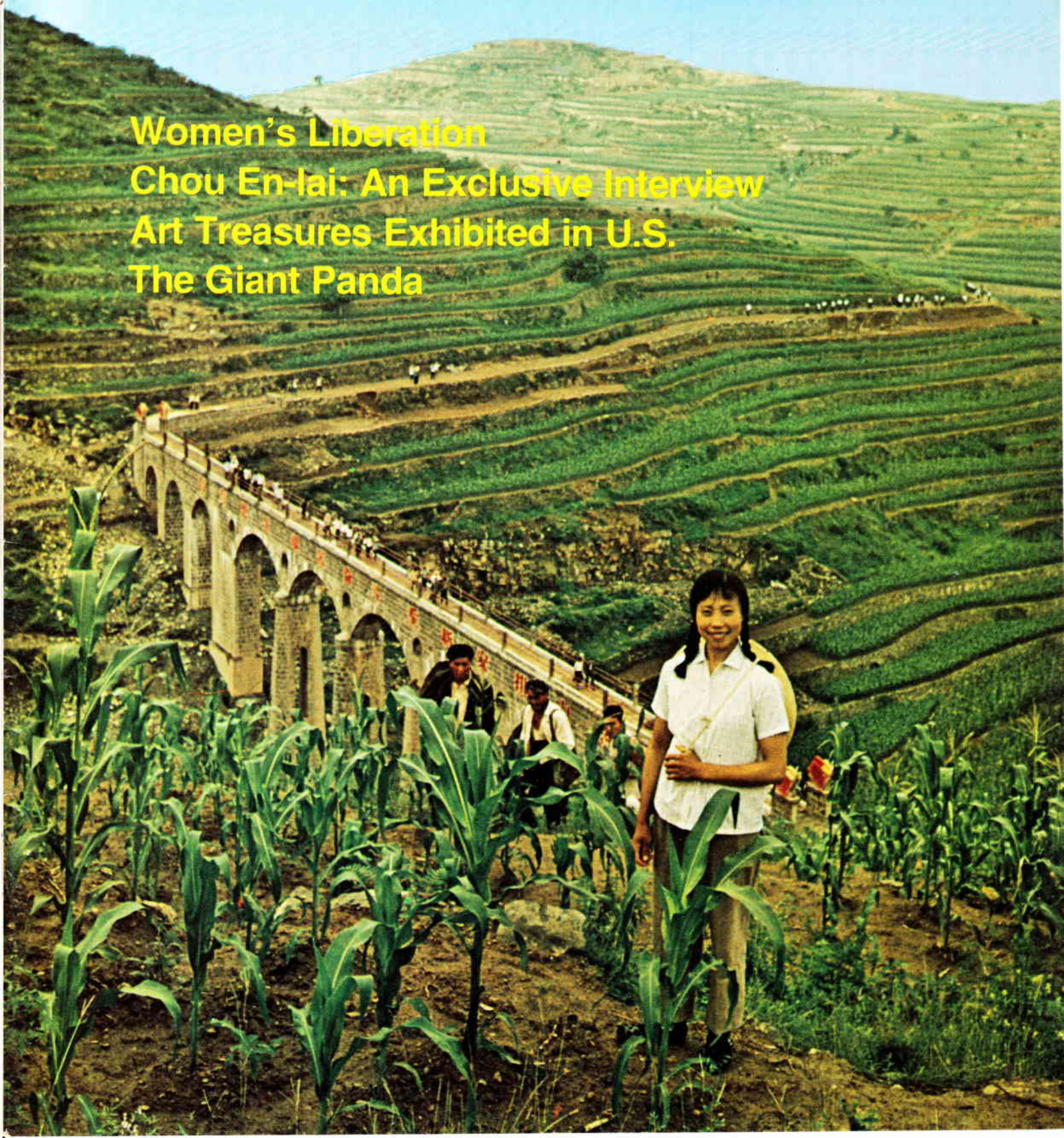


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New China

Spring 1975 A Publication of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association

Women's Liberation
Chou En-lai: An Exclusive Interview
Art Treasures Exhibited in U.S.
The Giant Panda



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250 West 57th St. Room 1517
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Volume 1, Number 1
Spring 1975

Note from the Editors

New China is the national publication of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. The Friendship Association consists of people from many sectors of American society who are interested in people-to-people friendship and in learning about and from China.

The articles in this second issue of *New China* are the results of that friendship. We are pleased to offer to our readers an exclusive interview with Chou En-lai, done by William Hinton in Peking at the very beginning of the Sino-American dialogue in 1971, but never before published. The Chou interview is Part I of a four-part series based on Hinton's all-night conversations with China's Premier. In upcoming issues, Chou will talk about the development of Sino-American relations and Richard Nixon's visit to Peking.

The most recent evidence of improvement in U.S.-China relations is the stunning exhibition of Chinese archeological finds now on display in Washington. We have a color feature on the exhibit, which contains Chinese art work dating back thousands of years.

If the latest evidence of U.S.-China friendship is the archeological display, the giant panda is surely its most famous symbol. Michael Chinoy, having already visited pandas in London and Peking, made a special trip to the Washington Zoo to meet the pandas, their keeper, and the zoo's director. His interview with the pandas will appeal to children between 8 and 80.

Readers of our regular feature, "Friendship Has A History," will be pleased to discover a profile of the great Black American cultural figure and political activist, Paul Robeson.

Robeson, now three years short of his eightieth birthday, has shown an uncommon firmness in his longstanding friendship with China.

1975 is International Women's Year, and we are happy to have Carma Hinton's article on women in China. As an American raised in China who has recently come to the United States, her observations should be of particular interest to Americans. A housewives' factory is the subject of another article on women by Elizabeth Moos.

Also timely is *New China's* interview with Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff. With the United States facing its worst economic crisis since the Depression, these two economists, just back from China, explain why China is not beset with inflation or recession.

Fred Pincus' article on the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao discusses a theme raised in both the Chou interview and in the article on women—China's continuing fight to root out traditional and backward attitudes which still remain, 25 years after Liberation. Pincus made his second visit to China last summer when the anti-Lin, anti-Confucius campaign was in full swing.

Also in this issue are photographs of the magnificent scenery of Kweilin, art by Chinese workers, and a discussion of aging in the People's Republic.

We have been pleased with the response to our special Preview Issue. To continue and to improve, however, we need your support. *New China* operates largely on money from subscriptions and contributions. Why not subscribe, and encourage a friend to do likewise? □

Cover: Chia Tsun-so, 24, Party Vice-Secretary of Tachai. (Photo: C. Hinton)

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Published quarterly. Yearly subscription rates—domestic, \$4; foreign, \$5; institutional, \$8. Send all inquiries, correspondence, and manuscripts to *New China*, Room 1228, 41 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

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USCPFA News

Detroit The Association ran booths at two large public events last summer—the Far Eastern Ethnic Festival and the Michigan State Fair. These booths contained art objects, literature, handicraft items, and consumer goods, including tea and preserved foods. The Ethnic Festival attracted more than 250,000 people over the July 4th weekend, while the State Fair was attended by almost a half-million during an eleven-day period in August. \$2500 in goods were sold and 10,000 copies of a Friendship Association brochure were distributed. The Detroit Association hopes to repeat both booths next year.

Chicago "Fascinating," "instructive," "inspirational," "may our friendship endure." These are examples of people's reactions after seeing the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association exhibit, "People's China," in the main building of the Chicago Public Library in September 1974. The library counted 120,775 people entering its main building during that month and estimated that at least half of them, about 60,000 people, saw the exhibit. Display cases housed handicraft and art objects,



stamps, acupuncture equipment, and consumer goods that were borrowed from local museums, businesses, and individuals. Colorful kites hung from overhead light fixtures. Maps and more than 500 photographs lined the 180-foot-long main hallway.

Response to the exhibit far surpassed the organizers' expectations. Everyone was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Over 70 written responses to the exhibit were received by the library, a much higher number than usual. The library administration has offered to send scaled-down versions of the exhibit to its 60 branches, and they have asked us to return in two years following a major remodeling program. Several other Illinois cities have inquired about the possibility of using the exhibit for their own libraries, and the Milwaukee and Detroit Friendship Associations

CHINA PAPERBACKS FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China: Changes in Management and the Division of Labor by Charles Bettelheim. Based on first-hand observations, Bettelheim examines the planning system at all levels and compares the division of labor in China with other countries. \$2.95

Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University by William Hinton. This account examines the complex and many-sided aspects of the Red Guard movement and the struggles within Tsinghua University. \$4.50

The Chinese Road to Socialism by E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane. The most important book on the economic aspects of the Cultural Revolution. \$3.95

Daily Life in Revolutionary China by Maria Antonietta Macciocchi. "The author has the talent of a great reporter, and observes with precision that permits us to plunge into the Chinese reality."—*Paris Normande*. \$5.95

Turning Point in China by William Hinton. An analysis of the Cultural Revolution in terms of the struggle for power between contending social interests. \$1.75

Away With All Pests: An English Surgeon in People's China, 1954-1969 by Joshua S. Horn. A fascinating account of the organization of medical resources which reflects the strength and vigor of the Chinese people. \$2.45

The Scalpel, the Sword: The Story of Dr. Norman Bethune by Ted Allen and Sydney Gordon. The story of a man dedicated to doing medical work for the Revolution and whose ideas on the practice of medicine are particularly relevant today. \$4.95

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have arranged to bring it to local institutions in their cities during February and March, respectively. A community center in a Mexican-American neighborhood in Chicago has requested the exhibit with captions in English and Spanish.

The exhibit required over a month of preparation. Over 60 people worked on it, including Association members, their families, and their friends. Many who worked on the exhibit have become more active in the Association, and a good number of exhibit visitors joined the Association and have become active. Several thousand brochures describing the Association and subscription blanks for *New China* were distributed.

The photographic section seems to have the potential to become a national traveling exhibit on China. It is presently divided into 25 parts, including such subjects as political organization, women, children, the People's Liberation Army, health care, and sports. Each subject is introduced by a panel of text. The Chicago Association is looking forward to ideas and assistance from Associations throughout the country in undertaking this project, which can be a great asset in friendship work by presenting a true picture of the new China to the American people.

Letters

After reading *New China* and meeting with some people in the Atlanta U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, we are interested in the possibility of starting a USCPFA in Wichita, Kansas. We are writing this letter to request information on the subject.

Continue the good work, and we will look forward to hearing from you soon.

*Perry Sanders
Lynn Unrub
Wichita, Kan.*

I know *New China* is not a technical or "scholarly" journal, but I would like to see more articles explaining the economic base of socialism. You can't just say, "Hey, gee, things are great in China. Why don't we have child-care centers like that in the U.S.? etc.," without explaining more of why, and showing readers that the socialist "alternative" is possible in the U.S.

*Diana Stetson
Amherst, Mass.*

The first issue has a good balance of different types of articles. The Hinton article may be a bit heavy for someone not too acquainted with Chinese politics, but let the readers decide. If they don't like it, I'm sure you'll hear about it. I

Subscribe to *New China*

A one-year subscription (4 issues) is \$4.00. Future issues will include the continuation of the Chou En-lai interview, articles on minority groups and on contemporary art, an analysis of the Taiwan question, beautiful color photographs, and more.

For an additional 50 cents we will send you our Preview Issue, as long as the supply lasts. This issue features a special message from Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), an interview with Dr. Benjamin Spock, articles by Alice Childress and William Hinton, and a very personal report on life in China by the daughter of a West Virginia coal miner.

New China makes an excellent gift for friends interested in China. Each person you send a gift subscription will receive a lovely card with your name on it.

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Here is a special offer. With your sustaining subscription, you will receive an autographed copy of Ruth and Victor Sidel's *Serve the People: Observations on Medicine in the People's Republic of China . . . or . . . Han Suyin's The Morning Deluge: Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution* (a \$12.95 value) . . . or . . . an autographed copy of William Hinton's classic on the Chinese Revolution, *Fanshen*.

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Please take a few minutes to answer the following questions so that we can improve future issues of *New China*.

1. Which articles did you particularly like or dislike?

Like:

Dislike:

2. Which subjects would you like to see covered in future issues?

3. Some readers have complimented us for our accuracy and thoroughness, while others have indicated that we are too uncritical. What do you think?

4. Some readers have said that comparisons between China and the United States help us to understand China, while others feel that there should be an exclusive focus on China. What do you think?

5. Do you have any additional comments, criticisms, or suggestions? Please be as specific as possible.

6. Prior to reading *New China*, how much did you know about the People's Republic?

- almost nothing
- some general information, but little specific knowledge
- have closely followed developments in the People's Republic

7. We would like some brief information about you so that we can have some idea who our readers are.

Male _____ Female _____ Age _____ USCPFA Member Yes _____ No _____

Occupation (please be specific) _____

Please send this questionnaire to *New China*, Room 1228, 41 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003. See previous page for subscription information.

liked the article very much myself.

Keep that people-to-people perspective. This is the type of magazine Americans need to show them what China is really like—a friendly, personal, and human exchange.

*Evelyn Gallagher
Syracuse, N.Y.*

From what little I have read on crime in China, I understand that crime is exceedingly scarce, that violent crimes are rare, prisons are few, and that 90 percent of all crimes are handled by re-education. If this is correct, it's interesting to see how socialism prevents crime and moral corruption. Any information concerning the crime rate, prison and its alternatives, and education in China, I would appreciate.

*R.P.
Maine State Prison
Thomaston, Me.*

In response to the interview with Dr. Spock:

CHINA THOUGHTS

*Travelers report that the children of China
do not fight each other in school.
Their nurseries are calm. How peculiar.
Certainly this is another example of the
brainwashing we've heard about
(Living by taking in each other's brains).
A whole population in mutual accord—
This is impossible.
Children by nature are competitive animals,
they tear at each other,
Especially the boys.
As they grow older it's always the boys.
The girls must learn to tear at themselves,
Plucking their eyebrows, cutting and
teasing and trimming
And cutting with words, tears or very small
slices that hurt later on.
The boys still roll around in the halls
of our schools, hugging and poking,
Hurtful embraces for eighteen years till
they know they are men
(At least they should know it by then).
There must be something wrong with the
Chinese.*

*Barbara Joye
Atlanta, Ga.*

Who is your audience? Some articles would make quite an impression on the "average American," but your periodical is too slick and expensive (and thin) for them. You seem to be designing your periodical for a more educated and professional class audience. I feel this can be a serious mistake.

If there is a reason for building friendship between the people of our country and the Chinese people, you are not succeeding by

directing yourselves to the limited audience your present format implies.

*James A. Cronin
Portland, Ore.*

One of the aspects of the magazine we enjoyed was the diversity of subject. Though we take a greater interest in certain items, maintaining a broad perspective is to the benefit of all readers. An item we particularly enjoyed was the centerfold art work. We had heard that the art in new China was bland, but this was beautiful. We hope you continue the feature of presenting pictorial art from new China in a centerfold.

*George and Diana Bigham
Berkeley, Calif.*

William Hinton does something I think may be important in developing an ongoing readership for *New China*: he not only tells, and tells well, an important story for a general readership, but he represents an analysis which should also be of real interest to China specialists, students in courses, and people deeply into questions of socialist transformation.

