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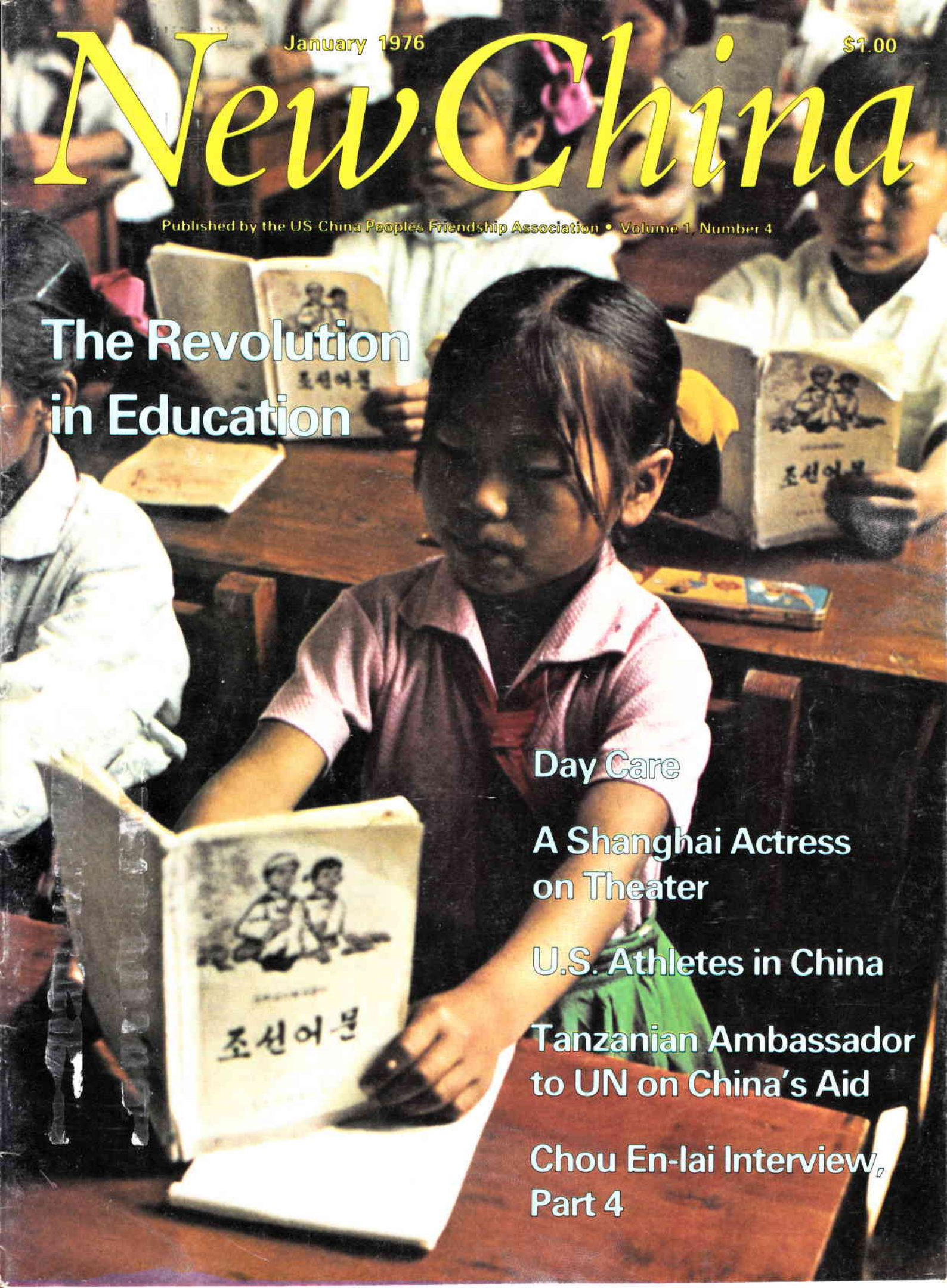

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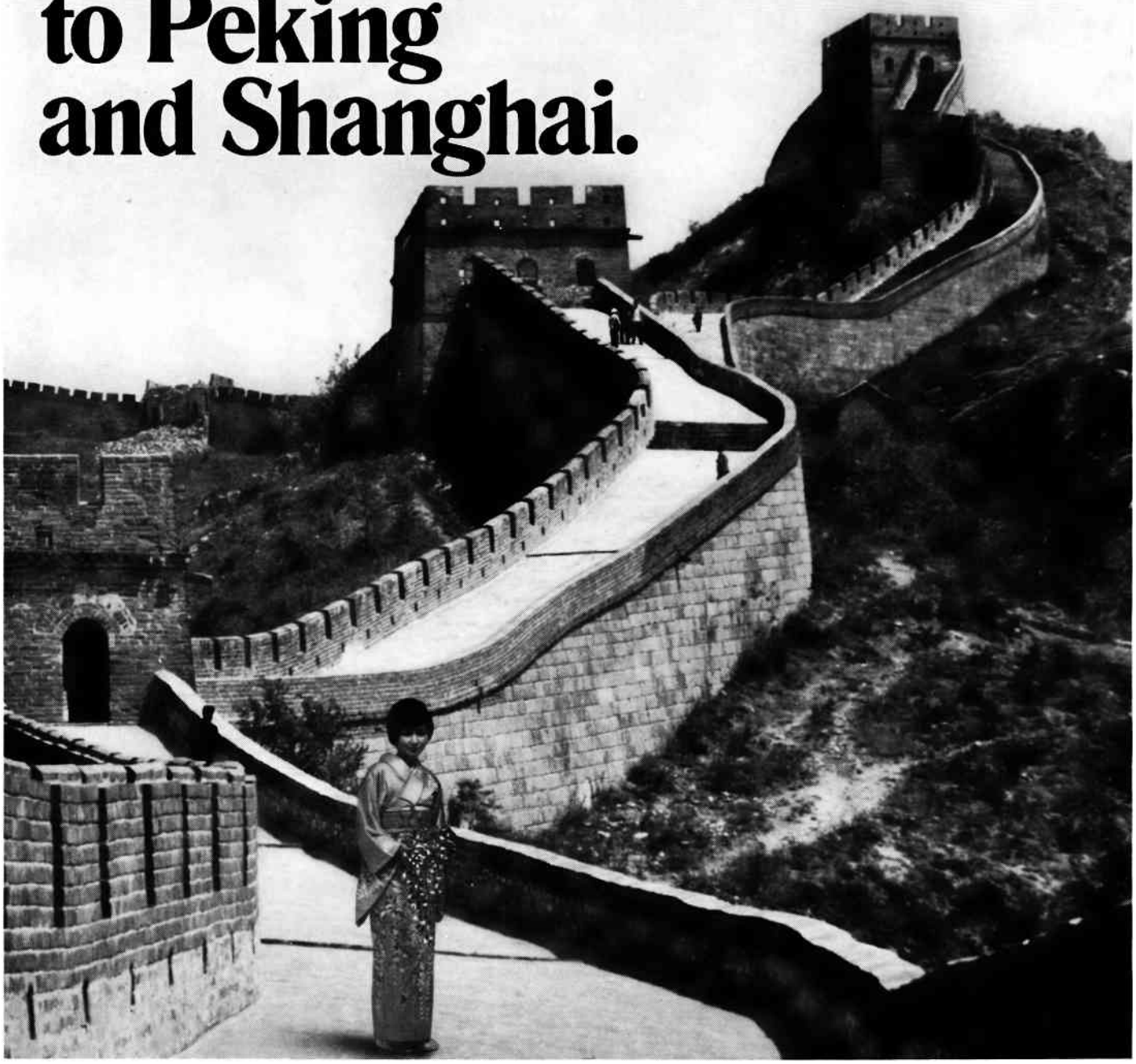

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New China

January, 1976 Volume 1, Number 4

Cover: Photo by S. S. Lanzilotti
At a bilingual school near Jilin; primary schoolers read in their native Korean.

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USCPFA News: The Second National Convention

"It's rare to find such intense concentration on the issues at a convention," said Jeff Shapiro, a 65-year-old dentist who attended the Second National Convention. "I've been to lots of meetings, and I was impressed by how seriously these delegates and observers were involved in the work of promoting U.S.-China friendship and how hard they worked to move it forward."

From Friday, August 29, to Monday, September 1, approximately 525 delegates and observers, representing 58 local USCPFA chapters (20 more than last year) and about a dozen organizing committees, met at the North Shore Hilton in Skokie, Illinois. Besides attending day and evening meetings, workshops, educational lectures, and film showings, the delegates found time to meet informally to debate ways of improving the work of the Friendship Association. "Wherever I went—in the lobby, the halls, the dining room—I stumbled upon small groups talking about the issues," remarked another delegate.

The convention schedule encouraged this atmosphere of lively debate. Delegates met in groups of 20 to 30 to discuss the main aims of friendship work and how to achieve them. They spent the day and a half before the second voting plenary in resolutions committees and workshops on organizational structure, national programs and publications, tours to China, media and resources, membership education, outreach, touring Chinese groups and exhibits, and fund-raising. From the committee sessions came concrete and well-considered resolutions to be taken up by the plenary.

Plenary Resolutions and Actions The Convention united around a number of resolutions; other proposals, especially those dealing with organizational structure, called forth a range of opinion. Among the resolutions that carried unanimously or almost unanimously were the following:

1. To break down the major barrier to people-to-people friendship between Americans and Chinese, the Convention decided that a broad-based campaign for normalization of U.S.-China relations would be a national priority in 1975-76. The widely shared concern implied in the campaign was expressed in two other acts of the convention. 1) The National Steering Committee was authorized to clarify and strengthen the wording of the USCPFA position on the Taiwan question in the Statement of Principles. This revised Statement of Principles (see inside back cover) omits reference to U.S. armed forces in Indochina—reflecting the end of the U.S. presence in that region—and emphasizes that the continued "presence of U.S. armed forces in Taiwan, a province of China," represents an obstacle to normalizing state relations. 2) The Convention took the initiative of sending a telegram to President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger on the issue of normalization:

"In the interest of developing active and lasting friendship between the people of the United States and the people of China, the National USCPFA Convention calls on the U.S. government to implement the intent of the Shanghai Communique in a truly serious and speedy manner. We also call on the U.S. government to withdraw immediately all military forces and installations from Taiwan Province and to immediately abrogate the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty."

2. Noting that the Association seeks to reach all sections of the American people, and that workers and minorities in the United States have a special interest in the progress made by the people of China, the Convention called for special efforts in the coming year to make programs available to workers and national minorities, to reach them with information about China, and to draw them into the friendship movement.

3. Responding with great enthusiasm to the rapid growth of the friendship movement in the South, the plenary ratified the formation of a Southern Region to coordinate friendship work in the area. Associations already exist in Atlanta, Birmingham, Gainesville, Nashville, New Orleans, and Tallahassee. There are also organizing committees in Austin, Dade-Broward (Miami), East Alabama, Knoxville, Mississippi, and Sarasota.

4. Agreeing that *New China*, the national magazine of the USCPFA, in its first year had proven its ability to advance friendship between the American and Chinese peoples, and that it is also a financially sound and self-sufficient project, the plenary approved two to one the continuation of *New China* magazine in its present form. Although some delegates felt that a less expensive format would have been more appropriate, the great majority preferred *New China* as now published, and committed their local chapters to carry out a subscription campaign from October 1 to January 1 to strengthen the national magazine of the Association.

5. A National Steering Committee of 16 members was continued—now composed of three from each region and a maximum of four elected nation-wide. The 1975-76 members are: *At-large*—Koji Ariyoshi (Hawaii), William Hinton (Philadelphia), Frank Pestana (Los Angeles), Helen Rosen (New York); *South*—Elaine Budd (Gainesville), Bob McFarland (New Orleans), David Nolan (Atlanta); *West*—Chris Beasley (Portland), Ellen Brotsky (San Francisco), Bernie Lusher (Los Angeles); *Midwest*—Debra Kagan (Madison), Clark Kissinger (Chicago), Andrea Price (Cincinnati); *East*—Norman Chance (Storrs, Conn.), Peter Gilmartin (Philadelphia), Margaret Whitman (Nassau, L.I.). Joining Maud Russell as Honorary Members were Shirley Graham DuBois, Ida Pruitt, John Service, and Edgar Snow (in memoriam). William Hinton was unanimously re-elected chairman by the Steering Committee.

The National Steering Committee was urged to continue the development and distribution of pamphlets and study guides like *The Taiwan Question: Roadblock to Friendship*, and *Opium and China: New China Kicked the Habit* (both 1975) to aid local Associations in internal education and outreach activities. Suggested topics for

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Correction: Vicki Garvin taught English in Shanghai from 1964 to 1966, not from 1966 to 1970 as reported in our Fall 1975 issue. She later worked in Peking for the Foreign Languages Press until her return to the United States in 1970.

New China Volume 1, Number 4 Winter 1976 41 Union Square West, Room 631, New York, N.Y. 10003

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The opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of **New China** or the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. **New China** welcomes ideas for articles. Authors should first submit a one-page outline. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

these materials include the history of U.S.-China friendship, China's national minorities, political freedom in China, Chinese history, the Cultural Revolution, health care, children, women, and foreign policy.

6. Reflecting the uneven growth of the organized friendship movement, and the multiplicity of organizational structures that exist at regional and local levels, resolutions that dealt with structure were hotly debated and gained varying degrees of support. Yet even here three strong points of consensus emerged: there should be open and clearly defined membership; structures should have both the form and content of democracy; creating uniform structures nation-wide was a goal to be striven for.

It was agreed that anyone is eligible for USCPFA membership who subscribes to the Statement of Principles and pays annual dues of $5 ($3 for those with limited incomes). One dollar of each member's dues will be forwarded to the National Office to support its services to locals. Members are to be given a voice and vote but just how to do this was not specified. Each chapter will determine the duties of its own members, pending the adoption of a nation-wide policy next year.

Accreditation of local chapters and organizing committees will be granted according to the standards set by the four regions, again pending adoption of a nation-wide policy next year.

As of January 1, 1976, votes on national and regional bodies are to be proportional to the size of each local chapter: 1-100 members, one vote; 101-300, two votes; 300 or more, three votes.

The Convention's desire to postpone overly restrictive decisions on structural matters was summed up in a clause of the structural resolution that gained the most votes: "The National Steering Committee, upon proposals submitted by the Regions, will recommend a uniform structure to be adopted by local Associations at the next National Convention."

Banquet and Speakers Over 450 people attended the Sunday evening banquet and after-dinner program chaired by Helen Rosen. The program included a heart-warming song in Chinese about the feeling of the Chinese people for their compatriots of Taiwan Province, and three exciting speakers. John Service, former U.S. State Department Officer in China, clarified several problems in U.S.-China relations, highlighting the folly of present U.S. policy on Taiwan by means of a fable which *New China* has adapted for this issue as "Florian." Unita Blackwell Wright, a Black civil rights activist from Mississippi, had the audience laughing, crying, and cheering as she told of her experiences in China on Shirley MacLaine's women's tour. Erwin (Sid) Engst, who went to China to share with the Chinese what he knew about dairy farming, described some of the things he learned from the Chinese during the 30 years he has lived there. (He gave talks throughout the United States for the USCPFA this past fall.)

Numerous notes and telegrams of congratulation and support were received, including one from Shirley MacLaine: "I send my congratulations, my love, and my admiration to you for building a bridge across the earth to help each of us uphold our part of the sky. Love, Shirley MacLaine."

Ten members of the USCPFA National Steering Committee attended the October 1st anniversary of the Chinese Revolution in Peking as guests of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC). This was the first time that the USCPFA has been represented at an October 1st celebration. *First row, left to right:* Ting Hsueh-sung, Vice-President, CPAFFC; Bernie Lusher, Executive Secretary, USCPFA; Helen Rosen; Wang Hai-jung, Vice-Foreign Minister; Clark Kissinger, Vice-Chairman, USCPFA; William Hinton, Chairman, USCPFA; Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; Frank Pestana, Secretary-Treasurer, USCPFA; Tang Wen-sheng, Deputy Director of the Department of American and Oceanian Affairs, Foreign Ministry; Ellen Brotsky; Hu Hung-fan, Council Member, CPAFFC. *Second row*: Yeh Tung-hai, CPAFFC staff; Debra Kagan; Margaret Whitman; Kuo Tse-pei, CPAFFC staff; David Nolan; Christine Beasley; Yao Chin-jung, CPAFFC staff; Wu Kai-chin, CPAFFC staff.

Other Activities Lectures and discussions took place on childhood education, the current Chinese campaign to consolidate working-class power and restrict bourgeois right, the new Chinese Constitution, the history of U.S.-China friendship, and graphic arts techniques. Films and videotapes were shown each day, and the fascinating Midwest Library Exhibit of photos was set up in the lobby.

There was so much to do that many delegates and observers never left the hotel throughout the entire weekend. At the end, the Chicago Association was loudly applauded for its fine work in hosting the Convention.

Associations are encouraged to send news of their activities for inclusion in "USCPFA News."

Letters

As my interest in Tibet focuses on traditional Buddhist religious practice and philosophy, I have a somewhat different outlook on the issue of Chinese "liberation" of Tibet than you do. First, I believe that China acted as an aggressor in its takeover of Tibet. Leaving aside the question of whether or not the Tibetan masses were oppressed, the takeover involved one culture's dictating its values to another very distinct culture. Also, I think it naive to argue that China acted solely on humanitarian grounds.

I cringed at your reporting that "mutilations, flogging, eye-gougings, and nose and tongue amputations were common." Your sensationalist reporting of these details only served to discredit, for me, that much good has come about since Tibet was brought under Chinese authority.

But the assertion I feel most qualified to contend with is your description of Buddhism as teaching "that one's position in life is due to one's actions in a previous life. To improve one's lot in the next life, the present must be accepted without complaint." Not only is that a gross oversimplification of the Buddhist doctrine of *karma*, but it is highly inaccurate. Buddha stressed total *responsibility* for one's actions. I think if you were to spend some time studying Tibetan Buddhist texts you would see that you have done both Buddhism and your article an injustice by treating the subject so inaccurately.

Finally, the logic of this one baffles me: "The consistency and character of Tibetan-Han relations over more than a millennium have made Tibet an integral part of China." By that reasoning, China might just as well be a part of Tibet, or perhaps more logically, Tibet should be part of India.

Barbara Dills
Eugene, Ore.

Tom Grunfeld, author of "Tibet: Myths and Realities," replies:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to clarify some very important questions.

I have lived among ethnic Tibetans in India, Nepal, and Sikkim. This experience and my respect for the Tibetan people have prompted me to study their history. My reading of that history makes me feel most strongly that the Tibetans should never again be subject to the old system and the old ruling class.

You say, "leaving aside the question of whether or not the Tibetan masses were oppressed . . .," but this is precisely what *cannot* be "left aside," for Tibetan Buddhism was as much a political and economic system as a religion—it permeated all Tibetan life. It is an error common among students of Tibetan religion and culture to separate the dogma as it is preached from the religion as it is practiced. Regardless of what the holy books may say, one must examine the reality of what life was like for the Tibetans.

Was the ruling class (lay and clergy) as virtuous and moral as the holy books claim they should have been? They were not. Not only did Tibet's former leaders hold the masses of ordinary Tibetans in physical and mental bondage, but they murdered five Dalai Lamas in palace intrigues—in spite of the Buddhist admonition against killing. The atrocities which I described were also a case of the differences between actual practice and the laws as they were written. Manor lords, especially in the hinterland, used eye-gougings, floggings, etc., as punishment. I felt it necessary to call attention to this in order to show what the old system meant to the people of Tibet in real life. If I had chosen to ignore the atrocities, I would have been giving the false impression that Buddhism was practiced in Tibet in the idealized form found in the holy books.

The doctrine of responsibility in Buddhist thought, which you mention, is deceptive. The clergy and gentry used this doctrine to convince the illiterate serfs that they were totally responsible for their own misery and for earning reincarnation into a better life. In other words, serfdom was never presented as a system that benefited the ruling class—which it was—but as the unchangeable will of heaven. This is a horribly ingenious and pernicious form of oppression. Only by being uncomplaining "good slaves" could the serfs hope to change their situation—in the *next* world.

You characterized the liberation of Tibet as a "takeover," the forcing of a foreign culture upon Tibet. In fact, any history will show that present-day Tibetan life and culture bear the imprint of Tibet's centuries-long interaction with the Han culture of China. The very office of the Dalai Lama was created in feudal times by an emperor of China, to give but one example. By the most conservative estimate, Tibetan history and culture have been inextricably linked with that of the rest of China for at least the last 600 years.

In this sense, your questioning of China's humanitarian motives misses the point. The People's Republic was being neither altruistic nor selfish in liberating Tibet—although, in fact, since 1950 the Han majority of China *has* helped Tibetans, as well as China's 53 other minorities, to throw off their oppressive conditions while preserving everything in their own cultures that was not designed simply to keep the former rulers in power. What the liberation of Tibet accomplished was to reunite a China that had been sundered by semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism—in this instance perpetrated by British imperial schemes. Both the nation as a whole and the Tibetans in particular are benefiting from Tibet's economic and political development, improved education, medical care, transportation, and defense which reunification has made possible.

You see this reunification as cultural aggression—for which there is no evidence—yet you ignore the manipulation of Tibetans as pawns in the anti-Communist campaigns of the United States and other powers—a form of aggression which has been amply documented, as in the case of the 1959 revolt that was fomented by outside forces, including our own CIA.

The general point I would stress is that culture cannot be divorced from social and political reality, and this is what I tried to show in my article.

