Though young, this organization has already outgrown its predecessors in geographic reach and breadth of popular contact. And the situation today is that the scope of organized effort, were it many times greater would still not be commensurate with the actual, and still more the latent, area of people's friendship.

What does this reflect? In my opinion, two things. The people of China, who have become masters in their own home, have defended and built it into a new fact in the world which no one can any longer reverse, ignore or obscure—at the same time always keeping outstretched the hand of friendship to the peoples of all other countries. And the people of the United States, educated by their own abundant experience in two decades and more in which so many efforts were made at so much cost to divert them in an opposite direction, are once more asserting their friendship with the Chinese people.

This reassertion is, of course, no accident. For this sentiment of friendship is neither abstract nor incorporeal. It is built on the bedrock of an unalterable basic fact, that the interests of the people, the creators and movers of history, are everywhere in common.

Such a spirit underlies the points of principle and action adopted by your association's first regional link-up:

Active and lasting friendship between the two peoples based on mutual understanding.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two governments based on the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence as stated in the Joint U.S.-China Communique of 1972.

The removal of barriers to growing friendship and exchange, including the presence of U.S. armed forces in China's province of Taiwan and in Indochina.

The combating of distortions and misconceptions about the People's Republic of China.

Publication of literature and promotion of exchange of technical, cultural, and social experience. And in each activity, stress on issues of the greatest concern to the American people.

These are indeed ends that conform to the interests of our two peoples and all others. Your new publication, as a vehicle for them, will be undertaking a good and worthy task. In presenting our new China's many-sided life to the people of the United States, I hope it will not confine itself to describing the surfaces but also convey the whys and hows, the moving spirit. In calling for and describing peoples' friendship, I hope it will also promote understanding of why this friendship is essential, so that the commitment to it will be as deep and enduring as the underlying basis on which it rests.

I hope too that it will serve practical needs and possibilities both in the general gamut of contact between the peoples and in expanding mutually beneficial exchanges in particular fields—trade, science, and the professions.

As I write, our own country is going forward in every field. The changes since Liberation have been striking indeed. Even some of the individual projects, completed in the space of three or four years, exceed in scale of work the Great Wall of ancient China. More important, in essential quality there can be no comparison with anything in the past, because all that is built now is done not only by but for the people.

Our society, unable a brief quarter-century ago to keep famine away from a population of 450 million, now feeds and clothes more than 700 million and lays by reserves. Water and soil conservation networks have begun to alter nature, assuring increasing crops in what would otherwise be disaster areas. Industry, once virtually nonexistent, is now past adolescence and growing steadily each year in extent, variety, modernity, and skilled manpower. Our socialist system, which has made all this possible, is kept vigorous at all times by emphasis on working class values, the "we" and not the "I." In the technology of factory and farm and many aspects of science there is much in the United States that we need to study. Happily, though still a developing country, we, too, have moved ahead enough not to be entirely on the receiving end of such learning. And in the broader aspects of economic life, many Americans will be inquiring into how the new China has kept free from inflation, boom-and-bust, unemployment, and both internal and external debt.

Medical care is a worldwide concern, and your association has a special group devoted to it. In China, as is now widely known, we have developed our traditional medicine, blending it into modern practice, and also have made some new headway in the latter. But whether in equipment or level of personnel training, we are still not on a high level. Nonetheless, we have already built up a network of state and cooperative health services that cover seventy to seventy-five percent of the population, either free or at nominal cost. It is a grassroots, democratic, popular undertaking. Our doctors, like specialists in other fields, do not cluster in the main cities, but go out, for various periods of time, to the vast countryside. They are not alienated from the people at large. They live and eat with them, join them in daily labor, learn their feelings and their needs, take both modern medical service and the training of local personnel to the remotest villages. While things are still not ideal, the progress made would have been unthinkable were any other road taken.

I shall not touch on other fields. Our work can be seen by those who visit, and your publication will certainly print their observations and thoughts.

One heartwarming thing is to see, still active in the field of U.S.-China peoples' friendship, old and staunch supporters who have upheld its banner through fair weather and foul. Welcome, too, is the growing number of those newly active, so many of the young.

And it is a good sign of the times that persons and groups who formerly held aloof, or even believed various slanders, are now helping create a positive atmosphere.

I hope American builders of our friendship will work in firm unity to help it reach far, stand fast, and continually grow. So far as China is concerned, we can give this assurance. We shall keep on with our socialist development. We shall never become like a superpower in the world arena. Just as we have never encroached on or sought to dominate any other country or people, we shall not do so in the future. To the welfare and progress of the American people, to all others, we shall be constant, reliable friends.

Soong Ching Ling is the Vice Chairperson of the People's Republic of China.

At Ren He

Near Kwangchow, Alice Childress visits a commune

The figures of men and women dot the vast fields of the Ren He Commune, the ground is level as far as the eye can see. Water carriers run back and forth wetting down the earth, carefully nurturing the new, thirsty, growing crop of green vegetables . . . with more and more precious moisture. The farming workers pause to carefully sip from dippers of water, holding a cupped left hand under the dipper to catch spills. High cheekboned young men lick water from their fingers . . . water, water, precious water.

The trumpet signal blows the sound for mid-day dinner. Workers turn toward the dining halls, some few seek wooded areas and streams . . . to rest, eat, or read in the open air. Many stand the hour through to linger around the largest dining room to watch the Americans arrive for the Visitors' Banquet. One elderly woman is wearing black trousers and a high collared surplice jacket and a wide yellow straw hat fringed with gathers of black silk shirred around the brim . . . to shade her face against the noonday sun. . . . She stops, kneels to the ground over a puddle of water . . . dips her hands in the shallow pool, gently rubbing them to avoid stirring up mud and silt. She shakes brown drops of water from her fingers . . . pats them dry on her earth-stained jacket.

Our guide and interpreter explains the scene: "We train ourselves to deal with the water shortage. No one wastes water even when plentiful. We fight water waste. Our very lives depend upon water for food and drink . . . and power. We do not waste one drop."

I recall that on the bus trip to Ren He we saw people by the side of the road washing and rinsing clothes very clean in sparsely filled basins of water, beating and rubbing the damp material against itself, leaving very little liquid when the article of clothing was wrung out.

A cook rings the bell for the banquet and we hurry toward the dining hall entrance. Near the screened door are six chairs bearing six white enameled, flower-painted basins, each half-filled with fresh, clean, cool water. Beside each basin is a bright, new, pink cake of soap; on the backs of the chairs are hung new wash cloths imprinted with scenes of Chairman Mao Tsetung's birthplace, Shao Shan . . . large letters spell out, *Friendship*.

Several young girls lead us to the basins. I wash my hands in the water, work up a pink soap lather, a quick rinse, then dry them on the *Friendship* towel. Another member of our group waits her turn. One of the hostesses picks up the basin and looks toward her companion for encouragement. The second young Chinese girl gives a firm nod of the head, urging the first to take action. She slightly flinches, then smiles, and with laughing abandon lifts the basin of water and flings it away . . . a huge splash of water arcs through the air and falls to the earth on bare, unplanted ground. The second girl refills the basin and smilingly welcomes the next guest. I feel their sense of breaking a new important custom . . . their struggle over supplying quarts of fresh water for each pair of hands, out of courtesy, because it is the American way to use water as an inexhaustible supply. They stand there smiling and tossing away basin after basin . . . gallons upon gallons. The sound of ever more fresh pourings, the farmers kindly watching twenty foreign visitors wash hands once, then toss away . . . once and away . . . and away . . . away . . . the dusty earth gulping down the sustenance of green growing things.

"Oh, we are wasting your water," I say to the interpreter. She smiles and assures me . . . "Friendship is more precious than water. We must depend upon friendship for life itself."

Inside the dining hall there are many circular tables laden with fine Chinese cooking: fresh bean sprouts and noodles, shrimp and green vegetables, rice, seafood soup, meat pies . . . an endless array of choice food.

The banquet is followed by a tour of the lush fields, people to people contact, shaking hands with the farmers, visiting the nursery school, the houses . . . and finally entertainment by the dance and music troupes . . . and taking part in games of volleyball and ping-pong in the gymnasium.

But for me, the spirit of China is indelibly pressed as a memory-picture on my mind. . . . Two girls flinging away basins of clean water sparkling in the sun . . . with smiles and laughter . . . for the sake of friendship.

Alice Childress is the author of the play *Wedding Band* and the book *A Hero Ain't Nothing But a Sandwich*. She visited China in 1973.

友誼比水貴

Dr Spock

What did you learn about health care when you were in China?

Well, to begin with, I discovered first-hand that the statistics we've heard about are true: the Chinese have eliminated a fantastic list of very serious endemic diseases. They've practically done away with tuberculosis, cholera, malaria, smallpox, venereal disease, and are well on the way with schistosomiasis. These all used to be raging epidemics, with tens of thousands dying every year. And the most remarkable thing, of course, is that they have done all this starting with something like 12,000 doctors for 500 million people at the time of Liberation in 1949. Compared to America, with 200 million people and 300,000 doctors, this was only a handful, of course, but by dedication, efficiency, and maximum use of each doctor, they rapidly trained assistant doctors, nurses, midwives and "barefoot doctors."

How would you describe these barefoot doctors?

Well, they're neither barefoot, nor doctors, but are workers from factories or peasants from communes who've had three months training, followed by continuous supervision. I found it interesting, especially as I got into the countryside, that there are fewer and fewer distinctions in the work that different professionals do. If an assistant doctor or a nurse shows capability, he or she is allowed to do increasingly more in the way of diagnosis and medical and surgical treatment. I became aware of this when I visited a small clinic in the countryside and kept asking, "Is that a physician? Is that a nurse? Is that a barefoot doctor?" At first, the translator in turn kept asking the local people, "Which is it?" and then finally she turned to me and said, "You know, that isn't very important here—I don't understand why you keep asking about people's rank."

Of course, to me as an American-trained person, it mattered a great deal whether I was observing a doctor or a nurse. And then I realized, well, that's just what we do with medical students, isn't it? They don't know anything when they come in; we just keep supervising and supervising, and as we're convinced of their skills and judgment, we let them do more and more, until by the time they're interns and residents, they're practically running the hospital. So, in one sense, this business of a nurse who is capable of gradually taking on more and more of the functions of a physician is not so very different from what we do.

But in another respect it *is* very different. If a nurse in America decides she wants to be a physician, well, in Parcheesi terms, she has to go back to square one, right? She can't go on from where she is; she has to pretend she has no knowledge of medicine. If she hasn't been to college, she's got to start there, or if she went to college but didn't take a great deal of chemistry or a certain amount of physics and biology, she's got to make up those courses. Then she's got to go through four years of medical school, at least a year of internship, and perhaps several years of residency, if she wants to specialize. But in China no time is wasted. If she's a nurse who can do more, in functional terms, she becomes a physician.

After I got used to the idea, I thought, how much more efficient that is!—especially in a country that needs trained medical people as much as China does. Of course, here in the United States we need at least twice, maybe four times as many medical personnel as we have. So it's only relatively that we're better off. We're certainly not adequately staffed to give first-rate care to everybody in the United States.

What about children and child-rearing in China as compared to the United States? For instance, some people believe that there is too much regimentation in China, and too much emphasis on group activities for children. Any comments?

Throughout their school system, the Chinese focus a great deal on group cooperation, on serving their country and their fellow man. As to being regimented, that's too harsh a word if you mean "treated like troops in an army." It's very clear that the children in schools, kindergartens, and nurseries are respected, they're not bossed around. But to an American, especially to an American who's had all the middle class advantages, there seems to be a lot of conformity; there are fewer things we think of as signs of individual creativity, and more constant emphasis on models provided by adults. But in making these comparisons I'm not saying our ways are better than theirs. Their concern is for building a cooperative society. We base ourselves on the idea that a person will have to carry out his own projects by himself; maybe others will also benefit but the focus is on individual satisfaction and achievement.

As I understand it, one way the attitude of cooperation and serving one's country is instilled in Chinese children is by having kids—even in kindergarten—work together on projects that are genuinely useful. Did you notice this kind of activity?

Oh yes. In every school we went to there were real work projects in which the children were actually making something for industry. They were not just playing, or studying the thing, but were actually making parts. I remember seeing radio parts being made, and I was impressed! I wished that American children and young people had more chance to feel they were actually contributing to our society, not just preparing to contribute. So I thought these work projects were all to the good, not only as a way to create a more cooperative society, with more respect for physical labor, but also as a better way for people to learn.

Did you see any children in China having temper tantrums or notice any give-me-that-it's-mine type of behavior?

Dr. Benjamin Spock is the author of the classic book *Baby and Child Care*. He visited China in 1973.

No. To an American, one of the most extraordinary things is the good behavior of the children. We never saw children fighting, we never saw children grabbing, we never saw children even whining or complaining.

How do you explain that?

I don't think it's that China has any secret about child-rearing. When you investigate child-rearing in other parts of the world, you realize that American children generally quarrel more, complain more, cry more, and grab more than children in any other country that I know of. Somehow or other Americans create tension in their children. Part of the cause, I suspect, is that American parents and child-rearing professionals aren't in any kind of agreement about how children should be raised. And we don't know what children are being reared *for*, or, in fact, what adults themselves are in the world for, except to get ahead. This lack of a framework, of a philosophy of life, of a deep conviction about what life is for, leaves people in the lurch.

Another factor is that in America everybody to one degree or another is financially and emotionally insecure. We don't have free guaranteed medical care, free guaranteed first-class education, including university, for anybody who wants it, and most of us are always in danger of losing our jobs. I think these tensions in the adults in our society get communicated to the children.