I think the idea of presenting multiple views—perhaps one in each issue—on matters

like the documentary, along with articles like Hinton's which bring out the real problems and dilemmas China faces in the advance toward socialism, will go a very long way toward establishing your credibility as a true, reliable mirror of contemporary China. It will help to make this an American voice and will contribute to making the magazine a lively and important one; that is, it will contribute greatly to your ultimate purpose of sympathetic understanding.

*Mark Selden
St. Louis, Mo.*

Congratulations for your new friendship magazine! We from the German-Chinese Friendship Association envy your rich resources and hope mass response will be according to your investment.

*Dietmar Albrecht
West Berlin*

"Sixteen Tons" was an enjoyable, well-written story. It tells in straight-out sense how much better the people in China live, which I find very strange, because there are so many people in China. Yet they treat each other like a big family.

To tell the truth, I didn't like to hear how much better it is in China than in the U.S. Why? Because if they can do all this and much more, why can't we? I am happy for China; my envy is not that strong to make me hate a country I have never visited. What can I say wrong about China? May she forever carry on.

*Michael Edwards
New York, N.Y.*

The passage about missionary influence in China in "Red Menace or Yellow Journalism?" has a good deal of truth, but only half-truth, and therefore is misleading and likely to rouse justified but unnecessary resentment. It seems certainly true that missionaries thought their religion superior to the religions of China, and also that they tended in very many cases to be paternalistic and to think in terms of "helping" China. But when the first missionary societies were founded, opposition was often based on the ground that "heathens" weren't worth the effort of good Americans, that they didn't have souls anyway, just as many Americans said that Black people and American Indians were really animals. I'm sure that missionaries often yielded to the temptation in their money-raising to paint Chinese society as especially backward. And yet in *general* I think they were a force for the appreciation of Chinese as peo-

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ple, and were ahead of other groups in America in this. I think that there is a great potential among church people here for a better understanding of China, but it needs cultivation.

A Former Missionary

Letters to *New China* have been excerpted for publication.

Religion

Church conference discusses China.

The most important ecumenical conference on China in many years, held in Louvain, Belgium, September 9-14, 1974, was attended by 97 theologians, China scholars, and church administrators from 22 countries, almost evenly divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It was sponsored by Pro Mundi Vita, an international Roman Catholic research and information center in Brussels, and by the Lutheran World Federation, in cooperation with the National Council of Churches-USA and Action Populaire, a Jesuit center in Paris.

The colloquium climaxed a three-year project. The central study document was a published collection of 12 papers, *Theological Implications of the New China*. Because of the varied theological and political views of the participants, no statement was issued in the name of the conference. Instead, each of five workshops issued a report; where conflicting views arose, minority reports were printed side by side with the main ones.

Most of the week-long colloquium was devoted to the five workshops: "The New Man in China and in Christianity"; "Faith and Ideology in the Light of the New China"; "Revolutionary Antagonism and Christian Love"; "The New China and the History of Salvation"; and "Implications of the New China for the Self-Understanding of the Church."

In no sense was this a conference to discuss a possible future missionary effort in China. On the contrary, the Workshop Five view was typical: "For Christians outside of China to talk of a missionary 'return' to China, as some do, means that the lessons of the Chinese experience for Christian faith have not been understood, but evaded, and that there has been no true repentance. . . ." Several papers stressed the view that Christian missionaries had been too closely identified with Western imperialist interests in China.

If the workshop reports had a common theme, it was that Christianity, in its failure to achieve social justice in the nations where Christianity is at work, had much to learn from

the social transformation in China. The workshop on "The New China and the History of Salvation" declared: "Oppressed people and the poor of the world watch carefully what is going on in China, hoping to find there, rather than in the church, a solution to their own problems."

Many theologians saw the hand of God at work in China despite the absence of a functioning national church.

Follow-up studies and consultations are planned in Asia, Europe, and North America. A China consultation, with workshops based on the Louvain papers, was scheduled to be held at Yale University Divinity School on February 24-25, 1975. Similar meetings are being planned elsewhere.

Donald E. MacInnis
National Council of Churches

The next issue of New China will contain an article by Dr. MacInnis about religious practices he observed during his recent trip to the People's Republic.

Books

China! Inside the People's Republic. By the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. New York: Bantam Books, 1972. 433 pp., illus. Paperback, \$1.50.

China! Inside the People's Republic is a remarkably complete picture of the People's Republic of China written by some of the first Americans to visit that country after the famous ping-pong games opened the door for the United States.

In 1971 the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, a loose organization of students and teachers, distinct individuals of varying backgrounds and outlooks, men and women, most in their twenties, spent four weeks traveling in China. From Canton to Shanghai, to Peking and Tachai, to Sian and Yen-an, they toured the country seeing communes, factories, schools, universities and hospitals. They talked to students, teachers, soldiers, factory workers, peasants, and government officials. They spoke Chinese and were permitted to wander about the cities by themselves talking to whomever they chose.

They watched operations performed with acupuncture the only anesthetic; they visited peasants in their houses. They observed classes in schools and universities, attended ballets, movies, and variety shows of acrobats and what we would call old fashioned vaudeville acts. They joined workers and peasants

Continued on page 45.

周
恩
來

**Chou En-lai:
An Exclusive
Interview**

Premier Chou talks to William Hinton about classes and customs in Chinese society

周恩来谈话

Waiting for a meeting with China's Premier, American travelers and long-term residents in China mark time in Peking hotels and guest houses. They have been called back from tours and tasks in distant provinces so that there will be no delay when Chou En-lai finds time to see them. But official welcomes for heads of state—Rumania, Ethiopia, Albania—and other matters of national importance occupy the Premier's time.

Suddenly word comes. It will be tonight. Fed, washed, dressed in our best, we wait with quiet excitement. A meeting at this level may well provide answers to major questions that have arisen in the course of countless interviews and experiences at the grassroots. Our children and their friends play hide-and-seek in the intricate garden courtyards of the Peace Hotel. In the darkness, elfin voices criss-cross in a mixture of tongues—Laotian, Chinese, East Coast American. Better not drink too much iced whiskey. We need to be alert for the next few hours. But in spite of our best intentions, we fall asleep in the huge armchairs and overstuffed sofas that crowd our quarters.

Hours later—what time is it anyway?—we stumble half awake into cars and are driven swiftly through all but empty streets to the Great Hall of the People looming up in the moonlight like some vast Egyptian temple. It is one o'clock in the morning.

"Hurry, hurry, don't keep the Premier waiting," says Wang Hai-jung, Mao's capable young niece, as we mount the steps and pass into the brightly lit foyer through doors three men tall. That climb in the cold has jarred us into full consciousness.

Chou En-lai greets us inside—graying hair, eyebrows dark and full, face lean, body also lean, a little too slight to fill out the well-made gray suit as it should. But the eyes are as sharp and alert as ever, the handshake firm and warm, and the lips ever on the verge of a smile. The contrast between the grandeur of the surroundings and the informality of our host, a man with close ties to the people, is striking.

We are led into the Honan Room, one of 26 carpeted meeting halls, each decorated by the artists and craftsmen of a province with local themes and materials. Seated in a circle of lace-covered armchairs, 15 or 20 in all, in a room designed to accommodate hundreds, we seem to float in space. Time has mysteriously dissolved. The sense of rush we have been

living with for weeks suddenly gives way to an open-ended tranquility.

"Your *ai ren* (beloved)," the Premier says of my wife, Joanne, then hesitates and laughs over this revolutionary term for married partner, often translated as lover. "It's a hard term to get used to. It fits a young couple but how can I call Teng Ying-chiao my *ai ren* (lover)? We've been married fifty years!"

Chou En-lai has invited some Peking people to meet us—a distinguished professor, a university administrator, a factory manager, two Liberation Army commanders, a Foreign Ministry Bureau head. He guides the conversation onto American social conditions, asks crucial questions, then turns the floor over to others. When a topic has been covered to his satisfaction he adroitly turns our attention to another. Relaxed staff members serve tea and cakes. The Premier pauses to take some pills and washes them down with a cup of water.

We begin to sense that this is not an interview but a seminar. The Nixon visit is impending. Contacts with America will open up. China's leaders need to know Americans and understand American conditions. Chou En-lai has not squeezed time from his busy schedule to be polite to a few foreign guests. He is carrying out an essential political task. He is laying foundations for an opening to the West.

When he himself begins to talk of the progress and problems of China it is clear that his words are not meant for his visitors alone. These are political analyses to be transcribed, reproduced, and circulated as study material all over China. Like a stone cast into a pool, a meeting like this spreads its influence in all directions.

We take notes at a killing pace but it is impossible to keep up. Much is lost, particularly nuances. We should have a tape recorder but somehow that would be an intrusion on such a free-wheeling, friendly session.

We pass through an extraordinary range of topics. Three times at least Chou En-lai rings for water by pressing a button under the arm of his chair. Who can keep count of the cups of tea? Then all at once our host says, "That's all for now. We'll have to continue at another session."

As we leave the Hall he embraces us—not just a handshake, but a warm hug for everyone. It is completely unexpected and especially moving for that reason. We return his embraces in the spirit in which they are given and wander out into the cold air on the steps. The sun is already rising over Peking. Chang An Street is full of people on bicycles.

Back at the hotel the children are still asleep. They are not usually allowed to play hide-and-seek until midnight.

William Hinton is the author of Fanshen, Iron Oxen, and other books and articles on Chinese society. Calligraphy by C. Yang.

During my trip to China in 1971, from May to November, I participated in five long interviews with Premier Chou En-lai. One of these was attended by 73 Americans then in Peking. Others were smaller affairs that included long-term American residents in China, or in one case, only members of the Hinton family.

In each instance Premier Chou En-lai spoke to American friends at length about conditions in China, certain major political problems, the Cultural Revolution, China's foreign policy, the impending Nixon visit, and two-line struggle in the ongoing socialist revolution.

For lack of a suitable vehicle these interviews were never made public. With the launching of *New China* it seems to me that the time and place for publication have arrived.

For this first installment I have chosen Chou En-lai's remarks on classes and class struggle in the socialist period. China's Communist leaders have always used class analysis as their primary tool for understanding society and developing a program for social change. Just as they saw peasant *vs.* landlord as the central internal conflict of the pre-1949 period, so they see worker *vs.* capitalist as the central conflict of the present period. "Capitalist" in this context is exemplified today by people in positions of power whose policies would lead China toward capitalism. These are what the Chinese call "capitalist roaders." The surging political tides, the turbulent mass movements, the rise and fall of factions and individual leaders, and pitfalls in the transfer of power to a new generation are all seen as aspects of a continuing class struggle. It is this struggle in fact which calls forth the lively political energy of the people, challenging them to transform the old and create the new.

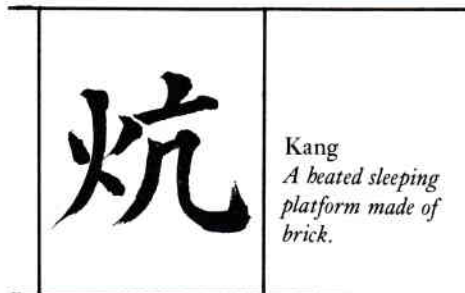
Given this world view, it is clear that the class analysis presented by Chou En-lai serves as background for everything else about which he spoke. Future articles will take up such topics as "public first, self second," the relative nature of self-reliance, and some problems concerning revolutionary models. The Cultural Revolution, and especially the Cultural Revolution in the Foreign Ministry where Chou En-lai personally confronted an ultra-left challenge, a preview of the Lin Piao affair, and some questions on foreign policy will conclude the series.

Part One of a Series

Hinton: We have been impressed by the progress and enthusiasm for socialism we've seen everywhere. Why does political conflict continue?

Have you ever heard about the old-fashioned method of childbirth that is still practiced in some parts of Shansi? Did you investigate that? In Shansi some people still follow a

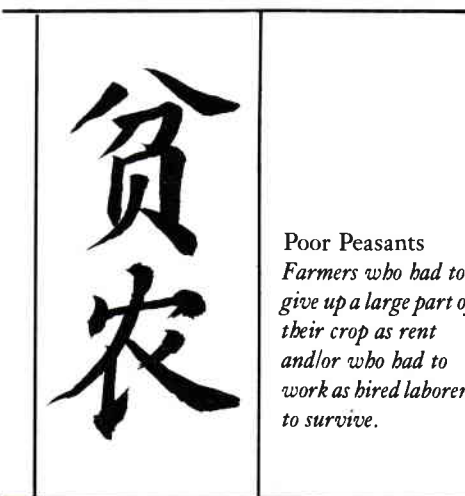
very bad custom. After a woman has given birth to a child, she must sit up on the *kang*. She is not allowed to eat anything and has to sit upright. Many women have ruined their backs in this way. In the course of childbirth a



woman has already lost a lot of strength but in Shansi she can't eat anything nourishing—not even bean milk, to say nothing of an egg or two. She is given only a little rice or millet gruel.

You haven't heard of this? Well, your investigations are not very thorough.

Of all the provinces, Shansi's population has increased the least. To this day it has not topped 20 million. Before Liberation there were quite a few provinces with a population below 20 million—Fukien, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Shensi, and Shansi. Now all but the last exceed 20 million, even neighboring Shensi. And the reason for this is not because Shansi has done well in birth control but only because, though lots of babies are born, many don't live. In Shansi infant mortality is still

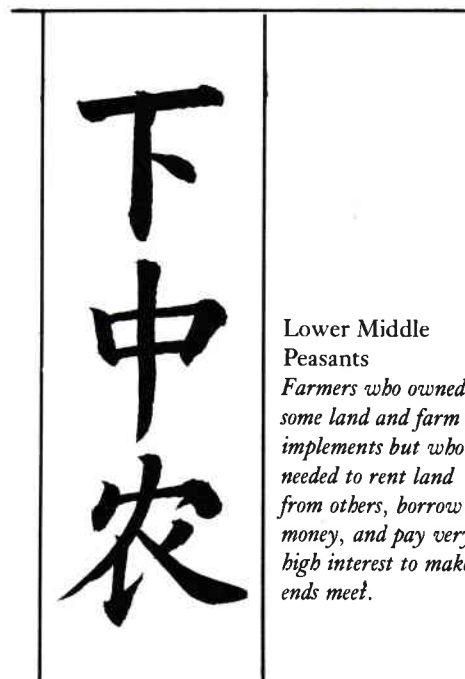


high. We have done a lot of work on this but we still haven't found a lasting solution.

It is very hard to change old customs. West Shansi is the worst. In one county there is a brigade made up of immigrants from Honan.

They pay much attention to hygiene. Their children survive and grow up in good health. But the Shansi villagers all around won't learn from the immigrants. Instead they look down on Honan people.

In the last few years we have sent them a number of medical teams. Some of them have been People's Liberation Army teams, others have been regular government teams. When they demonstrate modern methods, the people appear to pay attention, but when the teams leave they go right back to their old habits. Some even go back to consulting witch doctors (there still are some in Shansi today) when they get sick. In the old days the Eighth Route Army stayed in those mountains. They never



lost control of them during the Japanese War (1937-45) or the Liberation War (1946-49) either. They were in revolutionary hands right up until Liberation. Yet these backward things still exist.

Did you unearth anything like that?

Carma Hinton: People might say we were looking for faults.