Further documentation on "Tibet: Myths and Realities" will be supplied upon request. Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

I just wanted to say what a fine interview Bill Hinton has done with Chou En-lai. I must say that I started reading it with the attitude: "Oh God! Yet another midnight interview with the Premier!" But it was indeed extraordinary in that it touched on some questions which I have seen almost no mention of.

New China keeps surprising me. I think what has made it truly interesting is the awareness that, although great, the Chinese Revolution is not infallible. In many ways its mistakes are as instructive as its successes.

Orville Schell
Bolinas, Calif.

Everyone here is very impressed by *New China*. We think it's an excellent magazine geared toward ordinary people. It caught the eye of many tourists who didn't even notice the plain newsletters and pamphlets we were also selling at the China Pavilion of "Man and His World" this summer in Montreal. Keep up the good work!

Sara Rosner
Montreal, Que., Canada

Congratulations on the Fall issue for its variety and deeper thrust. Glad you printed the letters which noted important omissions in the Taiwan chronology that quite properly emphasized U.S. brinksmanship and a century-old strategy. It is important that you not overlook or minimize U.S. activities.

Two criticisms: one is the continued avoidance of comparison with our own situation (whether it be drugs, unemployment, national minorities) in the United States. Closest you came to this was "Sixteen Tons." Vicki Garvin's article "China and Black Americans" copes with comparison by carefully quoting Mao rather than speaking her own "truth through bitterness."

Finally, *New China* will *have* to print some articles dealing with China's foreign policy. All of us who speak on China are questioned on China's relationship with one country or another. It is an area of concern to all, and must not be avoided.

Evelyn Alloy
Philadelphia, Pa.

"Letters" to *New China* are very interesting. They express the genuine feelings of the readers and they are very valuable.

Dr. Gilbert C.S. Hwong
New Hartford, N.Y.

As a recent visitor to the PRC and as a Marxist-Leninist, I appreciate immensely the accuracy and non-rhetorical journalism of *New China*. The American people need more of this, much more, to begin to understand Asian socialism.

Peg Averill
Washington, D.C.

Why not 12 issues of *New China* per year?

Sik Q. Jew, M.D.
Monroe, Wisc.

New Project Opens in Twin Cities

The Midwest China Study Resource Center, a new project sponsored by a coalition of 14 academic institutions, citizens' groups, and church judicatories in the Upper Midwest, began operations in August, with offices at 2375 Como Avenue West, St. Paul, Minnesota. The director is Donald MacInnis, for the past eight and a half years the director of the China Program of the National Council of Churches USA and editor of *China Notes*. The two principal functions of the Center will be 1) developing research, study, and curriculum projects in related colleges and theological seminaries, and 2) developing programs and services in China education/interpretation for related citizens' groups.

What are the problems with the continuing revolutionary struggle? Prisons? Mental health? Old age? Are there progressive groups that are not incorporated in the Communist Party? How is the government structured? How centralized? What sorts of decisions are made from below? How is dissent dealt with? How is Chinese foreign policy formulated? How are decisions made?

We always hear of the mass conformity of the people, the lack of individual freedoms. Why don't you respond to these American conceptions? You seem to avoid the most crucial questions so as not to offend anyone.

Billy Pope
Austin, Texas

Almost all the articles now are about *topics*. Articles about individual *people* would be a very easy-to-relate-to supplement.

Publicize the work of the Friendship Association a lot more. Instead of a lot of little news notes, why not a full-scale article about some of the activists in a particular association and things they've done lately? An article each issue that answers the question "Who goes on a tour to China?" and profiles some of the people who have just been on the most recent tours would help.

Steve Johnson
Denver, Colo.

I like the entire magazine. The diversity of articles is stimulating and provocative. Comparisons between China and the United States are important. What can we learn—and apply—from China's experiences?

B. Jeanette Rosenstock
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Is it true that people of China lack the kind of cynicism that is very much a part of life in the capitalist world? Please feature more articles on the daily life and attitudes of the Chinese people, and also their contributions to humanity.

J. Tan
Toronto, Ont., Canada

I enjoyed all the articles—interesting, good pictures—especially the article about women's liberation as I have had some serious problems in this area. I think comparisons are helpful to show others the possibilities of what can be done here.

Please send out a questionnaire to your subscribers at least once a year.

K. Cash
Houston, Texas

Letters to New China have been excerpted for publication.

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Women: The Chinese Delegation at Mexico City

The International Women's Year Conference, held by the United Nations in Mexico City from June 19 to July 2, 1975, was a historic step forward for the world's women. For the first time, representatives of 133 countries, nine liberation movements, and hundreds of organizations met to develop international guidelines and targets for action to improve the status of women. At the same time, five miles away, a non-governmental Tribune attracted 6,000 participants from 82 countries. Both the official Conference and the free-wheeling Tribune sessions were marked by hot debate over the priorities of the world Plan of Action intended to set goals for the next decade.

The position of the Third World delegations, including the Chinese, was clearly dominant at the Conference. They contended that without the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, and without a redistribution of wealth and power in a new economic order, the majority of the world's women cannot be liberated. They emphasized the importance of directing the Plan of Action to the more than one billion women in the world who suffer hunger, sickness and miserable living conditions, and whose oppression as women is inextricably linked to the economic and political structures within which they live.

Representatives of the United States and other developed countries were more concerned with measures to give women equal opportunity for advancement within existing structures and systems, and felt that discussion at the Conference should be confined to special women's issues of a "non-political" nature. The Soviet and East European delegations stressed detente and disarmament as key issues for women.

The leader of the Chinese delegation was Li Su-wen, Vice-Chairperson of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In her speech before a packed hall at the plenary session of the Conference she strongly confronted both "non-political" feminism and detente as ideas which lead the women's struggle astray. She pointed to the experience of Chinese women who fought long and hard for their liberation. After many setbacks and failures they found that an oppressive system was the root cause of the discrimination they suffered, and that to achieve their own liberation, they must first of all fight for national liberation and social progress. As a part of that broader struggle, the emancipation of women is a cause of the entire people. But it is of especially vital interest to women themselves and must be won through their own efforts.

Li Su-wen emphasized the need for women to oppose the United States and the USSR as superpowers which, through the arms race and the presence of their troops and navies all over the globe, are a menace to world peace. She was particularly critical of the Soviet Union's plenary call for reduced military expenditures in light of its own increased spending on weapons. A Soviet delegate later utilized the "right of reply" to engage in a short debate with Li Su-wen on the subject of disarmament—one of the few exchanges at the plenary sessions.

The members of the Chinese delegation, from worker and peasant backgrounds, were themselves outstanding examples of the progress that Chinese women have made since Liberation. Li Su-wen, who worked in a vegetable produce shop and still does manual labor regularly, also holds a position in the central government and is Vice-Chairperson of the Revolutionary Committee of Liaoning Province. She was one of the highest-ranking officials heading a delegation. Many other delegations were led by

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women who are married or related to high government officials but who do not themselves hold responsible positions in their countries.

Li Su-wen and the other 19 members of the Chinese delegation impressed many people at the Conference with their modest and approachable manner. Amid the glamorous atmosphere of the Conference, the Chinese delegation was generally described by reporters and observers as responsible, serious, and very down-to-earth.

The Chinese delegation, in addition to participating in the plenary sessions, was particularly active in the First Committee of the Conference, which had the task of completing the draft Plan of Action. Chinese and other Third World delegates were instrumental in strengthening the opening sections of the Plan, adding paragraphs calling for the elimination of "foreign and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, and neo-colonialism."

The main purpose of the ten-year Plan of Action is to stimulate national and international programs that confront the problems of underdevelopment and help to change the socio-economic structures which place women in an inferior position. The 49-page, 216-item Plan which was finally adopted by the Conference stresses the key needs of Third World women, while also including provisions that speak to the needs of all women. The Plan urges governments to insure full civil and social equality before the law and equal treatment in education and employment.

Other areas where progress is demanded are nutrition, literacy, housing, health, vocational training, and special services for rural women. A controversial paragraph, opposed by the Vatican, was finally added to the Plan supporting women's right of access to birth control as basic to the attainment of any real equality between the sexes. A second world conference is scheduled for 1980 in Teheran, Iran, to check on progress toward these and other goals outlined in the Plan.

In addition to the Plan of Action, a "Declaration of Mexico, 1975," sponsored by 74 developing countries, was adopted at the Conference's final meeting, with 90 delegations in favor (including China), two opposed (the United States and Israel), and 19 abstentions. The Declaration, more specifically than the Plan of Action, links the inequalities afflicting the vast majority of women to the larger problem of underdevelopment, "which exists as a result not only of unsuitable internal structures, but also of a profoundly unjust world economic system." U.S. and Israeli opposition to the Declaration was directed, as were some of the abstentions, mainly at a paragraph referring to the "achievement of national liberation and independence, as well as the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, *apartheid*, racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their rights to self-determination."

Li Su-wen, head of the Chinese delegation to the International Women's Year Conference, confronts "detente" and "non-political feminism" in Mexico City. (Photo: Eeva-Inkeri)

The Declaration asks men and women to reject intervention in the domestic affairs of nations, whether carried out by other nations or by transnational corporations, and to promote respect for "the sovereign rights of a State to establish its own economic, social, and political system without undergoing political and economic pressures or coercion of any type."

*

While all this was unfolding at the UN Conference, 6,000 people from international organizations and labor, political, and women's groups were meeting on the other side of Mexico City as a non-governmental Tribune. Although no representatives of the People's Republic of China were present, their spirit was often invoked by women from Third World and developed countries alike as an example of what women can achieve under socialism.

A workshop entitled "East Meets West" brought together Lilia Li Ma-luk, a member of the New York US-China Peoples Friendship Association who has traveled to China 15 times since Liberation, and the American feminist Betty Friedan in a discussion about women in China. Before an audience of several hundred women, an initially hostile Ms. Friedan sharply questioned Ms. Li about abortion, child care, and particularly the sharing of housework by both men and women in China. Ms. Li, with the enthusiastic support of her audience, reduced the usually voluble Ms. Friedan to silence and an early exit from the seminar with her account of what Chinese women have accomplished. "These women want to hear about China," Ms. Friedan acknowledged, "not listen to me. I would really like to go to China to see all this for myself."

Many women in the audience were visibly shocked by Ms. Li's account of the practices Chinese women were subject to before Liberation, such as virtual enslavement in the house of their mother-in-law, and "marriages" of girl children to dead husbands and subsequent perpetual widowhood. On the other hand, many American women seemed to be particularly impressed by the services which socialism has made available to women in China, such as 24-hour child care, child care at the workplace, including work breaks for visiting the child, and 56-day maternity leave with full pay—services which most American women do not yet have access to in their own communities, despite the much greater monetary and human resources available in the United States. The interest at the Tribune was so great that two subsequent meetings were arranged to continue the discussion of women in China.

Chinese women were a powerful moving force in Mexico City, not only because of their active participation in the controversial debates at the UN sessions but, more important, because of the strength of their example as women who are liberating themselves by helping to liberate a whole society.

Margaret M. Bald
New York, N.Y.

Books

A Death with Dignity: When the Chinese Came. By Lois Wheeler Snow. New York: Random House, 1975. Cloth, $6.95.

The 23-year marriage of Edgar and Lois Snow blended two richly diverse backgrounds into a rare, loving, and productive partnership. During Edgar Snow's hospitalization for cancer, they experienced a bewildering pulling apart of this relationship, an isolation that was both physical and psychological. Not until the Chinese visited them did they realize that it was not the specter of death but the barbaric sterility imposed on the death experience in the Western world that made it so unbearable. While the Chinese were in their home, they could again share life together as long as it lasted. Ed was not written off—he lived until he died—and his wife and children were able to live full and productive lives.

For most of his career, journalist Edgar Snow explained to the Western world how the People's Republic of China functioned. He made many prolonged trips to China. The leaders and the Chinese people knew him well and loved him for his efforts to share his vision of their country with the West. But in the West, especially in the United States, his homeland, he was not so well loved. In common with many other Americans during the fearful McCarthy witch-hunting period, he and his actress wife were blacklisted for his efforts. Their "temporary" move to Switzerland to find work became a permanent one.

It was a convenient home base for Ed's travels. Lois had access to the theater and ballet she loved so much and the leisure to read and to develop her life and skills. Their children, educated in Swiss schools, developed the self-assurance of people at home in two languages and cultures. The peacefulness of Swiss village life, alternating with many visitors from the outside world, contributed to the atmosphere that deepened the Snows' commitment to each other in a personal as well as a professional relationship.

Then Ed was hospitalized. His greatly enlarged liver was not, as had been thought, from hepatitis; cancer of the pancreas had also spread to that organ. Major surgery was performed. Later, Lois learned that pre-surgery tests had indicated that Ed was incurably ill, and an operation was too late to be of any use. Post-surgery was painful and debilitating, and she wondered if they would have chosen it had they been told the results of the tests.

They weren't given any choice, however, nor was much else offered—precious little information, time, or compassion. Lois quite literally chased the doctor all over the hospital to extract scraps of information. "The elevator doors would open, slide shut across his wrinkled white coat, and I'd wait again for another day."

One day the doctor exploded: "If I gave *everybody* in the hospital as much time as I give you, I would have no time for *anybody!*"

Nursing care was brisk, insensitive, and not especially thorough. "Mr. Snow, *behave* yourself!" a nurse chided him as he moaned in pain.

"It was imperative that he should not be left alone, but the only guarantee that he would not be was the family's constant attendance. Sometimes the nurses' signal light remained unanswered so long that I had to risk dashing out into the corridor for help. When his pain seemed beyond endurance, it was I who talked a nurse into giving him the scheduled shot before the precise hour and I who pleaded not to awaken him when soothing sleep coincided with breakfast, tea, or untimely temperature checks that satisfy routine."

When they returned home the situation was better. However, inexperience and lack of information handicapped them in dealing with the approaching death and the unending pain. A packet of painkillers "to be used sparingly" and advice to "let him eat whatever he wants" was all the professional help they received. Three times a week they returned to the hospital for four-hour chemotherapy treatments during which Ed had to lie supine and motionless and in agony.

Then his old friend Chou En-lai arranged for a medical team to come to Switzerland

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to escort the Snows to Peking. A hospital suite was being prepared there to accommodate all four family members. When the Chinese arrived and realized how very ill Ed was, they knew the trip was no longer feasible. En masse, they settled down to make his last few weeks as peaceful and comfortable as possible.

"Through them, home and hospital blended; with the personal—the *person*—put foremost, Ed was no longer a 'case'."

The Chinese changed the family's life drastically. They were in coordinated attendance 24 hours a day. Treatment options were openly discussed and fully explained, and Ed began to be relieved of some of the dreadful pain with a combination of drugs and detailed attention to diet. Chemotherapy was continued with a mobile needle inserted in a vein of one hand and taped into place, leaving him free to turn at will.

"It's a needle we use on babies. Babies can't be strapped down," the Chinese doctor explained, apparently unfamiliar with Western practices used for babies and other "uncontrollable" patients. The Chinese were efficient, available, and unobtrusive. A strong sense of community developed within the household and also in the village. The family, and Ed when he felt up to it, were free to share each other's company and to welcome visiting friends. They worked whenever they pleased. The atmosphere was far from festive, with Ed's impending death ever present. Due to the compassionate assistance of their Chinese friends, however, the Snows were able to successfully cope with this crisis and unfamiliar rite of passage.

After Ed's death, when Lois visited Chou En-lai and his wife, Teng Ying-chao replied to her thanks by referring to the American physician, George Hatem, when he went to China: "It was a natural thing for us to send our doctors when you needed them; after all Ed brought us a doctor when we badly needed one."

A Death with Dignity is a love story: the story of a man's and a woman's love for each other, their children, their friends, for a society about which we know so little, and of the Chinese people's love for this man, Edgar Snow, who had given so much of himself for them. It stirs up uneasy questions about the quality of humanitarian attitudes and services in our "individualistic" society; it tears into old stereotypes of the Chinese system. The reader is drawn into the Snows' life in such a way that he or she cannot emerge unmoved by the family, by the Chinese who attended them, and by the realization that similar experiences in time will touch us all.

Elizabeth Hormann
Belmont, Mass.

Sports: "Friendship First, Competition Second"

Athletes run "friendship lap" after Guangzhou meet. (Photo: Hsinhua News Agency)

Can American athletes perform well when there are no medals or trophies to be won? Can track and field events build world friendship as well as set world records? These are some of the questions *New China* put to four Americans who toured China with the Amateur Athletics Union team for two weeks last May. Barbara Friedrich (javelin thrower), Dick Buerkle (long distance runner), Irving Kintisch (coach), and Ken McBryde (triple jumper) agreed that the purpose of the AAU trip was to develop friendship between the peoples of the two nations.

We asked them how the Chinese view of athletics—"friendship first, competition second"—affected the atmosphere at the meets in Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Peking. Did this attitude keep the Americans or the Chinese from giving their peak performances? For Barbara Friedrich, putting cooperation before competition was "the right idea for developing better relations between two major countries." The 26-year-old phys ed teacher from Toms River, New Jersey, has thrown the javelin in AAU meets for 12 years and has been on the U.S. national team many times. "It was a pleasant experience competing just for fun and gaining friendship among the athletes. Our performance was not affected by this motto. The head coach told us to do our best so we would not insult the Chinese athletes and spectators. That's what we did, and we won most of the events. Yet somehow the spirit of friendship was in the air throughout the competition, whoever won or lost." Meeting the Chinese javelin throwers before the events added to that spirit, she said. So did the enthusiasm of the spectators—"they cheered for everyone!"

Irving Kintisch, track and field coach at Columbia University, explained how the idea of "friendship first" was a radical departure from the traditional American view of athletic meets. "When we first heard this slogan in San Francisco I couldn't believe it. This is so contrary to the American way of thinking—'competition first; win at any cost; nice guys finish last; winning isn't everything, it's the *only* thing.' I'm quoting all the so-called great coaches. There had been an item in the *New York Times* by a psychoanalyst who warned the athletes not to accept the 'friendship first' slogan because it would detract from their performance, they would become depressed, every negative thing he could possibly think of was going to happen.

"Well, just the opposite was the truth. There was a great deal of friendship exhibited. After practice the Chinese and Americans would get together through interpreters and discuss their particular events. We didn't keep score, we didn't play anthems, we didn't give any medals. We learned that we could compete and do well, and the Chinese athletes learned a little bit in losing. There's a Mao Tsetung proverb that in losing you have certain strengths, in winning you have certain weaknesses, and together you both go forward. This is so true.

After the meet in Guangzhou, in spontaneous fashion when the last event was over, the Americans took their Chinese counterparts by the arm and took a lap around the track en masse. We would call that the victory lap in the U.S., but in China I called it the friendship lap."

Ken McBryde, who lives with his wife and daughter in Mount Vernon, New York, is among the top five triple jumpers in the United States. McBryde said he had turned down many offers to go on AAU international trips in the past because he couldn't afford the time away from work. But the China tour, he felt, was for friendship.

Barbara Friedrich, with javelin, poses with competitors. (Photo: courtesy of B. Friedrich)


Ken McBryde, U.S. triple jumper, in mid-leap. (Photo: courtesy of K. McBryde)


Coach Irv Kintisch, between photographers at Guangzhou commune nursery school. (Photo: courtesy of I. Kintisch)

"That's why I took this particular trip after passing up so many others. I'm a competitive person. But some of our athletes are into competition from deep down inside, wanting to beat somebody into the ground, Chinese or other Americans. I just don't see it that way. I don't think you have to be ready to kill the guy in order to compete. I take the view that you go out and do the job. If you are in condition physically and mentally, you can do it and still be friendly. There was a lot of togetherness—actual exchanges and help on techniques through discussions with interpreters. But we couldn't talk very much across the sexes."

Runner Dick Buerkle from Rochester, New York, fourth-ranked in the 1974 world 5,000-meter, had a more negative opinion of his experience than the other athletes we questioned. The goal of people-to-people friendship was achieved by the trip "inasmuch as it can be in three weeks," Buerkle felt. But "friendship first, competition second" struck him as mere "political phraseology."

Buerkle expressed other criticisms as well. "The Chinese constant harping on philosophy, the look-alike costumes, their doctrines of superpower squandering and the rise of the Third World, their stereotyped society where men and women never hold hands in public, nor talk of, joke about, or show any acknowledgment of love between men and women produced great anxiety in me and I think others too. The Chinese do not joke!! With anyone!!! Tension can cause problems. Americans are free spirits, generally, not afraid of reprimands, reprisals; hence the fight." (The fight Buerkle refers to was a squabble that occurred at the final banquet in Peking when an older American athlete asked a younger one to quiet down during the speeches. McBryde and Friedrich attributed the incident to too much *mao tai,* a powerful 150-proof Chinese drink.)

What about actual athletic performance: how well did the Chinese do? Coach Kintisch felt that the Chinese track team was not up to the 1976 Olympic standards. But he didn't think the "friendship first" attitude was a factor.

"I believe the Chinese athletes are really trying hard," he said. "One of the reasons they had us over there was to learn American methods, techniques, and attitudes to raise the level of the athletes. The Russians did it 12, 15 years ago and certainly they're at a high level of competition now. I think the Chinese internationally are maybe four, maybe six or eight years away from reaching that particular level. There were a number of Chinese national records broken in the meeting at Peking. An 18-year-old young lady broke the Chinese national javelin record. The 5,000-meter run and the 3,000-meter steeplechase records for men were broken. So the Chinese did compete at a high level. Some of the races were very, very close. Others not so close. They're stronger in the sprints and hurdles than in the distance running. Our coaches think their distance runners didn't get enough mileage training each week."