On your point about job insecurity, we know that today a lot of American mothers have to work, and therefore face serious problems about child-care, especially for infants. In China, child-care facilities are available even for small babies of working mothers. How do you feel about that?

I think it's good to have nursery schools, good schools, with afternoon activity programs for children over the age of three. But I'm still old-fashioned in regard to group care under the age of three. It's better than no care at all, better than neglect, better than abusive parental care. But I still think that good individual family care is better for children under three. In China they've done a magnificent job of freeing up mothers for work by providing schools, kindergartens, nurseries. Yet, while our country needs many more, and better-quality, day-care centers and after-school programs, I hope that group care under the age of three won't be utilized in the U.S. I am talking now mostly about my own prejudices, if you want to call them prejudices, left over from my training and experience. It's not that I saw Chinese children who seemed to have been deprived because they'd been in group care before the age of three.

You mentioned after-school programs. Did you visit any of the Children's Palaces that exist in most Chinese cities?

Yes, we went to the Children's Palace in Shanghai. There were at least fifty, maybe one hundred, activities going on there. Just fantastic! A lot of them in the marble halls of the palace itself—and it *was* a palace, with beautiful chandeliers, built by a very rich British industrialist, Sir Elie Kadoorie. The backyard was full of other, newer buildings containing machine shops and the like. Some children were learning how to use industrial equipment, like presses and lathes. Others were making ship models or radios of their own. There was Chinese orchestral music, and Western music, too. Children were learning the piano on an individual basis, and there was both individual and group dancing, and some kind of sword play, a special kind of fencing. A fantastic variety of things to do!

How many children were involved in all of the different activities?

Oh, hundreds and hundreds. The average group had twenty or thirty children in it and there were somewhere between fifty and one hundred groups.

in China

Dr. Benjamin Spock talks with *New China* about medical training, hospitals, and children

What conclusions did you draw from your trip as a whole?

Well, in observing not only the children but the adults, too, one can see what rapid advances can be achieved, and how many injustices can be remedied, if the whole society is organized to serve people's needs.

I was also impressed by the serenity of the people, their smiling and relaxed appearance as they worked. And I thought if this has anything to do with the kind of society they've got, then it must be related to the fact that they all feel they're working for each other. That is what the adults say: "We are serving each other," and the children say, "We're learning to serve each other." I thought, we could use more of that here in the U.S. Our government should be serving the people rather than ITT or the milk industry. Think what we could do with our vast technology, our high degree of industrialization, our high level of education! Think what we could provide for the American people if the government was concerned with the people's welfare!

'Awaken the Mountains, Let the Rivers Change Their Faces...'

William Hinton returns to China and looks at the two roads in the countryside

THE YEAR 1974 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. These have been twenty-five years of socialist transformation. Nowhere have the changes been more revolutionary than in the countryside. Since eighty percent of the people still live outside of cities and the vast majority of these work the land, the socialist revolution has had to stand or fall on its ability to refashion rural life, release the great productive potential of China's peasants, and bring them *en masse* into the mainstream of the country's life.

I lived in China through the period of civil war, land reform, and the first efforts at reconstruction. Returning to China in 1971 as the Cultural Revolution matured, the most striking change, in a galaxy of changes, was the shift from individual to collective farming. Today most people take for granted that China has a collective agriculture, but when one recalls the social organization and farming milieu of a scant twenty years ago, this shift from individual to collective on the part of hundreds of millions of earthbound people has to be recognized as one of the greatest social transformations in history. It is a transformation, furthermore, that is still going on.

When I left China in 1953, most of the country's food was produced on fragmented private plots usually less than an acre in size. Returning in 1971 to a universally collectivized agriculture, what struck me first was the large size of the fields—twenty-acre, thirty-acre, fifty-acre units had replaced the scattered patches of the past. Looking further, I was amazed by the transformation of nature that collective life and large-scale production had made possible. From an airplane, the terrain—at least in North China—looked like a relief map made with plywood sheets. Every mountain was laid out on its contours. The amount of work involved was staggering. This remodeling of the highlands was not confined to a few villages. It went on mile after mile, county after county, region after region.

Progress was also reflected in crop yields. Generally speaking, yields had doubled in two decades. If every society in the world had been able to double yields since 1952, our planet would be an entirely different place to live in today. Even comparatively backward villages such as Long Bow (now the Long Bow Brigade of Horse Square Commune), the village I lived in and wrote about in *Fanshen*, had tripled yields since 1949. Advanced brigades such as Tachai had raised yields ten times. The average in the north used to be around ten bushels to the acre. Now in Tachai, Hsigou, and Nancheng, yields ran well over a hundred bushels to the acre. Where leadership had been good, consciousness high, and modern techniques well applied, China's peasants had jumped to the front ranks of world agricultural production.

The transition from individual to collective agriculture had been essentially a voluntary movement stimulated by example. Peasants coming out of land reform with scattered plots had

Opposite: Gardening, Anshan

doubts about how they might thrive on their minuscule holdings. Here and there, spontaneously in some places, with Communist Party aid in others, groups of peasants got together and pooled their land to form cooperatives. A large proportion of the co-ops prospered. Peasants from other areas came to see them and returned home to create cooperatives of their own. So the movement spread, slowly at first and then with increasing rapidity.

Of course, not everyone in the Chinese countryside voluntarily joined these cooperatives. The disparities of the agrarian reform meant that there still existed a sizable group of rather well-to-do peasants with more land than the average and some even had a healthy ox or donkey and a cart. They could see that in a competitive race among individual peasants they would prosper, and they wished only to be given the chance to follow the capitalist road to success. But prospering on that basis means that one must eventually buy more land, and hire other people's labor. What other way is there to rise to the top of the heap?

Farmhouse in the relatively backward village of Long Bow, Shansi

The plans of such people were thwarted by the fact that most of their neighbors went into cooperatives. It is hard to buy land when it is already pooled; it is difficult to hire labor when everyone is working collectively. So these people were frustrated in their efforts to take the capitalist road and in the end had to join the co-ops. The development of society had left them with no alternative.

Such would-be independent peasants still exist in China's countryside, and still carry in their hearts a great deal of individualism. When the cooperatives run into problems such as poor crops, bad weather, organizational conflicts, these individualists always advocate some form of retreat from collectivization. Countering them are those, of approximately equal number, who have at heart the well-being of the entire community. So there is built into this cooperative system a continuing struggle over whether to go forward along the socialist road, and if so, how.

What I am describing, of course, is what Chinese revolutionaries call two-line struggle. Building the cooperative movement to develop the prosperity of the community as a whole is the socialist road, supported by most of the former hired laborers, tenants, and smallholders. Stressing private production for personal enrichment is the capitalist road, supported by many who formerly flourished by exploiting their neighbors, and who still harbor illusions about being able to do so again. The continuing struggle between these two roads and these two lines and the class forces that advocate them reflects, in the rural areas, the conflict between the working class and the capitalists that is basic to the socialist stage of China's development.

The struggle is sharpened in the countryside by the fact that agriculture is not as advanced, socially and economically speaking, as industrial development. Cooperatives, from a socialist point of view, are backward. They are backward because their members do not share in the general wealth of the society but only in the production of their own small group, their own small brigade, their own small village or section of a village. A co-op on poor land under adverse conditions—add to that a little poor management—may return a very meager living to its members. A well-managed co-op, on good land, under ideal conditions can yield a very good living to its members.

This is very different from the situation of workers in industry, who get approximately equal pay for equal work throughout the nation. Factory workers' income is not dependent on the profitability of the enterprise they happen to work in, but on their grade or technical level and the wage rate in their industry. In other words, industrial workers share in the total production of society because they work in enterprises owned by the whole people—that is, socialist enterprises which are the property of cities, provinces, or the national government.

What this means is that there is substantial inequality of income not only within the Chinese countryside but also between countryside and city. Such inequality is a basic problem confronting the builders of socialism. The thrust of the socialist revolution is at every stage equalitarian, and its long-range goal is to create a society in which everyone shares and shares alike. Yet there is no practical basis for a general policy of share-and-share-alike except under conditions of enormous productivity. That is to say, true economic equality can only come about in a highly developed communist society. Until a productive base sufficient for communism has developed, equality can only be relative and limited.

The two-line struggle in agriculture thus becomes a complicated matter. The capitalist-roaders are opponents of the Revolution from the right—but sincere socialist-roaders can also, unwittingly, create obstacles from the "left" by pressing for greater economic equality than the material base can actually sustain. At times this spontaneous ultra-left pressure for equality can be an even greater hindrance to the Revolution than the footdragging of the people on the right, because it *appears* to be pushing toward socialist goals. Moreover, leaders with counterrevolutionary intentions can often hide under a "left" cover and temporarily win many honest revolutionaries away from the correct road.

It is my understanding that there have been three great equalitarian movements in the Chinese Revolution. The first was the land reform (1946-1952), the second occurred at the time of the Great Leap (1958), and the third coincided with the Cultural Revolution (1966-1972). Each of these movements began as a reaction against right-wing politics, first against feu-

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"Fortunately for the people of Long Bow this scheme never got beyond the point of raising a ceremonial gate with the slogan '10,000-Pig Farm' . . . ."

dal domination, then against various capitalist-road lines in agriculture, and each then moved through basically correct transformations toward ultra-left, extremist solutions which attempted to establish absolute equality on a productive base that could not support it. The three great movements toward equality pushed the Chinese Revolution ahead but each went beyond what was practical at the time and ended in a limited but necessary retreat.

The land reform period started with an attack on feudal landholding and gradually developed into an ultra-left assault on anyone holding more property than the average. At one point, during the movement in North China, peasants divided everything down to the last bowl and chopstick on the grounds that equality in itself was right, good, and just. The result of this extreme equalitarianism was the wide-scale expropriation of the middle peasants (those whose plots enabled them to be self-sufficient, neither hiring others' labor nor selling their own), turning these hardworking producers into targets of the Revolution and forcing them into the arms of the landlords, thus greatly weakening the people's forces.

The goal of the Revolution, however, as it was understood by Communists, was not to establish some abstract absolute justice that could never be maintained in real life, but to clear away all barriers to progress. Land reform was not carried out to make everyone equal, but to destroy the feudal system of exploitation and to release productive forces in the countryside by turning the means of production over to the peasants who actually worked the land. Prosperity would come not from the paltry bits of property which each family won in the land distribution but from the use to which this property was put in the production drives that followed.

If extreme equalitarianism had not been corrected, the Revolution could easily have foundered. At the time, these demands seemed to originate spontaneously among the peasants. But it is now clear, with the knowledge gained from the Cultural Revolution, that there was more to it than peasant spontaneity. There were, in the leading bodies of the Communist Party, people who pushed these ultra-left programs to such a point that Mao Tsetung had to intervene personally to reverse the trend and repair the damage. It is most interesting that it was none other than Liu Shao-chi (Chairman of the Republic) who, in the showdown struggle against the gentry, had at first opposed land reform, and who jumped in once land reform became an irresistible tide and pushed it to equalitarian extremes.

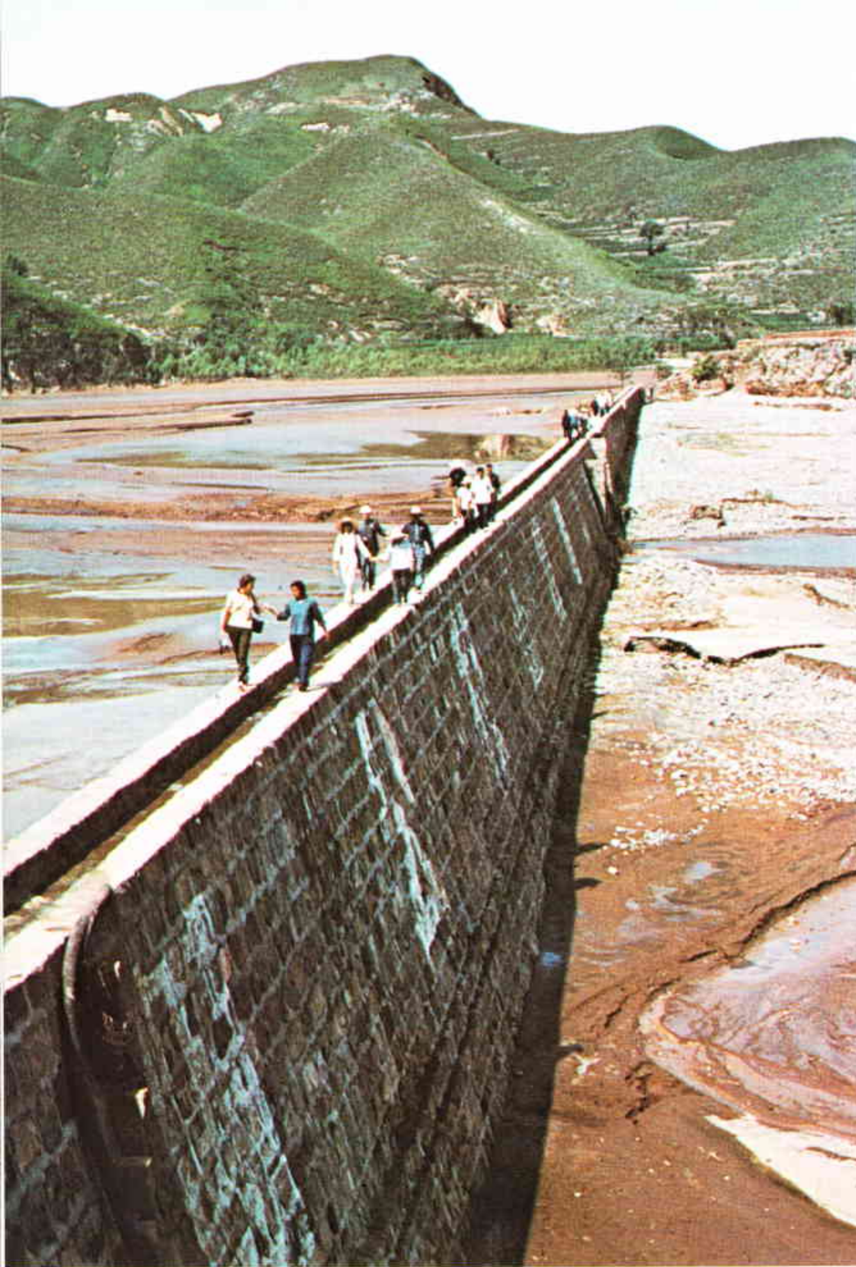
After the Liberation of 1949 and the completion of land reform, the socialist revolution began in China and the question of cooperatives became central. The socialist road meant land pooling and collective tillage. Once land pooling became a mass movement and cooperatives became the main form of agriculture, then the question of how best to utilize collective productive forces and how to incorporate some features of communism came to the fore. With the commune movement—a movement for the merging of small cooperatives—allocation according to need, rather than simply according to work performed, became possible to a certain extent. Then came the idea of the "five guarantees"—guaranteeing to everyone basic food, clothing, education, medical care, and burial expenses. The possibility of doing this was based on the newfound strength of the collective production movement and the very fine crops of 1958. Experiments in free supply were quite in order then. They were on the agenda of history, so to speak.