Now you are getting too sensitive! After all, there are thousands and thousands of backward phenomena. But no matter how you look at it, Chinese society is advancing. This I believe you will all affirm. But to get rid of these backward things during the course of making progress is not easy. The thinking of feudal society over several thousand years is stamped in people's minds. And so are the old class habits. In the countryside, even though the former poor and lower middle peasants are in

the majority and the former landlords and rich peasants make up only a minority of around 7 percent, still these old exploiters continue to

地主

Landlords
Those who owned enough land and other property so that they didn't have to labor but rather rented out their land, loaned money, and frequently controlled such crucial enterprises as rice mills.

exist. Their thinking influences others. They make up a reactionary force that must be struggled against.

In the countryside, under socialism, classes still exist. There are, of course, some special places where old exploiters are few in number or even absent. In Tachai, in Shansi Province, not many landlords or rich peasants remain. You've been to Shashiyu (Sandstone Hollow)

富农

Rich Peasants
Farmers who owned land, livestock, and implements but who got more from rent, interest, and hiring laborers than from their own work.

in Hopei Province. All the people there were beggars to begin with so you won't find ex-landlords or rich peasants there today. Nevertheless, you can't say that classes don't exist, because all around these spots there are communities that have many former exploiters. In most cases land reform took place only 20 years ago (1949-52), so there are ex-landlords and rich peasants in large numbers almost everywhere.

As for the offspring of these people, if they were young at the time of Liberation they never took part in exploitation. Some have become students, others have become laborers. Nevertheless, the influence of their parents on them may be quite deep.

If you take the total as 7 percent and realize that there are over 600 million rural people, then the ex-landlords and rich peasants number over 40 million. If half of them have been transformed, the total of unreconstructed persons is still over 20 million, and this is putting the best light on the matter because it is not easy to transform them.

Are there any left in Long Bow Village?
Hinton: A few.

So classes still exist even though the old rulers no longer hold any power but on the contrary are supervised by our people's power.

As for the cities, before the Cultural Revolution the class situation was even more clear. There was a bourgeois group that owned and operated profit-making enterprises. At first we adopted a policy for the transition period (1949-55) of use, restrict, and transform. Then

张庄

Long Bow Village
Village in Shansi Province where William Hinton stayed in 1948 and gathered material for his book, Fanshen. In 1971 he revisited and re-studied the village.

at the end of 1955 and in the spring of 1956, with drums beating and cymbals clashing, this bourgeois group marched into socialist society all together. Some gave up their enterprises and turned them over to the public, some entered joint state-private management schemes, others set up cooperatives, as in the handicraft field. All this occurred as collectivization, the move toward higher-stage cooperatives, went forward in the countryside.

After this shift to socialist ownership, we paid interest to the capitalists based on the estimated value of their property. Naturally our estimates were somewhat low. The proletariat (working class) is not likely to over-value the property of the bourgeoisie. At that time we estimated the total capital in private

hands at 2 billion, 200 million yuan, or 900 million U.S. dollars. At 5 percent we paid out 110 million yuan or 45 million U.S. dollars annually to the former owners. From 1956 through 1966, for ten years, right up until the first year of the Cultural Revolution, we paid

资产阶级

Bourgeoisie
Owners of income-producing property—agricultural, commercial, industrial. Petty bourgeoisie own and operate small, often family-sized enterprises. Big bourgeoisie are Western-style capitalists.

out this money. Then the payments stopped. It was a coincidence—our payments went on for just ten years, not more, not less.

You all know about the beginnings of our industrial and commercial policy—the buying out of the bourgeoisie—so I won't dwell on that. What I want to emphasize is the aid we originally gave to private capitalists. Right after Liberation private textile plants could not obtain cotton, so they were subsidized by the state. We helped them carry on so that their workers could draw their pay every month and continue their jobs. From this the bourgeoisie also benefitted. Then, as interest payments, they got back just about half of what they had invested—450 million U.S. dollars. Of course, this isn't applicable in every case. Some people never took the interest due them. Others became "democratic personages" and drew a salary for the job they held. They were reluctant to accept any interest. Some people refused the money because their share was so small. Once

you accept any of it you are called a capitalist. For some it was hardly worth it. So not all of the money due was actually paid out to capitalists.

When the Cultural Revolution broke out, the masses wouldn't allow the banks to pay out any more interest on private capital. At this point the bourgeoisie didn't dare demand it, so the payments ended. But after all, these people still constitute a bourgeois class. They still exist. Furthermore, their number is quite large. Their percentage in the cities might well be higher than that of the landlords in the countryside. We figure 10 million people altogether, counting in all family members.



Premier Chou En-lai flanked by William and Joanne Hinton. Second row, l. to r.: Hsing Chiang; an unidentified person from the Foreign Ministry; United Nations Ambassador Huang Hua and his wife, Ho Li-liang. The picture was taken the evening of the first interview, May 24, 1971. (Photo: NCNA)

民主人士

Democratic Personages
Outstanding non-communist individuals who receive recognition for their work in helping the country develop.

Then there is another bourgeois category—the petty bourgeoisie. For example, the upper-middle peasants in the countryside. They retained their land in the land reform, they worked, they became commune members, but they still have some rich peasant or upper-middle peasant thought. If you divide the peasants into three categories—upper, middle, and lower—among the middle peasants there is also some individualist thinking and this is petty bourgeois thinking. Even ordinary poor peasants and lower-middle peasants have a lot of petty bourgeois thinking. Before they had no economic status at all, so

that they could be called semi-proletarian. But after land reform they held and worked their own private land for a period. After they joined cooperatives and communes they pooled their land and held it collectively, but each family still saved out a private plot. Places like Tachai, where no one has private plots today, are in the minority. Does Long Bow have any?

Hinton: Yes; but they are jointly cultivated.

The brigades that don't have private plots are a minority and they are socially advanced. The majority still have them. But of course we are not like the Soviet Union where agricultural production is concentrated on private plots. There people expend little energy on their collective land; most of their time is spent on their plots. As a result, the state often cannot purchase enough grain for public use. Yet there is plenty of grain available on the free market.

We do not follow the Soviet example in the way private plots are used, but we still need to have them. In order to stimulate the initiative and enthusiasm of the peasants we still advocate private plots, so that in addition to their collective income they can earn something on the side and also insure some variety in their diet. We have collective pig-raising but individuals can also raise pigs. We allow free markets but grain, cotton, and a few other basic items cannot be sold on them. An egg or two doesn't matter. We also have fairs. They are free markets, but they are supervised by the state.

Does Hsiyang County have any free markets? [Chou En-lai asked this of the Chinese staff members present but no one volunteered an answer—WH.]

Look at your investigations! Your work is not careful enough.

What I want to stress is that in the countryside petty-bourgeois thinking still exists on a wide scale. From a Marxist point of view the petty-bourgeoisie belong to the bourgeois class and not to the working class or proletariat. In the cities the little merchants and storekeepers have merged their enterprises into cooperatives but there are still people who go around with carrying poles, who buy from state enterprises at wholesale prices, and who sell to the public at retail prices, and there are still household inns, restaurants, and shops—what we call husband-and-wife inns or shops.

This shows that the petty-bourgeoisie are quite numerous. While at the same time the working class, the true proletariat, is quite small. How many workers do we have? We have no more than 30 million industrial workers. If we count workers, doctors, teachers—that is, all salaried and wage-earning personnel—there are still only 50 million. If we count only real workers who satisfy Marx's definition as commodity producers, there are no more than 30 million. Looked at in this way America certainly has more workers than we do, and even Japan, where industry is growing very rapidly, may surpass us in this category. This 30-million figure refers to individual employed workers. If you count family members, dependents, and children, then of course there will be a lot more people in the working class.

In China, as a general rule, every one works. Sometimes the woman in the family stays at home, but in many cases both husband and wife work. Thus 50 million workers does not mean 50 million families. The figures tend to double up.

We estimate the urban population at 100 million, and the rural population at 600 million.

Obviously the 50 million wage and salaried workers are not all in the cities. If so they

修正主义者

Revisionists
Those who have revised Marxism to the point that reform replaces revolution.

would make up half the urban population, which is impossible. [Children, old people, and other dependents usually make up more than half of any population—WH.]

My basic point is this—in China's socialist society there are still classes. Classes still exist. On this question there are people who disagree, but once you point out the objective facts, how can they refute you?

Given the figures mentioned above, it is obvious that, in terms of ideology, proletarian class rule is minority rule. The minority dictates to the majority. But if we look at the question in terms of class alliances, then it is the other way around: we have a majority of workers and peasants dictating to the minority of former exploiters. But within the great al-

liance of the workers and peasants, proletarian thinking is not universal. There is still a lot of petty-bourgeois thinking.

One can talk about this in two ways:

1) China is a socialist society. We have established a socialist system with two kinds of ownership—public and collective. From this point of view we can say that this society is a worker-peasant society, a socialist society. It represents the majority dictating to the minority of former exploiters.

2) The working class must lead in everything. That is to say, the proletarian world outlook must predominate. This then is minority leadership.

So, once again, in China's socialist society there are classes, there are class contradictions, and there is class struggle.

Internal factors are influenced by external ones. Internationally we are encircled by capitalists and revisionists, and the revisionist ideas are especially corrosive. So to say that in China there is only ideological struggle, only a struggle between the advanced and the backward, is wrong. Advanced and backward

民主革命

Democratic
Revolution of 1949
Revolution to free China from foreign interests and break the control of the landed class.

thinking itself reflects class struggle. Even among working people there is backward thinking which reflects the thinking of the ex-

ploiting classes. Before we had liberated any cities, Mao Tsetung said that classes would still exist and that in the future, after our victory over Chiang Kai-shek, the struggle would then be between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Since then the problem of which road to take has not really been solved. The struggle continues right to the present day. All this was pointed out by Mao Tsetung before the end of the Democratic Revolution in 1949.

Hinton: What about newly generated bourgeois forces, those capitalist roaders who arise due to privilege? If one looks only at former landlords isn't one apt to be disarmed before the newly emerging bourgeoisie?

Yes. I was just about to discuss that. I started with a static analysis and said that certain classes exist, secondly that these reactionary classes are influencing the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. Thirdly, bourgeois elements will be newly generated. In the development of socialism right up until today, if the directors of industry—the accountants, engineers, managers, etc.—expand and consolidate special privilege, a new privileged class will be generated and its members will be the capitalist roaders whom you have just mentioned.

So, once again, we have to admit that classes exist. If we don't struggle we will find new bourgeois elements rising up. And if we don't oppose bourgeois thinking, it will corrode the ranks of the working class. Thus we have:

- 1) Old exploiters still around.
- 2) Newly generated bourgeois class forces.
- 3) Ideological influence and corrosion.

This last, the old habits, customs, and ways of thinking left over from the past, are widespread. Lenin had especial hatred for such things, the bad things left over from the exploiters. The old way of childbirth in Shansi which I discussed at the start is one of the bad things left over. In highly industrialized societies this kind of thing is less common, or even absent. But in a backward country like ours there are lots of things of this sort.

So whether you admit that classes exist or not is crucial. Recognizing the existence of classes and class struggle is a question of political principle.

Liu Shao-chi thought that after the three great transformations [of agriculture, of industry, and of commerce] class struggle would die out. This is reactionary thinking. On this question, furthermore, he was not alone. Chen Po-ta also had the same idea. In over 20 years of socialist revolution, the struggle against such ideas has been very sharp. But if we didn't admit class struggle, how could we direct our work? What would be our guiding principles? □

Pandamonium

OR

Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Pandas

MICHAEL CHINOY

WHAT kind of animal looks like a bear but bleats like a lamb, stands on its head for fun, comes from the thick bamboo forests in western China, has been reclassified biologically over a dozen times, and was at one time denied entrance to the United States because of its "communist background"?

Why, the giant panda, of course.

Today, two giant pandas, Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing, live in the National Zoo in Washington, D.C., gifts of the people of China to the people of the United States. Their playful antics have charmed an estimated 12 million people. Although they are far away from their native bamboo forests, the two pandas are thriving.

Ling-Ling, the female, is four years old and weighs 243 pounds. Hsing-Hsing, the male, is three and weighs 275 pounds. Each has a separate 2,500-square-foot cage in the climate-controlled panda house. Air conditioning keeps the temperature a pleasant 50 degrees. The pandas get uncomfortable if it goes above 70. Two summers ago, when

the air conditioning broke down, both pandas needed to sit on 200-pound blocks of ice to cool off. Indeed, when two Chinese pandas were delivered to the London Zoo this fall to replace Chi-Chi, the panda who died last year, they were supplied blocks of ice to sit on during the long plane ride from Peking to London.

Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling are fed three meals a day. For both breakfast and supper, they eat three pounds of apples, carrots, and cooked sweet potatoes, three cups of rice gruel consisting of cooked rice, vitamin and protein supplements, honey, and water, and ten pounds of cut bamboo. Lunch is three pounds of apples and carrots. Both pandas also get snacks of bamboo and an occasional bread and honey sandwich. Fifteen jars of honey sit on the shelf in the kitchen where their meals are prepared.

Next to eating, sleeping is the pandas' favorite activity. During visiting hours, it is not uncommon to see large crowds at the panda cage gazing in frustration as Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling, sprawled on the floor or curled up next to a bamboo plant, sleep happily away. The pandas do wake up at mealtimes, and are active in the evenings, after the zoo has closed.

The man who cooks the pandas' food is Curly Harper, one of three zookeepers assigned to Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling. When I inter-

Michael Chinoy is a freelance journalist. He visited China in 1973, and is co-editor of Looking at Other Societies: China, Cuba and Tanzania (Friendship Press, 1975).

viewed him, he was mixing the rice and honey gruel for their breakfast. "For the last couple of months, their favorite food has been carrots," he said.

"Hsing-Hsing likes a lot of attention. Ling-Ling is more aloof. If you're there, fine; if not, you're not needed. But she can also be a clown," he added.

When the Chinese zookeepers came to Washington to deliver the pandas, Curly said, "I got a different view than I'd had before. I saw them as real people. And I think they got a different view of us. But I had never been against Communist China in the first place."

Curly, who has a big, bristly moustache, has had an opportunity to meet most of the Chinese groups that have visited the United States. The Shenyang Acrobats, the Wu Shu martial arts troupe, and the Chinese ping-pong team have all stopped by to say hello to the pandas. Members of China's Liaison Office in Washington also visit Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling frequently.

The history of America and pandas, however, has not always been so smooth. Not so long ago, a panda was the target of the U.S. government's anti-Chinese foreign policy.

In 1958, when the Chinese were restocking the Peking Zoo, an Austrian animal dealer named Heini Demmer arranged to supply the zoo with some big game from Africa. In exchange, he was to receive one giant panda, to go to a Western zoo. Demmer came to Peking and chose a tiny panda cub named Chi-Chi. By the time he reached Europe with his panda, Demmer had received an offer of \$25,000 for the cub from Chicago's Brookfield Zoo.

But then the Treasury Department stepped in and announced that the U.S. trade embargo on Chinese goods extended even to pandas. No "Red Chinese" panda was to be allowed into the United States; perhaps Chi-Chi might subvert the other zoo animals! The London Zoo, not bound by such rigid political regulations, acquired Chi-Chi, who became its most famous resident.

While in the 1950s the people of America were denied a panda because of its "communist origins," in earlier decades Americans had participated in the widespread hunting of the panda which dramatically depleted its numbers. Although the Chinese had always left the shy, peaceable panda alone, many Westerners flocked to China in the 20s and 30s to stalk the mysterious black and white bear. Even the sons of President Theodore Roosevelt charged into China on a panda-hunting expedition in 1928.