Unlike other countries where athletes are subsidized by the state, in China the athletes are students or hold regular jobs in factories or communes. While emphasis on training gifted athletes for world competition is new in China, attention to the physical fitness of the population as a whole is not. To Dick Buerkle, "The Chinese seem to be more 'in shape' than people in the U.S. People were generally fit and muscular. We saw people running early in the morning in Peking. We saw people exercising in parks in the morning. Most people ride bikes to work."

McBryde commented: "In America, we just have top athletes; we probably have the worst-conditioned people in the world. The Chinese aren't in the same boat. The people are generally in better condition than our people. The only thing keeping them back from world records is that the Chinese are thinking of the whole people. We just think of the individual. I enjoy the fact that in the U.S. the gifted athlete has the opportunity to excel. But I also believe that the average person should have more opportunity to go out for sports. Without physical education I don't think I could handle myself as well in a crowd or on a one-to-one basis with people."

"Over there they don't shoot for individual honors," said Barbara Friedrich. "Rather, they are doing everything for their country as a whole. Over here each person wants to have a better house than the one next door; we're always shooting for individual honors. But over there they don't think that way. This is definitely related to Chairman Mao's philosophy."

Irving Kintisch noted that the emphasis on fitness in China is part of an overall plan. "A physically fit population can produce more in industry and on the farms. The last morning, going to the airport, we passed an elderly woman at a bus stop holding on to the top rail doing knee bends. As we drove through the park we saw people jogging and hanging from trees doing chin-ups. Wherever I went I saw people doing something physical. A man going down the main street in front of the hotel in Peking was pushing his bicycle and jogging alongside. He was getting his running in."

Dorothy Loo Kehl and Frank Handelman interviewed the athletes in person or by mail.

The Continuing Revolution in Education

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in education erupted from a bulletin board of Peking University on May 25, 1966, when Nieh Yuan-tze, a woman philosophy instructor, accused the university president of being an obstacle to China's development. "By 'guiding' the masses not to hold big meetings, not to put up big-character posters," she wrote—in a defiant big-character poster—"and by creating all kinds of taboos, aren't you suppressing the masses' revolution, not allowing them to make revolution, and opposing their revolution? We will never permit you to do this!"

A week later, on the instructions of Mao Tsetung, her challenge was broadcast throughout all of China and was quickly taken up, first by students, then by workers, peasants, and soldiers. Thus began a nationwide movement to make culture serve the people instead of nourishing a new elite.

The issues raised about schools during China's Cultural Revolution are similar to the pressing educational questions of the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States: who should run the schools? who should be admitted to college and on what basis? what should students study? whom should education serve?

The question of who is to run the schools in the People's Republic provoked an intense struggle. There were those who viewed education as the royal road to officialdom and the good life, essentially to serve the interests of a few, and those who sought to make the schools serve the needs of China's workers and peasants in the interests of the vast majority.

Admissions policies came under attack as part of the same struggle. Who should go to college? Should entrance exams be based on "book learning," favoring those whose social background made it easier to get good grades? Or should admissions be geared toward workers and peasants, based more on practical knowledge, on attitudes toward manual labor and on the students' willingness to meet the needs of their communities and co-workers?

And what should the content of education be? The old elite wanted to shape education in the image of the old society: rote memorization, imported Western curricula, requirements divorced from any practical or social purpose. The revolutionaries, believing that practice and not the printed word is the fundamental source of knowledge, called for education to be more closely linked with China's needs in farm and factory.

With much confusion at first, then with increasing clarity, millions of students, teachers, workers, and peasants—many of whom were Communist Party members—set about transforming China's schools at every level. One of the sharpest lessons to emerge from the profound upheaval of the Cultural Revolution is that what is taught in school and who gets educated depends on who runs the society. Hence the recent campaigns to topple the influence of the elitists Confucius and Lin Piao. Hence also the current campaign to strengthen the rule of the working class and spread socialist values among the people.

In the United States, meanwhile, education has once more become a troubling question. The deep economic recession has begun to wipe out the temporary gains of the last decade through teacher layoffs, cancellation of special programs, and curtailment of open admissions. These setbacks have stirred interest in China's steady progress in education during the same period.

New China responds to this growing interest with a section devoted to schools in the People's Republic. In a background article, the editors give an overview of the main changes in education since the Cultural Revolution, followed by Itty Chan's discussion of how socialist values are taught to preschoolers and her detailed description of a day in a Peking kindergarten. Dotty Lee, a Boston Head Start worker, writes about why day care is an important experience for China's children. David Crook draws on experiences in the Foreign Languages Institute in Peking to provide a lively picture of what happens when schools go to the communes, factories, and units of the People's Liberation Army. And Jan Wong relates her personal reactions to combined work and study in the countryside during her first year at Peking University.

Together, these articles illustrate some of the major ways in which China's continuing revolution in education helps to propel its socialist development.

Inside and Outside the Classroom

The effects of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution on education

In 1949, when China achieved liberation, the new People's Republic found itself with an educational system that had always served the interests of the old Chinese ruling class—landlords, big businessmen, and high government officials. Over 80 percent of the population was illiterate, and the few schools that did exist were located mainly in the cities even though more than four-fifths of the people lived in the countryside. The schools were dominated by the centuries-old Confucian tradition which stressed the importance of a small educated elite making decisions for the "good" of everyone else. Yet the educated knew little and cared less about the lives of the majority of workers and peasants. It was considered beneath the dignity of educated people to participate in manual labor.

The years between 1949 and 1966 saw a tremendous expansion of the educational system. Enrollment soared and illiteracy declined. Language reform made it easier for everyone to learn to read and write the intricate Chinese characters. For the first time in China's history, every child had the opportunity to attend primary school. An extensive system of pre-school education was also developed, freeing women to enter the labor force and participate in the decision-making process.

But large problems still remained. Fewer educational opportunities were available in rural areas than in the cities. In addition, many privileged people, including some educators, resisted efforts to make education meet the needs of the new society and instead used it to promote their own ambitions. They wanted to maintain the academic standards and methods of teaching that had been either inherited from tradition or adapted from "modern" countries. Under this system, the children of professionals, government officials, and former landlords tended to receive better grades and were more likely to go to college than the children of peasants and workers. The schools were, in fact, perpetuating the old inequalities rather than advancing socialist construction.

The situation came to a head in 1966. Intense discussions about education were held at all the schools, and people from all sectors of the society participated—Party cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers, retired people, students, teachers, and government officials. The major questions were: How do the workers and peasants, who are the basis of Chinese society, view life? What is their political perspective? How can educated people use their skills to help improve the lives of the majority? To deepen their understanding of these questions, teachers, students, and administrators spent long periods of time working in the fields and factories and learning from the workers and peasants themselves. Although the experience was probably difficult for many, the overwhelming majority seemed to find it rewarding and gained a more profound knowledge of what it means to "serve the people."

Today's educational philosophy, based on the writings of Mao Tsetung, stresses the importance of the schools in the continuing class struggle. Besides providing students with technical skills, the schools must develop in them a socialist consciousness: the values of cooperation, collectivism, and public service are an integral part of education. Without these values, those who get an education might become a new elite lording it over the people.

The chief means of creating socialist consciousness is "open door" education. In China this means that students spend time on the farms and in the factories, where they can learn from the workers and peasants and at the same time teach them new skills. In turn, workers and peasants come into the schools to give students technical training and to develop their political perspective. Everyone benefits from this exchange.

Teachers also participate in open door education. In addition to going to the factories and farms with their students, they attend "May 7th" Cadre Schools, named for the day in 1966 when Mao asked all cadres (teachers, factory managers, government officials, office workers, and professionals) to take part in productive labor so that they would not lose the political perspective of the workers and peasants. May 7th Cadre Schools are now permanent institutions where all teachers and other cadres spend about six months every few years, working half of each day in the fields or in small workshops and devoting the other half to political study.

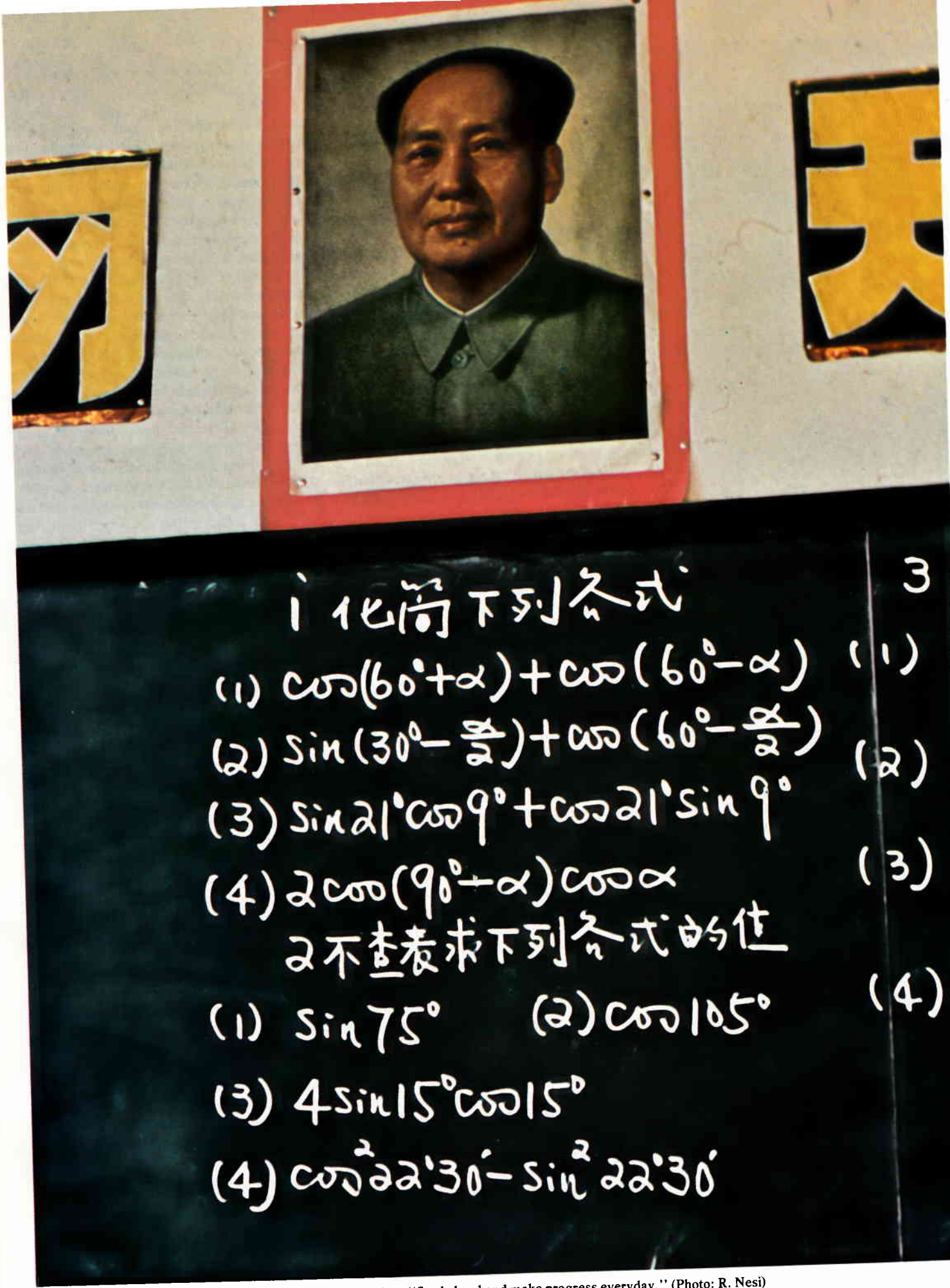
Although open door education is carried on at all levels and in many ways, it is probably best illustrated by the Workers' Universities in Shanghai. There are over 100 of them in the city, each one located at a different factory. The 30,000 students, all factory workers, are enrolled in two- to three-year full-time courses. The worker-students can move easily between the workshop and the formal classroom. The parallel agricultural colleges, located in the people's communes, draw their students from among the peasants.

Students in other forms of higher education are also largely from worker and peasant families. Since the late 1960s, virtually all middle school graduates must first work for two years before applying to enter college. Then, the applicant's co-workers discuss his or her qualifications: academic ability, class background, and, more important, political attitude. Does the applicant want to attend college to serve the people, or to get an easier and more prestigious job? Those who work with the applicant every day are most knowledgeable about these attitudes. If the co-workers recommend the applicant, the workplace leadership considers him or her from the same points of view and makes a recommendation. Finally, the school itself must accept or reject the applicant. This new selection process has proved effective in stemming elitism and weeding out careerists.

Despite all these innovations, the revolution in education is far from over. Apparently some students still get into college because their parents have connections. In 1974, one such student, who had been admitted through the "back door," decided to leave school and work on a commune. His self-critical letter of resignation was published in all the Chinese newspapers as a call to prevent these back door admissions in the future.

Another problem not yet resolved is that some teachers and students still resent working with their hands as well as their heads. But the majority of educated youth don't seem to feel this way. Every year for the last eight years hundreds of thousands of them have left the relative comfort of the cities to settle down and work as "pioneers" in the developing countryside.

The movement that began with the big-character poster at Peking University in 1966 hasn't ended yet. •



Above the blackboard, a photograph of Mao and signs urging: "Study hard and make progress everyday." (Photo: R. Nesi)

Head Start in the Socialist Way

A Day in the life of a day care center

Itty Chan
(Chan Ching-hua)

How many four-year-olds can you name who understand the workings of a factory or the functions of a day care center? Through a variety of games and learning experiences, Chinese pre-schoolers learn how their society works at the same time they are introduced to cognitive skills.

In a social studies lesson at a child care center in Peking, a group of four-year-olds are gathered around a long table constructing a miniature street scene out of building blocks.

"This is where the traffic police stand to give people directions and help us get across the street," explains one child.

"And here is where a new factory will be built," points out another four-year-old, "to make new machines out of old metal parts."

"And this is *our* school," declares a third child, pointing proudly to a bright green block in the middle of the street scene. From this lesson, the children will learn not only the composition of a Peking neighborhood, but also how each element of the neighborhood—the people, the organizations, the factories—works to better the lives of all the Chinese people

Pre-school child care in China has two goals: to provide services to families, particularly those in which both parents work, and to widen the social relations of children as early as possible so they experience the values of cooperation and self-reliance in living and working with others, values which are of great importance to socialist construction in China.

Children in China can be enrolled in a child care program from the age of two months until the age of seven when they are ready for primary school. Infant care centers (for babies between 56 days and 18 months old) are usually located near the workplace so mothers may take time off to nurse their children. Children from one and a half to three years old attend nursery school and then advance to kindergarten programs designed for children from three to seven. Although most Chinese children spend their days at these centers, some children are cared for at home by non-working mothers, grandparents, or other relatives and neighbors.

Day care centers usually operate from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M., Monday through Saturday. In addition, some factories organize child care programs into shifts to match those of the working parents. Twenty-four-hour residential care is also available for children whose parents travel away from home in connection with their work. The centers are subsidized by public funds from the city or workplace. Fees vary, but parents usually pay for food plus a small fee of one to two dollars a month for day care, and slightly more for residential care.

The centers are staffed by teachers, child care workers, administrative staff, and at least one health care worker who is responsible for minor medical problems and acts as liaison with nearby hospitals and clinics. Larger centers sometimes have their own clinics and affiliated doctors and nurses. Each staff member has particular responsibilities, but no one seems too concerned about staying within the limits of his or her job description. For example, in one center, the director and a health care worker joined in scrubbing the children's laundry.

Westerners often ask the question: "Are children in China indoctrinated politically from a very early age?" In the sense that they learn the socialist values of cooperation, self-reliance, and equality, the answer is yes. A clearly defined educational goal in China is to integrate children into the socialist society, just as American children are trained into capitalist society through an educational system which transmits values and attitudes needed by capitalism. American schools, whether traditional or progressive, less or more permissive, share a common goal: to nurture children to be self-possessed, aggressive, competitive, and personally successful individuals whose responsibility to social goals is secondary. The Chinese aim, in contrast, is to teach children to become cooperative and self-reliant social beings whose primary concern is working collectively to build socialism and a future classless society devoid of oppression and competition for individual gain.

In China, people-to-people contact is the primary medium for learning in both child care centers and schools. Pre-schoolers spend most of the day in group activities—practicing and performing shows, playing games, solving academic problems, dancing, singing, and exercising. In all such activities, the children teach and learn from each other. It is common to see little children showing each other how to button up clothes, hang up towels, fold quilts, and perform small tasks such as rolling out mats for the afternoon nap and sweeping the floors. During formal lessons, children are also encouraged to instruct and help each other, in a spirit of mutual help rather than with the ulterior motive of playing "teacher's helper."

Education of children in China is grounded in particular theoretical assumptions about human nature. There is a saying borrowed from the Chin Dynasty (280-430 A.D.): "Something that is near red dye becomes red; something that is near black ink becomes black." This strong belief in the impact of environment on a person's development was expressed to me in Peking by a mother of three young children: "Human nature is like a blank sheet of paper, and a child is open to influences from the environment. That is why it is important to have what we call positive education."

According to the philosophy of positive education, which is subscribed to throughout the Chinese school system, positive behavior is expected in children, without denying the possibility of negative behavior. If a child displays negative behavior by hitting someone, for example, both adults and other children try to persuade the child to use reasoning to resolve future conflicts. Aggression toward others is not considered a healthy emotional discharge, and aggressive behavior is rare.

The attitude of expecting the good and the desirable and not being overly concerned about the wrong or the bad is imparted to children in the more formal learning situations as well and is evident in classroom practice. In one of the kindergartens I visited, a group of six-year-olds was struggling with a new concept in arithmetic. One boy was called on to solve a particular problem and repeatedly gave an incorrect answer. No one giggled or smirked, and the boy didn't seem in the least embarrassed. After several unsuccessful attempts to solve the problem, the teacher asked the group to

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Itty Chan has worked as a pre-school teacher and for eight years has done research on early education. She was born and raised in China but has lived in the United States for many years. She visited the People's Republic in 1973.

Play time: drawing with a pebble. (Photo: I. Chan)

help him. Several children explained how to solve the problem in a friendly, matter-of-fact way and the lesson continued. There was no air of "one-upmanship" on the part of the other children, and no feeling of failure on the part of the baffled child. The children clearly attach the priority to learning, rather than to competing against each other for first place.

Because the Chinese believe that all healthy people can learn, "fast" and "slow" learners are not segregated as they are in the United States. Every effort is made to offer equal learning environments to all children, with some special facilities for the severely handicapped. Some crippled children, with the assistance of families, teachers, classmates, and the school or neighborhood health clinic, attend regular schools.

The Chinese practice the belief that "all children are the same" in their desire to learn and to develop self-reliance, and in their potential to become caring and socially responsible people. Within that framework, however, individual differences are fully recognized. Individual children who display a special talent receive encouragement from teachers, but not at the expense of the class as a whole. As one kindergarten teacher put it, "It is more important for 'bright' children to learn to love and respect their peers than to think of themselves as special."

From what I observed in China, when the need to "beat your neighbor" disappears, individual excellence—no longer confused with competitiveness—has great freedom to develop. The Chinese value individual capabilities and talents for their contribution to the group and to society as a whole, of which the individual is an integral part.

The transformation of a society depends on the continuing transformation of the values and goals of a people. The Chinese know that the creation of a truly classless society will require many generations of difficult struggle. But they have boundless confidence in their future, grounded firmly in the understanding that "of all things in the world, people are the most precious" because it is the people who make history. This, above all, is the message the Chinese want to impart to their children.

To find out how children at a Chinese day care center spend their time, I visited a 24-hour center in Peking. The children were three to seven years old. What follows is a report on the dawn-to-dusk activities of 22 three-year-olds.

7:00 A.M. Wake-up time. The children wash, dress, and go outside for morning exercises, followed by songs and group games.

8:00 A.M. The children return indoors, first to the washroom where they take turns washing their hands at a long sink and drying them on their own towels, then into the classroom to one of three tables set for breakfast.

Work time: On miniature sewing machines at Xinhui, Guangdong. (Photo: I. Chan)

Pre-schoolers and day care worker in the village of Tachai greet Americans with cameras. (Photo: R. Gordon)

Breakfast this day is a fried egg, steamed bread, and a bowl of noodle soup—eaten with spoons, fingers, and generally hearty appetites. An exception is a little girl who seems not to like the egg very much. The teacher approaches, smiling. "Eat your egg; it will help you grow," she urges gently, and moves away. The girl finishes her egg and the teacher and child care worker continue to chat with the children, serving second helpings to those who want more.

As the children finish breakfast, they put away their dishes at the serving table, and carry their chairs to the other end of the room to wait quietly until everyone has finished eating. Most children spend this time playing quietly, looking at picture books, and chatting with each other.

9:00 A.M. The daily arithmetic lesson begins. Placing picture cutouts on a felt board as the children count, the teacher illustrates the concept of numbers with the theme of factory production. She invites the children to count with her: "Cars are coming out of the automobile plant. Let's count together. How many?" As she places the cutouts on the board one by one, the children respond "one," "two," "three" for each car "produced."

"Now some tractors are coming out of the tractor factory," the teacher says. "Let's invite a little friend to count for us." Several children raise their hands, and the teacher chooses a little boy. "One," "two," "three," he counts as each tractor cutout appears, until all three have emerged from the factory. Two other children take turns with the same exercise.

The children also learn numbers in relation to very simple percussion beats. As the teacher strikes a drum, the children practice counting, first separately, then together, "one," "two," "three." A little boy is asked to count and beat the drum simultaneously. "Did he beat it right?" asks the teacher. "Right!" is the cheerful response. The children clap their hands for a lesson well done.