But as this program spread, the equalitarian drive coming from below and stimulated once again by misleaders from above developed into what came to be called the "Communist Wind." The "Communist Wind" took the form of trying to establish equality in income over a very large area. Communes were set up that were equivalent, in some cases, to whole counties. (Some counties in China have, by the way, as many as two million people in them.) Everyone was to share and share alike in an area as large as a county. But this could only be done by what came to be known as "leveling and transferring"—leveling income and transferring property.

The land reform itself, of course, had been in essence a great leveling and transferring movement. The income of landlords was leveled and their property was transferred to their tenants. Since the revolutionaries were dealing with the feudal classes, with class enemies, this leveling and transferring was absolutely essential. But once a sound cooperative movement has been built, if you try to jump to equal income over a wide area and do it through leveling and transferring wealth, you must take hard-earned grain from one group of peasants and turn it over to others—penalizing the best producers in order to uplift the worst. This has a destructive effect. In the context of the developing socialist revolution, it is reactionary.

The "Communist Wind" that blew in the late fifties led to serious problems. Some examples could be seen right in Long Bow, the village I had lived in. At this time, Long Bow became part of a commune that included most of Lucheng County. There were tens of thousands of people in this commune. Suddenly the call came to establish a 10,000-pig farm. Now there is nothing wrong with several brigades assigning some labor-power to collective pig-raising. But this 10,000-pig farm was to be created by everyone sending his private pigs to a central spot. And even though these once privately owned pigs were now to be reared together, their former owners were expected to supply the feed for them. This arrangement was a transferring of property which added not a single pig nor bushel of grain to China's production. Since it could not improve the conditions of the commune members, it was doomed to failure. Fortunately for the people of Long Bow this scheme never got beyond the point of raising a ceremonial gate with the slogan "10,000-Pig Farm" written on it.

Much more damaging was the scheme to create a 10,000-*mu* square (a *mu* is one-sixth of an acre). The idea was to take the best 10,000 *mu* in the area, concentrate manure, labor-power, and good seed on this, and allow everyone to share equally in the huge crops that were expected from such super-management. Long Bow sent all its manure to the Horse Square 10,000-Mu Square in 1959. But before the time came to plant in the spring the whole scheme



In Hsiyang County, rerouting a river for new farmland

Family raises cabbage on private plot, Lin Hsien

Farm produce

Below: commune store

East Wind combine

Below: building houses, Shansi

Tachai's leader, Chen Yung-kuei, and the first crop grown on reclaimed river bottom

Cart with new hand-tractor

Farmer's home

Commune nursery outside Shanghai

Below: picking tea, Shaohsing

Honan Province

"A very practical demonstration of 'public first, self second' is the way the grain is... divided after the harvest...."

collapsed. With all their manure spread on land not their own, Long Bow people harvested the worst crops since 1949—an average of only thirteen bushels to the acre.

The collapse of these schemes was based on the fact that they were too advanced for the productive base that existed at that period. The collapse led to serious morale problems and a temporary drop in collective consciousness. The government and the people had to organize a retreat that left the way open for a resurgence of private farming, which Liu Shao-chi, in typical fashion, pushed hard for.

In the early sixties, in response to a new call from Mao Tsetung, a forward movement began that culminated in the tremendous effort of the Cultural Revolution. Then, once again, a tendency arose to carry the socialist line too far to the left and a certain amount of "leveling and transferring" recurred. Once again the "Communist Wind" blew. Private plots were widely done away with, and the farmer's markets where the peasants periodically used to sell their private production were largely abandoned. Pigs were turned in to the brigade level and efforts were made to expand the accounting unit—that is, the unit within which people share common production—from the team level to the brigade level and even to the commune level. The same problems of morale appeared and, in the face of an inability to support the level of equality that had been achieved, a limited retreat again became necessary.

The fact is that in each of these periods the goal could not be some sort of abstract justice or absolute equality, but had to be the same basic goal that was raised at the time of land reform—a level of equality that would release productive forces. Under feudal conditions, when you have a landlord-tenant system, the release of productive forces is effected by the working peasants taking over land and implements as their private property. Under conditions of petty land ownership following land reform, the release of productive forces is effected by pooling private holdings and private property to form viable cooperatives, but this is pooling with compensation, which means keeping track of capital shares—the land, implements, and animals each family put into the pool—in part according to the size of the capital contributed.

Once the cooperatives get on their feet, new productive forces are released by gradually diminishing and finally abandoning capital shares and directly rewarding only the labor contributed to production each year by each member. This brings income distribution into line with a new reality—the fact that it is the concentrated labor-power of the co-op members that is transforming production, not the leftover bits and pieces of capital inherited from the past which give some people unearned income. Thus a higher stage of cooperation, or true collective farming, is reached. Once prosperous collective farms have been created, the release of productive forces is effected by expanding both the production and the accounting units to insure greater efficiency and more rational use of land and resources, as well as the development of large-scale capital construction projects.

But this expansion of the unit cannot come through leveling income and transferring wealth. Everytime the "Communist Wind" blows, every time the leveling and transferring is carried out on a wide scale, it results in serious maladjustments, a lowering of morale, disillusionment with collective agriculture, and forced retreat. And every time a retreat occurs the capitalist-road forces perk up and say, "This collective system is no good. Let's go back to individual production. Let's line our own nests."

If one looks at this process of line or class struggle from the point of view of slogans, the capitalist road is summed up by the slogan "enrich yourself." When peasants run into problems with their collective enterprises, this slogan is always raised in one form or another with destructive effect. Then, as the socialist forces gather strength for a comeback, the slogan "all public, no self; serve the people" is often raised. Under this slogan militants have been able to stop the retreat, consolidate collective production and collective property, and then move on to expand the accounting units and undertake various experiments with distribution according to need.

What Chinese leaders have concluded from this at the present time is that both these slogans are faulty. "Enrich yourself" is obviously a capitalist slogan and can hardly be the basis of prosperity for hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants. But "all public, no self" is an ultra-left slogan, a slogan suitable for a period of communism in the distant future, but not a slogan suitable for today. The slogan suited to today is "public first, self second."

A very practical demonstration of "public first, self second" is the way the grain is actually divided after the harvest in production brigades all over China. First, a portion of the grain is set aside for sale to the state. This supports the urban economy and ensures national growth. Second, a portion of grain is set aside for brigade investment. This insures the expansion of local production. Third, a portion of grain is set aside for reserves. This is insurance against a bad crop year. Finally, the remainder of the grain is distributed to individual families and individual people. This grain is for personal consumption. None of these allocations can be left out, certainly the last cannot be. Obviously it can never be "all public, no self," for if the individual does not eat, how can he or she survive to produce more grain?

In 1971 Premier Chou En-lai explained this problem to some of us in detail and pointed out that a collective must be made up of individual selves. There is no such thing as a collective without the self. The two exist in dialectical relationship to each other, in unity and in contradiction, and in this contradiction "public" comes first and "self" second, but "self" can no more be left out than "public."

The main question still remains: how can one move from small cooperative units, made up of a few families sharing joint production, to larger and larger units so that eventually peasants can share, as workers already do, in the production of the whole of society?

One way, of course, is to give special attention to backward units, help them reorganize politically, find their own dedicated socialist leadership, introduce more advanced techniques, supply some much needed capital on reasonable terms and

then, as the backward catch up with the advanced, promote mergers that require no leveling and transferring. A tremendous amount of time and effort on the part of rural cadres as well as large sums of investment capital are devoted to just such efforts in China every year, but obviously there will always be some units forging ahead much faster than others. While the backward become advanced, the advanced may become backward, or they may move on to new heights that again leave a great gap between one brigade and another or one commune and another. How then can "property of the whole people" ever be realized in agriculture?

In Hsiyang County, which is the home of the famous Tachai Brigade, we found one experimental answer to this question. They are moving toward larger and larger collective units not through leveling and transferring but through the allocation of a certain amount of labor-power from lower to higher levels. This labor-power is concentrated on the development of new productive capacity which is publicly owned at the higher level, and as the resulting new production expands to the point where it makes up a significant part of the total created by all the contributing units, these can eventually merge their accounts and share the new wealth without any leveling and transferring, without any penalizing of advanced units or individuals.

At the commune level, production brigades or natural villages of a given commune can decide to pool some labor-power for a project—that is, they can send a certain number of able-bodied men and women to work under the leadership of the commune committee to develop, say, some new land in the river bed. First stone dikes are built, then soil is carried in by hand. The labor required is tremendous, but once the new soil is in place, protected by dikes and irrigated, it is very productive. Those who do the work do not earn a proportionate share of the crop raised on this new land, but only a share of the crop equal to that which their fellow brigade members receive back home. Since the new land is far more productive than the land at home, large reserves of grain can thus be accumulated and these can all be reinvested in further reclamation projects so that there is a rapid rise in commune level (rather than team or brigade level) property and production.

Once commune production reaches a certain level—say thirty to forty percent of the production of all the contributing brigades—it becomes possible to move from brigade accounting to commune accounting without lowering any individual incomes because the pool of wealth that can be shared has grown much larger.

In a Chinese agricultural cooperative what individual members actually accumulate during the year are labor-day credits or workpoints, which are converted into grain and cash income when the accounts are settled at harvest time. Within a given accounting unit (usually the production team but often the brigade) there is a basic labor day of, say, ten points for every member, even though some members earn as little as six points for relatively poor work while others earn eleven or even twelve points for outstanding work. The basic ten-point labor day, when reckoned as cash, may be worth as much as 1.5 yuan in an advanced unit, or as little as .8 or .9 yuan in a backward unit. Obviously, if these units are brigades or a single commune, a move to commune accounting that pooled all income would result in a labor day somewhere in between, say, 1 yuan and 1.2 yuan. While some people would benefit immediately, others would lose out. A proportion of the income they had previously earned would be distributed to their poorer neighbors. But if, as described above, some labor power is allocated by every brigade to new productive projects and a sizable chunk of new income is created, it may be possible within three or four years to equalize incomes at 1.5 yuan per labor day or at some still higher figure.

Equalization brought about in this way, instead of shifting wealth from advanced to backward units, distributes collectively owned wealth created at the center primarily to those units and individuals who lag farthest behind. But since labor-power on leave from these very units has played an important role in creating this wealth (in fact, these men and women have contributed proportionately more than anyone else, since they have worked for the low returns that are normal for their own brigades), such a distribution is not resented by the better workers of the more advanced units. On the contrary, this method can be welcomed by all because it rapidly expands total production, raises most incomes while lowering none, and creates larger, more cohesive cooperative units, more capable both of withstanding adversity and of forging still further ahead than the former loosely federated brigades.

Through such a step-by-step, ladderlike process, China's peasants can eventually move to full socialism in agriculture. Then rural producers will no longer be at the mercy of local conditions. With their land and other productive capital transformed into property of the whole people, they will be able to share as workers already do in the national wealth, and the most important distinction between city and countryside—the class distinction between peasant and worker—will be wiped away.

Such are some of the problems at the heart of the struggle going on in the Chinese countryside today, twenty-five years after Liberation. People of different class backgrounds still tend to react in opposite ways to the contradictions that emerge at each stage of the struggle, the former dispossessed always pushing toward releasing new productive forces and developing socialism, the former exploiters and relatively privileged always seeking some personal advantage, some means of returning to the capitalist road. It is a protracted struggle and an extremely crucial one. It is a struggle from which the world has a lot to learn.

Political discussion during work break, Great Vegetable Garden Brigade, Lin Hsien

A Commune's Fishpond by Tung Cheng-yi

New China

'Sixteen Tons, What Do You Get?'