But as pandas were captured and exposed to public view, the love affair between the American people and the giant panda began. It started in 1936, when an American woman, Ruth Harkness, brought the first live panda, a cub named Su-Lin, back from China. Huge crowds gathered when Su-Lin, thought to be a female, arrived in San Francisco. Reporters followed the tiny cub on its train trip across the continent. In New York, the panda was placed on the speaker's platform at the New York Explorers' Club, where it made soft, bleating panda sounds into the microphone. Eventually, the gentle, whimsical Su-Lin ended up in Chicago's Brookfield Zoo, where she was discovered to be a he.

A few more pandas made it to the U.S. during the 1940s, but by 1953, when the last one died, the American people were panda-less. Although the Brookfield Zoo almost got Chi-Chi in 1958, it was not until Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling arrived in Washington in 1972 that the American people once again had a giant panda.

In China, meanwhile, strict laws against harming giant pandas had been enacted. Shortly after Liberation, all hunting of the animal was prohibited.

In 1963, the Peking Zoo made history when a baby panda was born there—the first time pandas had reproduced in captivity. The mother's name was Li-Li, the father's Pi-Pi. The baby, who weighed five ounces at birth, was called Ming-Ming, which means "bright." A year later, Li-Li had a second baby, called Lin-Lin. Since then, some other pandas have been born in Chinese zoos, but nowhere else. The total

number of pandas in captivity in China is now approximately 18.

The panda is found only in western China, in the dense bamboo and rhododendron forests of mountainous Szechuan Province. It lives at heights up to 12,000 feet, enjoying the cold, damp air and frequent blizzards and downpours. Bamboo, plants, flowers, and some grass constitute the panda diet. It rarely eats meat.

The giant panda is not an aggressive animal. It is content to wander in the mountains munching bamboo. If attacked, however, it will readily use its extremely powerful jaws to defend itself. It is also adept at tree climbing, and can even swim. Generally, the wild panda's most aggressive act is to slip into a village and steal some honey, of which it is especially fond.

The giant panda has a special "sixth claw" which enables it to hold things in its paw the way humans do. The claw is actually an extension of the wristbone. It allows the panda to pick up carrots, bamboo, or sticks and carry them to its mouth without difficulty.

Scientists have conducted a running battle for nearly a century over what kind of animal the panda actually is. It was originally thought to be a bear. Detailed examination, however, later revealed that the teeth, stomach, liver, and genitalia of the giant panda are similar to those of the lesser or red panda, a member of the raccoon family. The giant panda doesn't growl as bears do, either, but makes a bleating sound instead. Yet, like bears, the giant panda climbs trees and produces tiny offspring which grow rapidly.

Chinese scientists have recently concluded that the giant panda is neither bear nor raccoon, but merits a separate family of its own, the *Ailuropidae*. Scientists at the National Zoo in Washington agree with their Chinese colleagues.

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Meanwhile, back at the panda house, I watched Curly Harper give the two sleepy animals their breakfast. Ling-Ling picks up two bright orange carrots, holding them the way Wyatt Earp must have held his guns during the show down at the OK Corral. After the meal, the two pandas look at each other through a circular Chinese moon gate. They are not allowed to play together except when Ling-Ling is in heat. Otherwise, Curly explains, they might become too familiar with each other, reducing the chances of their mating.

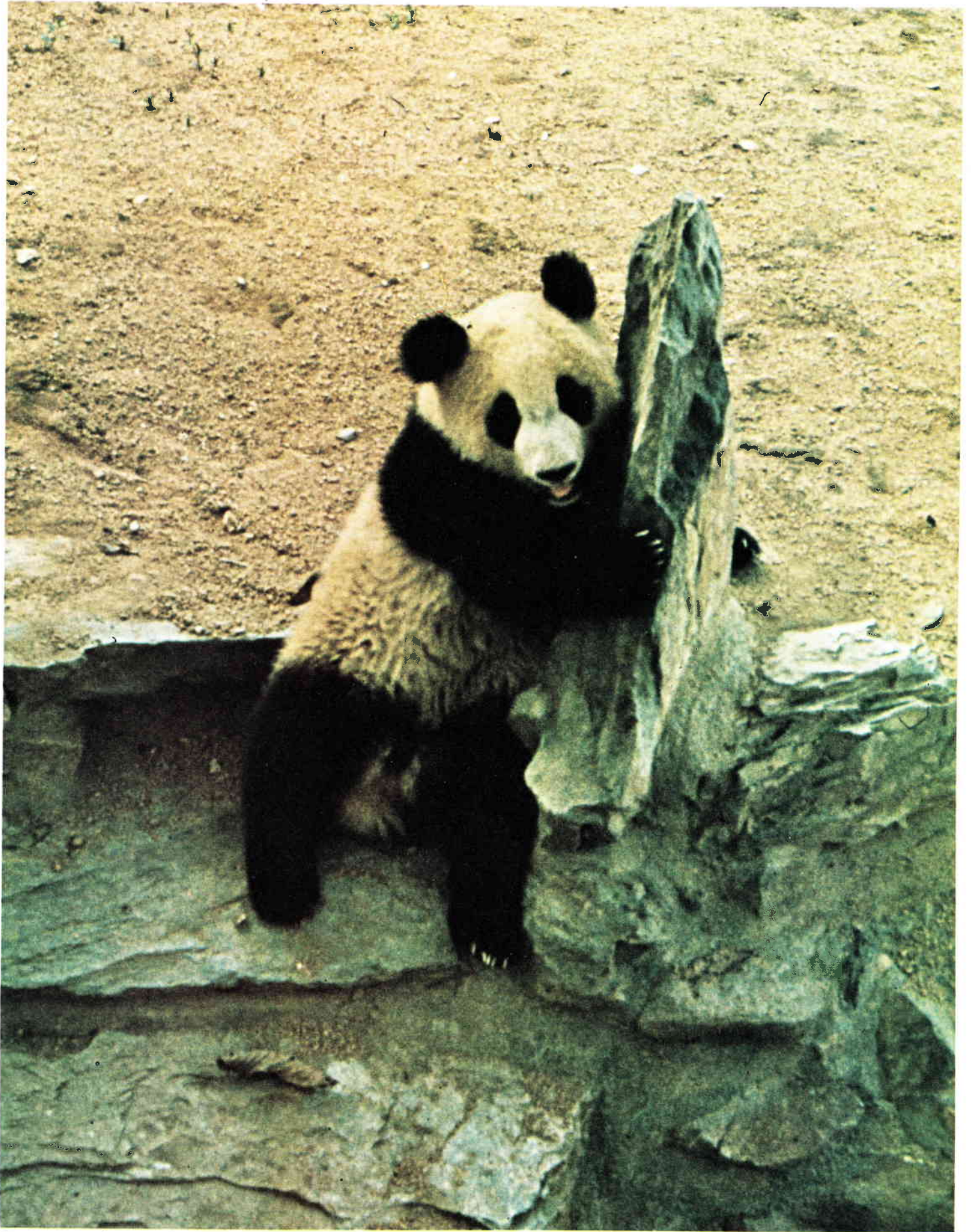
"It's a sure thing they'll breed," says Dr. George Reed, director of the National Zoo. "Ling-Ling was receptive last spring when she was in heat, but Hsing-Hsing didn't know what to do. He's still too young. We tried to draw a picture to show him, but it didn't help."

Dr. Reed visited China to accompany the pandas and their Chinese keepers back to Washington. "I was very impressed with Peking," he said. "I have a high regard for the Chinese. At the Peking Zoo, they had a beautiful collection of Chinese and Asiatic animals, and the animals were in fantastic condition. The keepers were dedicated, and everything was neat and clean. The educational material and graphics seemed especially good."

Zoo officials in Washington keep in close touch with their colleagues in China; a regular exchange of information on pandas has been set up. The Washington Zoo has recently acquired several long articles in Chinese on the latest in panda research. The articles are now being translated.

Dr. Reed feels that the pandas have played a major role in improving U.S.-Chinese friendship. "There is nothing the Chinese could have given that would have earned them as many wonderful good will points as the pandas have," he says.

Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling take naturally to their role as ambassadors of friendship, even though some visitors say they sleep too much. Their playful antics have made them the most popular attraction at the zoo. While saying goodbye to the two pandas after a four-hour visit, I patted Hsing-Hsing on the back. To be friendly, he stood on his head. For the millions who have laughed at the pandas' clowning, Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling have become symbols of the growing friendship between the people of China and America. □



Baby panda and security rock at Peking Zoo. (Photo: M. Chinoy)

GROWING OLD

I ASKED a tiny, elderly Shanghai woman in her sixties about her daily life in new China. How did she spend her time? "I have responsibility for our street factory," she answered with pride. "We make plastic buckets, funnels, pipes, and hoses. More than fifty people—mostly women who have never worked before, or retired women—participate. We keep raising our yearly quota of production."

She spoke matter-of-factly, as if there was nothing unusual about a grandmother making plumbing equipment in a neighborhood factory. And in fact, there wasn't. Older people throughout China, for as long as they are physically able, participate actively in all areas of daily life, from factory labor and political work to teaching and child care. And when they can no longer participate actively, the aging are protected by their families and communities. Unlike many societies, China does not brand her aged as useless burdens no longer able to contribute to society. Instead, they are highly valued for their wealth of experience and skills and are encouraged to utilize them for as long as they are able.

The high regard new China has for its newly retired people and its elderly is reflected in the secure, comfortable life provided for them. Wherever I went, I saw older people adequately dressed, well housed, and well cared for. Many elderly people, their memories of pre-Liberation days still painfully sharp, still seemed awed by the changes in their lives. Throughout my visit, older people spoke to me about their comfortable homes and adequate food supplies; of inexpensive or free comprehensive medical care; of learning to read and write; and of participating in the everyday affairs of their community.

Because of their link with the pre-Liberation

Susan K. Kinoy is a social worker active in areas of community organization, welfare, and the aging. She visited China in 1974.

"bitter past" of hunger, disease, and political oppression, the aged in China are encouraged to talk with young people about life before 1949, so that Chinese youth can develop pride in the success of the Chinese people in overcoming overwhelming oppression. Grandmothers remind grandchildren not to take their economic security for granted, and not to complain about their hard work. They tell them of millions of deaths from disease and starvation before Liberation. Young people also hear about the virtual enslavement of poor people, of beatings by rural landlords, and of the sale of children and the permanent separation of families.

One woman, sitting with me in her sunny, comfortable apartment in Shanghai, described how she was forced to sell her small son to a landlord so that the rest of her family could survive. Another woman, an elderly Peking resident, wept as she told me how she had been sold to a landlord as a young woman and forced to work on his land. As I walked through Tien An Men Square in Peking, I was reminded of another aspect of China's past by the sight of old women hobbling on twisted feet that had been bound in childhood.

Both in the city and the countryside, most older people I visited in China lived as members of the traditional extended family with their children and grandchildren. Since retired people receive 70 percent of their income at retirement, and are entitled to medical care at minimal or no cost, caring for an infirm elderly person doesn't put the kind of economic burden on families in China that it does in many societies.

Elderly people without families either live alone under the care of other families in their community, or live in government-subsidized nursing homes and retirement facilities.

In urban areas, special Neighborhood Committees take responsibility for their older residents. A very elderly city resident whose children work in the daytime and frequently

attend meetings at night might have his cooking done by one neighbor, his clothes washed by young students, and his housekeeping and cleaning chores performed by other neighbors. In rural communes, a special welfare fund is set up to subsidize the needs of members who are ill, retired, or unable to work. These members are provided with food, cooking oil, firewood, pocket money, and free medical care.

Since crime against individuals is relatively rare in China, elderly people in both the cities and countryside feel free to venture out of their homes alone. When I asked an old woman on a Peking street if she felt safe walking the huge city by herself, she answered, "Yes, it's not like in the old days, when gangs of boys frightened us and stole from us."

Older Chinese are also free from another fear: being "thrown away" by their society once they retire from the work force. This is different from what I have seen in the United States, where for many, retirement is traumatic because it is accompanied by a radical reduction in income, a loss of security, and a sense of isolation and uselessness.

In China, although some persons continue to work past their retirement age, women may retire at age 55 and men at age 60. Retirement frequently means the assumption of a leadership position in the community. In the cities, retired persons are often elected to lead the Neighborhood Committees, which are the basic units of local political and social decision-making. Since these committees meet a large number of the community's daily needs, many older people are engaged full-time in important neighborhood activities.

Among other things, the committees operate nurseries and kindergartens, carry out major preventive health and safety programs, and set up small factories to encourage participation from residents who either have retired or have never before worked full-time. The committees also lead classes in current events, politics, and literature for all residents,

IN NEW CHINA

SUSAN K. KINOY

mediate family arguments, and re-educate persons who commit minor crimes.

Many elderly people escort young children to and from school and conduct after-school study sessions in their homes. Many also visit classes to check on the children's progress and organize small groups of parents and students to maintain contact with the teachers.

In Canton, a man in his late sixties talked with me about his work as chairman of a Residential Subcommittee of the larger Neighborhood Committee. "There was the case of young Lee who stole a radio," he recalled. "Another member of the committee and I talked with him and his parents. We tried to help him understand why his behavior was so harmful to our community and our society.

"When we were finally convinced, after many discussions, that young Lee understood and was truly sorry about his behavior, we gave him the task of bringing the coal to old Grandmother Wu who lived next door. He was so faithful to Grandmother that soon all the neighbors were saying what a model citizen young Lee had become."

China's success at preserving the skills and talents of the older generation impressed a group of American scientists who made a recent tour of mental institutions in China. They reported that China's aged suffer very few cases of senile psychosis, an illness marked by loss of contact with reality.

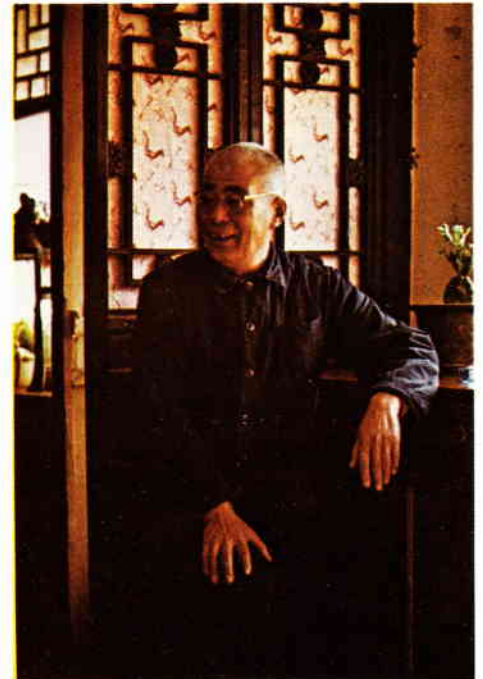
The role played by the elderly in new China contradicts myth after myth about the effects of age on one's ability to contribute to society. The active elderly are productive in China because, with the rest of society, they believe in serving their country through hard work and self-reliance. They feel needed because their skills are appreciated. The older and more infirm aged are well cared for because their society values them as human beings. In new China, growing old is nothing to be afraid of. □



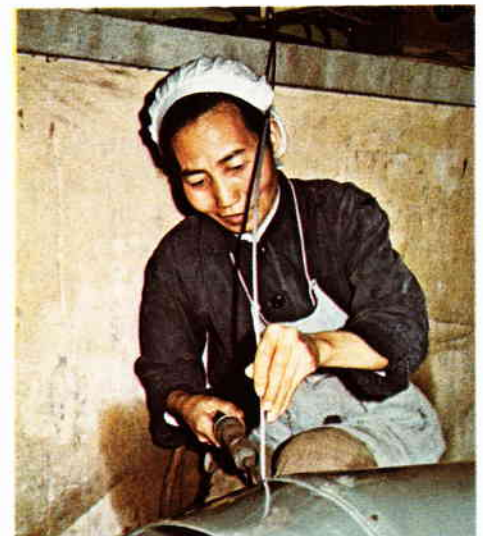
Parading with granddaughter in Peking. (Photo: S. K. Kinoy)



Peasant fills his pipe while waiting for the start of a meeting in Long Bow Village, Shansi Province. (Photo: C. Hinton)



Repose in the afternoon: retired worker relaxes at home. (Photo: J. Costner)



New work for former housewife: soldering tubing in neighborhood sheet metal factory. (Photo: S. K. Kinoy)



"Lu Mountain." A painting in the traditional style. The viewer's eye ascends the mountain in leaps.