Cutouts are used again for a third illustration of numbers. This time, the cutouts are apples placed on two different plates, one blue and one yellow. The children practice counting up to five and then each is given a set of paper cutouts to arrange in rows, following the teacher's pattern. As each child experiments with the paper apples, the child care worker and teacher move about to help where needed.

9:20 A.M. It's game time. The children form into three groups for outdoor play: one group races a pull-toy, another plays a ball-rolling game, and the third group takes turns riding tricycles. After half an hour, the children return indoors, each child carrying a chair into the middle of the room to form a circle. Two games are played, one in which the children guess where a hidden ball is located as the teacher hints with drum beats.

Then it's time for an art lesson and the children move chairs to the tables. The art practice is paper-folding and the children may make whatever they wish. They help each other and talk freely as they work. The teachers move about, helping individual children and chatting with them. Around 11 o'clock, the children put away their papers and wash their hands for lunch.

11:20 A.M. Lunch today is a mixture of meat and vegetables, with steamed bread. The teacher explains to me that vegetables and meat are mixed in this way because

many children don't like meat. All the children seem to have very good appetites and many ask for second helpings. As the children finish lunch, they each put away their dishes and arrange their chairs along the wall. It's now time for a nap.

Quietly and without a word from the teacher, the children remove their outer clothing, fold and place it neatly on their chairs, walk matter-of-factly into the sleeping room, and get into bed. By noon, all the children are in bed and the teachers make sure they are comfortably settled, fanning a few who feel too warm. The children have a three-hour nap, tended only by the child care worker. During the winter, children wake later in the morning and have a shorter afternoon nap.

3:00 P.M. The afternoon teacher pulls the shade up to signal that it's time to get up. Some children have been awake but are resting quietly. The children take turns at the toilets, dress themselves, and replace their chairs at the tables. They sit down and the teachers tidy the children's hair. The children have a snack of apples and juice. As they finish, they move to the other end of the room to wait quietly, looking at picture books until everyone is done.

It's outdoor play time again and the teacher calls the children to line up. Outside, the teacher initiates a traffic light game in which the children pretend they are cars and the teacher plays the signal light. When she holds up a green paper cutout, the children run: when she holds up the red one, they all stop. This is followed by free play—the children run around, fly paper arrows, toss paper balloons which look like paper lanterns.

4:00 P.M. Time to go inside again. Chairs and a stage are set up for the weekly Friday program. Extra teachers are on hand to help the children get settled in the main room, while a few children are putting on costumes in the sleeping room.

An older group of children, the Senior Group, arrives, led by eight children in costumes. The Junior Group greets them cheerfully: "Welcome, older brothers; welcome, older sisters!" And the Senior Group warmly returns the greeting: "Welcome, younger brothers; welcome, younger sisters!"

The program begins with a puppet show in which three little children are helping their grandpa water his sunflowers and sweep his yard. Next, a three-year-old girl sings a solo, followed by more songs and group dances. Then two children from the Senior Group and two from the Junior Group perform a play based on a Chinese fable [*Little Colt,* translated by the author in *New China,* Fall 1975]. More singing and dancing follow, and the program concludes with a musical play about a naughty duck who learns to cooperate with others. The performances are lively and the children obviously enjoy them, clapping their hands vigorously after each segment.

5:00 P.M. After the program, the children wash their hands for supper. Each child has a bowl of rice, a dish of sliced meat with vegetables, and meatball soup. Appetites are still hearty. I see two children ask for third helpings of rice. As with other meals, when each child finishes, he or she puts away his dishes and goes to the other end of the room to play quietly.

Evening activities vary—television, slide shows, puppet shows, outdoor play, walks and/or free play. Bedtime is 8 P.M. Three child care workers are on duty at the center all night.

Coming away from the center, I was impressed with how lively, happy, and self-disciplined the children are; how warm, gentle, and dedicated the teachers and child care workers are; and what an organized, smooth, and purposeful day it had been. •

Nurseries in Factories?

A Boston mother looks at Chinese day care

Dotty Lee

I think the thing that impressed me most about China was the universal availability of child care. Chinese children can be enrolled in nurseries as early as 56 days after birth. And the day care centers are usually located where the parents work. I mean, if you work in a particular factory, you don't have to worry about trucking your kid across town to the day care center and then going back to work.

Before going to China I was against the idea of having nurseries in factories. How could parents care for children while they were working? In China, I saw that women get time off with pay to nurse their children. This was simply taken for granted and no one saw it as a problem.

When I walked into a nursery or kindergarten in China, the kids were just so friendly and so open. They weren't intimidated by anything. If they make a mess with paste and glue and stuff, they've learned to clean up after themselves. I saw one little kid fall and another one immediately come over and help him up—without being told. Young children in China have not been tied to their momma's apron strings, since many of them have been in nurseries from an early age. It was obvious that these kids could relate to all kinds of people.

I know that Dr. Spock [see *New China,* Preview Issue] and others are against group care for children under the age of three, but I

Dotty Lee, a community member of the Head Start Board in Cambridge, Mass., lives in public housing and is active in a number of other community organizations. She visited the People's Republic in 1974.

disagree with them. Kids start learning from day one, from the moment they are born. The foolishness about kids not being able to relate to other people until they're three or four is just plain nonsense.

The Chinese realize that day care centers are necessary and vital. The younger you are able to relate to society, the younger you are able to be self-sufficient. I don't mean independent to the point where you don't need anybody, but being able to think and make decisions for yourself.

When I first got to China, I was really turned off by a couple of day care centers because I thought they were too regimented. Maybe regimentation is a bad word, but I did think they were too structured. I had to keep reminding myself that I was looking at things through my American upbringing and conditioning. After I got that into my head, I was able to see things from a much different perspective.

Another thing that I really liked was the idea of children participating in productive labor. It helps teach the children that they are part of the larger society. When our tenants' group is organizing a demonstration, I think it would be great to have the kids come and help to fold and distribute leaflets. It would help to give them a sense of controlling their own lives.

Since I got back from China, I've given a number of slide shows and talks to community groups in Cambridge. But the slide show I enjoyed the most was the one I gave to my son's primary school class of six- to eight-year-olds. The kids loved the slides and the Chinese music I brought along. Their teacher, a Chinese-American born in Guangzhou, translated the words to the songs and the kids really appreciated it. They flipped out when they saw the Chinese girls jumping over long rubber bands, which is similar to jumping rope in America. They also liked the pictures of cows and of long noodles drying in the sun.

When I showed them slides of the Forbidden City and the Temple of Heaven, I explained that before Liberation ordinary people could not enter these buildings. One kid responded, "Isn't that like slavery?" The kids actually became angry at the way the Chinese used to be oppressed.

They also wanted to know why there were so many pictures of Chairman Mao in my slides. I explained that he was like the president of China and that everyone respected him very much. "The Chinese must like Mao a lot more than we like President Ford," one child responded.

I think the most important thing to learn from the Chinese is that a universal system of child care is essential. I thought that some of their toys were not very educational, and I wished that the Chinese men participated in nurseries and kindergartens. But they have a commitment to child care and these other things can be solved in the future. •

Opening the School Doors

How the Chinese combine book learning and daily life experience

David Crook

The following story, told us by the principal of a high school in the suburbs of Peking, gives some idea of the struggle going on in China today to revolutionize education in accordance with the thinking of Mao Tsetung.

"The whole graduating class went out to sell fish in the local outdoor market last term as part of 'running the school with the door open.' It was hard work, especially during the Spring Festival rush in February. The weather was cold, too, and their hands got badly chapped handling the icy fish. But they learned a lot.

"At first some were afraid of being seen by their friends and relatives while doing 'menial work.' After we discussed this, the students realized they hadn't got rid of intellectuals' contempt for shop assistants and service trades, a hangover from the old society. This attitude conflicts with our principle that all work for socialism is equally honorable. After the students understood this, they had to straighten out their parents, some of whom wanted their children to attend high school to qualify for university, not to sell fish.

"The market management, believing that the job was hard for the young people, had announced on the eve of the Spring Festival that the students would be allowed to buy fish for their families without lining up like ordinary customers. This touched off a big debate among the students: had they come to this market to be awarded privileges or to learn how to serve the people? In the end everyone of them turned down the offer. The management, happy to find out that they had underestimated the students, criticized themselves and praised the pupils. The students learned several lessons from this fish-selling experience: to work hard under difficult conditions, overcome bourgeois snobbery, and fight selfishness."

Revolutionizing Education

Running schools with the doors open, like most of Mao's principles, has a history of decades. In 1926-27, when there was a Communist-Kuomintang government in Wuhan, Mao was principal of the Revolutionary Peasant Movement Institute there. The Institute was in a factory district and industrial workers flocked in after hours to hear him lecture and to swap experiences in revolutionary organization and struggle with the peasant students who came from all over China.

The doors of the school opened outward, too. These students, like those of today, received military training as well as a general and political education. The sports ground was used for drill; the armory was as important as the library. When local reactionaries staged a counter-revolutionary uprising, the students, under Mao's leadership, put down their books, took up their guns, and joined revolutionary troops in suppressing it.

Though the roots of Mao Tsetung's educational principles go far back, their implementation has always involved sharp two-line struggle, pro and con. In the Yenan days of the thirties and forties, Mao's line of integrating education with revolutionary struggle, production, and serving the people emerged victorious. But for nearly a decade after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it suffered setbacks. Former head of state Liu Shao-chi and his followers, in the name of "ending guerrilla work-style and regularizing education" and "learning from advanced Soviet experience," advocated training an intellectual elite of experts. This line resulted in the

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British-born David Crook fought in Spain with the British Battalion of the International Brigade, then with the Royal Air Force during World War II. He has spent much of the last 28 years in China. In addition to his duties as a teacher at the Foreign Languages Institute, he has written two important books on the rural revolution with his wife, Isabel, Revolution in a Chinese Village: Ten Mile Inn *and* The First Years of Yangyi Commune.

students burying their noses in books, cut off from the laboring people.

In 1958, with the mass movements of the Great Leap Forward and the setting up of the people's communes, Mao Tsetung called upon education to serve revolutionary politics, in combination with productive labor. For a time his revolutionary line in education prevailed. But in the early sixties, with China undergoing hardships largely due to natural disasters and Soviet sabotage, Liu Shao-chi blamed the difficulties on the Great Leap Forward and the communes, and instituted an opposing set of policies which actually propelled China away from socialism toward capitalism. Liu upheld the Confucian concept of "studying to become an official." He also advocated boarding schools where the children of senior officials and officers enjoyed privileges. With grades determining school entrance and promotion, the children of workers and peasants were virtually excluded from the universities.

To counteract this elitist trend, in 1963 Mao Tsetung launched the Socialist Education Movement. Masses of students went to the countryside for weeks at a stretch to strengthen their links with the laboring people and bring their education down to earth. Despite some gains, the scope and depth of this movement were insufficient to bring about a profound and lasting change in education. It was necessary under Mao's leadership to launch the Cultural Revolution in 1966 which, among other things, brought about Liu's fall.

At Shanghai Machine Tools Plant No. 1, engineering students drawn from workers design new machines. (Photo: F. Pincus)

Subsequently, in the movement to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao, the former Defense Minister, elitism was even further exposed and denounced. While Liu had openly opposed the policies of Mao Tsetung, Lin pretended supreme loyalty to Mao, aspiring to replace him. Privately, he undermined Mao's educational principles, maintaining that students' unpaid participation in physical labor was "punishment" or "disguised unemployment."

Science class examines radishes in Lu Hsun Middle School, Nanking. (Photo: F. Pincus)

New Students, New Experiences

Today the majority of China's university students are workers, peasants, and soldiers. A powerful struggle is being waged, on Mao Tsetung's instructions, to ensure that leadership of the ongoing revolution in education is entrusted to the working class and that the peasants shall help re-educate the youth. Open door education is an important method in this process.

In one school the Chinese composition course was moved out of the classroom into a nearby commune. One student, captivated by his first taste of rural life, composed a poem about the cozy glow of fires in the peasants' homes at dawn, with smoke curling aloft and lingering lazily in the air as fragrant odors arose from the breakfast cooking in the pots. The reaction of some commune members was: "You don't know the simplest things about our lives. Your writing doesn't reflect our feelings. We peasants are hard-working, plain-living people. We have a quick bite to eat in the morning, mostly leftovers, and we're off to work in the fields. Our big meal is in the evening when we've got time to enjoy it. To write well you must learn about the life of the working people, use their words, express

their feelings." Later the student wrote another piece called "The New Bride" describing a young woman who rejected the tradition of having an elaborate wedding with gifts and a feast. This composition was praised by his former critics.

Another class went to a village which had been burned to the ground by the Japanese invaders in the forties. One of the few survivors was the old village Party Secretary. He longed to write the history of his village but he was almost illiterate. Supplying the facts, he asked the students to write it for him. Because he proved to be an exacting critic, the students had to rewrite the history five times to capture the "class feeling" the old man demanded. Some students, previously lukewarm about composition-writing, were so moved by his spirit and the story of the villagers' suffering and heroism that they felt they must master it to do justice to their subject. Thus the problem of motivation was solved.

New Programing in Higher Education

Running the school with the doors open is also practiced in colleges and universities. In the Foreign Languages Institute where my wife and I have been teaching since 1949, piecemeal efforts were made in this direction before the Cultural Revolution. Students went on half-day field trips to factories, communes, exhibitions, museums, and parks. With their teachers playing the role of foreign visitors, the students acted as their Chinese hosts or interpreters. During the Great Leap Forward of 1958 nearly all colleges and universities ran small factories, made steel, raised pigs, and grew crops. But while most students, teachers, and administrators enthusiastically supported all this, some people opposed these early steps. In foreign language teaching, they stuck to grammar books or literary classics. It took the Cultural Revolution to expand and systematize the process of breaking down the wall between classroom and the reality of socialist society.

Today foreign language students, enrolled in a three-and-a-half-year course, spend a month each academic year outside the Institute. During the first year they train for a month with a People's Liberation Army (PLA) unit; in the second and third year they put in a month alternately in either a factory or a commune. (This is in addition to occasional short stints helping to bring in the harvest.) During their last half-year they do field work at China's export commodity fairs and at technological and industrial exhibitions from abroad, interpreting for the foreign personnel who install the machinery and explaining the exhibits to the Chinese visitors. They also do temporary work for the state travel agency, meeting and seeing off foreign visitors at airports and railway stations, escorting them to the Great Wall, Peking's Summer Palace and Forbidden City, and helping them with shopping and their daily life. Some work for a while as waiters and waitresses in hotel dining rooms or as shop assistants in the "Friendship Stores" which cater especially to foreigners.

This field work is an important part of the curriculum. More and more foreign language students, like other students in China today, are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Most of them have barely

"Open door" education: One day a week teenagers work on Huto River land reclamation project near Shijiazhuang. (Photo: B.H. Loren)

seen a foreigner before attending college. Contact with such visitors enables them to acquire some knowledge of their tastes, temperaments, and class outlooks.

Constant association with the working people of their own country is of course even more important.

On the Commune

Several classes of foreign language students not long ago went with their teachers for a month to a commune brigade east of Peking during the rice harvest. They were all set for a spell of intensive physical work which might possibly leave them no time or energy for language study, though that was in their plan. The brigade was in fact badly in need of extra hands, for the crop was the best ever and mechanization is still not advanced.

Retired carpenter teaches wood working skills and supervises production at Peking's Guang Chuan Middle School. (Photo: A. Senning)

In discussing the work arrangements the brigade Party Secretary told them, "You mustn't give up your language study while you're here. Our country's foreign relations are growing and we need interpreters badly. We commune workers put in a couple of hours' work in the fields before breakfast. You can use that time to study. Then we'll all have breakfast and start work together at 8 o'clock."

The students agreed to hold early morning classes in the village. They also spoke English to each other in the fields, learning from their teachers new words such as sickle, scythe, stalk, and sheaf. At first the Russian Department students conversed only in Chinese, thinking the commune members might disapprove of their speaking to each other in a foreign language, especially Russian. They were wrong. The brigade leader explained the importance of mastering Russian and urged them to follow the example of the English Department students.

The month of living and working in the countryside helped forge links between the students and teachers and the commune members. Tears were shed at their parting when the whole village turned out to say goodbye. These ties have been maintained. When the brigade faces a shortage of labor during a rush season it calls on the Institute for help. When the students need a broader outlook to help them in the campaign to criticize Lin Piao or Confucius or in the campaign to study the dictatorship of the proletariat, they invite the brigade Party Secretary to come and tell them how these political movements are progressing on the commune. Over holidays there is visiting back and forth, with students cycling three hours to the commune and commune members piling into a trailer hitched onto a chugging hand tractor.

In Industry

The walls between school and factory are breaking down as are walls between school and commune. Last spring two classes of students specializing in English went with their teachers to a cardboard box factory to help build a new workshop and install newly imported machinery. They decided to translate the manufacturer's English instruction manual into Chinese for the workers, a difficult job because the students did not know the technical process. But by consulting workers familiar with the machinery, the translators solved the problems which baffled them.

By the end of their month in the factory the students had learned to handle the machines themselves. But more important were the new human relations they established. Students ate and studied with the workers and helped in the factory canteen kitchen. Workers cut the students' hair. Everyone played ping-pong, sang, and performed amateur dramatic acts together. The workers and students prepared and ate meat dumplings in workers' homes. This was a sign of new times in a country where working people and intellectuals were separated for many centuries. One older woman worker remarked to her student guests, "I never dreamed the day would come when I'd entertain college students."

In the factory, too, the students studied English for two hours a day. The teachers, when not engaged in other tasks, compiled English teaching materials dealing with the history of the factory and the life stories of its workers. The students taught the workers simple English terms inscribed on machines and packing cases such as "This Side Up" and "Handle with Care," as well as songs in English which they all sang at their farewell get-together. By then the gap between these workers and intellectuals had narrowed.

With the PLA

In their month of training with the People's Liberation Army the students and teachers acquired certain military skills. In addition, they studied politics with PLA members to gain something of their spirit of plain living, hard struggle, and dedication to the service of the people. One group of 300-odd college students and teachers, recently returned from a month with an army unit, held a report-back meeting. Almost every speaker referred with feeling to an old soldier they had met named Zhang. He had joined the revolutionary army in 1940. Three years later he ran into his wife begging in the streets. She urged him to return home but he replied, "If I did, there would simply be one more beggar in China. Try and stick it out. I'll fight for a China without beggars." Demobilized from the army a few years ago, Zhang volunteered to take charge of an army kindergarten, a surprising step for a man in a

society still not free from ideas of male superiority. But he saw it as an important revolutionary task, carried it out well, and won praise.

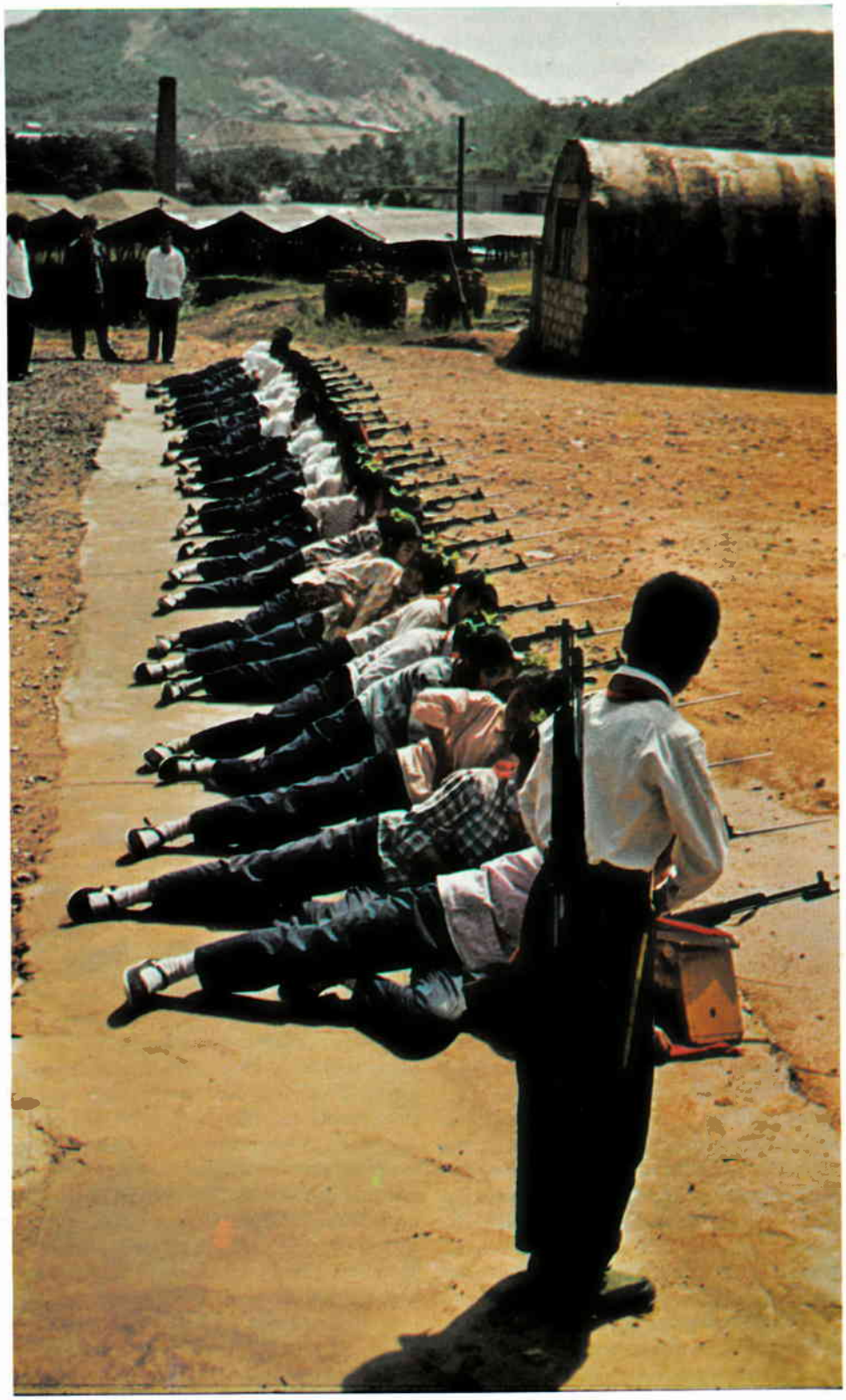
This story of Zhang's unselfishness helped the students and teachers face their own shortcomings. Thus training with the PLA is not narrowly military. It is also a concentrated course in character-building, political and ideological development, discipline, and dedication to the building of socialism.