Linda Nelson tells about the distance between West Virginia and the Fushun mines

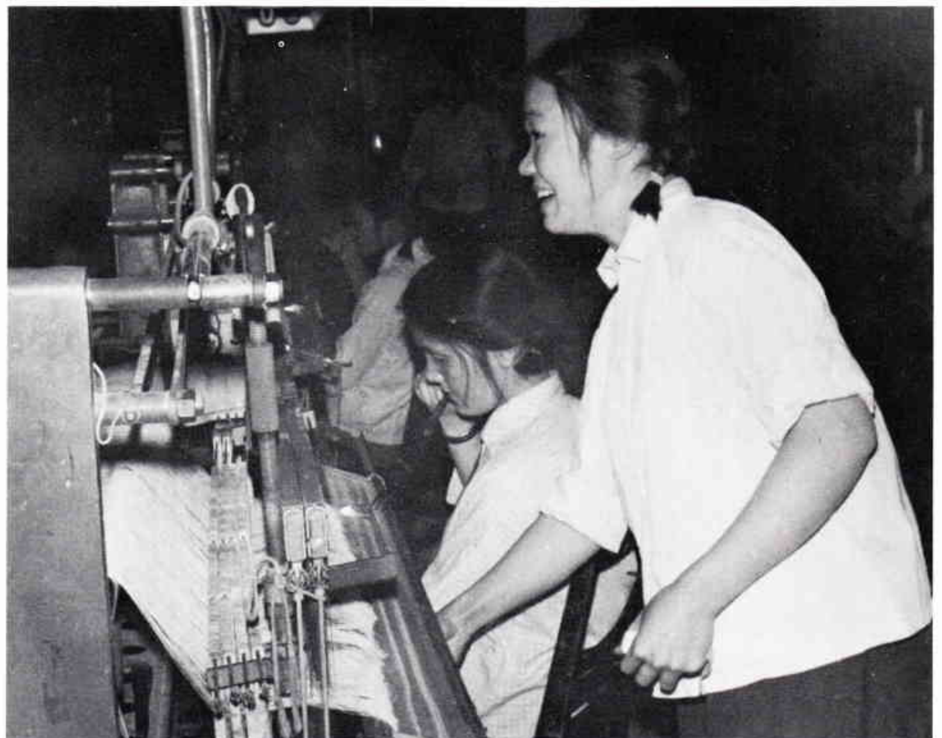
China? Me go to China? China, West Virginia, of course. I could deal with that. But the People's Republic?

On second thought, even though I had hardly ever been outside of West Virginia, the idea didn't seem so far-fetched. I had real reasons for going, questions I wanted to answer coming out of my own experience and the kinds of problems I was facing then. As the daughter of a coal miner, I was particularly concerned about mining conditions and the general health of workers. Child-care facilities and the role of women were important as well because I had just finished helping women set up day-care centers throughout the state. So by focusing on those areas which presented real problems for us here in West Virginia, such as work conditions, the delivery of health care, and educational facilities, I hoped to gain an awareness of the possibilities and alternatives that related meaningfully to the lives of people I knew and worked with.

Visiting the mines in the northeastern part of China clearly brought out for me the differences in the kinds of health and safety precautions in China and the United States. In China there are machines in the mines to keep down the coal-dust level and lessen the likelihood of black lung, the disease which my own father and so many miners and former miners suffer from. The Chinese miners get ultra-violet ray treatments to supply them with the "sun" vitamins they don't get underground. And there's a clinic right at every mine to attend to accidents and treat diseases.

My father was especially impressed by that. The nearest medical service to where he used to work before getting black lung, and where my brother works now, is ten to fifteen miles away, and that's just a small clinic; it's another hour's drive to a real hospital. Anyone who's had a major accident or something like a heart attack wouldn't have a good chance of getting there alive. If you want to save lives, having a doctor right at the mine, the way the Chinese do, or at least in the community, seems practical.

Linda Nelson comes from a West Virginia coal-mining family and has been active in struggles to improve conditions for mining families. She visited China in 1972.



Textile workers, Shansi

A worker's health and safety also depend on how hard and how much he or she has to work. The Chinese seem conscious of that; there's no such thing among miners as "doubling back," which my father often had to do, and which my brother is forced to do now—that is, work hard all day, then double back to work another shift at night, come home for a few hours' sleep, and then return to work the next morning completely exhausted and very likely to have an accident.

Even apart from "doubling back," my father was overworked, his energy drained dry, because the company never trained or hired enough men to do the job, or do it at a reasonable pace. In China people aren't treated like workhorses; the government is very willing to train and educate as many people as necessary, and to use their human potential in more than a physical sense. Workers do their stint of labor, but they are also teachers. Every new young worker, for example, is assigned to work with a "veteran," who teaches him or her the ropes, the practical ins and outs of the job. That's awfully efficient and much safer too. Our family would have worried a lot less about my brother when he started in the mine if he had been working alongside a veteran worker while he learned his job instead of being left on his own to learn by trial and error.

Another important way workers use their special knowledge in China is as part of the three-in-one teams which combine the talents of several people to plan and carry out the work. In a mine or factory, the team would consist of a worker, a technician, and an administrator; the worker is the real teacher, because of his or her rich practical experience. Every worker is part of the decision-making process at some point; everyone participates in discussions about how something is to be produced, the time it will take, the number of people needed, the safety implications, and the political implications.

What it amounts to is management by the workers; they are the basic decision-makers in the plants. Their knowledge and skills are all-important; their human potential is drawn on, developed, and shared.

I often thought of my father as I saw the way these things operate. He's an excellent electrician, a "veteran worker"—he *could* have been a fine teacher of others on the job, and made a real contribution to decisions about production. But his ideas and talents were never tapped. The company regarded him as just a "fixer," someone to keep the machinery in shape so the coal would go on rolling. It was a terrible waste, not only of him as an individual but of the benefits to others of his knowledge and experience.

I thought, too, about how much better and fuller our family life would have been if my father hadn't been driven like a workhorse most of the time. We naturally wanted him around to share things with us, special occasions particularly, such as when we were in a school play or when my brother was playing football. But the boss was always calling my father in to work. As far as I can remember, my dad got to see my brother in a football game only twice during the four years he was on the team. Sometimes, when the boss called, we were forced to lie, to chisel away at the attempt to rob him of his energy, so that we could have him to ourselves, to enjoy a family situation.

Medical care had been on my mind when I went to China, and very much on my family's mind too. We were battling to get insurance for my fourteen-year-old sister who needed open-heart surgery, and also battling with the United Mine Workers to keep her on my father's union medical-plan card. The insurance company and the union turned us down. The only way we were going to be able to afford the thousands of dollars of medical expenses was to sell our house, and every piece of our furniture, and our cars, which are an absolute necessity in our area. In other words my family was going to have to give up everything they had, everything they had worked and saved for years to get, to pay for my sister's operation.

When I showed slides to my family of the hospitals we visited in China and told them about the brain surgery we had witnessed and that it only cost the equivalent of thirty-five cents in American money, my mother was simply speechless. How was it *possible*, she wanted to know. I would have been totally amazed, too, if I hadn't actually been to China and seen so many examples of what *is* possible, even in a fairly poor country, once the well-being of the people is made the highest priority.

In China, family life seemed actually to be strengthened by the way society is run. Working mothers don't have to fret about their children, no matter how young, because there are good day-care centers available. The parents come home from work with enough energy left to really enjoy their kids. The basic security of workers' lives—the lack of worry about where the next meal is coming from, about medical care, about child-care, about schools—provides a real basis for unity, harmony, and mutual respect among all members of the family, from the very old to the very young.

I think the changes since the Revolution in the situation of women play a role in that too. "Women hold up half the sky," the Chinese say. But before Liberation in 1949 not many people realized that. Now, especially since the Cultural Revolution, women's share in every phase of work is growing and they feel challenged to do everything that men do to contribute to the life of the country.

We saw a good example of that in the Women's Neighborhood Furnace Factory in Anshan, which was set up and run completely by housewives. The women still needed to rely on veteran workers, most of them men, to teach them the complicated procedures involved in building the furnaces, but more and more of them were on their way to becoming veteran workers

Yangchuang mine preserves farm land in city of Huaipei

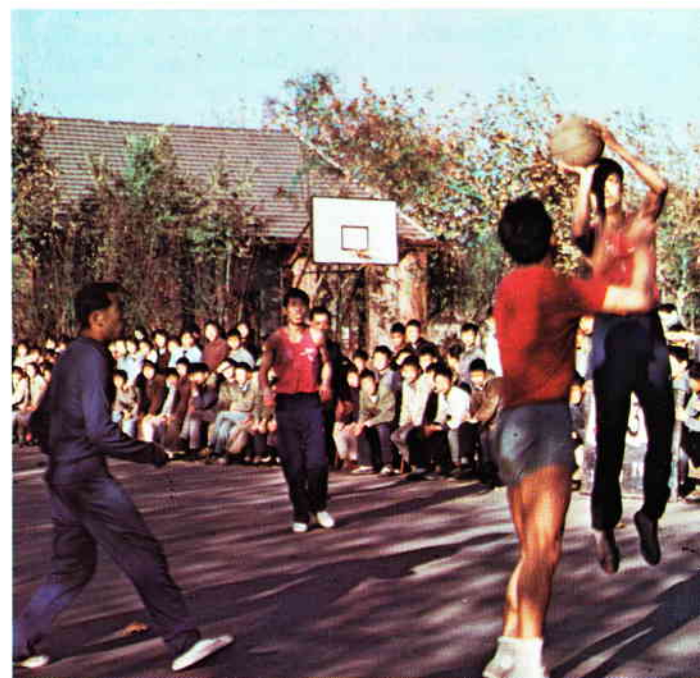
Open-pit coal mine, Fushun

Above and below: miners at retirement home

Unloading coal cars

East Is Red tractor factory, Loyang

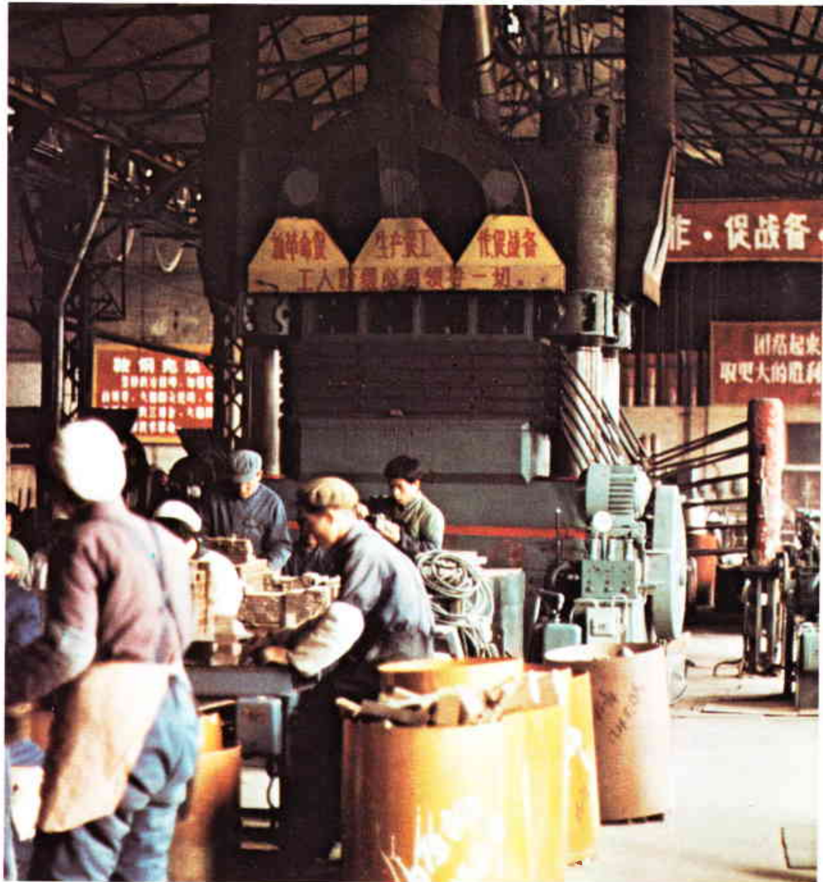
Below: Middle School faculty game, Shanghai suburbs



Small commune factory, Kwangtung

Day-care center, Shanghai

Work-study in a Shanghai kindergarden: packing bulbs



Transformer works, Shenyang

Below: neighborhood factory

themselves. And the men commented that they often learned from the women who had already mastered the practical, essential elements of the work. Women all over China know that full socialist construction can't happen without their participation. They have a sense of their own real worth, and it shows, both in the family and on the job.

Seeing how important the family was in Chinese life, I wondered how people who didn't have a family lived, especially very old people. There aren't many "homes" for the old in China, because the extended family, with the young taking care of the old, is so common. But homes do exist for those who need them. Before the Revolution miners were paid so little that many of them could not afford to marry and therefore didn't have children to live with and to take care of them in their old age. So the government provides them with both a seventy percent pension—seventy percent of their post-1949 wages—and a place to live.

At the Coal Miners' Retirement Home Number One in Fushun which we visited, they got wonderful care—meals prepared, a doctor and nurse always on call, a store where they could buy groceries and whatever else they needed, land for farming, and a chance to get the education they had missed when they were young. All of the workers in this particular home had been illiterate; now they were learning to read and write. At the time we visited they were studying the *Communist Manifesto*. And from time to time they would help educate others about Chinese history by visiting the nearby town or other areas in the countryside to talk to the young people about the bitter past before the Revolution. Physically they were retired, but in spirit these old miners wanted to go on contributing to socialism. In our country, old age can be a terrible experience, especially if you are poor, but these men felt not only cared for but still useful, worthy, still growing and developing.