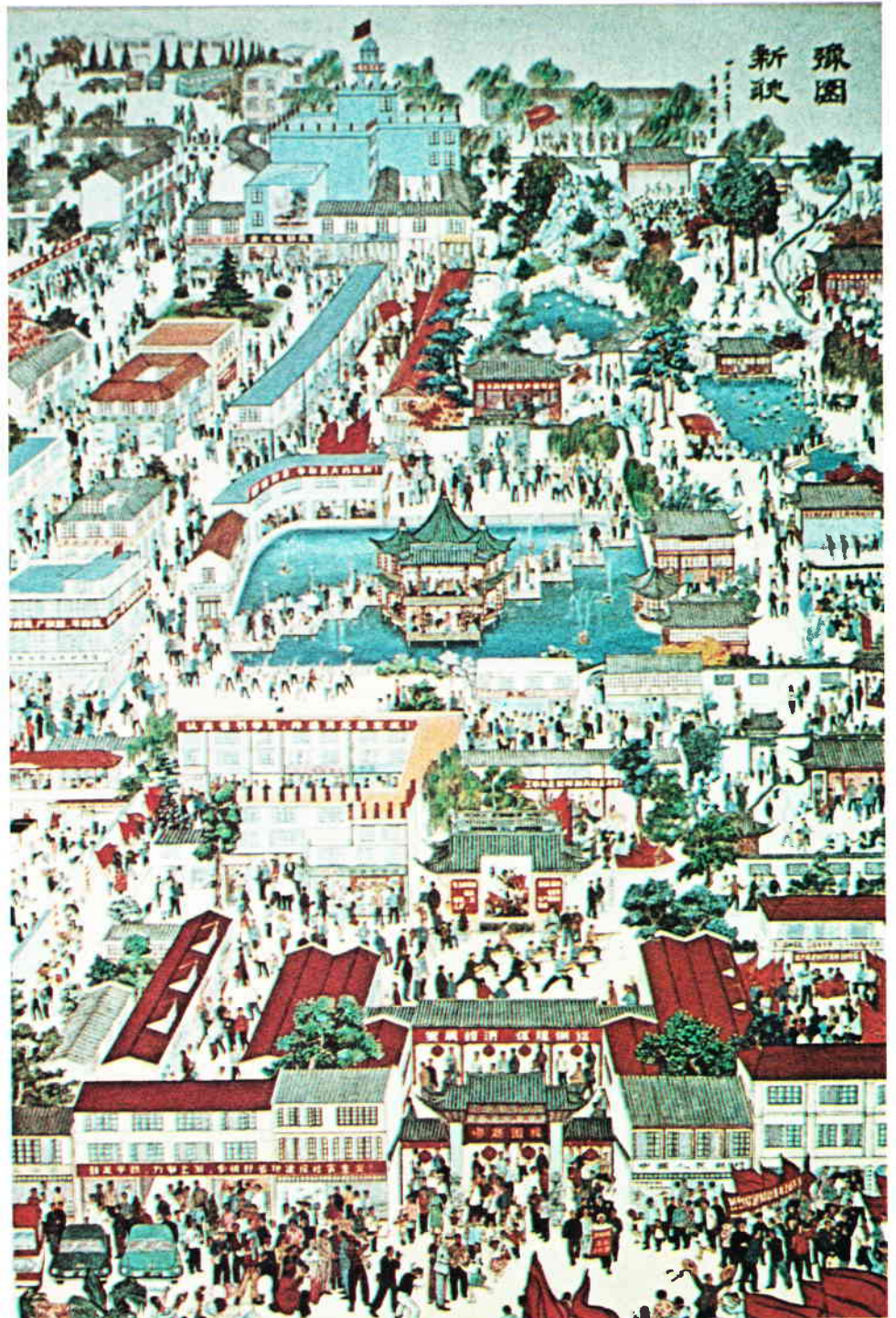


"Keeping Guard Everywhere (June, 1974)." The modern theme of alerting the people's militia is combined with an element from traditional painting, the wisteria in the foreground.

Opposite: "The Heart Red, The Melon Sweet." The joy of a productive harvest in the modern, bold style. (All photos: M. Oppen)

Watercolors on the Waterfront

MICHAEL OPPER



"The New Face of Willow Pattern Tea House." An area once reserved for the few is now portrayed in rich detail as a busy, popular recreation park.

For a Western art historian to arrive at the Workers' Art Palace in Shanghai after three weeks of travel through China, as I did last summer, is the culmination of a fascinating cultural experience. Would the art I was about to see reflect what I had been observing of the life in new China, from northern Manchuria to Peking and Hangchow?

It had been my ambition in visiting China to see as much art in as many categories as possible and to meet with artists. I had seen monumental sculpture in Manchuria, chalk drawings in factories and on street blackboards in the cities, and paintings by pre-school children and college students. But it wasn't until we reached Shanghai that I was to see an entire exhibition devoted to painting by people for whom art is a major part of their life's work.

At the Workers' Art Palace the director, Chai Shen-huo, a respected painter in the new style, and his younger assistant, Liang Hung-tao, an equally highly regarded painter who works in traditional style, led us to an enormous hall, as vast as a school gymnasium—and this was only one of several exhibition areas.

One quick visual appraisal revealed that this moment was well worth the wait. The styles, subjects, and sizes of the works varied as widely as the life I had observed in my three-week tour. There was a figure of a girl with a bountiful crop of melons, a cold campfire scene, views of busy docks and new-style cityscapes mingling with traditional landscapes.

Some paintings were done with brush strokes so meticulous that they blended into one another, creating a smooth surface. On others the pigments were applied heavily, giving the strokes an emphatic textural quality. Extensive use of bright, cheerful colors established a distinct break with a past in which the scholar-artists stressed line rather than color. These paintings transmitted excitement. They were high-powered and professionally acute.

Traditionally, Chinese paintings featured mountains, streams, and trees, with perhaps a microscopic figure visible on a path, or they portrayed scholars and palace scenes. Mostly monochromatic and intimate, they were painted for the privileged few by coteries of elite court-artists or scholar-artists firmly grounded in calligraphy.

The contemporary art I was now observing featured people. Landscape elements were of

secondary importance, used mainly to complement the figures. Bright colors, loose application of paint, emphasis on healthy, happy people from all walks of life, the variations in style, shape, and size (particularly the extra-large canvases) were new departures in the new China. Created by workers to be seen by other workers, reflecting the artists' views of



life and work, these paintings formed a direct line of communication with the people.

Many of the paintings carried more than one signature. Although artists often continue to work alone in China, much excellent art is being created cooperatively, with each contributor acknowledged and credited, whether the contribution is to the work's conception or execution.

Several paintings on display at the Workers' Art Palace were done by Shanghai dockworkers of Pier 3. Since our schedule was to include

a dock tour, I asked our hosts if I could interview some of the artists whose work was exhibited. The next morning I met with five of these artists in their studio, located in the workers' waterfront recreation center. The group included Pao Mei-ying, a young woman maintenance worker; Fong Min-liu, who loaded and unloaded ships; Chen Yong-ken, a warehouse worker; Lui Shen-yuan, a ship repairman; and Zhang Da-wei, a crane operator.

During our conversation I mentioned a painting that had impressed me—a strong horizontal depiction of a thrusting diagonal steel beam being raised by a work crew. It conveyed an overwhelming air of energy. Zhang Da-wei leaned forward and remarked, "You have a good memory; that's the one I painted!" We congratulated each other on our good taste and perception!

The paintings by these workers would rank with the finest being done anywhere. I learned that they were accomplished within a daily schedule of four hours of dock work and four hours of painting. The schedule was flexible. If ships were in and required labor, the workers would be there; if the worker-artists weren't needed at dockside, they were encouraged to use their time painting in the studio.

How is an artist "selected"? No test of any kind is given, I was told. One need only express the desire to participate. Usually members of the group had developed some skill previously, in school and through practice. Studio space and all necessary supplies and materials are provided.

Less than five years ago this group of dockworker-artists had six members; today it has 26. They don't sell their work. Since art is to be shared by all, it is displayed where it can be seen by all.

These artists were as stimulated by our meeting as I was, and were eager to question me about art in the West. After an animated discussion about the purpose and importance of art, I asked why they weren't devoting all their time to creating art instead of dividing it between art and work. The question amused them. They patiently explained what I had been observing in China for the past three weeks—that they wanted to be part of social progress, not separated from the people, and that they had no wish to be elitists.

Art to them is only a part of their total lives as citizens of new China; it is an important part, but not supreme. Working with their comrades to build their country and improve the lives of all still comes first. □

Archeological Finds

From B.C. to D.C.—
600,000 years of Chinese culture
come to Washington

One of the most persistent myths about contemporary China has been that the Chinese people were not interested in their past, and indeed that they had destroyed much of their cultural heritage. The exhibition of Chinese archeological finds now on display at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., is vivid evidence of the untruth of these tales.

The exhibition is a major cultural event of our time. It contains 380 historical objects, masterpieces of skill and beauty, which have been unearthed over the past 20 years in archeological excavations throughout China.

The artifacts cover the whole range of Chinese history and pre-history, from the Lantien man of 600,000 years ago to the Ming dynasty of the 1500s. The show contains such dazzling objects as the legendary jade burial suit from the second century B.C. and the famous galloping horse of A.D. 200 whose speed seems greater than that of a bird in flight. It also includes painted pottery from villages of Neolithic times, great bronze vessels from 1500 B.C., and the exquisite porcelain of the Yuan dynasty.

The show toured in Europe and Canada until December 1974. It remains on view at the National Gallery of Art in Washington until March 30, 1975. The exhibition will then move to the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum in Kansas City from April 20 to June 8.

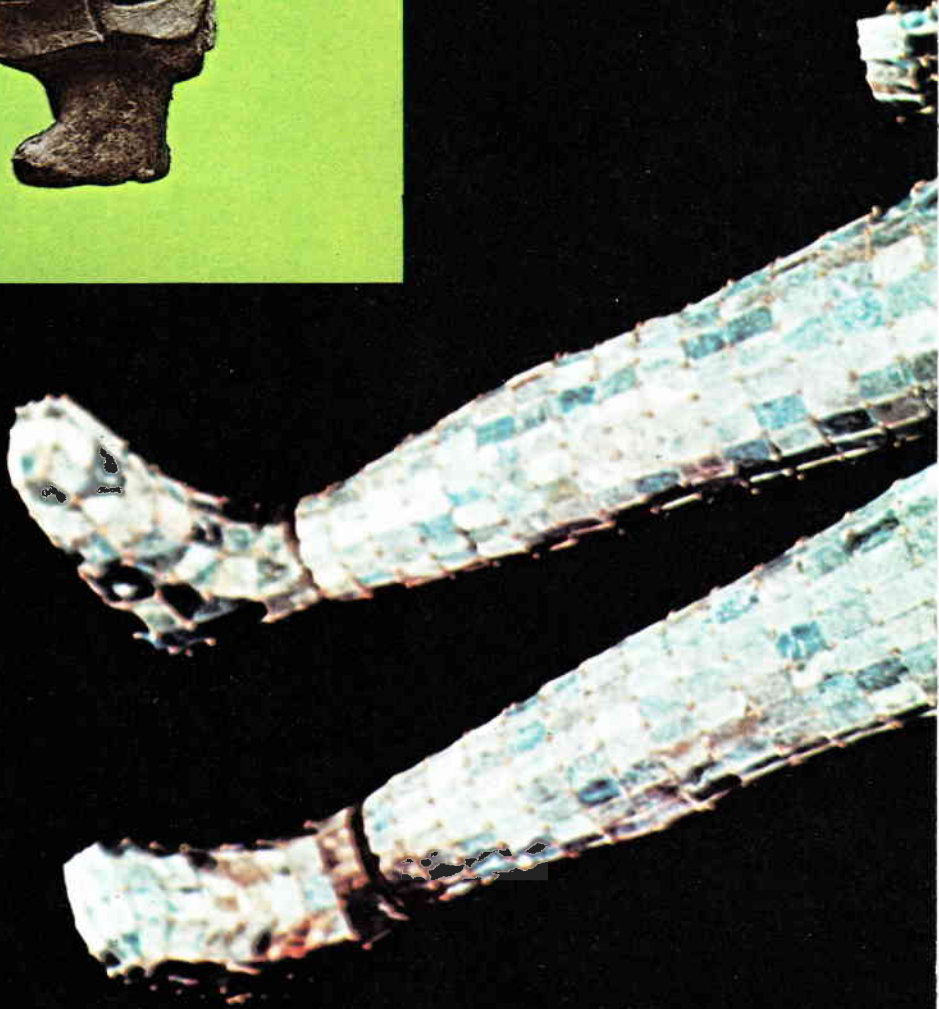
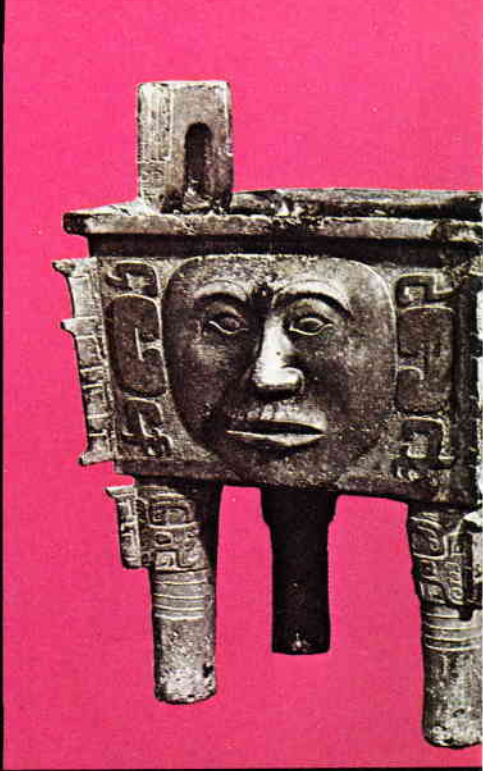
American response to the exhibition has been over-



whelming. Long lines are frequently seen inside the National Gallery, and people often wait several hours to see the show. Clearly, art is a common bond between peoples, and this exhibition has certainly helped to further understanding of China's past and present throughout the world.