Remolding of Teachers

In the military, agricultural, and industrial fields alike, open door education is for teachers as much as for students. Mao Tsetung stated early during the Cultural Revolution, "The transformation of the teachers is the key problem in revolutionizing education." One middle-aged Chinese teacher of English, educated abroad, had for years unquestioningly relied on nineteenth-century classics to teach English. After the Cultural Revolution he, too, accompanied students to the countryside. One day, having eaten a hearty breakfast and feeling fit, he found his legs turning to jelly under the load of a heavy log he was carrying to a building site a couple of miles away. As he sat down to rest he thought about the far heavier work coolies had done before Liberation, often on no breakfast at all, with their ribs showing through their emaciated bodies. "Their sons and daughters," he reflected, "are now our students." He began to wonder: was the best way to teach them English to give them novels by Jane Austen to study?

Running the schools with the doors open has shaken up the thinking of teachers all over China during the last couple of years. In so doing the whole revolution in education is being pushed forward. That revolution, however, is far from finished; many problems remain. The contact between schools and working people tends to go in fits and starts. After reaching a high point of enthusiasm, discipline, and dedication during periods with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, some students and teachers often slip back upon their return to school. The struggle in the academic world against 2,000 years of Confucian classroom formalism, excessive authority of the teacher, mechanical memorization, and lack of independent thought will have to go on for a long time.

But running the schools with the doors open is playing its part in that struggle, drawing both teachers and students into what Mao Tsetung calls "the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment." It is broadening horizons, reducing the gap between theory and practice, between mental and manual work, between town and country, between industry and agriculture. By strengthening the roots of China's students and teachers among the working people, it is helping to raise a generation of revolutionaries who will buttress socialism, not betray it. •



Students, aged 9 to 14 years, organize and run marksmanship classes. (Photo: S.S. Lanzilotti)

Tent University

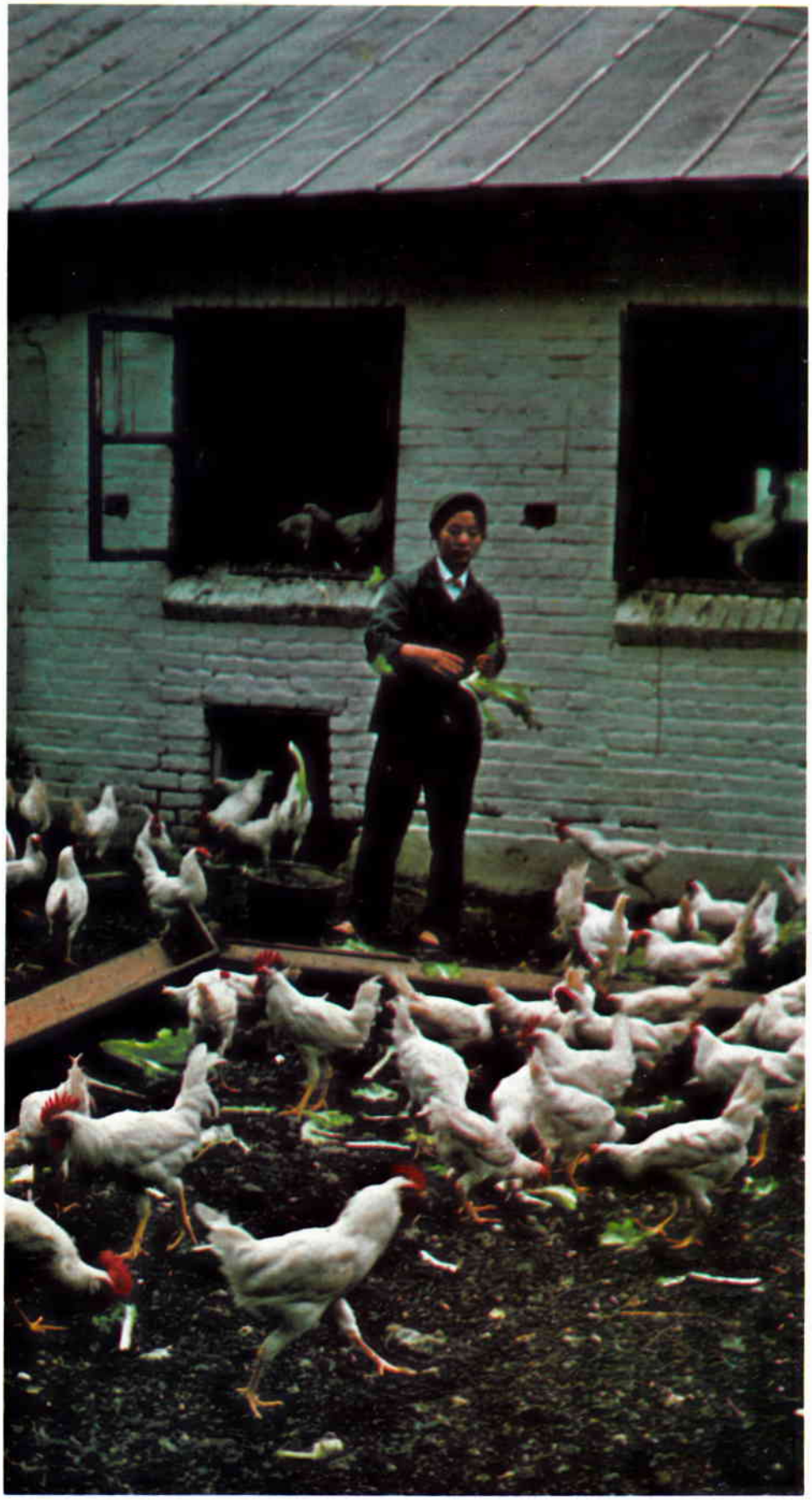
Peking University freshmen move their classroom into the countryside

Jan Wong

Upon my return to Peking University after a trip last New Year I discovered that virtually all the liberal arts departments were preparing to leave the campus for a period of open door schooling, in keeping with the campaign for students to support agriculture. Second- and third-year students were getting ready to go to factories and communes. But the most exciting innovation was the assignment of first-year students to the school farm for a year of part-work, part-study. In the past it had not been considered appropriate for foreign students to participate in these efforts, but I was eager to share the experience. So I applied to go too, and immediately launched a mini-campaign of my own to persuade my classmates, teachers, and department cadres to let me join them. After many ups and downs, and after a meeting with the Party Secretary of the university, permission was finally granted—a first for a foreign student at Peking University.

On the night of March 20, following a send-off from the campus complete with banners, firecrackers, cymbals, and drums, the students and teachers began the 30-mile march to the farm. Each class walked in formation, led by the class prefect carrying a red flag. Every couple of hours we stopped by the roadside for a break, refreshing ourselves with a bit of wine, bread, sausages, and candy. Spirits were high and we sang songs during most of the 12-hour

Jan Wong, a Canadian-Chinese, is studying history at Peking University under Canada's student exchange program with China. Her article "Fire!" appeared in our Fall 1975 issue.



By 1975 over 1600 high school graduates had come to work for six months on this government farm outside Harbin. (Photo: S.S. Lanzilotti)

journey. Only the last six and a half miles were a struggle. People developed blisters on their feet and some were really exhausted. But only a few dropped out to ride the bus that trailed behind us. The rest of us kept chanting: "Be determined, be unafraid of sacrifices, overcome all difficulties to win victory!"

At 7:30 the next morning we finally arrived at the farm to a warm welcome of more cymbals and drums. Our classmates who had left campus a day earlier to make preliminary arrangements greeted us with happy tears. Everybody had thought I wouldn't be able to complete the march, but to their surprise—and mine too—I did. I am sure, however, that without the support of the collective I couldn't have covered such a distance on my own in half a day.

Since our arrival—700 of us, including teachers—facilities here have been considerably strained; they were originally set up for 200. The various rooms accommodate from eight to 30 people; water taps and toilets are not far away. For the time being the men are sleeping in tents. One of our first tasks was to dig additional toilets for them. Because the only dining hall is currently being used as living quarters for members of the Chinese Department, my class of 36 students, divided into three groups, buys its own food collectively and eats together outside. Our classrooms are extra tents, so we call this our tent university. Our first class was held in the middle of a wheat field.

At Peking University I was assigned to a special dormitory for foreign students but here at last I'm living together with my Chinese classmates. They keep asking whether or not conditions are too difficult for me, but I find that I'm happier, and sleeping better too, than in Peking. I no longer feel like a foreign student. I'm integrated.

Our responsibility in production is to convert about seven acres of dry land into paddy fields. We will also build some housing. Approximately 30 percent of our time is devoted to labor, the rest to study. Every day we do some form of manual labor and it has become a completely natural and integral part of our lives. At Peking University the physical work we did every two weeks seemed to me more of a ritual.

The part-work, part-study design of education is viewed as a long-term policy. Eventually universities will be self-supporting, making it possible to create more of them throughout the country. The old concept of the university as an ivory tower and of higher education as a privilege for the few has been changed. Everyone takes part in some type of production so that life becomes a combination of mental and physical labor. China is moving toward overcoming the historical separation of these two functions and changing the traditional outlook of individuals previously divorced from manual work.

As for study, our assignment is to examine critically a contemporary Chinese history textbook and draft a revision. We spent several days studying theoretical issues and then worked individually researching and analyzing our text. Following our teacher's lecture on historiography, we have been working on a sketchy outline. My small group is responsible for the period of the two Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion. After we finish building our houses we will begin writing a rough draft. The emphasis is on teaching us how to analyze and how to make history serve the present class struggle. It is inspiring to be surrounded by so many alert and informed students from worker, peasant, and soldier backgrounds.

In subsequent letters Jan writes that construction of houses was begun April 7: "First we had a mobilizing meeting at which we estimated the time for building would be 20 days, including night shifts. 'More, faster, better, and more economically!' is the slogan. I'm really excited!" She also reports that students completed their textbook rewriting project on August 10; the new book will be published in a few months. At present the class is studying Party history of the socialist period, after which they will collectively write a 50,000-word pamphlet.

Maryland High School Students Visit China on Their Own

Sixteen-year-old Yvonne Cheng, along with seven other students from Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Maryland, spent five and a half weeks in China last summer, unescorted by any American adults. The trip was proposed and organized by her brother Marc, a senior at Walt Whitman.

Some of the students had become interested in the People's Republic through a new course on China taught at their school. For Yvonne, the trip was a second visit—she had traveled to China the previous summer with her family. Here she describes a few hours at the No. Two Middle School in Tientsin, one of several schools the group saw.

I asked the students if there is any drug problem in China. They replied, "Oh, no. We do not have any drug problem. The prices of all drugs, especially antibiotics, have been steadily declining since Liberation." I then realized that we were talking about different kinds of drugs. When I explained to them what "drug problem" means in the United States, they just could not understand why any American youth would want to risk his or her life, squander money, and waste time in experimenting with addictive drugs. I sometimes wonder too.

The students said that if they think there is something wrong with the way a teacher is teaching, they can write a *dazibao* [big-character poster] criticizing the teacher. The teachers appreciate positive and constructive criticisms and will discuss them with the students in order to resolve the problem. How can anyone say there is no freedom in China?

If a student is sick and cannot go to school, the teacher will go to the home to help the student catch up on the missed class work. We asked some students if there were such problems as skipping classes or playing hookey. Our guide-interpreter did not understand us at first and answered, "Oh, hockey. Yes, we play a lot of ice hockey." When I explained what the term meant, he said, "No, education is too important to us."

We played ping-pong with the students. Don't ask me who won because we didn't keep score—perhaps because their motto is "friendship first, competition second." Before leaving, the students put on a performance for us of musical pieces, dances, singing, and a magic act. Then in turn we were asked for an American song and we sang "If I Had a Hammer."

The most moving thing that happened—something I'll never forget—took place when we were leaving this school. It was pouring rain and as we got on our bus to leave, all the students in the school were lined up along the road waving goodbye to us. They all had smiles of friendship even though they were soaking wet from the rain.

Yvonne Cheng

No Strings Attached

Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzania's Ambassador to the United Nations and head of the UN's Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, discusses China's aid to developing countries

Susan Warren

Salim Ahmed Salim is convinced that the Chinese mean what they say. When asked, in a recent interview, how the Eight Principles of Economic Aid which Premier Chou En-lai first enunciated in Africa in 1964 had met the test of time and reality in China's economic aid relations with Tanzania, his answer left no room for doubt: "They have observed them scrupulously."

Ambassador Salim is something of a Third World phenomenon. Like most Third World countries, he himself is young, exuberant, confident, informal, and fiercely protective of national dignity and independence. "We have made great sacrifices for our independence and value it above all else," he explained. Just returned from UN conferences in Geneva, his Mission office alive with activity, he very considerately warned that there would be two overseas calls which he would be obliged to take during the interview. A third call, apparently unexpected, came from his young daughter asking paternal advice on the kind of paper she should use for some drawing project; his affectionate response was brief but to the point.

Our conversation was about the nature of Chinese economic aid to Tanzania—a subject to which the Ambassador warmed as the interview proceeded. He had been Tanzanian Ambassador to China in 1969, remaining there a little less than a year before being appointed to his present post on the sudden death of his UN predecessor. About his relatively short stay in China, Ambassador Salim said, "It was one of the happiest experiences of my diplomatic career."

China maintains that small countries must not be subordinated to big ones and that economic aid is not unilateral but a form of mutual support. Is this borne out in practice?

We found the Chinese not only candid and sincere but extraordinarily modest. The type of support they gave us in the Tanzam Railway, which we call Uhuru [Freedom] Railway, helps us immensely in our struggle against imperialism. I must remind you that at the time the agreement to build the railway was concluded in 1967, it was not only a project of enormous economic importance but one of crucial geopolitical significance. Land-locked Zambia was entirely dependent for rail connections to the sea on countries dominated by South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists. With the completion of the railway in 1975, Zambia was expected to become independent of the white minority regimes of South Africa and so-called Rhodesia [Zimbabwe] for its transportation needs. Viewed in the context of the southern African geopolitical scene as it then prevailed, this independence was of far-reaching significance in Africa's struggle against the evils of colonialism and racism.

On the economic side, the railway has great significance for our future as an independent, self-reliant, and prosperous country. Apart from the employment and technical training which both the construction and operation of the railway provided, it has made possible the opening of previously inaccessible areas and unexploited resources of our country for development—its iron ore deposits, for example. This has favored the diversification of our economy. The people of Tanzania are still primarily engaged in agriculture. The railway helps expand the market for their produce, aiding the

Susan Warren, a former editor of Far East Reporter *and now UN correspondent for* New China, *spent a year and a half in China during the early sixties. In 1971 she became the founding chairperson of the New York USCPFA and visited the People's Republic again. Author of many pamphlets and articles, including* The Real Tibet *and* Taiwan, *she has recently published a book on* China's Voice in the United Nations (1975).

country's agricultural development and the people's prosperity and well-being.

The Tanzam Railway has had another tremendous political impact. It has furthered the goals of African unity by literally laying ties to bring the African countries together. It helps forge permanent bonds of brotherhood and partnership between the whole of eastern and central Africa—a decisive contribution to African unity. Trade among these different African countries has increased and become easier, thus contributing to the development of all. In this way it strengthens the forces of African freedom. The whole project has been a symbol of international cooperation for peace, independence, development, and cooperation among independent nations. This is a blow against the imperialist, racist, and colonialist forces in Africa and the world. In this sense there is no doubt that it gives support to China against our common enemies.

China has helped in the construction not only of the Tanzam Railway but also of the biggest textile mill in Tanzania. And they've helped in agriculture, medicine and other projects. Has there really been no political price, no conditions, attached to this Chinese aid?

They have never attempted to interfere in our political affairs in any way. As a matter of fact, I will go further. They are so meticulous on this point that it is sometimes even difficult to involve them in normal social activities. They collaborate fully with the workers and technicians. They never attempt to use or impose anything. They never asked for port facilities. They never asked for military or naval visits. Everything they've done has been strictly in accordance with specific agreements with the Tanzanian government. As for being "brought under Chinese influence," I must say they have never asked us to support them—not even in the United Nations, and not even on the question of their admission to the United Nations. You know they gave us assistance long before their legitimate place in the United Nations was restored. We voted for that out of our own conviction. When a young American student once raised the specter of a "Chinese takeover," I jokingly told him that one American is capable of creating more nuisance than thousands of Chinese. No, there has only been mutual respect, not a hint of interference, and certainly no political price whatever.

In principle China says that economic loans should be interest-free or at low interest and should allow for delayed payment when necessary. Did the acceptance of Chinese economic aid in any way constitute a burden on Tanzania?

The Chinese are very generous donors. In some cases they have given us outright grants, and in others, handsome loans, interest-free. They have always shown an appreciation of our economic situation and have never tried to take advantage of our difficulties. In the case of the Tanzam Railway China made us [Tanzania and Zambia] an interest-free loan of more than 400 million U.S. dollars with payment deferred for 15 years—that is, not to begin until sometime after the railway had begun to contribute to the development of our economies—and then to be paid back over a period of 50 years. This kind of aid is exemplary. As President Mobutu of Zaire once put it in a speech at the United Nations—we would want others to follow their example!

Has China, in its own interest, ever specified repayment in products from the installations it helped build, as some other countries do?

Never.

The projects which the Chinese help build are generally those which require relatively small initial investment and yield quick returns. What has been your experience?

As a matter of fact, on this score, the Chinese criteria are not the barometer. We ask them for things we feel we need. Sometimes these are very simple things such as agricultural implements. It is easy to say that every farm should have a tractor. But in

China's Eight Principles of Economic Aid, set forth more than a decade ago, represent an entirely new approach to development—a socialist approach. This policy has been unique in practice as well as principle; its provisions have been literally interpreted and strictly adhered to.

China's Eight Principles of Economic Aid

First, the Chinese Government consistently abides by the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but regards aid as always mutual.

Second, in providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

Third, the Chinese Government provides economic assistance by giving interest-free or low-interest loans and where necessary extends the time limit for the repayment so as to alleviate as far as possible the burden of the recipient countries.

Fourth, the purpose of the Chinese Government's foreign aid is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them to embark on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development step by step.

Fifth, the projects which the Chinese Government helps the recipient countries build are those which will, as far as possible, require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

Sixth, the Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

Seventh, in giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

Eighth, the experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient countries. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

From the Sino-Mali Joint Communique, January 21, 1964; published in *Peking Review*, No. 5, January 31, 1964

reality, this is not feasible at present. In other cases there are larger, more sophisticated projects such as the railway. Of course, there have been installations such as the textile mill which produce consumer goods, require relatively small investment, serve the immediate needs of the people, and help to increase our income and provide capital for further development.

It seems that Tanzania, like China, "walks on two legs"!

Yes, that's true. Our people and our land are our main assets. We are not resigned to underdevelopment. Not at all. I submit that our people know what they want and are determined to develop no matter how difficult the circumstances.

Has there ever been any problem with regard to obtaining high quality Chinese goods at international market prices?

Tanzania has never experienced any difficulties of this kind. Our people choose the material they want. They go to China themselves, to the annual fairs in Canton [Guangzhou] or on special economic missions. They look over everything. If we don't get what we want it's because our people didn't choose right. The Chinese give us the best they produce and we have always found their equipment and material up to international standards. We buy according to the international market. Tanzania has never been used as a dumping ground for Chinese commodities.

What has been the impact of China's training of Tanzanian workers?

The Chinese completely exploded the myth that technology belonged exclusively to the Western industrialized nations. They never tired of assuring our people that "whatever we can do, you can do." They insisted that it required only the strong desire to do it and serious application in mastering it. What is more, they also exploded the myth of the barrier between experts and workers. This is very important to us. We in Tanzania cannot afford a new class of technocrats—we don't want to substitute Tanzanians for the old colonialists. The equality and ease existing between the Chinese experts and workers impressed our people immensely. However, in the beginning it did not always impress some of our technicians and professionals. For example, the simplicity of the Chinese doctors and their treatment of the local population with that same natural ease and person-to-person equality that they practiced among themselves made them enormously popular with the people. Certainly this behavior and approach did not particularly please those among the Tanzanians who considered medicine as the path to social status and special privilege. Fortunately, those were in the minority. The overwhelming majority of Tanzanian doctors are making exceptional contributions and sacrifices, and their view of their role is not basically different from that of their Chinese counterparts.

Tanzanian, Chinese, and Zambian workers set out to build the Tanzam Uhuru Railway. (Photo: Tanzanian Embassy)

The Chinese government insists that all its experts accept the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. How does Chinese practice in Tanzania square with this principle?