The children of China, too, feel a sense of their own worth. One of the main ways they experience it is through the integration of practical work into the educational process. In a Peking school we visited, the sixth-graders had a workshop where they made Chinese checkers. A whole assembly line had been set up with different areas for cutting the boards, sorting, painting, making the cardboard boxes, and boxing up; each child took turns at all the tasks to get the feel of what each phase of the work was like. Some of the jobs were set up as learning problems; for instance, various sizes of cardboard had been ordered so the children would have to use their math knowledge to measure the material and figure out how many boxes they could get to the piece. The finished checker sets were sold and the money they brought went back into improvements for the workshop. Through this one project the children applied and tested their knowledge, developed manual skills and coordination, and got a chance to see their own labor converted into improvements of their little workplace.

I couldn't help envying them. After twelve years of school, I had only book learning; I was not prepared for work, and had gotten practically no help in figuring out how to contribute to society. But the Peking sixth-graders had knowledge and know-how to use in a productive way. On a small scale, they were already serving the people, working for the good of the country.

Maybe that's one reason why Chinese children seem to have such a sense of confidence and self-respect, as so many visitors to China have noticed. I myself saw a fantastic example of it. At a housing project we visited in Shanghai, a group of children were about to give a musical and dance performance for us. A little girl about seven or eight years old came out on stage to explain what the children were going to do. Our interpreter immediately began to translate while she talked. As soon as she heard his voice, she stopped, right in the middle of her speech, and looked toward him. He suddenly became very quiet, realizing that he'd made a mistake by interrupting her and that he should have taken notes and waited until she finished. For a moment the whole place was so silent you could have heard a pin drop! The little girl turned toward us again and completed her speech; then she looked at the interpreter, nodded her head as if to say, "I'm through, you may talk now," and when he was done, left the stage so the performers could come on. Imagine a seven-year-old having the guts to calmly stand up by herself before a foreign group to begin with, and then not letting an adult talk while she was speaking!

If we had expected the interpreter to be offended, we were wrong. The little girl had given him a kind of nonverbal criticism, which he seemed to accept as if it were not only correct, but perfectly within her rights. That whole incident told me a great deal about the children, and about adults' attitudes towards them—and also about the use of criticism-self-criticism among people of all ages in China.

Criticism-self-criticism occurs everywhere, I found, on a systematic and regular basis; to learn from others what you are doing well and what needs to be improved is considered one of the major foundations of growth and revolutionary change. Coming from America, where criticism is taken as a negative thing which creates enemies instead of friends, chaos instead of unity, I was somewhat awed by the Chinese attitude, particularly when they urged us, the foreigners, to criticize them freely.

One of our group really took them up on it. We were touring a steel factory in Anshan, and as we walked around, a steelworker from Indiana in our group kept frowning and shaking his head. At the end of our tour, the Revolutionary and Party committees of the factory asked for criticism from the group, as usual. Our steelworker jumped right in. We began to get very nervous—was he actually going to tell them all the things he'd been shaking his head about? But the Chinese thought it was fine. He said he was really shocked that the workers in the plant were wearing tennis shoes; it was dangerous, particularly because they were working with electricity. The workers *had* to have hard-toe shoes, he said very firmly. And he also went on and on about the need for hard hats; if an ingot hit an unprotected worker on the head, he wouldn't have a head.

The Chinese, after listening very carefully, were about to ask him questions when he rushed in with, "Now wait, I have one more criticism": the welders weren't using their safety glasses, he said, and gave many examples from his experience of how dangerous that was. The Chinese took down every word and assured us they would carry all the criticisms back to the plant's safety committee.

"Serve the people" is a second concept which is talked about and practiced all over China today. I was particularly interested in the way it is applied to the selection of college students. Are they really interested in serving the people or are they interested in serving themselves? That seems like a fantastic criterion for deciding who is to be selected for college. If I were chosen on that basis, then I would feel I was being sent for a purpose, that people had confidence that I could contribute to the community. For instance, in one community I visited, a woman had just been selected to go to college to become a kindergarten teacher because there was a shortage of teachers in her village. I really wished that I was in her position—to feel that the community had given me something and that I could also repay them in some way.

I suppose the most important thing I learned in China was seeing socialism work. You hear all the horror stories about what life is supposed to be like behind the "bamboo curtain." But the point is that people weren't oppressed. I guess the main lesson for me was seeing and talking to people who were happy. They have good health care, plenty of food, housing for everyone, and a practical education. In addition to all this the Chinese people have the opportunity to contribute to the welfare of the country as a whole and to serve the people.

Red Menace or Yellow Journalism?

Norman Chance, Chris Gilmartin, and Frank Kehl

If you turn on the radio or TV these days and there's an extensive report about China, more than likely it will be upbeat and sympathetic. It wasn't always that way:

"*There are seven hundred million Chinese today—one-quarter of the human race. And they are taught to hate. Their growing power is the world's greatest threat to peace and life. Fifty years of torment bred madness. To deal with madness, we must understand its roots. For eighteen years, we of the West have been excluded from China. We can pace along the barbed-wire border at Hong Kong and try to squint inside or strain out sounds. But all we hear is echo of disaster, past and present.*"

So began the narration of Theodore H. White's film *China: The Roots of Madness* in 1967, when the war in Indochina was building to a peak.

Two years earlier (April 7, 1965), in his key policy speech made at The Johns Hopkins University, Lyndon Baines Johnson had this to say about China's role in the world: "Over this war—and all Asia—is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peiping. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes."

LBJ's ominous "deepening shadow," and Theodore White's "threat to peace and life" as descriptions of China go hand in hand. White's documentary went out over the air into the homes of millions of Americans viewing prime-time network TV. We don't know what the average viewer thought of these blatant lies but one thing was sure: the content of *The Roots of Madness* fit well with what was needed at the time by the highest circles of the U.S. government, which was still trying desperately to justify an increasingly unpopular war and an increasingly unpopular—and unsuccessful—policy of trade embargo and information blackout against China. This policy was known in the Washington jargon of the time as "containment and isolation."

Let us push back a bit and look at the question a little more historically. Stereotyped thinking about China isn't anything new. Under the influence of increasing numbers of missionaries sent to China from the middle of the nineteenth century on, Americans were encouraged to regard Chinese first as inferior heathens, then later as wards needing protection. Coupling the idea of "protection" to the expansion of American enterprise, the United States could play the role of benevolent guardian at the same time that it was developing trade and industry in a country that had 400 million potential new customers. (Such benevolent views did not apply, however, to the 300,000 Chinese laborers who emigrated to the United States between 1854 and 1882, largely to work in the building of the western railways, or to other Chinese who later faced America's first exclusionary immigration laws blocking their entry to the land of the free.)

The image of dependent people needing protection prevailed until 1949 when America "lost" China. This was the way most American politicians and journalists presented Liberation at the time; the Chinese people's support for the Revolution and their disgust with Chiang's corrupt forces remained unknown, or rather were purposely concealed from the American public.* In fact, what the United States "lost" in 1949 was the ability to exploit China economically, and what the Chinese people gained was the opportunity to determine their future unhindered by a corrupt and decadent regime and by the interference of foreign governments.

But this was not the way the situation was presented to the American people: the "Reds" had conquered the Chinese mainland. The 1950 outbreak of the Korean War required a special barrage of anti-Chinese stereotypes at home to justify U.S. intervention. The media obliged by updating all the old myths about Chinese "barbarity," recycling "indifference to human life" through reports of supposed "human-assault-wave" tactics, "devilish cunning" via charges that the Chinese washed people's brains, and "Oriental despotism" through claims that the Chinese people had been taken over by a tyrannical regime which was instituting rigid forms of control.

Typical was this bit of fantasy from *Time* magazine of the Luce publishing empire—one of the biggest promoters of such

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*John Service's despatches ran counter to the official reporting of the time. See review, p.30.

well-known figures as Joe McCarthy and Chiang Kai-shek: "Chief among the traditions under all-out Red attack is China's revered institution, the family. Marriage, except for the purely functional reason of procreation, is officially discouraged everywhere and permitted only after long investigation of the couple's political reliability. Newlywed party members are permitted to live together for one week only, thereafter sleep each at his own place of work. Party members' children usually are taken from the mother at the age of six to eight weeks and boarded by the state" (June 18, 1951).

By 1958 the war had long ended, but the stream of anti-China lies kept flowing. In that year of enormous achievements in the Chinese Revolution—the socialist upsurge in the countryside, the Great Leap, and the communes—this is the way *Time* interpreted China for us: "Mao Tse-tung has herded more than 80 percent of mainland China's 500 million peasants into vast human poultry yards" (Dec. 1, 1958). Adding to the torrent, the *Christian Science Monitor* stirred up some of the old mud about the destruction of the family unit: "In theory all mainland China is now in the process of being reorganized into communal living. The children are reared in nurseries. The men and women live in communal dormitories, eat in communal mess halls, and work in military-type organizations" (Dec. 10, 1958).

But during this period of the fifties and sixties it was nationally known columnist Joseph Alsop who probably led the league in slanders, serving up impending famines, mass murders, rebellions, and invasions. This is what he said about the communes in his syndicated column: "The scheme of the communes is frankly intended to transform the whole countryside of China into a series of slave farms, of a character without any modern parallel . . . it is a reasonable forecast that the Communist massacres will pass a hundred million human beings" (Oct. 6, 1958). Three years later the lie was: "The population of China is starving. The starvation is methodical and rationed, but it is not even slow starvation" (Sept. 13, 1961).

When Alsop's fabrications were challenged, the media's retort was that there was no way to get "objective" reporters into China to verify the accuracy of what was being published: the Chinese, they claimed, wouldn't issue visas. But this retort contradicts the reality: "It was Secretary of State John Foster Dulles who . . . forbade *all* Americans to visit China. By threatening any violators with loss of their passports and possible fines or imprisonment—and by instigating direct Presidential appeal to a few important publishers who were inclined to defy him—the Secretary managed for years to keep America effectively cut off from any direct news of the great story of the Chinese revolution" (Edgar Snow, *Red China Today: The Other Side of the River*, 1971). About his own situation, Snow added: "The State Department actually did everything but compel me to go to China illegally, if at all."

If the media weren't interested in getting to the facts about China, there were increasing numbers of Americans who were. This current of grassroots American interest in what China was doing had always been there but the Cold War media blackout had done a fair job of stifling it. When people working in the civil rights and antiwar movements of the time saw that the media were badmouthing *their* struggles for democratic rights and peace, they began wondering out loud: if the Establishment media put us down for our struggles and put China down for *its* struggles, maybe we have something in common; we better find out about what's going on there!

And so they did. In 1967, the same year as Theodore White's TV special, the Radical Education Project, educational arm of Students for a Democratic Society, held a weekend-long conference on China at the Riverside Church in New York, attended by several hundred people. With much ingenuity—and possibly a little illegality—they managed to get a copy of the Chinese epic film, *The East Is Red*, via Canada.

Malcolm X, on the way back from his well-publicized trip to Mecca, made a point of stopping in to talk with the then Chinese Ambassador to Ghana Huang Hua.

Shortly after its founding in 1968, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars added a call for the recognition of the People's Republic of China to its antiwar position on Vietnam, and not long afterward sent a delegation to speak with the Chinese at one of their embassies in Europe. If the media weren't going to put forth the straight facts about China, the people were going to find out for themselves—by hook or crook or Canada.

Then in 1971 the ping-pong ball came sailing over the net, and the whole name of the game changed for the U.S. media. They had to make a quick shift from the old rules of "containment" to the new rules of "normalization."

Recall that in 1971, the U.S. government was on the skids in Vietnam, wages and prices were being controlled for the first time since the Korean War, the U.S. dollar was about to be devalued, and the balance of payments was becoming more and more adverse. In political terms what it all added up to was stated by Nixon himself in a speech to the Kansas City Press Club in July of that year. He said that internationally the United States was no longer Number One, and could no longer call all the shots; the world now consisted of five big powers, he said, including China.

Workers on main street of Soochow paste up "big character posters," July 1971. Especially during political campaigns the Chinese use wall posters to spread the news.

Practically speaking, this meant that the U.S. government was forced to develop a new international strategy. A Nixon visit to Peking would be one way to start. But how could the President justify going to China to chat with Chairman Mao and walk the Great Wall with Premier Chou? For years the media had tried to make Americans think of the Chinese people as "Yellow Peril," "Red Menace," or "Blue Ants."

Now public opinion had to be prepared for the policy shift; the media were pressed into service.

Just a month before Nixon's Peking visit—and five years almost to the day after White's *Roots of Madness*—there appeared another prime-time TV special about China, *Misunderstanding China*, by CBS's Irv Drasnin.

This documentary had a number of genuinely positive aspects: it publicly rehabilitated the reputations of purged State Department officers who, decades before, had accurately reported Chiang's fall and the approach of Liberation. It exposed some of the soft- and hard-core racism of many early American contacts with the Chinese in the foreign concessions of China and the mining towns of California. It attacked the Hollywood myth-stereotype of Fu Manchu—the wily, inscrutable, heartless Mr. Big of Oriental vice and crime.

All this was to the good. But the film had weaknesses. It gave the impression that the U.S. government's earlier policy had been the result merely of a series of "tragic misunderstandings." Certainly, there were plenty of misunderstandings to be cleared up after more than two decades of official and journalistic distortions about China. But these misunderstandings were spin-offs from a deliberate policy, not the other way around. By failing to deal with the reasons behind the old U.S. policy and the shift to the new, the film failed to get at the heart of the matter.

On balance, however, *Misunderstanding China* made a contribution to understanding between America and China, and set a positive tone for later, similarly good documentaries like Lucy Jarvis' *Forbidden City* on NBC-TV a year later.

A month after the CBS documentary, Nixon went to China and signed the Shanghai Communique (Joint U.S.-China Communique of 1972). In it he committed the United States to reducing tensions in the region and concurred with the Chinese that the question of Taiwan was an internal Chinese question.