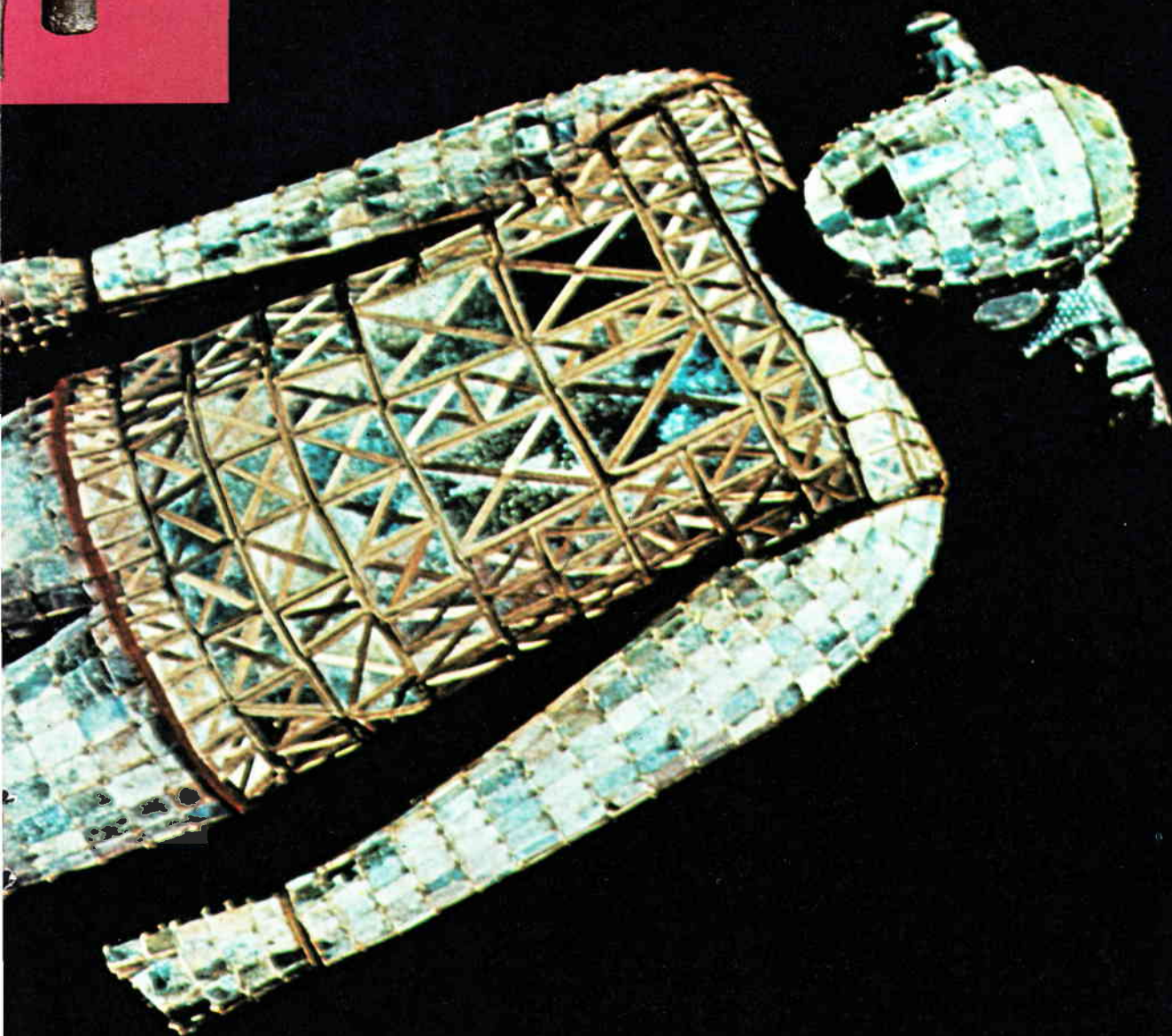
Top left: Bronze leopards inlaid with silver and garnet (Western Han dynasty, late 2nd century B.C.). In 1968 almost 3,000 objects were unearthed from vast underground tombs cut in solid rock at Man-cheng, Hopei. These pieces were probably used to weight down the sleeves and edges of funeral palls. *Bottom left:* Pottery figure of seated woman (Ch'in dynasty, 321–207 B.C.). An outstanding example of ancient realism. The body is hollow and the head and arms were made separately. Found in 1964 by workers in a cotton field near burial mound of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the first emperor of a united China. *Above:* White porcelain vase and cover with underglaze decoration of leaf and floral motifs (Yuan dynasty, late 14th century A.D.). *Far left:* Bronze duck with snakes (Western Han dynasty, 2nd or early 1st century B.C.).



New China



Far left: Pottery figure of whistling actor (Yuan dynasty, 1271–1368 A.D.). *Left:* Bronze ritual food vessel *ting*, decorated with human masks (Shang dynasty, 14th–11th centuries B.C.). Shows slave-artists' talent for design and their exceptional skill in bronze casting techniques. Excavated in 1965 at Ning Hsiang, Hunan. *Below:* Jade funeral suit (Western Han dynasty, late 2nd century B.C.). Taoist magician lore included a belief that jade could prevent the decay of the corpse. Prince Liu Sheng and his wife took this belief to ostentatious lengths. Lady Tou's suit consists of 2,160 tablets of jade. The 12 sections are sewn together with silk-wound iron and gold wire. Jade burial suits were known from written records, but never seen before the 1968 excavation of the tomb.





CARMA HINTON

Women: The Long March Toward Equality

Above: Worker welds spring for 53-ton truck in Shanghai factory. (Photo: J. Costner)

Opposite: According to Guangdong custom, baby gets a ride as mother fertilizes young plants. (Photo: D. Louie)



"We're glad you're here. Come join us in the women's well-digging team!" The local women greeted my classmates and me when we arrived in the Hsintai region of Hopei Province in the fall of 1966. Like many other high school students from Peking, we wanted to go to the rural areas to learn from the peasants and spread the word of the Cultural Revolution. This district had recently been hit by a serious earthquake, and we went to a village where there was considerable damage.

Carma Hinton was born in Peking and attended Chinese schools. She participated in the Cultural Revolution along with her Chinese schoolmates. Ms. Hinton moved to the United States in 1971 and is now teaching Chinese and studying at the University of Pennsylvania.

Since the village was located in a dry region, its harvest completely depended on wells, some of which had been destroyed by the earthquake. With the village facing all the burden of reconstruction, women dug wells for the first time, vigorously challenging the old belief that "no water could be found in a well dug by women." We joined them in their new task.

We had to climb up on a platform ten feet above the ground and turn a 14-foot-high wooden wheel by walking inside it. It worked like a hamster cage wheel. As the wheel turned, it wound up a long rope which lifted the dirt out of the well in buckets. Once you started walking in the wheel, it was hard to stop. If you did try to stop, the wheel kept going and threw you off your feet. But if you continued to walk, it seemed to turn faster and

faster. And all the time, the cold October wind whistled in your ears. The local women told us that at first they were afraid, but soon they became very skilled and were quite proud of themselves.

People walking by as we worked had different reactions. The men were amazed that the women could actually do this work. Some remarked, "Don't let the wind blow you away," and tried to frighten the women. The women retorted, "Come up and join us. We'll see how you hold on!" Other men were impressed. "We've never seen young women like this. It's really great!" Sometimes old women with bound feet hobbled by, and I often wondered what they thought of it all.

These old women had grown up in the old society where women had no rights and were

considered useful only for producing children to carry on the family line. Once they married, they became the property of the man's family.

Women were not called by their given

names. A husband referred to his wife as "my children's mother," "the one in the house," or "the one on the bed." Young people who had never seen each other were forced into ar-

ranged marriages; girls from poor families were turned over to a man's household as child brides—at the age of six or seven—to work as servants until old enough to marry. If a widow remarried, she was called immoral. If she did not remarry, she had no way to make a living. Suicide was the only respectable way out for a widow without means. Women had no control over their own lives, much less the shaping of society.

Elizabeth Moos: Woman's Place Is in the Factory

About ten years ago, a group of nine Shenyang housewives heard Chairman Mao call for a larger work force and increased production throughout China. None of the women were trained for jobs in the outside world; all had spent their lives cooking, keeping house, and caring for children.

When they got together to discuss how they could contribute outside the home, their husbands merely laughed. Yet in a few years' time, they built a scrap metal recycling plant in Shenyang that now has more than 130 workers and turns out some 80 different parts for a nearby machine-building plant.

"We started out as nine housewives in a study group," explained one of the plant's founders during a recent tour by U.S. visitors. "When we heard Chairman Mao's call for more production in 1966, we said, 'We have two hands. We are strong. We can contribute.' But we only knew about our housework, and what could we do? We asked our husbands and they said, 'You only know how to make noodles. You stay around your stoves.'"

Undeterred, the women went to the big plants in the area to find work. But wherever they went, they were turned away. Then someone told them about the piles of useless scrap metal heaped outside the plants.

"We were told that the scrap metal could be made into very useful and valuable metal powder, but that no one had the time to do it," recalled the plant's spokeswoman. "Well, we had the time, but not the slightest idea of how to do it. The workers said, 'You know nothing about these things. You'd better go home, or later you'll come crying to us.' But we were determined."

Building a scrap-metal plant was not easy without proper tools or training. But the women didn't discourage easily. "We found this empty bit of land, we borrowed shovels and pails, and began to gather the scraps. We had only the blue sky over us—and it was not always blue, either.

"We worked in the rain and snow, and when our hands were too cold we had to go home. So we gathered discarded bricks and wood, and

built a shed. Then we could work better. We worked a year carrying the scrap on our shoulders and our bicycles, and all that time we were trying to find out more about making the powder."

The first thing the women needed for their work was an oven. With their own hands, they built one from discarded fire brick gathered outside the big plants.

Next they needed a chimney. "Everyone told us, 'Now you *must* ask for money from the state,'" said the spokeswoman. "But we wanted to rely on our own efforts. We knew you can do great things with very little, and the chimney would have cost our country 30,000 yuan (\$14,700). So we gathered empty tar barrels and soldered them together until we had a 30-foot chimney.

"Now our husbands and the veteran workers did not tell us anymore to go back to our stoves; they helped us and together we raised the chimney—you can see it."

Before long, the women's plant was producing valuable metal powder in quantity and selling it to the big machine-building plant nearby. Eventually, the government gave the scrap-metal plant machinery of its own.

Once the nine housewives had mastered the art of making casting powder, they wanted to learn how to do the actual casting. Once again, technicians and veteran workers offered to help them. Today their plant turns out several dozen different parts for the large plant.

In 1973, only 30 of the 137 workers were men. The women are in charge and only they do the important job of firing the furnaces. The plant, which now works on two shifts, has its own nursery and paid maternity leave. The women set their prices to cover costs, pay a 5 percent tax to the state and put aside 20 percent for accumulation. Husbands, who have long since stopped laughing, have agreed that whoever gets home from work first makes the dinner.

The women are justifiably proud of their Shenyang scrap-metal plant. They believe it is living proof of the truth of Chairman Mao's words: "Women hold up half the sky."

Many women, seeing that their problems would not end under the old social system, took part in the long revolution to overthrow that society. The turning point for women came in 1949, with the victory that the Chinese people refer to as Liberation. Equal rights for men and women were guaranteed by a new Marriage Law. Women's associations, initiated and organized all over the country by the Communist Party, helped women to fight against physical abuses such as wife-beating and to realize their new rights. They were also a strong force in mobilizing women to help build a new China.

Economic independence is particularly important for the liberation of women. If a woman must depend upon her husband for her livelihood, she can't begin to gain equality. In the countryside, when land was confiscated from the landlords and divided among the peasants right after the Revolution, the women were given title to their fair share. But this alone did not provide economic independence. As long as farming was done on a family basis, the traditional pattern continued: the man worked in the field, produced the main crop, and thereby controlled the family's decision-making, while the woman did the necessary peripheral work but had little influence.

This pattern was only broken down when private land was pooled into collectives and women were encouraged to work in the fields, earning their share of the community produce. In the 1950s, however, old ideas concerning women's roles were still so strong that to mobilize women for field work was a major undertaking. Politically advanced women helped to raise the consciousness of others. When I visited Tachai, a model village in North China, Sung Li-ying, the Vice-Secretary of the Party, explained how she talked to women about the importance of working in the fields:

"In the old days the saying was 'Marry a man if you want food and clothes.' We had to ask a man even to get a needle and thread. Remember how it was in the past when men could do whatever they wanted just because they fed us? Now with the collective it is possible for us to support ourselves. This is the

only way to end once and for all the abuses we suffered before. *But this is not all.* Times have changed. We must make our contribution to the building of our country, if we as well as the men are to be the masters of our new society."

She told me of the obstacles caused by the attitudes of some men. When women started to go out to work, the men felt they had lost face. "What is all the fuss about? A man like me can certainly support a wife!" But more and more women went into the fields. Whenever there was a poor harvest, however, the men would try to force the women out of the fields again because they felt that women's work added nothing to the total yield, but only increased the number of people who shared it. Women fought against these obstacles and gradually their work was considered an important contribution to the collective.

Even though women at that time still had to perform all household duties, thus bearing a double burden, their participation in collective work was a major step forward.

Everyone, however, still took for granted that certain jobs were men's work. The old beliefs were, "If women sow, the seeds won't grow," "If women enter the stable, the draft animals won't prosper." So women didn't do these jobs. A woman cart-driver also was unheard of. In an isolated rural setting, the cart was the sole means of communication between villages. The person who drove to the country town had contact with a bigger world, and men were not eager to relinquish this control.

In the last 15 years, as women have played an increasing role in collective production, they have seen new horizons. They began to challenge job discrimination. Often a crisis would provide women with an opportunity to prove their abilities and make a breakthrough. During the Cultural Revolution, my friend Kathy Yeh worked in a village in Honan Province. The village had poor soil, and deep ploughing would help to improve it. Right after a plan was made to plough during the slow winter season, the men were called away to a distant part of the county to work on a canal which would eventually benefit the entire area. The women were left at home.

One thin, strong woman over 60 years old said: "The fields still must be ploughed. Are we going to sit at home and wait for the men to come back?" The others said: "But we only know how to use a hoe. None of us has ever handled a mule and a plough. Do we dare try?" "Of course we have to do it," the old woman said. They voted her the head of the women's work team and started the work.

Kathy was excited as she told me: "None of us had ever ploughed before. Everybody said,

'Wait until the men come back and see how much we've done!' The job was not easy. You had to hold the whip with one hand and adjust the plough with the other. At first the mules wouldn't obey. They ran wild. One time I had to chase my mule for miles. I got so discouraged when he would not listen to me! At the end of each day we were exhausted.

"But we kept trying and kept learning. Once we caught onto the skill, the job became easy. When the men came back they were really amazed by what we had done. We had turned the whole field over. And we had made all the shoes and clothes as well. From then on there was no question in our village about women ploughing."

Woman not only marched into production, but also assumed important political responsibilities. In any village marked by its outstanding achievement it is easy to notice the prominent role of women, especially young women. In Tachai during a devastating flood, girls between the ages of 13 and 18 made a crucial contribution by organizing themselves into a team and working day and night to rescue the crops and rebuild the houses. The villagers were so impressed by their strength and devotion that they complimented them as "the iron girls." Following this example, "Iron Girls" teams have sprung up in many places as a permanent volunteer organization for young women. They are active in every aspect of village life, promoting education, fighting against old ideas, and helping women to advance. In some villages where I've been, it almost looked as if rather than holding up half the sky, women were running the whole show. Many young women in their early 20s have won the support of their whole community through hard work and have become excellent leaders. In recent years, quite a number also have developed into leaders on a county, regional, and provincial level.