China's experts are the best ambassadors China can ever hope to have. If there is "Chinese influence" in Tanzania it is solely because of their extraordinary example. Of course, I am speaking of Chinese experts on the whole. They live under the same conditions as our people and take great pains to identify themselves with the realities of our country. They wouldn't dream of asking for more than the experts and workers of Tanzania. They don't demand refrigerators. They don't demand air-conditioned flats as some others do. When a Chinese expert comes, he or she makes it a point to impart his or her knowledge and know-how. That they do it in a modest and simple way is much appreciated in a country like ours. This has been our experience with the big textile mill they helped us to build, as well as with the Tanzam Railway for which they trained locomotive engineers and every other kind of skilled technician and worker needed for the railway's operation and maintenance.

And I must say, having lived in China, that the behavior of these Chinese experts and workers is characteristic of the whole Chinese pattern. What they do in Tanzania is what they do in China. It is not a deliberate show to impress us.

Could you give us some of your impressions as an ambassador in Peking?

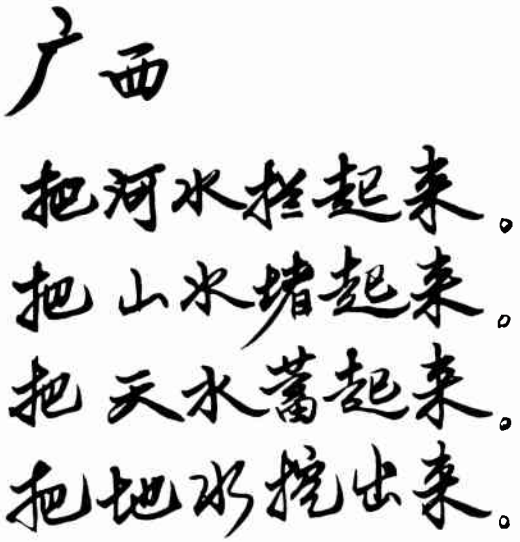
As the Tanzanian Ambassador I was accorded the most extraordinary cooperation. I saw Premier Chou En-lai, whom I had met previously in 1963, five or six times. Sometimes I met him at 11 or 12 midnight and once at 2 o'clock in the morning. I wondered—when does the man ever sleep! He is surely one of the hardest-working prime ministers in the world. It is exciting to conduct business with him. He has such a vast knowledge of world affairs and not only of broad trends but also a command of the particulars, of figures and statistics. I was particularly impressed by my treatment as an African diplomat. I was received everywhere with respect, warmth, and friendliness; I could see anyone with whom I wanted to speak with the greatest ease. All Africans, not only the Tanzanians, were accorded this extraordinary cooperation and respect. I found that Third World representatives in China have a privileged position to facilitate their work.

In traveling through China I was impressed with the determination of the Chinese people, by their enormous confidence. I never saw what I would call poverty in the abject sense. Of course, they do not have heavenly conditions. China is not a rich country; it is a developing country, a Third World country. To feed and clothe almost 800 million people is a tremendous achievement.

Yes, China is one post I would like to return to—there is a lot one can learn. •

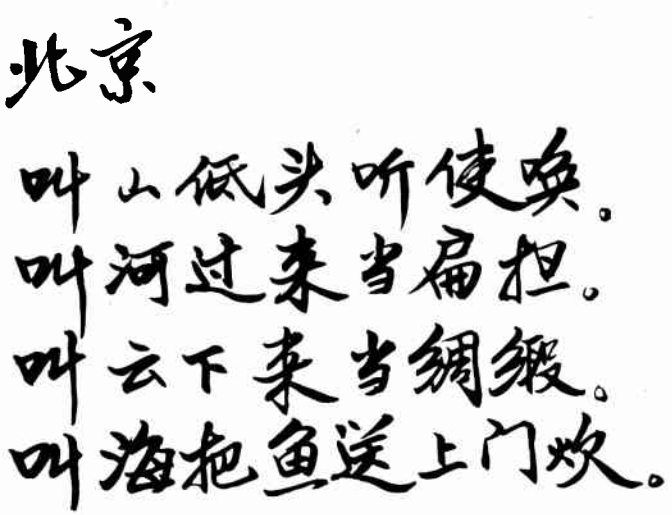
The Great Hand of the People

New Poems by Wang Lao-jiu



Guangxi

Block up river water,
Dam up mountain water,
Store up rain water,
Dig up well water.



Peking

Make the mountains bow to our commands,
Make the rivers serve as carrying poles,
Make the clouds descend as silk,
Make the sea send up fish to be cooked.

安徽

稻堆堆得圆又圆，
社员堆稻上了天，
撕片白云揩揩汗，
凑上太阳吸袋烟。

Anhui

Rice heaps piled high round and round,
Commune workers stack rice straight to the sky,
Tear off a piece of cloud to wipe the sweat,
Lean to the sun and light up a pipe of tobacco.

四川

玉米稻子密又浓，
遮天盖地不透风，
就是卫星掉下来，
也要弹回半空中。

Sichuan

Corn and rice stalks, lush and thick,
Conceal the sky and stem the breeze.
Even a falling satellite
Would be bounced half way back to heaven.

这间屋

这间屋里熬过药，
这间屋里上过吊，
这间屋里流过泪，
这间屋里开过会，
这间屋里闹革命，
这间屋里人高兴，
这间屋成了机器房，
马达轰轰歌声扬，
「躍进，躍进，更躍进！
农村三变上天堂。」

This House

Oh, in this house drugs had been brewed,
Oh, in this house people had hanged themselves,
Oh, in this house tears had been shed.
In this house meetings have been held,
In this house a revolution has been made.
Yes, in this house the people are joyful,
Yes, in this house there's now an engine room.
The motors roar and rumble in song,
Leap forward, leap forward, leap further forward!—
The village, three times transformed, advances.

From *Pan Ku,* a Hong Kong publication, No. 57, May 1, 1973.
Translated by Dorothy Loo Kehl and M.K. Lee.
Calligraphy by F.Y. Lee.

Stage Left, Stage Right

Shanghai actress Chen Yuan-chi details the struggle to revolutionize theater

Revolutionary theater has been a potent cultural force in creating a new consciousness among China's people. Chen Yuan-chi took part in this important cultural work as an actress with the Shanghai People's Art Theater from the early 1950s until 1971, when she came to the United States with her American husband, Gerald Tannebaum, a long-time resident of China. In the following interview she discusses theater in the People's Republic—its background, techniques, and aims.

How did the revolutionary theater begin in China?

It was born along with the Red Army, which was founded by the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s. In the very early days, Chairman Mao wrote that to win a revolution, we need two armies: the army with guns and the army with pens; neither one can be neglected. From the very start, the Communist Party built up what we call cultural or propaganda teams. They were mostly young, progressive students who had joined the Revolution. They were recruited to spread the policies and ideas of the Party to the soldiers and the local population wherever they went.

These students, plus some of the talented young people from peasant families, would sing or dance or perform local folk art. The cultural teams picked up local art forms and gave them new content—Party policies and the goals of the struggle. They wrote their own skits, songs, and stories. Not only were they competent as writers and actors, but they were also part of the army. In battle they became stretcher-bearers or nurses. Then as soon as an area was liberated, the teams went among the local people and explained Party policy through their art.

This was the traditional revolutionary theater, just as Chairman Mao described it in his essay "On New Democracy" in 1940: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution."

After 1949, the sole task of revolutionary culture was to consolidate the working people's power in China.

Chen Yuan-chi at the Shanghai People's Art Theater. (Photo: Courtesy of Chen Yuan-chi)

How did you personally happen to get into the theater?

Before Liberation, I was interested in the theater, but my family and I lived in an area controlled by Chiang Kai-shek. The theater there was commercialized, often dominated by gangsters. Actresses were looked upon almost as prostitutes and usually had to compromise physically and ideologically to gain a position.

I came from a middle-class family. My father was a chemical engineer. I knew my family would never agree to my becoming an actress. But in 1949, while we were in Shanghai, the new culture came into the cities. One of the first performances from the Liberated Areas was *The White-Haired Girl*, with music from folk songs in Northwest China. You could tell that these artists were completely different from the Shanghai artists in their attitude and relationship with the audience. You felt that it was a kind of education, not just entertainment.

I thought this was quite exciting, and soon the social attitude toward the performing arts changed. When the Shanghai Dramatic Academy began to recruit students, I applied and was accepted. My father refused to pay even the very minimal tuition fee. But finally my mother gave it to me, and my sister supported her decision. After graduation I was assigned to work with the Shanghai People's Art Theater and never changed to any other unit after that.

What were the attitudes that you had about your work in the theater as you developed your acting skills?

I learned from my personal experience that to be an actress—and to understand what kind of culture we have in China—means to clarify two things: whom do we serve? and how do we serve? When I applied to go to the Dramatic Academy I went through the written examinations, then the special examinations for actresses, and finally I had an interview. My interviewer asked me, "Why do you want to be an actress?" Since the Liberation, I had known the whole concept of culture was changing. I had tried to read everything I could. I had to know why I wanted to be an actress. "To be an actress now," I told him, "is to serve the people and to explain our cause and the Party policy." Although I didn't yet fully understand what was behind all that, I knew the correct answer. Only later, after study and experience, did I see what it really meant to serve the people.

The basis for our study in the Dramatic Academy was Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," written in 1942. That article was the whole foundation for the new culture. All the guiding lines, all the theory, are written in that article. Every time we'd read it, every time we'd discuss it, every time we'd apply these lines to our practical work, we always found something new that we had missed the last time. From 1949 to 1971, and particularly during the Cultural Revolution, everybody in theatrical circles went through this article

many times. Even now, whenever I read it again, I always discover something I didn't understand before.

This article of Mao's is the first theoretical study for every cultural worker in China. The initial question in it is: whom do we serve? In socialist China, everything is for the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They are the majority of the population and the masters of new China. So the new culture has to serve them. Workers and peasants are responsible for creating material wealth for new China; the cultural workers, all the people working in art and literature, are mainly responsible for creating a new socialist spiritual wealth for the society, based on direct involvement with the people. This is the meaning of the new term, cultural workers. It reflects the division of labor in the new society, not a new elite or "spiritual aristocracy" divorced from the people which projects its own narrow aspirations and identity.

So, we understand whom we serve. Now, *how* do we serve them? We want to portray the heroes among the workers, soldiers, and peasants. It is very important to define the qualities of a hero in socialist China. In the old days, heroes were supposed to be tough and smart and know how to get ahead and take advantage of others.

In today's China, the first quality for a hero is selflessness. Not those people who take more and give less, but those who give more and take less from society—they are the heroes of the new society. The responsibility of the performing artist is to go among the masses and search the society for such models, such fine qualities.

But it is not enough just to portray these qualities on the stage as they actually are. We are not satisfied to depict life as it is, or human beings as they are. We want to lift life a step above, to "romanticize" it. The method we use is what we call revolutionary realism combined with revolutionary romanticism. We want to portray the hero or heroine as they *should* be, to glorify the fine qualities, the rare qualities, in human beings, and stimulate people to follow suit.

Why do we want to do that? Because in order to serve well, to build a new, independent, modern, socialist China, we need a whole new spirit, and new human beings to spread this kind of selflessness among the people, to shape the social mores and social behavior. I have found in my own experience that the performing arts are a very powerful weapon for doing this.

What are some of the good—and the bad—productions you were involved in?

First, a positive example. In 1950, when China adopted the important new marriage law, there was a big campaign to make its provisions known. Publications, theater, art, all centered on the marriage law, telling women what their rights were for the first time. The campaign went on for some time and aimed at reaching everyone in every corner of China, in the countryside, factories, cities, schools. We were still students at the time, but we were called upon to join.

A very popular play, *Chao Xiao-lan* [the name of the heroine of the story], was written for this purpose. It is about a young country girl whose father has arranged a marriage for her according to the old feudal tradition. But she has somebody else in mind, a boyfriend of her own choice. Upon hearing about the new marriage law, with the encouragement of other young people, cadres, and county government officials, she stands up to defend her rights. The story revolves around the struggle between the young girl and her father, between the new marriage law and the deeply rooted, thousand-year-old traditions and die-hard attitudes of old China. The theme is thus directly linked with what was going on at that time in China.

We rehearsed the play and took it to the factories in Shanghai. The reaction of the audience was very strong. It exactly reflected the struggle going on in the play. In the audience were people who sympathized with the old tradition and people who supported the new policy. Everyone became involved; some shouted slogans of support at us and others booed. There was a battle going on in the audience itself which was very rewarding.

I was on the side of the young girl in the role I played, and I was trying to break down the old tradition with my performance. When I got the boos from the other side, it made me all the more determined to convince them. In the end, we felt the majority of the audience supported us. I think we opened some minds and encouraged some young people to stand up for their rights. So this was a positive example of how the performing arts can influence people, can really push them forward.

The negative example—how the performing arts can drive people backward—occurred in 1963. My theater put on *Camille*, the French classic about the love life of an upper-class prostitute. The reason we put on this play was to depict the corrupted life and hypocrisy of bourgeois society in France at the time, so we could open the eyes of the Chinese audience to see how despicable they were. We wanted to show Camille as a victim of that society.

We first put it on in Shanghai. Usually, workers are the bulk of the theater audience in the cities. But for this show, we immediately noticed that the audience included a lot of intellectuals, college students, professors, and a number of wives of the former capitalists in Shanghai. After a few weeks, we took the show on the road because we had contracts with other cities.

Chinese audiences are quite responsive.

（舞蹈动作图二十六）

（舞蹈动作图二十八）

（舞蹈动作图二十九）

（舞蹈动作图二十七）

Modern Revolutionary Dance-Drama: The Red Detachment of Women, a "how to" manual for professional and amateur groups throughout China, includes suggestions about the wattage of spotlights, dimensions of sets and props, length of tatters in costumes, make-up, music, and choreography. Schools and communes can excerpt brief sections for practice and performance. The 684-page book costs $2.00.

And they like to tell you what they think by writing letters afterward, so we had a special office to read all the letters and summarize the contents. One letter, from a high school student who had seen our performance of *Camille* in Changsha, said, "I was really impressed by the show; I was very moved. I feel that if I could spend only one week of life like Camille, I could die without any regrets."

Of course, we all knew the significance of this, and immediately discussed it and reviewed what we had done. What kinds of ideas were we implanting in people's minds? This was serious. It certainly hadn't been our purpose to encourage young girls in Changsha to desire to live the life of Camille, even for one week.

This was a setback and we knew something was wrong. We discussed our purpose in putting on the play and we learned that you can't contrive a play to serve a purpose other than the one originally intended. The French playwright had written a love story, a personal tragedy, not a criticism of the decadence of bourgeois society at the time. Then we got a telegram from the next city we were to play saying that our contract was canceled because this show was not consistent with current policy.

The error we made was not unique. In about 1962, the year we began rehearsing *Camille*, revisionism among Chinese theatrical circles had reached a peak. In other words, we were holding people back from revolution in the name of "revolution." In 1963 the Socialist Education Movement began, led by Chairman Mao. From our experience with *Camille*, I think that movement was timely and justified—we needed it.

Another example of how a cultural production could have a bad influence on people was a movie called *The Vagabond*, which was imported from India in the middle fifties. It was a very popular film, a copy of American musicals. I remember that the lines in front of the movie houses in Shanghai were very long and that you would hear people humming the theme song of the movie on the street. Lots of young people went to see it two or three times.

The vagabond is a happy-go-lucky person, handsome and young, and he makes a living by picking pockets. He was amusing and hurt nobody, and if people lost a wallet, so what? Somehow he meets a woman from a very wealthy family in India who is studying to be a lawyer, and this woman falls in love with the vagabond—incredible! In the end, when he is caught, she stands up in court and defends this wandering pickpocket.

At the same time as the movie was being shown, the Shanghai Public Security Bureau noticed a rise in petty thievery and pickpocketing. Nobody could doubt that there was a link between this movie and social behavior. I am convinced that the performing arts are very powerful in shaping the morals and behavior of a society. No matter what you do, people remember. It's under the limelight. People remember and people copy.

Although you were serving in a revolutionary theater, didn't you get some ego satisfaction from your work at the same time?

I can assure you there is ego gratification. We can't avoid it. We try hard, but it is still there. We hope that one of these days the actors in China will be completely liberated from egotism because it does affect one's character, one's ideology, and one's dedication to the social cause.

One thing we do in order to help the cultural workers in China get rid of this egotism is to go among the masses. Integrating with the workers, peasants, and soldiers is a constant process for all cultural workers. We need to do this much more than other people involved in cultural and educational work precisely because artists are the most vulnerable to egotism. If we are trying to depict the qualities of selflessness among the workers, soldiers, and peasants, we have to fight against our own egotism. That's a direct contradiction: egotism and selflessness.

The energy, the source, of your artistic life is the people. So the minute you become an elite because of your attitude and behavior, that's the end of your artistic life. If artists are egotistical, I don't think they can really portray a selfless hero on the stage.

Can China's revolutionary plays be categorized as tragedies, comedies, or farces according to the definitions of Western theater?

I think the conventional explanation of these forms really doesn't quite fit the contemporary Chinese theater because when we depict the revolutionary history of China, we want the audience to go out inspired, educated, and more dedicated. The techniques of tragedy are certainly used, but the conventional form of tragedy, all sacrifice and no victory, would leave the audience rather depressed and certainly wouldn't serve the purpose of inspiration.

Comedy is a very touchy question because you have to make people laugh. Laugh about what, at whom, at what kind of behavior? What are you going to satirize? It's a question of what kind of attitude you convey. Our attitude toward the people—the workers, peasants, and soldiers who are the backbone of Chinese socialist society—is different from our attitude toward friends of the people among intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie or our attitude toward enemies. So in comedy we have to decide whether the attitude is friendly, cynical, or antagonistic, and toward whom. No matter whether you play comedy, tragedy, or farce, this stand has to be determined.

When we tried to portray the 1936 Long March on stage, we found that even though the heavy losses and sacrifices of the Red Army were a great tragedy at the time, it could not be depicted as a tragedy. The reason was that, in the end, the Long March was a tremendous victory and the purpose of portraying it is to show that despite the difficulties, despite the tragedies, people motivated by revolutionary ideas win in the end.

Is there amateur theater in China?

Yes, a lot. Although China has a population of about 800 million, we have only about 60,000 professional actors. They can't possibly satisfy such a huge audience.

Changchun Film Studio is also a school for training young writers, technicians, and actors. (Photo: B. Friedheim)

Amateur groups are very popular and spring up everywhere—every commune, every factory, all the schools and big organizations have their own amateur groups. One of the duties of professionals when they go to the countryside or factories is to coach the amateurs. Since the Cultural Revolution, these amateur theaters have become the source of new professionals.

How are professional productions chosen and planned, and who makes the decisions?

My own theater is a very big one. We have what we call a theater factory which is composed of all the technicians—set designers, electricians, make-up artists, costumers, sound effect and prop technicians; then there is the administrative office, including a pool of directors. We have our own playwrights who are directly linked with the administrative office. The staff is large enough to divide into four groups, each of which can independently produce a show and rotate between Shanghai and other cities, or travel to factories, communes, and the army.

All the members of the theater can suggest plays and recommend scripts. The recommendations go to the administrative office where we have a committee of playwrights, directors, and leaders of the actors and theater factory workers. They discuss the recommendations and put out a preliminary plan of shows for the year. The plan is presented to all the actors and the theater factory for discussion, additional suggestions, and objections. Scripts are then assigned to a playwright, but everyone can make additional comments and changes as work goes on.

Before the Cultural Revolution, the directors had great power; for example, they had the final say in casting. Now the situation has been changed. Directors get more ideas from the audiences, the actors, and the theater factory workers. Actors can volunteer for a role, say what they think and where they fit in. The actors and the theater factory workers decide together with the director who should take each role. We have lots of discussions, and everyone involved in the show has to give their ideas and reactions. The whole production of the show used to depend on the directors; now the collective is more important. •

FLOR

A Fable for Our Times: *Imagine if Chiang*

John Service

During the American Civil War there was much British sympathy for the South. The textile industry of Britain depended heavily on American cotton. Many British felt deprived without Virginia tobacco. There were religious ties too: Episcopalian to Church of England. And cultural ties: Britain educated the sons of many southern plantation owners; the planters preferred sending them across the water, where the money came from, to having them learn the ways of the anti-slavery North.

The British gentry's sympathy for the planter class of the South nearly led to British recognition of the Confederacy. Short of that, the British supplied the South with vital weapons. Armed commerce raiders were built in British shipyards. For almost two years these ships drove almost all Union vessels from the high seas.

Actions like these violated neutrality and prolonged the Civil War. Ultimately, the British conceded they had acted illegally and, after arbitration, paid a sum in damages to the United States.

But suppose events had taken a different course. . . .

*

Once upon a time long ago—but not very far away—there was a very great and powerful country. It was indeed the greatest world power of the day. In fact it was *so* great that

its great leaders had the word "great" added to its name. It was called *Great Britain.*

Now Great Britain's greatness was so extraordinary that even countries from far across the sea came bearing gifts and flattery. In praising tones, the prime ministers and generals of these far-off countries would hold forth about how great the Great British political system was, how great Great British culture was, how powerful the Great British Army and Navy were, and so on. Of course, in between the words of praise, the leaders of these countries from across the sea would be making financial deals with this or that Great British leader, to his and their mutual advantage. (That was the way things were done in those days.)

One of these leaders from across the sea was Generalissimo Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy of America. He was engaged at the time in a civil war with the North and had come to Great Britain to get its backing. He pointed out that if the North won, Great Britain would have to pay a higher price for cotton and might even face some competition from the American textile industry in the North. And he hinted darkly that his spies had heard some people in the North saying that the real name of Great Britain wasn't "Great Britain" at all, but was in fact Little England!