By now, every publication from *McCall's* to *Women's Wear Daily* to *Parade* to *Fortune* was having its feature on China. There was something of a bandwagon effect as the media scrambled to get aboard. While some of these magazines were still toting along part of their old China-myth baggage, in general the American people began to hear a portion of the truth about the Chinese Revolution.

In foreign affairs, the media conceded that China was not a direct threat to the United States; but at the same time they continued to push the idea that China's influence in Asia and the rest of the Third World conflicted with America's interests. In other words, China's firm position against intervention in the affairs of other nations was totally ignored.

About China's internal situation, it was finally accepted that the Chinese people were materially much better off than they had been under Chiang's hopelessly corrupt and exploitative government of the thirties and forties. The media now admitted that the Chinese people were engaged in a massive, successful attempt to improve their living standards and to upgrade education and health. *The New York Times*'s James Reston even called what China was doing one vast communal barnraising—just like the American pioneers!

Joseph Alsop's articles in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* last year are another example of just how much of a turnabout the media made; to see him play "ping-pong" in 1973, you'd never recognize him as the mudslinger of old. Communes are no longer slave camps but rather an "astounding device for rapid rural capital accumulation." The Chinese are not only *not* starving, their gains in agriculture are "eye-popping." Alsop even went on to predict that "if present trends continue . . . a time will come when China will be a really major net exporter of farm products."

And what about the Chinese family that in 1958 was allegedly being shunted into mass dormitories, marched in and out of mess halls, and generally reorganized out of existence? ". . . Wives, of course, work along with husbands, as they have always done on the land in China, and so do children, beginning part-time after school hours at about 12 years old. As their very own, too, almost all families have their house, a pig and some chickens, and all families meet their own vegetable requirements from their private plots."

Is it China, or is it Alsop and the media that have changed? Years ago, people like Agnes Smedley, Jack Belden, Edgar Snow, Felix Greene, K.S. Karol, Jan Myrdal, and many, many others were reporting the kinds of factual things about China that Alsop, Reston and friends now concur with. But before "normalization," what Snow and the others had been saying was not what those who control the media wanted to hear or to publish. No, China's direction hasn't changed. But observers like Alsop have—and they should be given credit for at least wanting to check out China and for believing the evidence of their own eyes. Other nationally syndicated columnists like William Buckley still don't want to take their blinders off.

Old myths die hard, however: **"Chinese Sources Tied to Drug Smuggling Ring."** No, it's not the title on a piece of John Birch literature (although an old Birch leaflet passed out in the subways of New York last spring struck the same note). It's a headline in the New York *Daily News* of January 18, 1973, a full year after the rules of the game had changed. The largest circulation daily in the United States was reporting with fanfare the allegations of Frank J. Rogers, New York City special narcotics prosecutor, concerning a drug bust which, he said, turned up evidence that heroin was coming from China.

The "evidence" turned out to be flimsy: a crumpled plastic bag picked up in the drug raid with "People's Republic of China" stamped on it. Was the crumpled bag in fact made in China? Was there any evidence that the bag had in fact been used to transport heroin? In fact, what was the likelihood that an exporter of contraband would do his advertising on his bags? Wasn't it more likely, in fact, that the stamped bag was a plant by an enemy of China—for example, one of Chiang's remnant Kuomintang army units in the Laos-Burma-Thailand "Golden Triangle" of Southeast Asia?

A delegation of people representing such diverse groups as the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, the Committee for a New China Policy, the National Council of Churches, and people from New York's Chinese community forced a retraction from District Attorney Rogers. But none of the major New York newspapers which had earlier played up the story thought that this was news fit to print.

More than a year later, as if to testify that stereotypes about China continue even after the name of the game has been changed, New York's Channel Five Metromedia News commentator Martin Abend reported: "Drugs come from China; the USSR says so too." He then went on to invent a route that stretched from the "Golden Triangle," across China, to Shanghai, where, he alleged, it is refined and shipped to the United States to destroy American morale and provide China with foreign currency (July 17, 1974 *Ten O'Clock News*).

These periodic reruns of the Fu Manchu fantasy—with the People's Republic now playing the lead role—can be explained perhaps by communication delays between Washington and New York, or maybe it's the *News* up to old tricks and the media's right wing wanting to give a boost to old Chiang's sagging morale.

A recent series of articles in the Hearst papers also seems to be breaking the ping-pong rules by reviving another old myth about China, the one about brainwashing. Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner* of May 13th of this year headlines: **"The SLA Borrowed Tactics From Maoist Thought Reform."** The motive for returning to the old brainwash myth, it appears, is to develop a

defense that will exonerate Patricia Hearst if she is captured.

The *Examiner* article goes on: "There is mounting evidence the SLA has put Patricia Hearst through a process of thought reform ('brainwashing') used throughout China. . . . The phrase . . .'criticism, self-criticism' [used in a letter from an SLA member] refers directly to the heart of a coercive political process used to indoctrinate and condition over 750 million Chinese under the Communist dictatorship of Mao Tse-tung."

This was the *Examiner*'s twisted version of the process by which the Chinese people are transforming themselves and society through using each individual's strengths to overcome his or her weaknesses and summing up each project and policy in light of whether it has served the people.

The author of the piece, a free-lance writer named Wes Davis, isn't content with slandering new China: he takes out after the San Francisco U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association as well. This is his logic: some members of the SLA were alleged to have lived in a Berkeley commune at one time; other members of the commune were supposed to have been members of the Friendship Association at one time; the Association attempts to develop understanding of China where criticism-self-criticism is practiced; two members of the SLA have advocated criticism-self-criticism; ergo, the SLA and the Friendship Association are connected. Q.E.D. On a freshman logic exam, such a demonstration would get an "F," but for the Hearsts, this "proof" deserves a professorship.

Now, we know that the Hearst chain is no rookie at slinging mud at new China. It was that branch of the media that editorially promoted Joe McCarthy in the 1950s and his anti-China position along with him. Also, we know that the "brainwashing" accusation doesn't have a Hearst patent. It's a multi-purpose weapon in the anti-China arsenal that can be rolled out by the media at will. It just happens that the Hearsts have a personal interest in it at this time.

Self-interest like Hearst's, however, can't explain other recent developments in the media's treatment of China—for example, the documentary *Shanghai*, done as a CBS-TV Special in March 1974 by Irv Drasnin, the same producer who had made the relatively positive *Misunderstanding China* two years earlier.*

The thrust of this 1974 documentary is that the Chinese since the Revolution are no different from the Chinese before; Mao would like to revolutionize the society and the people, but it's a losing game; the Chinese have weathered "outside" invasions before, they'll weather the Revolution.

Could the rules be changing again?

Perhaps. After all, Kissinger went to China in the fall of 1973 and returned with empty hands. More to the point, he *went* with empty hands—with no new proposal to give some forward motion to the spirit of the Shanghai Communique, no withdrawal of troops from Taiwan, no cancellation of the 1954 Dulles-Chiang security treaty, no concrete step that would implement that crucial part of the Communique which states: "The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a 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." Not only has the U.S. government failed to implement the 1972 Communique, it has in the last six months granted Chiang Kai-shek permission to open two *new* consulates in the United States.

A further barometer of possible changes is the way the media have chosen to deal with China in the period subsequent to Kissinger's most recent visit—for example, the way *The New York Times*'s Joseph Lelyveld has handled the current Chinese campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao.

Confucius and Lin Piao are under attack in China as examples of elitism, a way of thinking that stifles people's creativity and prevents them from moving forward. Lelyveld ignores the essence of the campaign against elitism and instead refers ominously to "possible turbulence." He twists a Peking *People's Daily* editorial warning against the tendency to "worship things foreign" into Chinese anti-foreignism: "it's open season again in China for shots at the West. . . ." He slips in a trick from the old "containment and isolation" game whereby the perpetrator complains that he's the victim: "Two years after President Nixon's visit to Peking, [this] ideological campaign is starting to take some of the bloom off Chinese-American relations" (Feb. 7 and 11, March 22, 1974). This is just the kind of inversion of causality that the 1967 Theodore White documentary dealt in: "We of the West have been excluded from China."

But for the time being, the media at large have chosen for the most part to play by the new rules of "normalization." In spite of the cooling since Kissinger's last visit, the U.S. government still seems interested in maintaining friendly relations with the People's Republic. In July, presidential hopeful Senator Henry Jackson—well-known for his Cold War politics—called for full diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic: an event of some significance. The balance of trade with China is currently extremely favorable to the United States, and in the past year the United States has sold more to China than to the Soviet Union. Part of those sales were Boeing commercial aircraft, and Jackson, the Senator from Boeing, appreciates that a troubled U.S. economy needs as much of that kind of trade as it can get.

It is apparent that for the American media, understanding or misunderstanding China and the Chinese people depends very much on the moods and needs of policymakers in Washington. This is not to say that TV and newspaper journalism doesn't have a life and mind of its own, only that there seems to be an uncanny parallel between what Washington needs and what the media supply.

The main trend currently is for the media to stress positive qualities of the people and society in China, and to take the position that American interests are best served by treating China as a trading partner rather than as a "threat to security."

What's left out of such an emphasis?

Only the essence of what China is attempting to accomplish: an egalitarian society, a society striving to eliminate classes and exploitation. The idea that there should be redistribution of wealth, no elites, economic and social development of a whole nation, all people rising together, no one left behind—this is what the Chinese are about in their own land; and the idea that all countries, big or small, are equal and should not have any other country lording it over them, no matter what the excuse—this is what the Chinese are about in their relations with the world.

Apparently this is *not* a message that the U.S. media and those who control them want to pass on. Those who run the big American corporations want "normalization." Washington wants "normalization." They need it to keep their house together. But they don't want the media to make what's happening in China sound too appealing. It might be catching.

The American people, on the other hand, are demanding more information from the media. They are turning out in the thousands to watch every Chinese athletic and performing group that comes to the United States. They buy up books about new China by the tens of thousands. They ask for China units in high school curricula. They are forming friendship associations in cities throughout the country in order to learn more about new China. They have applied for visas to go to China, also in the tens of thousands.

While the media are continuing to look over their shoulders for signals from Washington, people at the grassroots are pushing right ahead to learn all they can about China. It's the media now that will have to catch up with them.

**Shanghai* is reviewed on p. 30.

Peking Ravioli

Joyce Chen's recipe for *jiao zi*

Filling

3/4 lb	ground meat, beef or pork
1 lb	Chinese celery cabbage
1 1/2 Tbs	soy sauce
1 Tbs	dry sherry
1/2 tsp	salt
1/2 tsp	M.S.G. (optional)
1/2 tsp	sugar
1 Tbs	cooking oil, bacon drippings or melted lard. (If meat is lean, add 1 more Tbs)
1 Tbs	sesame seed oil. (If not available, substitute 1 Tbs cooking oil.)

Wash and drain Chinese cabbage and chop very fine. Sprinkle 1 tsp salt (not included in ingredients above) on cabbage while chopping. Place the chopped cabbage in a cloth bag or cheesecloth and squeeze out enough liquid to make 1 cup. Discard liquid.

Put the remaining ingredients in a large bowl, add the chopped cabbage and mix well. Cover and set aside.

Dough

2 cups	flour (level)
2/3 cups	water, lukewarm or cold

Mix the flour and water in a large mixing bows. Knead for 3-4 minutes into a smooth dough. (The dryness of the flour may vary with the humidity of the room in which it is kept. If it has been kept in a heated room for a long time, add 1 Tbs more of water.) Cover the dough with a damp towel and let set for about 30 minutes or more, so the dough will be smoother. The Chinese say this "wakes up" the dough.

Dust a pastry board with flour. Roll the "waked up" dough into an even rope 32 inches long. Cut the rope into 32 one-inch pieces. Form each piece into a ball with your hands and flatten it on the board with the palm. With the rolling pin, roll each flattened piece out firmly and gently into a 3-inch round. [These dough rounds, sometimes called wrapper skins, may be purchased already prepared at Chinese food shops.—Ed. note]

Wrapping Put a heaping teaspoon of the filling in the center of the dough round. Fold in half and pinch the edges together tightly to form a half moon. (The edges must be well sealed, otherwise the filling might fall out in the cooking and separate from the dough. The best way to seal them is to rub them together between your thumb and forefinger.) It is best to roll a few rounds at a time and then wrap them, alternating this way until they are all wrapped. Keep the formed *jiao zi* on a well-floured plate until ready to cook. The flour will prevent their sticking together. They may be refrigerated for a few hours before cooking, if desired.

To boil Place the *jiao zi* gently in a large pot with enough boiling water to allow them to swim around freely. Cover and cook over medium-high heat until the water boils again. Add 1 cup cold water to pot, cover, and cook over lower heat. As soon as the water comes back to the boil, add another cup of cold water. Cover, and when the water comes back to the boil for the third time, remove the pot from heat. Let it stand with the cover on for 2 or 3 minutes. (This is so the filling will be thoroughly cooked.)

Remove the *jiao zi* from pot and drain in colander or strainer. Serve immediately with a dip of vinegar, soy sauce, or hot pepper sauce. For a whole meal, allow about 6 to 15 per person. The Chinese serve the cooking water as a soup.

To Pan Fry In China when the *jiao zi* are pan-fried, they are called *guo tie*. Heat an 8-or-9-inch skillet until it is good and hot.

then grease it thoroughly with 1 Tbs cooking oil. Starting from the outside of the pan, arrange the uncooked *jiao zi* carefully in concentric circles, going in the same direction (about 16 pieces). They should touch each other lightly. Put two in the center, facing each other.