In the cities conditions were different from those in the countryside. Although there had been some young women workers since the turn of the century, after Liberation their numbers expanded along with industrialization. All sorts of new jobs opened up to women and they were paid on the same scale as men. After high school, I worked as a machinist in a factory that made huge printing machines, a job which I would be unlikely to get here in the United States. Among the young workers there was an equal number of men and women, and both participated on every kind of job, designing machines, operating lathes and cranes, casting iron and assembling parts. Women also took up other jobs previously dominated by men such as engineering and

architecture. Now women compose one-third of the advanced scientific researchers. In order to help women with children, every factory and office has to provide child care for a very minimal charge.

Since 1958 there has been a program to mobilize older housewives who had never been employed outside the home. Many of them started small neighborhood factories, and before long thousands of them sprang up all over China. A lot of these neighborhood factories recycled waste materials obtained at low prices from the larger plants, and these plants often provided them with technical advice, too. Gradually neighborhood factories were able to make high quality products, some of which reached international standards.

Women's participation in production and political work has changed the image of women and the standards set for them. While traditionally a "good" woman was weak, reticent, and fragile, today it is hard-working and capable women who are highly respected.

The new revolutionary art and literature reflects this attitude. Movies and plays often feature strong women who are leaders of both men and women. These images in the mass media in turn help overcome tradition and shape the new woman.

In the short span of two decades, women have made tremendous progress. Their transformation from having bound feet and being child brides to full participants in society is one of the most dramatic changes in our century. The social and economic system established after the Revolution has no vested interest in the continuation of inequalities between men and women. The cooperative orientation of the new society provides a springboard for change.

However, Chinese women are still at the beginning of their long march toward full equality. Not all the problems are solved. Remnants of the old traditions persist, particularly in the more remote areas of the countryside.

Feudal-patriarchal ideology has not yet died out. Many peasants still feel they must have male children, an attitude which was generated in the old society where a son was valued because he continued the family line and added a new laborer to the family. Raising a boy was a worthwhile investment, while raising a girl amounted to "pouring water out of the door," since she consumed grain while growing up and then left to become the property of her husband's family. The bride price her family got at the time of her marriage represented payment for the cost of her upbringing. Today, a holdover from this still exists in some parts of the countryside. Parents of the

Women: The Long March Toward Equality



Lifting heavy load at Wujaping Village brick factory. (Photo: D. Noll)



Teenager working at a lathe in Changchow school factory. (Photo: J. Costner)



In the fields of Nancheng Brigade in Shansi Province, young Party Secretary discusses problems of ploughing. (Photo: C. Hinton)



Cornhusking bee in Tachai Village, Shansi Province. (Photo: D. Noll)



Scene from the opera *Azalea Mountain*: woman Party representative comes to help organize peasants in rebellion. (Photo: J. Costner)



Author and classmate in workshop of Peking Middle School No. 101. (Photo: Tong Sheng)



Sanding final product at a woodworking factory. (Photo: S. Bennet)



Work-team mounds earth for yam cultivation at Zhongse Village, Guangdong Province. (Photo: D. Louie)

bride often ask for money or various articles from the husband-to-be. This limits free choice in marriage.

Generally, in the rural areas, women have not yet received equal pay for equal work. Men were against paying women equally because, on the average, women are physically weaker. So long as agriculture depends mainly on physical strength rather than machinery, there will be a basis for this kind of thinking to persist.

Remnants of prejudiced attitudes toward women also exist in the cities. When I worked in a Peking woodworking factory, a technical innovation team was formed. The leaders in my workshop suggested that there be a wide variety of members: old and young, apprentices and skilled workers, operators and maintenance personnel. But the last point was: No women. I hit the ceiling. When I argued against it, the section head said it would be a waste of personnel to include females since few knew about machines. Now it was true that many women felt inadequate around machines. Whenever one broke down, men would grab the tools and fix it. Women didn't have a chance. I felt that this was all the more reason to include women in such a team. It would encourage them to learn about machinery and lead to genuine equality on the shop floor. But to my surprise, some of the women quarreled with me and agreed with the section head, saying: "Equality means we have the same economic and political rights as men. It doesn't mean that we have to do everything they do."

This lack of awareness was not uncommon. Women saw themselves as already liberated. The blatantly backward customs of the old society, such as footbinding, forced marriage, and the lack of political and economic rights, had been easy to see. Solving these problems was such a positive change that the more subtle discriminations which still existed didn't even occur to them as a problem. But the first step toward further liberation is to realize that you are not yet fully liberated.

Some of these subtle discriminations are visible in the way children are reared. People think little girls "naturally" like bows and dolls while boys "naturally" like tools and trucks. My girlfriends' parents expected them to learn to cook and keep house while their brothers didn't have to do any of that. These differences are seen as personal preferences, and are not considered harmful. Many people don't understand that raising children this way molds them in certain patterns.

The rubberband dance is an example of the subtle way that a pattern is set. When I was growing up it was the main recess-time activity for girls. Girls spent hours and hours skipping and dancing over a long chain of rubberbands. Boys, meanwhile, were involved in more creative and varied play, like making slingshots

and other little gadgets. A slingshot, though very simple, is a primitive tool involving some fundamentals of mechanics; making one helps develop a boy's creative potential. In the higher grades, boys went on to make radios, while most girls were still confined by their peers to limited activities like rubberband skipping. If girls made a slingshot or climbed a tree, older people would not tolerate it. What was considered natural for a boy was considered "wild" for a girl.

Another difference I noticed is that at the beginning stages of school, when learning is mostly by memory, girls do better. Later on, when it comes to imagination and creativity, boys tend to surpass girls. Can we say that there is no connection between this difference and the ones relating to play? Some girls, when they saw many boys surpassing them, felt it must be because they were innately inferior. They didn't realize that it was the way they were brought up which limited their minds.

The Confucian moral standards concerning the relationship between men and women are still very influential. The saying "Men and women when passing things to each other should not touch hands" well illustrates the strictness of the moral standards. This concept of the segregation of the sexes is very deep-rooted among people.

When I was in primary school, children had all sorts of mysterious beliefs about what was proper and what was "bad." For instance, some older girls once told me girls shouldn't use bowls touched by boys. And if children were to choose their own seats in a classroom, the girls would sit with the girls and the boys with the boys. Even when a teacher attempted to seat boys and girls next to each other, some children would scratch a line down the middle of the table and say: "Your elbow can't pass over this line." We used to call it the "38th parallel" (the Korean line). There was a double meaning in this name since "3-8" was also a pun for March 8th—Women's Day!

This kind of Confucian moral influence affects the behavior of young adults even more strongly. Young men and women find it hard to associate with one another in a relaxed way. Close friends are often embarrassed to be seen in public together. Sometimes workers in my factory were unaware that two people were close until all of a sudden the couple announced they were getting married. "Oh, you two?!" One woman in my factory told me when she and her husband rode on one bike together to visit his family in the countryside, all the little children ran out on the street and made fun of them for being so close in public.

We can see from all of this that one revolutionary change does not solve all of the problems at once. Struggles to deal with the remaining problems have gone on for years on an individual and local basis. Then in the spring of 1972, Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun

Yat-sen), Vice-Chairperson of the People's Republic, wrote an article summarizing the struggle for woman's liberation. She pointed out the problems still remaining, particularly those in the countryside, such as the feudal-patriarchal ideology and continuing unequal pay for women. At that time more thorough discussions in many communes indicated that larger numbers of people were gradually taking women's struggles much more seriously. Last spring, this issue was taken up on a national level as one major aspect of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

In this campaign, tough criticism has been directed at the Confucian doctrine of the inferiority of women. Confucian proverbs state, "Women are worthless people who are difficult to keep" and "It is a virtue if a woman has no ability." Most women have never read these phrases, but the concepts have been pumped into them through all channels of society. Now women are reading and analyzing the old texts, like the *Guide to Women's Manners*, a collection of three-character verses which popularized the Confucian code of behavior for women.

The thorough criticism of the idea that women are inferior has cleared the path for the possible solution to some specific problems. Now, three years after Soong Ching Ling's article first mentioned the question of equal pay for equal work, this principle has been adopted in some rural villages. In one village near Peking, not only has equal pay been established but this change has inspired men for the first time to examine their behavior at home as well. Those men who used to sit around and smoke after work are now helping out with household chores. Before, they would have been ridiculed by the villagers as "hen-pecked" husbands; now they are being praised as examples to learn from. New values are emerging.

The campaign to criticize Confucius is a powerful blow to the remnants of tradition, particularly because it has mobilized everyone in the society to deeply examine the roots of old thinking. This campaign marks a new stage in the struggle for women's liberation.

Once, in speaking about women to a group of young students, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, "Times have changed and men and women are the same. Whatever men comrades can do, women comrades can also do." On another occasion, when talking to Edgar Snow in 1970, Mao said, "It is impossible to achieve complete equality between men and women immediately."

These two statements together accurately reflect the state of women's liberation in China. The first one represents the aspirations of the Chinese people and the main direction in which events are moving in the new society. The other acknowledges that real equality can only be achieved through a long and continuing struggle. □

Lin Piao & Confucius: Up Against the Great Wall



FRED L. PINCUS

Today in China, millions of people are engaged in intense criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, figures separated by 2,000 years but closely linked by a conservative political ideology that makes them enemies of the Chinese Revolution.

Confucius, a philosopher and teacher who died in the 5th century B.C., and his followers helped to establish a cultural tradition that stressed social inequality, male superiority, and rule by a small educated elite.

Lin Piao was the Defense Minister of China and a former hero of the Cultural Revolution. He attempted to organize a *coup d'état* against Mao Tsetung in 1971 and died while trying to escape. Since late 1973, Lin has been identified as a follower of Confucius. Like Confucius, he believed that a small elite group of experts should govern China, and like Confucius, Lin Piao believed that he himself should control that elite.

Many "China watchers" in the U.S. press have interpreted the mass criticism of Confucian ideas as the sign of a power struggle in the top ranks of the Chinese Communist Party. On my second visit to China in September 1974, while questioning many people about the anti-Confucius/Lin Piao campaign, I heard nothing about "trouble at the top." What I did hear was how the campaign was affecting people at the grassroots, in their schools, factories, communes, neighborhoods, and families.

One basic Confucian idea being criticized throughout China is "Those who work with their brains rule; those who work with their brawn are ruled." The elimination of social inequality is one of the main goals of the current movement. As a teacher, I was particularly interested in the movement's effects on the schools.

Students at the Hsueh Chun Middle School in Hangchow told me that they had been spending too much time in the classroom prior to the current campaign. They discussed the problem with their teachers and suggested that mornings be spent in the classroom and afternoons in the surrounding community learning how to apply their knowledge. Now students are organized into four different afternoon groups: agriculture, medicine, physics, and foreign languages. Each group is learning how best to use its skills to serve the people by performing experiments and by talking to peasants and workers who have practical experience.

At Fudan University in Shanghai, the following quotation of Chairman Mao hangs on the wall: "In literature and art, use the whole

Fred L. Pincus, a sociologist and editor of New China, visited the People's Republic in 1972 and 1974.



"Confucius berates a student for wanting to know how to plant vegetables."

society as a factory." In other words, humanities students and teachers must use their skills to help build the society, just like people in the physical and biological sciences. One literature student told me how she and her colleagues went to a nearby factory to help the workers write big-character posters criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. In addition, she taught the workers about Lu Hsun, the revolutionary Chinese writer who criticized Confucius during the 1920s and 1930s. In this way, both the students and workers improved their writing, the workers got a literature lesson,

and the students learned about life in the factory.

A member of the Communist Youth League of Hangchow University explained how the students reacted when the school's administration decided to issue report cards to all students. "Some of the students in the foreign language department," she said, "decided to put up a big-character poster in protest: 'We study for revolution, not for grades. Report cards show that the school authorities want students to study for grades, not for revolution.' The Communist Youth League told all

students to learn from those who wrote the poster and to expose all the phenomena reflecting the Confucian line in education, a line that would lead us back to capitalism."

The decision was cancelled. The students had helped to overcome the old idea that individual academic excellence was more important than working collectively for the good of the entire society.

Divisions between workers and managers are also being further overcome through criticism of Confucian ideas. Workers are encouraged to rely on their own initiative to solve problems and to work for the collective good. Managers are encouraged to promote these policies and to participate in productive labor alongside the workers.

Many of these issues were discussed during my visit to the Shanghai Dock No. 5. In early 1974, the dockworkers decided that they needed a four-tower crane to facilitate their work. Some wanted to ask the state for the crane because they felt they didn't have the expertise to build one themselves. Others argued that this reflected the ideas of Lin Piao and Confucius, who believed that "ordinary people" could not do things for themselves. Stressing the importance of self-reliance, these workers convinced the rest to help build the crane. Construction was begun in February and it was to be completed by October 1, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the People's Republic. I saw the near-completed crane on August 30.

The dockers also explained how capitalist management practices had begun to reappear prior to the current movement. For example, a new policy was introduced that encouraged dockers to work faster by allowing those who finished first to go home first. This policy promoted working for personal gain rather than for the collective good. A group of workers protested by putting up a big-character poster, later published in the *People's Daily*, which said, "Be masters of the docks, not slaves of tonnage." The resistance of the dockers resulted in the policy being withdrawn.

Although administrators are supposed to spend part of their time doing manual labor alongside rank and file workers, there was a tendency prior to the campaign for some administrators to spend more time in the office and less time in production. The dockers and other industrial workers criticized these administrators' dislike for manual labor as an example of Confucian thinking. Many administrators have returned to the workshops as a result of this criticism.

A second major theme of Confucian tradition is male superiority, summed up in the Confucian maxim "It is a virtue if a woman has no ability." For centuries, women were told to observe the "three obediences"—to obey their



"Confucius teaches students from his book of bamboo strips: 'Study hard to become a government official.'"

fathers and elder brothers when young, their husbands when married, and their sons when widowed. Women were also taught the "four virtues"—knowing their place and complying with the moral code, not talking too much and boring people, adorning themselves to please men, and doing all housework willingly.

Although the Chinese Communist Party has always actively promoted women's equality, attitudes of male superiority are still present among some of the Chinese people. The campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is part of the continuing effort to eliminate these old ideas.

According to the Shanghai Women's Federation, getting men to share the housework is still a problem. One woman said, "The only way to settle this problem is to criticize Confucian ideas together with our husbands so that we can take part in the Revolution together. I used to be a housewife and I cooked for my husband. But then I took a job, so I didn't have much time to cook. Sometimes when my husband finished work, he came home and found no meal waiting for him. He didn't know how to cook so he had to wait for me.

"We studied Chairman Mao's work and found that he says that men and women are equal and that whatever men can do, women can do too. Why can't it work the other way? Men can learn 'women's jobs'! Since we both worked, I told him, 'You don't know how to cook, but you can learn through practice.' He tried, but at first his cooking was very bad; everything was overdone. But through practice, he has learned to cook quite well. Now, whoever is home first cooks. We used to be hindered by the old ideas advocated by Con-



"Confucius, though leering at the beautiful Duchess of Wei, regards all women as inferior."

fucius, but now we know the roots of those ideas, and can struggle to change them."