Under these circumstances, Great Britain felt that it could not sit back and see the South "go down the drain." Vast quantities of food and industrial supplies were sent to bolster the South as more and more of its hinterland was lost to the advancing northern forces. Officers were sent to train and advise the southern army. And more and more arms were sent, until almost all the fighting equipment of the southern forces had come, gratis, from Great Britain—and until every grieving mother on the northern side came to feel that her son had been killed by a Great British bullet.

But the overwhelming majority of the American people were on the side of the

John S. Service's dispatches while he was a State Department official in China during the 1940s are brought together in Lost Chance in China. *Forced out of the Department during the McCarthy period for the truthfulness of his China reports, Service in turn forced his reinstatement. After retiring from the Foreign Service, he became a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, and joined the staff of its Center for Chinese Studies. He is an Honorary Member of the USCPFA National Steering Committee. "Floriwan" is excerpted and adapted from his address to the USCPFA's Second National Convention in August 1975.*

"Floriwan" is part of our "One China" series. The Summer 1975 New China *contains a chronology of Taiwan Province's history and comments by Senator Mike Mansfield on the Shanghai Communique; the Fall 1975 issue prints Professor Paul Lin's call for the U.S. to abandon recognition of the Chiang group and adopt a far-sighted policy toward China.*

IWAN

Kai-shek were Confederate President Jefferson Davis...

North. And though the war took four long years, the North moved inexorably forward. Finally, the southern defeat was complete. The long-fought-for reunification of the

country seemed at hand. For most Americans on both sides, the end of the bloody and bitter struggle was a relief.

But Generalissimo Jefferson Davis had another idea. He was confident that his Great British supporters would not take lightly the "loss of America." Gathering what generals, politicians, and remnant troops he had left, he eluded the northern Union forces, took boats, crossed the 600-mile-square Okefenokee Swamp, and turned up in Florida. Here he set up a new government and proclaimed it to be the legal and rightful government of the whole United States.

Jefferson Davis knew his faithful ally, and he was right in his expectations. After only a brief hesitation, the Great British government decided that his was indeed the government of the United States—though being only one small state, it was puzzling to see how the plural could apply. Some political observers noted the influential activities in Great Britain, especially in Parliament, of a so-called "American lobby"—although, again, the name seemed an oddity since the lobby was vehemently opposed to the 36 other states and favored only Florida.

But mere recognition of the new state would not be enough, for its situation was indeed unstable: its population was only about 1 percent of the continental United States. (Not too different, to give the dear reader a more modern example, from Taiwan's approximately 2 percent of China's people.) But since Great Britain was unquestionably the greatest world power of the day—as by now the reader is aware—it decided that such a minor detail would not hinder it from declaring that Davis and his rump regime on Florida represented *all* the Americans.

So a "mutual defense treaty" was signed, in order to prevent the 99 percent of the Americans on the mainland from attempting to recover the rebellious state of Florida: any such attempt would be treated as an attack on Great Britain itself. (Americans had long opposed the imperialist custom of unequal treaties. But this did not seem to bother the regime in Florida, since the treaty did not require it to go to the defense of Great Britain.)

To bolster this treaty, Great British military bases were built in Florida, and Great British forces were stationed there—with plenty more available in a hurry, if needed, from other Great British bases in the Caribbean. The all-powerful Great British Navy kept up a constant patrol of American waters around Florida. And the Great British equivalent of the CIA recruited and trained large numbers of Floridians to filter through the Okefenokee, cross over onto the mainland, and carry out intelligence and sabotage missions. (The Floridians were thought to be useful because they spoke the local dialect and would not be so conspicuous as Great Britain's Oxford-Cambridge boys, who were apt to be pale and certainly couldn't speak American with a drawl. Nonetheless, most of these Florida agents ended up being caught on the mainland.)

Finally, vast amounts of economic aid made Florida prosperous—with Great Brit-

ish firms, of course, getting in on the ground floor. Of particular note was one gigantic economic development project right in the heart of Florida. It was a boomtown fantasyland financed by a prestigious Great British firm and known everywhere as "Disneyworld." Touted as the "showcase of democracy and development in the Caribbean," it came to be regarded as symbolic of Generalissimo Davis' rule on Florida—a point that made him very proud.

But all this was still not enough. Great Britain insisted on isolating and making the continental United States an international

outcast. There was a complete economic embargo—as strict as in time of war, though there was no war. No Great British trade or economic aid was permitted to help the mainland to recover from the devastation of the long Civil War, to industrialize or develop the great western territories, or to meet the food shortages of a succession of bad crop years. By Great British political pressure and arm-twisting, the United States was excluded and kept out of all international organizations, even those as harmless as the Red Cross. Only the "United States Government" in Florida was acceptable to Great British-dominated international organizations.

Of course, not everyone in Great Britain agreed with a policy so strange and unrealistic. Most Great British, as a matter of fact, remembered a long pre-Civil War history of warm friendship with all the American people—not just Davis' handful on Florida. But dissenters, on the whole, were few: they had to face stern accusations of being disloyal, subversive, or even "un-Great British." The few Great British travelers or newsmen who managed, against their government's wishes, to get to the United States to see what actually was happening were treated as criminals and taken to court when they returned to Great Britain. Government officials, naturally, found it healthy to be silent.

Senseless though it was, this situation dragged on for years. From time to time there were alarms over artillery exchanges across the Okefenokee Swamp. One Great British party accused the other Great British party of holding Jefferson Davis back from carrying out his constant vow to "return to the mainland." The accusing party eventually came to power. It fulfilled its campaign pledge and "unleashed" Jeff Davis. But still nothing happened. In fact, Generalissimo Davis was getting very old, and fewer and fewer people in the real world—and perhaps even in Florida—took seriously his insistence that the Americans on the mainland were eagerly awaiting his return to liberate them. Great Britain found it harder and harder to hold its allies, satellites, and the rest of the world to its policy of containment, isolation, and non-recognition of the continental United States. The real America, it was clear, was not going to break up or go away. On the contrary, it was not only a stable and going concern: it was actually getting stronger and winning friends.

Finally—after 22 years—the head of Great Britain began to get the idea that his government's American policy was not very productive after all. So the Great British Prime Minister suddenly announced that he wished to visit the mainland and shake the hand of the U.S. President in Washington. This was a bit surprising, because, over the years, this particular Great British Prime Minister had been more vigorous, if possible, than anyone else in thinking up uncomplimentary names to apply to the Americans: Godless atheists, ruthless totalitarians, international outlaws, Russian puppets, and all that.

As the reader can imagine—with the background of Great British intervention in the American Civil War and their support of a pathetic rump government in Florida since then—the American public was not exactly

pro-British. If the question had been put to a popular vote, the Prime Minister probably would never have been received in Washington. But the U.S. leaders took a calmer view. There was nothing to lose, they decided, because the situation couldn't be worse. Besides, there must be really big Great British policy changes afoot—the head of the greatest and most powerful nation in the world was not making a pilgrimage to Washington merely to look at the Washington Monument, great though it certainly is. No! For so proud a man to make so dramatic a gesture and come so far, something important must be happening. At any rate, they thought they should see. So the continental American government said, "Come."

The Great British Prime Minister envisioned this visit to Washington as a great event for his self-conceived role in forging a "structure of peace." So he brought an immense press corps with him. Unfortunately, because of the long Great British isolation from America, almost none of the newsmen and commentators had ever been on the mainland or knew anything about it. But one thing they did know was that when heads of friendly states visited Washington, the Americans would always provide a fantastic welcoming parade: school children dancing and cheering, thousands of colorful banners, and so on. But when the Prime Minister arrived, wearing a broad smile and new clothes, there was no parade to be seen.

The Great British press corps was frankly disappointed. They concocted several ingenious theories for the lack of a parade. But, oddly, not one of these analysts thought of the history of the previous 22 years; or of the still existing status of Florida, treated by the Great British as the government of the United States and with Great British troops actually there on American territory; or of the fact that the Prime Minister had made no commitments regarding future Great British policy.

For a state visit, the Prime Minister's sojourn was long: a full week. And like most, very busy: state dinners and elaborate toasts; visits to the Washington Monument and other sights; and, in between, many high-level talks. Apparently the talks were not easy, but on the last night before the Prime Minister's departure, the key wording of the official communique was finally agreed upon.

The Great British side declared: "Great Britain acknowledges that all Americans on either side of the Okefenokee Swamp maintain that there is but one United States. The Great British government does not challenge that position." With that solemn statement of the obvious, and a few more fine words about bilateral trade and relaxation of tensions, the Prime Minister went home to a hero's welcome and loud praises from almost everyone for having opened the doors to America and brought about a Great British-American detente.

And the story, dear reader, should have ended here, with Great Britain quickly removing its troops from Florida and withdrawing its support of Generalissimo Davis' regime. But three and a half more years went by and nothing really happened. Florida remained as it was; and the Great British mutual security treaty guaranteeing Florida's separation and independence from the United States remained in effect, with no signs at all that Great Britain intended to do anything to change it. In fact, the Great British government allowed Florida to set up five additional consulates on Great British soil. This gave Jeff Davis' United States of Florida more diplomatic representation in Great Britain than *any* other country had!

In the meantime, Generalissimo Jeff Davis himself passed on, but was immediately replaced by his son, Florida-Forever Davis, who continued to rely on the Great British to keep the continental Americans on the other side of the Okefenokee. One heard less and less, however, of the slogan "Return to the American mainland!" and more and more of the slogan "Build up the Disneyworld showcase!"

And so the situation stands to this day. Our fable doesn't have a happy ending... yet.

The End

CHOU EN-LAI

Two important events from the summer of 1972: President Nixon's visit to China was announced, and former Defense Minister Lin Piao fled toward the Soviet border and died in an air crash. Premier Chou draws some historical lessons.

William Hinton

Last of a Four-Part Series

A few days after China's National Day celebration on October 1, 1971, Chou En-lai met with 73 Americans then in Peking. Some of them were long-term residents of the city, some were old friends of China returning for their first visit in years, and some were young people who had never been to China before. The important international development at the time was, of course, the impending Nixon visit. Many foreign friends of China had been shocked by the news that the American President was coming in the spring. They had expressed their doubts and reservations to the Premier in no uncertain terms. After briefly reviewing some earlier phases of U.S.-China relations and describing how the Nixon request to visit had been accepted on Mao Tsetung's prompting, Chou En-lai took up the question that was upsetting many people of good will in America and all over the world.

Isn't American imperialism the arch enemy of the people of the world? Why then let Nixon come?

Holding talks is struggle. Not holding talks is also struggle. We talked with Chiang Kai-shek, the arch enemy of the Chinese people. We negotiated with Chiang for ten years, from the time of the Sian incident in 1936 through the continuation of the Chungking negotiations in 1946—ten long years. And most important—Mao Tsetung went to Chungking in 1945 because the Chinese people wanted peace. In response to popular demand Mao Tsetung went to Chungking himself. He went even though the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army didn't agree to the trip. We had to persuade them that it was necessary.

A number of agreements were reached. For a whole year [1946-1947] we made various efforts to apply these agreements.

The Sian Incident

In 1936 Chiang Kai-shek was seized and held captive by his own commanders in the northwest—Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, who wanted to fight Japan instead of the Communist forces facing them on the Yenan front. In negotiations joined by the Communists, Chiang agreed to lead a united front against Japan and was released.

The Chungking Negotiations

In 1945, after the Japanese surrendered, Mao Tsetung flew to Chungking, the Kuomintang capital, to try and work out a peaceful post-war settlement of China's internal conflict. The negotiations were not successful but a fitful truce was later arranged that maintained some semblance of peace until March 1947, when Chiang Kai-shek launched an all-out offensive.

William Hinton is chairperson of the national USCPFA and the author of many books and articles about China, including Fanshen, Hundred Day War, *and* Turning Point in China.

Thus by the spring of 1947 we had withdrawn troops and cadres from many areas. It was Chiang Kai-shek who suspended the talks, not us. He had already launched war. The final disruption of negotiations coincided with Chiang Kai-shek's attack on Yenan.

[After the fall of Yenan in March 1947, Communist-led troops, after some initial retreats, launched a counteroffensive. In two years of fighting they liberated most of China north of the Yangtze River and east of Sichuan. Having lost most of his best troops north of the river, Chiang Kai-shek was in no position to stem a Communist advance into South China. He retired temporarily from the presidency of the Republic of China in favor of General Li Tsung-jen, a famous Guangxi warlord with whom Chiang had both collaborated and contended over the years.]

Two years later talks began again. In 1949 Li Tsung-jen started negotiations with us. There was pressure for agreement on both sides, but Chiang Kai-shek wouldn't let Li make any agreement. The policy of the United States at that time was to divide China into two. But who can stop an army from crossing a river? Even in ancient times armies crossed rivers. Mao Tsetung issued an order. On April 20, 1949, one million People's Liberation Army soldiers crossed the Yangtze.

These events show that negotiations are necessary sometimes. Our policy is to continue to struggle and to negotiate at the same time.

In Korea talks began one year after the war broke out [1951]. The fighting continued and we talked. The talks moved to Panmunjom. In 1953 there was an armistice but no peace treaty and the negotiations continue to this day. These negotiations have been going on for 20 years!

China's Northern Frontier

On the other side of our northern frontier there are one million troops—Soviet army, air force, and navy units armed with missiles—and the Soviet Union has stationed 100,000 troops in Mongolia. These troops have been sent to oppose China, to create tension along the border. In this situation our policy has been to negotiate the boundary question, in order to bring about a relaxation of tension and to create a neighborly situation vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Even though Soviet troops were massed on our borders we still received Kosygin two years ago in Peking.

We said then, "In order to relax tensions both countries should agree to boundary negotiations free from threat." Kosygin agreed to this.

We proposed that the status quo on the border be maintained and that the armed forces of both sides should disengage to prevent clashes. Under such conditions the negotiations could proceed.

What is our position on the northern boundary? One can learn this from the document issued by the Foreign Ministry in October 1969. We pointed out then that the Sino-Russian treaties of the past were unequal. They were imposed by the Tsars. The Russian people did not hold power in the nineteenth century so they were not responsible. After the October Revolution Lenin announced the annulment of all the unequal treaties. But warlords held power in China at the time and no agreement was reached. So this question dragged on to this day.

We say that the basis for a settlement is the old Sino-Russian treaties—there is no other basis. But when we look at the status quo and compare it with the treaty maps we find discrepancies, and these give rise to disputes. There are areas where the present alignment differs from the agreements made in the treaties. So we propose talks based on the old treaties and on the status quo—where Soviet people reside and where Chinese people reside—and hope to make adjustments in a friendly way. With this spirit we would like to make a new agreement and draw up a new treaty. Our position "in a nutshell" [said in English with a delighted laugh] is: take the old treaties as a basis and make some adjustments in the spirit of mutual compromise.

So where is the territorial demand? [The Soviet Union had accused China of making unreasonable territorial demands and these accusations were widely echoed in the world press.]

We are taking the old treaties as the basis for talks. Proceeding from such a principle we have solved all but the Soviet and the Indian border problems. Now a new Soviet-Indian treaty has been signed. It is clear at whom this treaty is directed. They say there is no target. We hope so, but our hopes are clearly in vain. Yet we still propose talks and wish to arrive at an understanding on the basis of the old treaties.

On October 20, 1969, Sino-Soviet talks began. They have been going on for two years already and this is not a long time to negotiate when it is compared with some other negotiations.

The Soviet Union will condemn me [for Nixon's visit]. "You are talking to Americans." Why not? The Soviet Union has talked to Americans many times. For us this will be the first formal talk with Americans.

Three Examples

I have cited three examples [three precedents]: 1) ten years of negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, an interlude of fighting, and then renewed talks; 2) negotiations while fighting in Korea and then, after an armistice, 20 years of talks; 3) two years of talks with the Soviet Union in spite of one million troops on our borders, troops in Mongolia, and constant threatening maneuvers.

What do these examples mean for Sino-U.S. relations? There is no war in Taiwan Strait. We have been talking for 16 years already [counting from the start of the ambassadorial talks in Geneva, Switzerland, on August 1, 1955, that were continued in Warsaw, Poland]. Now we wish to raise the level of the negotiations. Nixon himself is coming. Why isn't that permissible? From our point of view there is no reason not to proceed. Even when Sino-U.S. talks reach the level of heads of state we will never bargain away principles, sell out our friends, or sell out the people of the world. We will not deceive you in this matter. If our friends do not understand this it is because they don't know our history and they don't understand Mao Tsetung's policy.

As to the specific details of the coming talks, I cannot discuss them. On this question I have gone far enough.

[Having made clear that negotiations are an aspect of struggle, Chou En-lai went on to

Communist Troop Withdrawals

In the interest of a peaceful settlement Mao Tsetung offered and later unilaterally carried out withdrawals from eight Liberated Areas in Central and South China, including Guangdong, Zhejiang, southern Jiangsu, southern Anhui, central Anhui, Hunan, Hubei, and Henan (not including northern Henan).

Soviet-Indian Treaty

In August 1971, the two countries signed a treaty of "peace, friendship, and cooperation." Article 9 of the treaty essentially pledges each of the signers to aid the other if it is involved in a war. In December 1971, after having received large shipments of Soviet war materiel as a result of the treaty, India intervened in the civil strife in Pakistan, broke apart China's main ally in the region, and contributed to the intensified encirclement of China by hostile forces.

"Holding talks is struggle. Not holding talks is also struggle."

demonstrate that China was prepared to defend itself and was thus in a position to negotiate as an equal with the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other country.]

Chiang Kai-shek launched war while talking. During the Korean War we fought the United States and talked at the same time. The People's Republic of China has grown up amid war and negotiations. Nixon says that this is an era of negotiations. We add that armed struggle also continues. We do not like these armed struggles any more than anyone else. We will not provoke such struggles. After all, our soldiers have not been seen on Long Island, nor have we landed troops in Honolulu.

We are for negotiations even though the U.S. Navy plies the Taiwan Strait. But if we did not at the same time prepare for war we would not be wise. While talking with Chiang Kai-shek we prepared to fight. While giving aid to Vietnam we must be prepared for the war to come to China. Now, as always, we must be prepared.

In 1965 I told Ayub Kahn [then President of Pakistan] that 1) we will never create provocations abroad; 2) should anyone impose war on us we will fight until final victory; 3) what we say here in China we mean—we are serious; 4) if war should break out there will be no limitations.

Prepare for All Eventualities

On behalf of the Chinese people I said this year, "If the Indo-China War expands to China our people are prepared for the maximum sacrifice."

The possibility exists. If war is launched against us without any provocation on our part, should we not be prepared?

How are we prepared? To what extent?

Our friends may think our preparations exceed the events that are possible. But suppose, just suppose, that the Soviet Union drives to the Yellow River and that the U.S. troops drive to the Yangtze; that Japanese militarists occupy the coast from Tsingtao to Shanghai, while the Indians do their part in Tibet. What would we do then? We are ready to undertake a fight until final victory. To prepare for any eventuality we are now digging underground tunnels. If you haven't seen them already you may go and see them. This evening is still available to you.

Think! Can we launch an attack with tunnels?

All cities have mobilized their people to dig such tunnels. Rural people can disperse. We are preparing for those who would invade. It is on this basis that we negotiate and welcome those who come to talk. Sino-Soviet talks are proceeding in Peking. The United States wants talks in Peking. OK. We welcome them. It is simple. When one dares to fight, one can talk. If one wants peace talks, one must be prepared for war.

Isn't this a "position of strength"? No, we have no thought of attacking others. We have no ambitions, no navy on the open sea, nor in the Sea of Japan, the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, the Arctic, or the Antarctic. No, we carry out only defensive measures, but we are well prepared.

You may ask if China and the United States can have diplomatic relations. This all depends on the solution to the Taiwan question.

We cannot accept two Chinas.

We cannot accept two governments.

No "one China and one Taiwan."

No "independent Taiwan."

No "self-determination for Taiwan."

In the Sino-Japanese Communique we said, "The U.S.-Chiang Treaty [December 1954] was concluded after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It is void."

Conditions for diplomatic relations with the United States are the same as for Japan. [To follow this approach the United States would have to terminate the defense treaty with Taiwan, withdraw all U.S. troops from Taiwan, and sever diplomatic relations with the Chiang regime.]

We are not in a hurry. We have waited 22 years. Japan recognized Chiang Kai-shek but is still legally at war with China after 22 years. For 22 years the U.S. government has surrounded us with hostile encirclement. But haven't we lived well during this time? We have made no provocative moves. As John Service [former U.S. Foreign Service Officer in China]. Do my words have a provocative tone.

John Service: Your words are very persuasive. I am convinced.

Our attitude hasn't changed in 22 years.

John Service: Right.

Each year more U.S. friends visit us. Up to now the biggest number of visitors has come from Japan, but in the seventies visitors from the United States should catch up. In the future we will meet again, if Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin don't greet me first.

China's UN Seat

Between the first week in October when Chou En-lai met with the 73 Americans and November 14 when I and several other family members met with him again, the People's Republic of China was seated in the United Nations, replacing the Taiwan regime of Chiang Kai-shek. As dawn broke over Peking, Premier Chou spoke of this historic turnabout in the UN.]

The United Nations vote showed that we do not sell out our principles. The American proposal was to set up "two Chinas" or "one China and two governments." In our August 20th statement we firmly opposed this. [Meanwhile the old alignments in the UN began to shift.] If the President of the United States wants to go to China, why shouldn't other countries have some relations also? Many Asian, African, and European countries began reconsidering. After Canada established relations many other countries followed suit. When it came to a UN vote on the American resolution [to make the issue of China's representation an important question requiring a two-thirds majority to carry] only 55 were in favor while

59 opposed. Ten of the 59 were countries which had not yet set up diplomatic relations with China. This had never happened before. Why? The United States thought that since these countries didn't have relations with China it was not necessary to put a lot of pressure on them. Also they had all sent telegrams [to the United States] saying that they would consult back on the issue, so the United States was at ease.