Add 1/2 cup cold water to pan, cover, and cook over medium-high heat for 6-7 minutes. When the water has evaporated, lower the heat and continue cooking, still covered, for another 2 minutes, or until *jiao zi* are golden brown on the bottom. Before removing, make sure they are not stuck to the bottom of the pan. Push them gently with a spatula to loosen them.

Select a serving plate that will just fit into the skillet. Place it, upside down, over the *jiao zi*, then, holding it in place, invert the pan and give it a little shake so the *jiao zi* will slip out onto the plate down side up in a nice mold, golden brown on top. Serve immediately with vinegar, soy sauce, or hot pepper sauce. This will provide about 4 to 8 *guo tie* per person if used the Chinese way, as a snack.

Leftovers may be reheated the same way they were cooked, but will need less time. *Jiao zi* may also be steamed, but the authentic steamed *jiao zi* is made from a different type of dough.

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Books

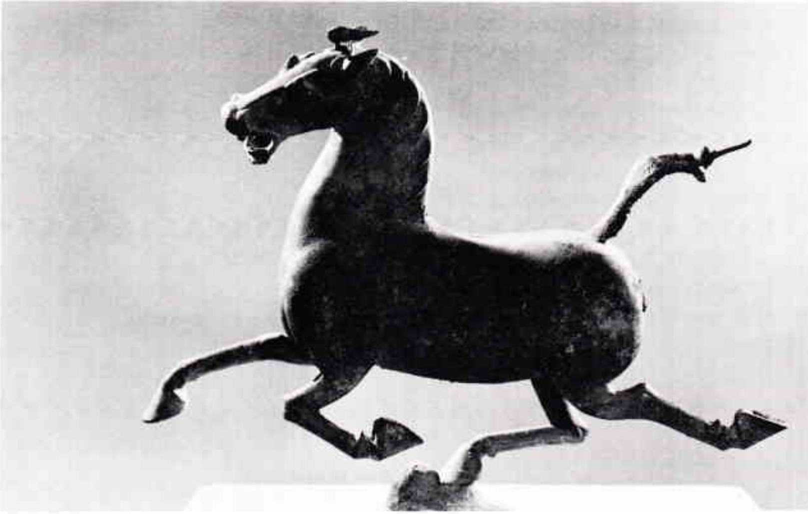
Chinese Art—Recent Discoveries. *By Michael Sullivan. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.*

A jade burial suit fashioned of 2,498 precious plaques, stitched together with golden thread, discovered in 1968 in a rock-bound Hopei tomb of a prince who died in 113 B.C. . . . The first discovery of a stylized owl motif, never before found positioned so prominently in the art of that period, sculptured on a ritual bronze food vessel of the Shang Dynasty, 1550-1027 B.C.

These are but part of the excitement and beauty of Michael Sullivan's lucid and decorative account of new China's archeological exploration of ancient China's magnificent cultural history.

Professor Sullivan, of the Stanford and Oxford faculties of Oriental and Fine Arts, has created an informative volume built around sixty-four handsome color plates of art objects discovered in the People's Republic in recent years. Those who have followed the emergence of China's long-lost treasures through reports in *China Reconstructs*, *Peking Review*, and other publications will find confirmation that the Chinese people are now enjoying their cultural past in many ways, including newly established regional and provincial museums.

Sullivan recounts the spectacular results of new archeological expeditions and the meticulous documentation of their finds—a modern approach to benefit the people, in sharp contrast to the pre-1949 art raids which enriched only the black marketeers and foreign dealers. Many of the treasures now being uncovered were concealed in tombs and other sites which were happily



Galloping horse (Eastern Han Dynasty, 25-220 A.D.) unearthed in 1969.

inaccessible to the raiding parties of imper ialist days.

The book takes us from China's prehistoric unglazed Neolithic ceramic ware through the art of the major dynasties, always with fine color reproductions and stimulating explanations. Many plates illustrate substitute burial objects of bronze and clay which authentically exemplify the true art forms of their eras.

Sullivan mentions the rich troves still lying in the earth awaiting excavation and exhibition. One can only ask that their dis coveries be reported to us with the clarity and understanding conveyed in this book.

For those who are just becoming familiar with the wonders of Chinese art, our prolific author also has a new and revised art history that includes some of these same recent discoveries: *The Arts of China*, University of California Press, 1973. $14.50 (paperback, $5.95).

Michael Opper
Fresno State College

[*Chinese Art—Recent Discoveries* can be purchased from George Wittenborn, Inc., 1018 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10021. $3.00 (approx.). An exhibition of archeological finds of the People's Republic of China, which was shown in Paris and London in 1973, is at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto until October 1974. It is scheduled for exhibition at the National Gallery in Washington D.C. Many of the objects illustrated and discussed in Sullivan's books are part of this exhibit.—Ed. note]

***Lost Chance in China: The World War Two Despatches of John S. Service*. Edited by Joseph W. Esherick. New York: Random House, 1974. 411 pp., illus. $12.95**

John S. Service is the former U.S. State Department officer in China whose reports to his superiors from 1941 to 1945 clearly and powerfully detailed the murderous corruption of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party and the inexorably growing strength of Mao Tsetung's revolution.

Service and others like him were rewarded for their efforts to state the facts as they saw them with violent and often successful attacks to discredit them, led by Chiang's supporters in American politics. (Service himself was cleared six times of "disloyalty"—including once by the Supreme Court.)

This pro-Chiang power grouping was seen by many, including Mao, as that segment of the U.S. ruling clique which could equate U.S. interests even with fascism so long as socialism was weakened. Chiang was their natural ally, Mao's forces their mortal enemy.

The editor of this welcome volume, Joseph Esherick, a leading young historian of twentieth-century China, presents seventy-one of Service's despatches (twenty-six of them never before published) together with short commentaries which beautifully complement the gripping texts.

One must realize that these reports cannot really tell us *why* the opportunity for friendship with new China was lost, for they are focused on the peculiarities of the special U.S.-China wartime situation. Only the special international war situation enabled the progressive wing of American policy-makers to welcome fighters against fascism such as Mao, Ho Chi Minh, the Huks, and Tito. Even so, Mao was well aware that at war's end the Allied forces could swiftly move into alliances with fascism, as the British did in Greece and the Americans did in China.

Penetrating as they are, Service's despatches assumed that "realism" could lead the power structure in the United States to see the wisdom of not siding with a sinking Chiang. Service did not examine the internal factors which turned U.S. policy generally against socialist revolutions. We must guard against this mistake today.

Political and economic " realism" may have led Nixon and Kissinger to Peking, but normalization of relations with the People's Republic is far from being institutionalized. For example, one might worry about Nixon's recent overtures to expand Taiwan's legations in the United States as courting the favor of right-wing Senators to escape impeachment.

We can welcome this book and take warning from it. In compelling detail, it depicts the misery and inhumanity of Chiang's China. And by virtue of reporting facts, the contrast with liberated China is overwhelming, revealing it as the tumultuous human liberation that it was.

The warning, in the fate of Service and his colleagues, must be against any easy assumption that overlapping interests alone will hold China and the United States together. Much remains to be done to tighten the bonds. Books like this are a helpful part of the effort.

Ed Friedman
University of Wisconsin

Television

Two views of the controversial CBS Television documentary, *Shanghai*, produced and directed by Irv Drasnin.

Pro American commercial television is often criticized for its inability to produce in-depth documentaries. Allotted times are too short; executives do not believe that the public is sufficiently interested in a "serious" presentation. The result is usually a superficial, even misleading treatment.

Producer/Director Irv Drasnin has an advantage over most television producers of China films: he holds an M.A. from Harvard's East Asia Research Center and speaks some Chinese. He faced major limitations, however, in making his documentary on Shanghai, the city which was once the symbol of Western domination in China. The Chinese Revolution has brought about vast changes in the city. How could these changes best be presented and interpreted in a mere one-hour program to an audience that is largely ignorant of modern Chinese history?

The recent record of U.S. hostility toward China compounded the difficulty: many Americans are prepared to be skeptical of claims about China's great progress since Liberation.

Given his limitations, Drasnin has come up with a remarkable film—in a class by itself compared with other China documentaries produced by American commercial television. Beginning with an illustrated tour of Shanghai today, he moves through interviews with a dockworker and

a group of university students, portrayal of a day in the life of one inner-city family, and a fascinating and unprecedented talk with three members of Shanghai's governing Revolutionary Committee.

Drasnin points out the continuing influence of the past on Shanghai's present, but he also emphasizes the elements of China's past that are no longer existent. Opium dens, prostitutes, widespread crime, foreign domination, filth, and abject poverty all have been eliminated. The image that emerges is of a city not cut off from its past and yet new in significant ways.

It is for American viewers who have received generally distorted and confusing images of the Cultural Revolution that Drasnin perhaps renders his most valuable service. "The Cultural Revolution was," he explains, "not strictly cultural. It wasn't a struggle for power alone. It wasn't a civil war. Mostly, it was a war of words over the very nature of Chinese communism and its foreign and domestic policies . . . waged on the walls of China's cities." This statement, together with the interviews which follow it, constitutes possibly the best simple explanation for Americans of that complex series of events.

Because of our own keen interest in all aspects of China's continuing revolution, there are many areas we wish the documentary had treated with greater depth. On the other hand, because of our involvement in U.S. grassroots education about China, we welcome the contribution *Shanghai* makes

Roar China! by Langston Hughes, written in 1937

Roar, China!
Roar, old lion of the East!
Snort fire, yellow dragon of the Orient,
Tired at last of being bothered.
Since when did you ever steal anything
From anybody,
Sleepy wise old beast
Known as the porcelain-maker,
Known as the poem-maker,
Known as maker of firecrackers?
A long time since you cared
About taking other people's lands
Away from them.
THEY must've thought you didn't care
About your own land either—
So THEY came with gunboats,
Set up Concessions,
Zones of influence,
International Settlements,
Missionary houses,
Banks,
And Jim Crow Y.M.C.A.'s.
THEY beat you with malacca canes
And dared you to raise your head—
Except to cut it off.
Even the yellow men came
To take what the white men
Hadn't already taken.
The yellow men dropped bombs on Chapei.
The yellow men called you the same names
The white men did:
Dog! Dog! Dog!
Coolie dog!
Red! . . . Lousy red!
Red coolie dog!
And in the end you had no place
To make your porcelain,
Write your poems,
Or shoot your firecrackers on holidays.
In the end you had no peace
Or calm left at all.
PRESIDENT, KING, MIKADO
Thought you really were a dog.
THEY kicked you daily
Via radio phone, via cablegram,
Via gunboats in the harbor,
Via malacca canes.
THEY thought you were a tame lion.
A sleepy, easy, tame old lion!
Ha! Ha!
Haaa-aa-a! . . . Ha!
Laugh, little coolie boy on the docks of Shanghai, laugh!
You're no tame lion!
Laugh, red generals in the hills of Siang-kiang, laugh!
You're no tame lion.
Laugh, child slaves in the factories of the foreigners!
You're no tame lion.
Laugh—and roar, China! Time to spit fire!
Open your mouth, old dragon of the East,
To swallow up the gunboats in the Yangtse!
Swallow up the foreign planes in your sky!
Eat bullets, old maker of firecrackers—
And spit out freedom in the face of your enemies!
Break the chains of the East,
Little coolie boy!
Break the chains of the East,
Red generals!
Break the chains of the East,
Child slaves in the factories!
Smash the iron gates of the Concessions!
Smash the pious doors of the missionary houses!
Smash the revolving doors of the Jim Crow Y.M.C.A.'s.
Crush the enemies of land and bread and freedom!
Stand up and roar, China!
You know what you want!
The only way to get it is
To take it!
Roar, China!

"Roar China!" published in *Good Morning Revolution: Uncollected Social Protest Writings* by Langston Hughes, edited by Faith Berry. Used by permission of the publisher, Lawrence Hill and Co.

Friendship Has A History

Edgar Snow, seen exchanging stories with Chairman Mao Tsetung and interpreter, January 12, 1965, was for thirty-five years one of America's foremost reporters on the Chinese Revolution. On first meeting Snow in 1936, Chou En-lai said: "I have heard that you are a reliable journalist, friendly to the Chinese people, and that you can be trusted to tell the truth." Innumerable interviews with Chairman Mao and other Chinese leaders, along with his firsthand observations, confirmed Chou's estimate. The record of these interviews and observations is contained in the classic *Red Star Over China* and three other important books, *Journey to the Beginning, The Other Side of the River*, and *The Long Revolution*.

Maud Russell spent from 1917 to 1943 in China as a YWCA secretary, and returned home to head the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, which fought the post-war antagonisms toward China fostered by official U.S. policy. For years she has published the *Far Eastern Reporter*, documenting progress since the founding of the People's Republic. A one-person friendship association, Maud travels 20,000 miles every year, speaking and showing her films on new China.

Ida Pruitt (center) and **Talitha Gerlach** (right), invited into a peasant woman's home at the "Peanut Commune," Penglai, Shantung, Fall 1972. Ida was born in Penglai to American missionary parents in 1892 and lived more than half her life in China. She helped establish the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (INDUSCO) in the late 1930s and raised money and public support for them in the United States until 1948. Her book, *Daughter of Han*, is a unique biography of a Chinese working woman. Ida is a founding member of the Philadelphia U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association.