But at the same time there were eight countries that had diplomatic relations with us that abstained from voting on the U.S. resolution. Why did they refuse to support China even though they had diplomatic relations with us? It was because the United States put great pressure on them—countries like Italy, Turkey, and Iran. Altogether there were 15 countries that abstained. But abstaining was also good because that decreased the total number of affirmative votes.

The outcome had not been dreamed of by the United States or by China. To tell the truth we did not expect this. Everything started at once. The U.S. resolution failed. The whole UN boiled up. The delegates from Asia, Africa, and Latin America especially were happy. Above all the Africans. Joanne [Joanne Hinton, a Black American], your African brothers were most enthusiastic. There were no drums in the hall but they danced anyway. The whole place was full of joy. Seeing all this on television, Nixon was very unhappy. [Nixon publicly criticized the proceedings.]

Once the shift started there was no stopping it. With the vote on the Albanian resolution [a proposal to seat the People's Republic of China and expel the Chiang Kai-shek regime sponsored by Albania, Algeria, and 20 other countries] the whole situation changed. This won, 76 to 35. It was an overwhelming majority—over two-thirds. The 59 who opposed the original U.S. resolution never changed, while 17 new votes were added, making a total of 76. Twelve of these came from those who had previously abstained. Five switched their vote. Among them were Israel and Portugal. We hadn't paid much attention to these countries but they came out and voted for us. This is what we call the "main trend." You can't resist the "main trend."

Grandmother Hinton, when you left the United States did you expect China to be admitted to the UN so soon?

Mrs. Hinton: We were hoping China would come in.

Now that hope is realized. And it is due to the support of the medium-sized and small countries. With the support of all these Third World countries we couldn't refuse to take our seat at this session. We got together a delegation in a rush and went there. Some friends advised us not to go this year. This was such a new problem. But all the medium-sized and small countries voted for us. They were waiting for us to come. If we hadn't gone it would have been a big disappointment to them. Of course, when we go what we give is moral support. Our actual contribution can't help but be small. But we state again that we will absolutely not be a superpower. We are going to stand and speak on the side of the Third World.

The Case of Lin Piao

[Earlier on that same morning, November 14, 1971, I asked Chou En-lai for clarification on the question of Lin Piao. Two months earlier Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party and Minister of Defense, had fled toward the Soviet Union in a jet plane with his wife and son and had crashed in Mongolia. Rumors were already circulating in the world press about his flight and his death, but there had been no official comment from China. Internally the whole episode had been reported to the people through unit meetings that reached all the way down to the primary schools, but a decision had apparently been made at the highest level that nothing should be revealed to the world for the time being.

[That morning Chou En-lai, somewhat taken aback by the bluntness of my question, answered calmly but indirectly. He discussed the essence of the case by analogy, comparing it on the one hand to the case of Wang Ming, who lost all support in China in spite of political backing in the Soviet Union, and on the other hand to that of Chang Kuo-tao, who commanded a large Red Army in 1936 but lost most of it on a trek through the wilderness in a vain effort to find safety near the Soviet border. In the end Chang defected to Chiang Kai-shek.

[By making clear that both these men broke with Mao Tsetung over political line, Chou established the fact that Lin Piao, who held more political and military power than either of them, came into conflict with Mao Tsetung not simply over personal power, but over the future course of the Chinese Revolution.

[It has since been revealed that Lin Piao took the position that the Cultural Revolution had completed the transformation of China; henceforth the main problem was to develop production. Such a position, by freezing existing inequalities, would lead inevitably to capitalist restoration. And, in accord with this logic, Lin Piao began to quote China's most famous restorationist, Confucius. Mao took the position that the transformation of China had just begun. The main problem was still the conflict between the working class and a capitalist class that was constantly recreated by the still unchanged social relations, such as commodity production and the use of money in buying and selling. He was for continuing revolution.

[Here are the main points made by Chou En-lai in response to my question.]

This question has been raised very suddenly. I'll have to discuss it a little. What I have agreed to do is explain the problem of political line clearly.

Line is the lifeblood of our Party. Fifty years of experience prove that as long as we persist in struggle for the correct line we will

Third World Countries

The Third World countries, which include China, are the colonial, former colonial, and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are now struggling to stand up. Chinese leaders also see a First World composed of the two contending and collaborating superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union; and a Second World composed of the lesser industrialized states such as England, France, Canada, and Japan.

Wang Ming

The leader of the student "bolsheviks," he returned to China in 1927 after studying at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. Wang Ming led in overthrowing Li Li-san as Party Secretary in 1930 and served in that post himself from 1930 to 1932, when he returned to Moscow to represent the Chinese Party there. He advocated an adventurist "decisive battle, liberate big cities, general strike" line in the thirties but on his return to China during the Anti-Japanese War favored a policy of capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek. Wang Ming died in the Soviet Union only a year or two ago.

Chang Kuo-tao

Another returned student from Moscow, he became chairman of the Oyuwan (Hubei, Anhui, Henan) Soviet, an area the size of Ireland with a Fourth Front Red Army that eventually numbered 100,000 men. Forced into strategic retreat in 1934, Chang Kuo-tao's forces joined the Long March in Sichuan Province, where Chang tried to persuade the whole Red Army to head for the Soviet border in Xinjiang. He struck out in that direction with part of his own troops, only to lose them through hardship and battle in the semi-desert area west of the Yellow River. Chang Kuo-tao broke with Mao, left the Liberated Area, and finally left China for Hongkong and then Canada.

win. If our line is correct, even if we have only a few Party members our Party will grow, as when our Communist Party was organized in 1921. We had only a few people then, no army, nothing. But as long as our political line is correct we can recruit Party members, we can build an army and we can win victory. But if our political line is not correct the Communist Party will collapse. Under the line set by Wang Ming all the Party organizations in the enemy areas collapsed.

And no matter how big an army you have, if your line is wrong, that army will be lost. Before the Long March we had 300,000 troops but when we got to North Shensi there were only 30,000 left. [Only months after the Long March began was Mao Tsetung elected Party Chairman at the Tsunyi Conference. He turned a near debacle into a victorious advance into the northwest for a future confrontation with Japan, but large segments of the old Red Army had already been lost due to Wang Ming's line, which made the retreat from Central and South China necessary to start with and almost turned this retreat into a rout.] In addition to the Wang Ming line there was the Chang Kuo-tao line that split what remained of the Red Army. At that time Chang Kuo-tao commanded over 100,000 men, the biggest single force under our leadership. But he split this army and led part of it off to the west of the Yellow River. He failed and the army was lost. If your political line is wrong, even if you are the head of an army, you yourself will collapse.

The Example of Peng Te-huai

Take the case of Peng Te-huai [former Defense Minister who was replaced in 1959 by Lin Piao]. Wasn't Peng Te-huai a hero of the Korean War? Actually all the basic decisions were made by Chairman Mao. That's how we won our victory. There were times when Peng Te-huai didn't carry out Mao's directives. Then he made mistakes. But because, in the main, he carried out Mao's orders we supported him. When he came back from Korea he became Minister of National Defense. Then he began to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the general line for socialist construction. He made serious line mistakes. People no longer followed him. In 1959 he became a rightist. No one in the army followed him. But we still went according to the principle of Mao Tsetung, a part of our Party-building policy—cure the disease and save the patient. One should criticize one's past mistakes and make corrections. If Peng had done that he could still have done responsible work for the Party.

"You may ask if China and the U.S. can have diplomatic relations. This all depends on the solution to the Taiwan question."

We don't try to conceal the struggle in our country. But as for when to make known the facts about this or that person, that has to be decided by the interests of the whole Party and the whole people. You can trust our Party under Mao Tsetung's leadership. The correct line has always been the main current. There are mistakes and failures but these are side currents. Our Party won't split.

As long as we explain everything to the masses of the people the great majority of them will stand with the revolutionary line. The people understand that we want Marxism and not revisionism, that we want unity and not a split.

The biggest splitter in our history was Chang Kuo-tao, who once led 100,000 men but in the end found himself alone. When he departed from the Border Region [Chang left in 1937, isolated after a long dispute with Mao Tsetung] not even his bodyguard would follow him. The whole army accepted Chairman Mao's leadership and Chang Kuo-tao left by himself. Later we sent his wife and children to join him. If you are interested in his story you can go to Canada and ask him. He used to live in Hongkong receiving American money for his autobiography. But he was only in the Communist Party for 17 years. There are 50 years of Party history. Once the United States bought his memoirs his usefulness to them was over. His role as a reference file has long since lost its value.

Schemers Can Never Win

The other case in point is Wang Ming. After Liberation he left Peking and went to Moscow. Wang Ming came to the Communist Party somewhat late [1925]. He was a member for 20 years but spent much of that time in Moscow. Now his only role is to sell out his country. Even the revisionists are embarrassed to spread his wares, so much so that he is often forced to write under another name.

So we have the two of them—Chang Kuo-tao and Wang Ming.

One had foreign support.

The other had an army of 100,000 men.

Both took a wrong line and lost everything.

I hope our American friends will believe us. In this field of line struggle we have rich experience. We will always adhere to the correct line. We will always adhere to Marxism and will march from victory to victory. Whoever violates this line, whoever departs from this line, will fail.

The special character of our Party's 50-year struggle is this: the wrong line always fails. Lines that split the Party have always failed. In the end we have always united. The desire of the Chinese people for liberation, oppressed by imperialism as they were for 100 years, is reflected inside the Party. Our people need a Party to lead, and a leader. Even though our struggle is by no means ended, we can see that the victories grow greater day by day and that we will continue to win. Our line is out in the open, clear and open. Schemers can never win. •

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Friendship Has A History: Ran Sailer

Fifty years a friend of China and still active, Randolph Sailer makes the People's Republic come alive for the groups he talks to around the Washington, D.C. area. Discussions often become intense when he uses one of his "role plays"—for instance, impersonating an old Peking friend of his and encouraging the group to cross-question him vigorously to find out what this Chinese person would say. The tougher the questions the better, Ran says.

Americans need to understand how *Chinese* see China, he believes, instead of rushing to make judgments of their own. "These judgments seem objective to Americans," Ran notes, "but actually they are made by looking through 'glasses' that our particular traditions have developed, and that are bound to magnify, distort, or tint in various ways whatever we look at. It is far too easy to take our own standards and points of view as being unvarying laws of the universe."

Ran speaks from direct experience, 25 years of actually living and working in China. He went there in 1923 to devote his life to teaching, and two years later married Lousie Egbert, a Congregational minister's daughter who was also on the staff of Yanjing University in Peking, where Ran taught psychology and, later, education.

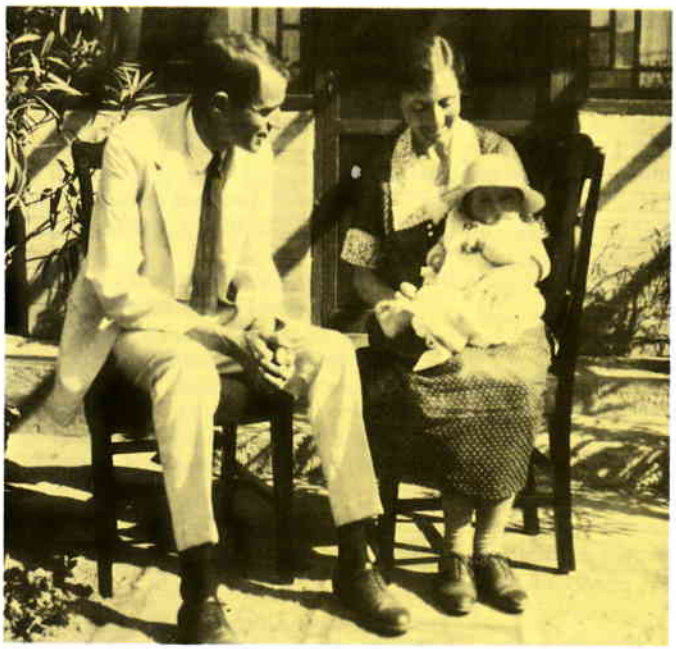
"When I went to China I had a very strong desire to give the best Christian service I could. China caught my imagination with its great history, limited amount of 'modern' education and science, and vast possibilities. I wanted to share my Christian faith, the most precious thing in my life, and took it for granted that some of our American institutions which intended to aim toward a free democratic way of life would be good for China too."

The student protest against foreign encroachment which had begun during the May 4th Movement of 1919 continued throughout the twenties and then resurged in 1931 when the Japanese invaded Manchuria. "What impressed me most was the growing determination of many students to do something about the ills of their country. The Chinese have a deep respect for learning. It was no joke that these students were willing to sacrifice their studies for patriotism. Students would go out into the countryside during the winter and stir up people against Japanese aggression. They also raised money to support China's troops.

"Huang Hua, who now serves as the Chinese Ambassador to the United Nations, was one of the student activists I remember best. He was one of the leaders of the December 9th Movement in 1935-36 against the impending Japanese seizure of North China. Once the police arrested him in a student demonstration and let him go without thorough investigation. A big crowd of students went down to the school's front gate to welcome him back. One of them turned to me and said, 'If they knew what a big fish he is, they would never let him out.' About two weeks before he was going to graduate, Edgar Snow arranged a pass for him into the Communist base of Yenan."

The Sailers' house served as a haven for

Ran Sailer and son Henry chat with Premier Chou En-lai and Kung Pu-sheng, an old acquaintance, now a Foreign Ministry official. (Photos: courtesy of Ran Sailer)



The Sailers with eldest son after 1927 move to the Yanjing campus.

Yanjing Education Club students with their teacher, shortly before Sailer (far right) left China in 1950.

these patriotic students during the thirties and forties. "At times we had students actually take refuge in our home; at least once there were so many spending the night I had to set up cots. Another night in the late forties, six or eight wanted to go over the school wall to head for the hills and the Communist forces. At the last minute—2 A.M.—one of them decided not to go. This was just at the time of the big search by the Kuomintang police and I was afraid to take him home. So I hid him in the bushes and took him food until a better place could be found."

When the Japanese invaded North China in 1937 and took control of Peking, the Sailers stayed at Yanjing. Ran lent support to the Chinese fighters. Once he helped deliver radio parts to the guerrillas, another time a printing press. And in his bicycle shed was hidden a railroad-wrecking rig. In 1943 he was interned in a Japanese prison camp in Shandong Province for six months until he was returned to America in exchange for a Japanese internee there.

With the end of World War II in 1945, Ran went back to China and resumed teaching. "At first there was a great hope of being able to build a new China now that Japan had been defeated. Then the bloodsuckers and grafters came down from Chungking, the wartime capital of the Chiang Kai-shek government. It was such an awful letdown! The bottom fell out; inflation went absolutely wild. The moment they were paid the Yanjing faculty would take their money to buy coal or rice because the next day the currency would be worth much less. Lu Zhi-wei, the Chancellor of Yanjing, stood up in a meeting and just really broke down. The tears streamed down his face as he said, 'I see no hope for China during my lifetime or the lifetime of my children.'"

In 1949 a new government was established. Ran found that his own values were challenged and strengthened through his contact with the Communists. "When I came to China, I wore the 'glasses' of my American upbringing and saw no way to do away with special privilege. I accepted my own privileges at Yanjing though I knew that within a mile of me Chinese people were suffering bitterly from cold and too little food. My Christian faith, central to me, preached loving everybody but did not deal with the fact that only if special privilege is done away with can love really be implemented. The Communists felt outrage at special privilege. They struggled to build a society without privilege, a society with a tradition of service from everybody to everybody."

In 1950, the Sailers took their regularly scheduled leave to the United States. Due to the outbreak of the Korean War, they were never able to teach in China again. But their hearts remained there and during the next 20 years or so they talked informally about China with friends and pushed for a friendly American policy toward the People's Republic. When interest in China resurfaced in the early seventies, they eagerly seized the chance to talk with as many groups as they could. Ran began writing his role plays and teaching in adult education classes and became active in the USCPFA.

In 1973, the Sailers were invited back to China for a visit. The highlight of their trip was being hosted by their old acquaintance, Kung Pu-sheng, a leading student activist at Yanjing in the thirties who now works in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The government also went to the trouble of searching out 56 of their old friends.

"As we got out of the car on arrival at Yanjing, there were several of these old friends, including our beloved former cook, waiting to greet us, and the 23 years of separation and non-communication rolled completely away. They were just as much themselves as ever. We knew these old friends had been through an arduous process of giving up individual ambition. All of them, I think, had gone to work in the countryside. Their experiences bring home to me that China is a land of persistent struggle—struggle to overcome outmoded ideas and values."

At the end of the trip the Sailers were surprised by a last visit from their Chinese friends. "I think we were the only people who came home from a trip to China with more money than we took. A day or so before we were going to leave, old friends came in with a great big beautiful leather bag full of dishes and ornaments and said, 'These are all things you left behind in 1950. We have also included 571 yuan for those things that were perishable and another 500 yuan for a Chinese patriotic bond you took out before you left.' We'd forgotten all about those things. We tried to urge our friends to keep them for their own use but they replied, 'Oh no, you know our government is very careful about personal property.'

"That's not the picture most Americans have!"

With experiences such as these to recount, and his understanding of China's people and the aims of their socialist society, Ran Sailer is making many new friends for China among the American people. •

Recipe: Fried Pork with Sesame Cakes

Back in the days of the Empress Dowager (1835-1908), 300 cooks staffed the elaborate kitchens of the Ching Dynasty court. The dishes they prepared were drawn from a long heritage of Chinese cuisine which originated with the working people and served the rich aristocrats.

In 1925, Zhao Ren-qi opened a restaurant called Fang Shan in Peking's Bei Hai Park just northwest of the Forbidden City—the palace of the Ching Dynasty which had been overthrown in 1911. He asked several of the former Imperial court cooks to work in his kitchen preparing the dishes they had made for the Imperial family.

During the next 25 years, the restaurant changed hands many times and its original tradition was lost. Six years after the Revolution, it became state-owned. The new government sought to revive the old way of cooking in order to preserve the working people's long tradition of culinary art and to make this kind of food available to the masses of Chinese people.

In 1956, five of the old cooks who had worked in the Imperial kitchens were found. Each was a specialist: Niu Wen-zhi, 69 years old, was famous for his cold pastries; Yang Qing-shan, 74, and Wen Bao-tian, 70, both specialized in hot biscuits; Wang Yu-shan, 73, and Pan Wen-xiang, 74, were well known for their meat dishes.

The skill of these cooks was displayed at the National Day (October 1) banquet in 1956. The restaurant made more than 4,000 *wotou,* a steamed, cone-shaped corn bread which the Empress Dowager used to eat when "fasting." For the October 1st celebration this simple peasant bread was embellished and transformed into delicate biscuits.

The Fang Shan restaurant has continued to serve this excellently cooked, classic northern cuisine to Peking residents since 1956. Fried Minced Pork with Sesame Seed Cakes is one of Fang Shan's specialties. The recipe makes 3-4 servings.

Sesame Seed Cakes

4 cups flour
1 1/3 cups water
1/4 cup sugar
1 package yeast
1 tsp. brown sugar
1 cup water
1 Tbs. sesame oil
1 cup sesame seeds

Dissolve yeast in water, mix with flour and sugar, and knead for 5 minutes. Allow to rise for 2 hours.

Dissolve the brown sugar in 1 cup of water. Put sesame seeds on a plate. Roll the dough into a long tube about 1 inch thick. Cut into 10 equal parts. For each piece pull out 2 teaspoons of dough and put aside; roll the rest of the piece into a ball and press into a flat shape about 2-2 1/2 inches in diameter.

Take the 2 teaspoons of dough, roll into a ball, dip into the sesame oil, place in the middle of a flattened piece of dough, and wrap up into a ball. Flatten out the dough again, to about 3 inches in diameter. Dip one side of it into the sugar and water mixture and then into sesame seeds.

Using low heat, fry the cakes in a thick iron frying pan which has been wiped with a little oil. Place the cakes in the pan, seeded side down. Turn over after 2 minutes. Repeat, turning the cakes several times. Total cooking time is 12 minutes.

(*Note:* English muffins, Indian or Arabic bread can all be substituted for the sesame seed cakes.)

Fried Minced Pork Filling

1 lb. ground pork (or ground beef)
1 tsp. soybean paste (*miso shiro* in Japanese food stores)
1 1/4 tsp. sugar
1/4 tsp. salt
3 Tbs. soy sauce
2 scallions, finely chopped
1/2 tsp. sesame oil
2 Tbs. cooking wine
1 tsp. ground ginger

Fry pork. Remove excess fat. Add soybean paste, sugar, salt, and soy sauce. Return to stove and cook for several minutes. Add scallions, ginger, sesame oil, and cooking wine. Cook over low heat for 2 more minutes. Place filling in middle of sesame seed cakes and serve.

From Zhongguo Ming Cao-pu (*Chinese Famous Cooking Recipes*), *Peking, Light Industry Press, 1958, Vol. I.*

Suggested Reading

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Women and Child Care in China by Ruth Sidel. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973. $1.75.

Sports

Chairman Mao's 4 Minute Physical Fitness Plan by Maxwell L. Howell (illustrated exercise book and 7-inch LP record of cadences and music). Millbrae, Calif.: Celestial Arts, 1973. $3.95.

Chinese Acrobatics (photo essay). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1974. $2.95.

Sports in China (photo essay). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973. $2.50.

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The US-China Peoples Friendship Association

USCPFA Statement of Principles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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