Also ever young, optimistic, and active, Talitha Gerlach first went to China under the sponsorship of the YWCA International Division in 1926. She too was one of the founders of INDUSCO, and was chairperson of the China Welfare Appeal in the United States. At the time (1948), it was the only organization in the United States that supported Soong Ching Ling's China Welfare Institute and its work in the liberated areas to "help the people to help themselves." In 1952, Talitha returned to Shanghai—where she now lives—as an adviser to the Institute in its experimental projects on welfare and cultural activities for mothers and children.

Photographed at a banquet with Chou En-lai on November 27, 1962, **Anna Louise Strong** followed events in China starting in 1925, and in 1927 was in Wuhan during the days of the revolutionary government. Out of that visit came the book *China's Millions*. She returned to China during the War of Resistance in 1938 and again in 1940-41. While in Yenan from 1946-47, she reported her famous conversation with Mao Tsetung in which he said: "All imperialists are paper tigers." *The Chinese Conquer China* was her book depicting the War of Liberation. She returned to China in the late 1950s and remained there the rest of her life, issuing thirty editions of the informative *Letters from China* and writing *The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes* and *When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet*.

Pan-Africanist, teacher, and socialist writer **W.E.B. DuBois** and his wife **Shirley Graham DuBois** with Chairman Mao Tsetung, October 1, 1962. During an earlier visit to China in 1959, he called on Africans and Afro-Americans to look to China for inspiration and help to overcome racist domination and also stressed that the goal of the Chinese Revolution was to bring about progress for the mass of the people and not merely for an intellectual elite.

When, in his ninety-first year, W.E.B. DuBois was unable to deliver a major speech at the "All Africa Conference" in Accra, Ghana (1958), his wife, Shirley Graham, read the speech in his place. She was the only non-African allowed to address the assembly. Subsequently, Shirley Graham and Eslanda (Mrs. Paul) Robeson secured the removal of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa flag from the assembly hall.

toward helping Americans better understand the impact of the revolution in urban China. Judith and Milo Thornberry
National Council of Churches

Con In 1972 Irv Drasnin made a film, *Misunderstanding China*, in which he criticized films of the Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan variety and groups like the missionaries and the soldiers of fortune that were responsible for conveying great misunderstanding of China. That film helped to create public opinion favorable to Nixon's impending visit to China. In 1973, he made another film, *Shanghai*.

Drasnin claims he didn't want to film the new construction and industries in Shanghai because audiences have already seen them and think they are propaganda. He wanted to film a family living in the older section of Shanghai, and to portray the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people. Has he done this?

Drasnin makes hardly any overt criticisms of new China, but the film contains many covert attacks. Under the guise of being balanced and objective, he in fact has pushed one thesis in many subtle ways. That thesis is: come what may—"Mongols, Manchus, Imperialism, Communism"—China and the Chinese people will remain unmoved and unchanged.

Take, for instance, the scene of street-cleaning by Shanghai residents. Drasnin labels it conformity to the group and comments that "conformity is an old Chinese idea going back at least 2500 years." This is outright distortion. One of the problems in China's past had been that "each family sweeps the snow in front of its own door" and had no concern for others' problems. Now the Chinese people have organized themselves to do things for the common good. Cleaning streets is only one manifestation of the new spirit.

Drasnin is also very concerned about privacy and the status of the individual. He says, "There has never been much room for individual choice—not 2000 years ago, not now." But he is looking at individual choice from his own middle class American point of view. Drasnin can't conceive that people who were once faced with the question of simple survival would choose to band together and cooperate on a broad scale to build a secure and prosperous existence.

During the Cultural Revolution the slogan "all public, no self" was criticized as an ultra-left concept that was incorrect. The current Chinese leaders have instead stressed that the interests of the public and the individual are in a mutually close relationship and that public good should come first, individual good second, not that one should block out the other.

Although China's new construction and

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industries are already somewhat known to the West, there is still no excuse for Drasnin to dwell so much on the past of Shanghai. He says Shanghai's past reflects "the glory of the British Empire" and that it was "the spirit of capitalism that built the city and molded its character." Mention is hardly made of the important role that Shanghai—the "revolutionary city"—played during the whole revolutionary process, and most particularly during the Cultural Revolution.

By not synchronizing the visuals with the commentary, Drasnin in subtle ways creates an initial negative impression, seems to balance it with a positive, and leaves the viewer confused. In the interview with the old dockworker, the commentary describes how bad things were in the past for them because of grueling manual labor and how things have been mechanized and improved. But what we see during most of the commentary is this old worker carrying crates on his back. An innocent viewer would wonder what all this talk of "improvement" means, whether some official coached the dockworker, etc. Lifting cranes were there on the docks to film, but he chose not to show them.

In discussing the revolutionary ballet, while saying the Chinese in recent campaigns have criticized "everyone from Confucius to Beethoven to Jonathan Livingston Seagull," Drasnin shows us dancers practicing classical ballet. Again, the viewer is confused: "Huh, these Chinese must be crazy! Here they are attacking Western art forms even while they're imitating them!" Although Drasnin subsequently lets a Chinese choreographer explain certain changes in the form and content of revolutionary ballet, an initial negative impression has been made and it sticks.

But the sharpest attack of all is Drasnin's view of the Chinese Revolution. While the soundtrack is saying, "More important to Mao than the speed of change or economic development is preserving the ideals of revolution. Mao wants to change not only how people live but how they think and act . . . ," the footage shows a lone bicycle rider on a country road, with sun low in the horizon behind trees. All this seems to say that Mao is going at the revolution alone, without the support of those unchanging and unchangeable Chinese people.

He concludes with a shot of what apparently symbolizes China for him: a lone junk on the sea—old, solitary, motionless. But it isn't the Chinese people who are static and unchanged, it is Drasnin, a student of China for some fifteen years, whose understanding of China remains anchored in the backwaters of the past.

Dorothy Loo Kehl
Brooklyn College

Suggested Reading

Dr. Spock in China

Women and Childcare in China by Ruth Sidel. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972. $1.25.

Education in the People's Republic of China by Fred Pincus. New York: Research Group One (215 W. 92 St., #10F, New York, N.Y. 10025), 1974. 65 cents.

Serve the People: Observations on Medical Care in the People's Republic of China by Victor W. Sidel and Ruth Sidel. Boston: Beacon Press, 1974. $4.45.

"Awaken the Mountains, Let the Rivers Change Their Faces . . ."

Fanshen by William Hinton. New York: Vintage, 1966. $2.95.

Iron Oxen by William Hinton. New York: Vintage, 1971. $1.95.

The Real Spirit of Tachai by Gerald Tannebaum. New York: MSS Modular Publications, Inc. (655 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10021), 1974. $1.20.

"Sixteen Tons, What do You Get?"

Daily Life in Revolutionary China by Maria Antonietta Macciocchi. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972. $3.95. Chs. 6-8.

China! Inside the People's Republic by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. New York: Bantam Books, 1972. $1.50. Ch. 6.

Red Menace or Yellow Journalism?

A Curtain of Ignorance by Felix Greene. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964. (Out of print; available in libraries.)

The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia by Alfred W. McCoy. New York: Harper and Row, 1972. $2.95.

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USCPFA Notes

"To build active and lasting friendship based on mutual understanding between the people of the United States and China." This is the goal of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association as set forth in the national statement of principles. In September 1974, when the founding convention of the National USCPFA took place in Los Angeles, there were thirty-three local Friendship Associations across the country. However, much had happened prior to the founding convention.

The first Friendship Associations were formed in San Francisco and New York in the summer of 1971. Later that year, associations were established in Seattle, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Subsequently, groups have developed all across the country.

The members of these associations come from extremely diverse backgrounds—China scholars and students, housewives and retired people, factory and office workers, white, Black, and Chinese Americans, doctors and lawyers. All consider themselves friends of the Chinese people, and all believe that a true understanding of new China among Americans is crucial for the future of both peoples.

During the past three years, the growing number of local associations have participated in many different kinds of activities: distributing 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; and promoting the exchange of visitors as well as of technical, cultural, and social experiences. For example, the New York City Friendship Association, along with other groups, held a press conference at Church Center for the United Nations in February 1973 to refute the charge that China was sending heroin to the United States; the San Francisco Association sponsored a China Week Fair consisting of booths, photo exhibits, and Chinese food that attracted thousands of people; the Detroit and Madison groups developed the idea of holiday and note cards made from Chinese papercuts; the Philadelphia Association in 1973 sponsored a Friendship Banquet at the local museum which attracted over 400 people; and Atlanta arranged a number of speaking engagements with newspaper and television coverage for a West Coast lawyer who had been to China. In addition, all local associations have speakers bureaus that provide narrated slide shows for schools, community groups and professional groups, and several have developed curriculum materials for educational use.

During the past two years, Friendship Associations have begun to sponsor trips to China. A West Coast group returned from a visit to China just prior to the founding convention, an East Coast group was in China while the convention was taking place, and additional trips were planned for the fall of 1974.

The first Friendship Associations were formed independently of each other, often with the vaguest notion of developments in other cities. Each association had to rely mainly on the resources and people of its own geographical area, and the organizations grew by sinking roots into the community which originally conceived them. That the Friendship Associations are grass-roots organizations is their strongest point.

But in the course of developing their local activities, members of the local Friendship Associations began to understand the need to coordinate their work with other groups in other cities. The first meeting of Friendship Associations took place on the West Coast in August 1972, and resulted in the sharing of experiences and the planning of cooperative projects. By the first half of 1973, regional organizations had been set up on the East and West Coast, and in November 1973 a third regional organization was established in the Midwest.

Yet regionals were still not enough, and the local associations decided to form a national organization. Tri-regional meetings were held in December 1973 and in April and June 1974, followed by the founding convention of the National U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association in September 1974. The new National Friendship Association will be better able to coordinate resources countrywide and will be a voice of U.S.-China friendship at the national level. It will also provide a communications network to facilitate the work of the local associations. The publication of this first issue of *New China* has been mandated for the same purpose.

The friendship between the peoples of the United States and China is stronger than it has ever been. We hope that those who have developed an interest in China as a result of this magazine will join their local associations in order to continue building people-to-people friendship.

U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Associations

EAST COAST

Albany USCPFA, c/o Michael Howard, 395 Hamilton St., Albany, N.Y. 12210

Atlanta USCPFA, P.O. Box 54664, Atlanta, Ga. 30308

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Boston USCPFA, P.O. Box 63, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. 02112

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Long Island USCPFA, P.O. Box 707, Stony Brook, L.I., N.Y. 11790

New York USCPFA, Rm. 1228, 41 Union Square W., New York, N.Y. 10003

Philadelphia USCPFA, 3600 Powelton, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Washington, D.C. USCPFA, P.O. Box 40503, Washington, D.C. 20216

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Ann Arbor USCPFA, c/o Teixeira, 512 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104

Champaign-Urbana USCPFA, P.O. Box 2889, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820

Chicago USCPFA, Rm. 1085, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60605

Detroit USCPFA, P.O. Box 793, Detroit, Mich. 48232

Eastern Iowa USCPFA, c/o Wessels, 624 S. Clinton, Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Madison USCPFA, 1127 University Avenue, Madison, Wis. 53715

Milwaukee Society For U.S.-China Understanding, 1618 West Wells St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53233

Yellow Springs USCPFA, c/o Schmidt, Antioch Student Mailroom, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

WEST COAST

Corvallis USCPFA, 2700 Monroe, Corvallis, Oregon 97330

East Bay USCPFA, P.O. Box 9317, Berkeley, Cal. 94709

Fresno USCPFA, c/o Opper, 5524 N. Vagades, Fresno, Cal. 93705

Hawaii-China Friendship Association, 410 Nahua St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

Los Angeles USCPFA, 619 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, Cal. 90057

Mid-Peninsula USCPFA, 424 Lytton, Palo Alto, Cal. 94301

Orange County USCPFA, c/o Light, 2900 E. Madison (c-34), Fullerton, Cal. 92631

Portland USCPFA, P.O. Box 14942, Portland, Oregon 97214

San Diego USCPFA, c/o Jacobsen, 4411 New Jersey, San Diego, Cal. 92116

San Francisco USCPFA, 50 Oak St., San Francisco, Cal. 94102

San Jose USCPFA, P.O. Box 21188, San Jose, Cal. 95151

Seattle USCPFA, Box 201, 3000 Hub FK 10, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98195

Tucson USCPFA, P.O. Box 4081, Tucson, Ariz. 85719

How to Fly, Japanese Style.

Slip into a *happi* coat. Part robe, part sport coat. The Japanese dress up even to relax.

Sake, champagne, wine. And a platter of cheese to snack from in between.

JAL's flight kit includes slippers, fan, city guide, toothbrush, travel wallet —and eyeshades!

Hot *oshibori* towels. Or, how to freshen up without getting up.

Kobe. The world's most tender beef.

Tsukidashi. The delicious word for Japanese hors d'oeuvres.

Beluga caviar. Lobster. Pâté. When it's cocktail time on JAL, we treat you like a king.

Cuisine a la Japanese. A perfect introduction to Japan.

Artichoke hearts. Carrots aglow in butter. And the steak is cooked to order.

This photo features First Class service items.

We once asked some of our frequent guests—like yourself—what they liked most about flying with us.

Surprisingly, it wasn't any of the comforts or delicacies above.

In fact it wasn't what we did so much as how we did it.

They spoke of being pampered. Of the way our hostesses in kimono smile. Small things, of course. But in a world that worships the mammoth, the small has a way of making up in gleam what it lacks in size.

You've seen how we at JAL glory in the small things of life. From our first hello to our last *sayonara,* we take the small attentions and courtesies so much for granted, they are our way of life.

It's a way of life practiced by us and our ancestors of generations beyond number.

In that sense you could say we've been practicing how to fly for a thousand years or more.

JAPAN AIR LINES