The current movement also promotes family planning, and the increase of the number of women in positions of political leadership.

The criticism of Confucian ideas did not begin in the 1970s. Just as there was a long Confucian tradition among the ruling classes of China, so has there also been a long tradition of opposition to Confucius among the Chinese masses.

The Confucian theme of social harmony has stressed the importance of knowing one's place

in society. Subjects should obey sovereigns, children should obey parents, and women should obey men. The majority of the people were taught by the ruling class to accept their poverty as a "natural" part of the social order. While the ruling classes talked about social harmony, however, they were forcing peasants into starvation by charging high rents and exorbitant interest on loans.

The history of peasant rebellions in China shows that the Chinese peasants did not always accept their poverty as "natural." Many of these rebellions were explicitly anti-Confucian in nature, e.g., the Red Blouse Rebellion (1215), the White Lotus Uprising (1622), and the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). The Taiping rebels actually liberated a large part of Southern and Central China and, for over a decade, promoted such policies as land reform, the abolition of private property, and the equality of women.

The anti-imperialist May 4th Movement of 1919 also had strong anti-Confucian elements. Literature in classical Chinese was rewritten in the vernacular so that more people could read it, and authors began to write about "common people" rather than about aristocrats. One of the slogans of the May 4th Movement was "Down with the Confucian shop."

Lu Hsun, an important writer during the 1920s and 1930s, wrote many anti-Confucian pieces, and Soong Ching Ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, criticized the pro-Confucian New Life Movement of the 1930s that was organized by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists. Mao Tsetung used the same anti-Confucian theme in a 1940 essay, "On New Democracy." After discussing the way in



"The young Confucius, as supervisor of a warehouse, forces people to labor for the aristocrats."



"Confucius is attacked by the leader of a slave rebellion for 'eating without planting, and wearing clothes without weaving.'"

which Chinese culture had been influenced by imperialism, he says:

"China also has a semi-feudal culture which reflects her semi-feudal politics and economy, and whose exponents include all those who advocate the worship of Confucius, the study of the Confucian canon, the old ethical code and the old ideas in opposition to the new culture and new ideas. . . . This kind of reactionary culture serves the imperialist and the feudal class and must be swept away."

So the criticism of Confucius had a long history among the Chinese people prior to 1949.

After the liberation of China in 1949, the movement to criticize Confucian ideas continued, although Confucius himself was not always named. In 1956-57, for example, one aspect of the "Hundred Flowers" campaign involved criticism of elitist attitudes among students, intellectuals, and members of the Communist Party. The Socialist Education Movement, which began in 1962, was also concerned with elitism in the schools and stressed the importance of increasing collective agriculture, rather than individual family plots. Although people's communes had begun to form in 1958, there was often resistance by those who wanted to develop their own private plots of land in order to earn more money for themselves and their families. The Socialist Education Movement openly criticized these ideas, which stressed personal gain rather than working for the collective good.

The Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966, was a struggle against those wanting to create a new bureaucratic ruling class of experts who would make decisions for the "good"

of the majority of the people, another Confucian idea. Although everyone in China talked about building socialism, some influential people were introducing policies that were in fact promoting elitism, individualism, and inequality. These people, led by Liu Shao-chi, the former President of the People's Republic, were causing China to backslide toward capitalism. It is these policies that the Chinese refer to as "revisionism."

In addition to criticizing a few influential people with revisionist ideas, the Cultural Revolution demonstrated how elitism and sex-

ism were part of the Chinese cultural tradition that still had a large influence among many segments of the population. It was a movement to help people recognize and struggle against these backward ideas in themselves, so they could really put the new and progressive ideas into practice.

The current movement in the People's Republic is part of the continuing Cultural Revolution and of the long tradition of criticizing Confucian ideas. This time, Confucius himself is the object of controversy, and Lin Piao is directly linked to the Confucian tradition.

Out of the struggles of the late 1960s, Lin Piao emerged as the number two man in China and was to succeed Mao Tsetung as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. At that time, Lin was considered to have been a military hero during the War of Liberation. He was appointed Defense Minister in 1959, and in 1964 he edited the *Quotations of Chairman Mao*, the famous "Little Red Book." Described at the time as Chairman Mao's best pupil, he often spoke publicly about following Mao Tsetung's political philosophy.

Today, however, Lin Piao is considered to be a traitor to China. According to the Chinese press and to information gained from discussions with people in China, Lin Piao 1) tried to organize a *coup d'état* against the government; 2) lacked faith in the Chinese masses and believed that he should be the head of a small elite group that would rule China; 3) created factionalism during the Cultural Revolution in an attempt to weaken the government; and 4) set up Chairman Mao as some kind of mystical figure rather than as a leader closely linked to the



"Confucius teaches that heaven determines who is rich and who is poor, and that all must accept their fate."



*"Confucius
expels a
student for
advocating
a progressive
philosophy."*

people. In this way, Lin hoped to open a breach through which he could slip into power. Lin Piao was operating according to a basic Confucian idea: attempting to restore the rule of a few over the majority. And all this was done while he claimed to support the Revolution and Chairman Mao.

The Chinese also provide some documentation in support of their criticism of Lin Piao: 1) *Outline of Project 571* ("571" in Chinese is a code term for "armed uprising"), the plan for the proposed *coup d'état* that was written by Lin Piao's son; 2) Lin's scrolls and diary which show his Confucian beliefs, especially regarding his attitude of personal superiority; 3) Chairman Mao's 1930 essay, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," which was written in criticism of Lin Piao and other Communist Party members who were pessimistic about the ability of the Chinese people to overcome temporary setbacks and make revolution. The thrust of Lin's entire career is currently being reanalyzed in light of what is now known about his later activities. It is Lin Piao's elitism and his attempt to reverse revolutionary development that is the main connection between him and Confucius.

There is undoubtedly other documentation that is not yet available to foreigners. Discussions with Americans living in China indicate that there is always a good deal of internal debate about important events before any public statements are made to the outside world. For example, after the *Outline of Project 571* was uncovered, it was disseminated throughout the country so that people could understand the dimensions of Lin Piao's betrayal. This internal study document subsequently found

its way out of China and was published in the foreign press in 1972. Presumably, other details of this document will be released by the People's Republic after it has been thoroughly investigated, discussed, and analyzed.

For an event of this magnitude—as we ourselves have learned in trying to understand who was really responsible for the Watergate break-in—it takes time to sort out all the facts and put them into some kind of perspective. We still don't have a full grasp of the details and significance of Lin Piao's activities. Further information expected to come out of China will enable us to develop a better understanding of the connection between Lin Piao and Confucius.

However, whatever the specifics of Lin Piao's activity, the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is part of the continuing socialist transformation of the Chinese people. The Confucian tradition is over 2,000 years old; the People's Republic is only 25 years old. Chairman Mao has said there will be many Cultural Revolutions because the process of changing old ideas and eliminating social classes is a long one. If the movement of the 1970s seems similar to that of the late 1960s, it is because the Chinese believe the issues of elitism and sexism must be raised again and again to prevent backsliding and to keep equalitarian goals firmly in view.

The Chinese people don't seem to be bothered by the repetition. On the contrary, they are enthusiastic about criticizing the ideas of the old society because they feel this process of changing people's thinking is crucial to building a socialist society that promotes humanism and equality for all people. □

The cartoons used to illustrate this article are taken from A Short Biography of Ol' Man Confucius, published by the People's Publishing House of Kwangsi Province in March 1974. The book consists of 61 cartoons and captions, similar to an American comic book, and describes the life and political ideas of Confucius. Comics, a form of political satire used by Chinese revolutionaries for many years, are a simple and vivid way to condemn the conservative role he played in Chinese history. The book is one of many on Lin Piao and Confucius that are published throughout China.

Friendship Has A History: Paul Robeson

L. H. YEAKEY & ROBERT GLASSMAN

Paul Robeson, the famous Black singer and actor, has been an active friend of the Chinese people for most of his 76 years.

Younger Americans may not know Robeson's story. He welded his art to strong political stands, becoming a hero to many people around the world. In 1937 he expressed his belief: "The artist must elect to fight for Freedom or Slavery. I have made my choice." Songwriter Oscar Hammerstein dedicated the original "Ol' Man River" to Robeson. By the 1940s Robeson had changed the lyrics into a fighting song: "Tote that barge an' lift that bale/ You shows a little grit an' you lands in jail./ I keeps laffin' instead of cryin',/ I must keep fightin' until I'm dyin'. . . ."

Robeson was the first Black actor to play Othello on Broadway. The production he played in set an all-time record for the longest running Shakespearean play in New York. He won a Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theater. Robeson also sang and acted in eleven films, including *Emperor Jones* (1933) and *Proud Valley* (1939). In the making of *Proud Valley*, Robeson lived and worked for a time with the miners in the Rhondda valley in Wales and portrayed their heritage of culture and struggle. He frequently gave up chances for profitable appearances because he wanted to perform "only at gatherings where I can sing what I please." In this spirit he traveled to the front lines of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 to sing for the anti-fascist fighters, and wherever else he was needed over the years.

Beginning in the late 1920s and 30s, Robeson became deeply interested in China and its people. He read books on Chinese culture and history and, as with an impressive number of other languages, learned to read, write, speak, and sing in Chinese. When the Japanese invaded China, he gave several popular concerts in Europe and the United States to raise support and funds for China Relief. In 1941 he

L. H. Yeakey, author of "The Early Years of Paul Robeson: Prelude to the Making of a Revolutionary" (M.A. thesis), visited China in 1973. He is a graduate student specializing in Afro-American history and politics at Columbia University. Robert Glassman is a day care worker in New York's Lower East Side.



Singing for China Aid Council, September 1941.

recorded a benefit album with a Chinese chorus; the title song was *Chee Lai!*, Chinese for "Arise!"

In her introduction to that album, Mme. Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ching Ling) wrote: "Some of the finest songs [of the Chinese mass movement] are being made available to Americans in the recordings of Paul Robeson, voice of the people of all lands."

After World War II, Paul Robeson championed the Chinese Revolution as the only way for China to develop free of exploitation and foreign domination. Confident that "the Chinese people have their freedom and are going to keep it," he saw the Korean War as an

attempt to renew Western control of China and insisted from the start that "the new and real China be seated in the UN."

In the 1950s Robeson was already perceiving what was to become increasingly obvious to others later: the people of the Third World were uniting to become a powerful historical force. In the Harlem monthly newspaper *Freedom* which he edited along with Shirley Graham DuBois and others, he wrote: "The signs have long been clear that so-called 'colonial' peoples, mostly colored, were moving toward some measure of freedom. . . . Of all developments, the change in China has been the most significant. The over-lords have



Paul and Eslanda Robeson, 1931. (All photos courtesy Paul Robeson Archives)

Eslanda Robeson, anthropologist and constant fighter at Robeson's side, was also actively involved in supporting the Chinese people's struggle. She is shown here during an interview in Peking in December 1949, when she took part in the First Conference of Asian Women. Speaking to over 30,000 people at a rally in Peking, she emphasized the bonds of friendship between the American and Chinese people. In an article called "China 'Boy' Is China Man Now," she told U.S. readers that "nobody gave China back to the Chinese people. They had to fight to get it back." Linking the struggles against the oppression of Blacks and women in the United States with the Chinese Revolution, which she said had established equal rights "by law and in practice," she asserted that "there've been some changes made in China, and every Negro and every woman who longs to be respected and treated as an equal human being will understand, fully appreciate, and applaud these changes."

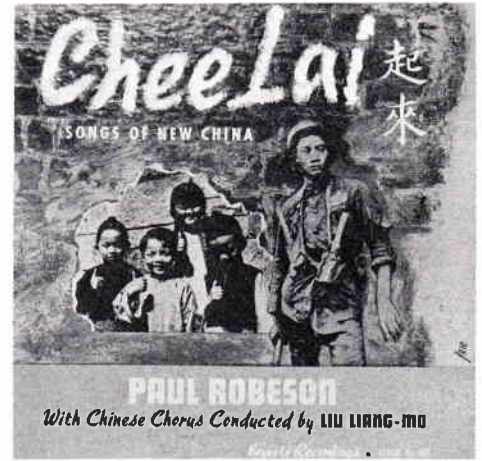


gone, and forever" (1953). In a message he would have delivered personally if he could have, Robeson hailed Chinese participation in the Bandung Conference in Indonesia (1955) as an historic step forward in developing unity among Third World peoples.

Robeson unflinchingly supported the Chinese and African liberation struggles despite government harassment and threats to his life. He was deprived of his passport, in the incredible words of the government brief, "solely because of his recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans . . . in view of his frank admission that he has been for years active politically in behalf of

independence of the colonial people of Africa." During the McCarthy era, Robeson's fearless stands against U.S. government policies became a yardstick with which to measure the commitment of Black intellectuals, artists, politicians, and trade unionists to the liberation of colonial peoples.

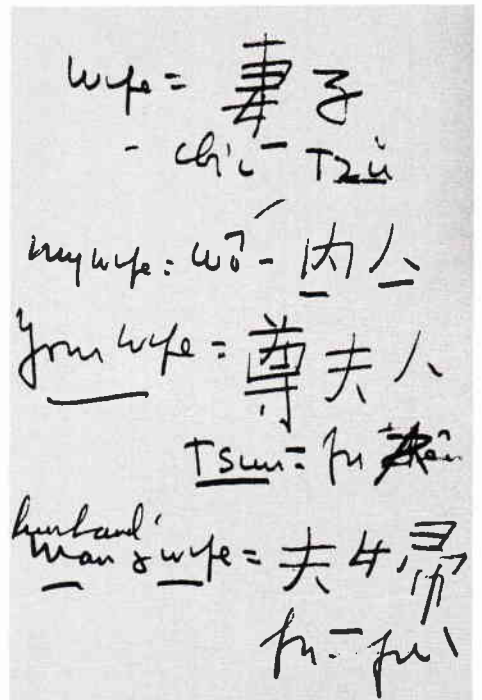
Although he was denied an opportunity to visit China while he was still in good health, Robeson maintained, "I have for a long time felt a close kinship with the Chinese people." He believed that "a new strength like that of gallant China will add its decisive weight to insuring a world where all men can be free and equal." □



1941 record album. Songs include "Work as One!" and "Guerilla Song," outlining tactics against the Japanese invaders.



Paul Robeson, who will be 77 this April, has long been a friend of the Chinese people.



Specimen of Robeson's calligraphy from a practice sheet written in the 1930s.

Audrey Topping's Kweilin

Just as Alice in Wonderland stepped through the looking glass, visitors to Kweilin seem to enter an ancient Chinese scroll to sail the picturesque Li River through the fantastic scenery that inspired the great landscape painters of the Sung and Tang dynasties. And we are just as enchanted as Alice because the images that linger—of misty mountains, cascading waterfalls, spectacular rock formations, weeping bamboo and cassia, orange junk sails, and lone fishermen—are those that bewitched scroll painters for centuries.

Kweilin was founded more than 200 years before the birth of Christ by the first emperor of China, Shih Huang Ti, who is known in the West as the builder of the Great Wall of China. The unique city is situated in Southwest China in the autonomous region of Kwangsi Chuang, which has long been celebrated as the site of the best mountain and river scenery in a land renowned for mountains and rivers.

Besides being a delight for artists and poets, Kweilin is also a geologist's paradise, for the mountains—described by the Chinese as “jade hairpin mountains”—are actually rare rock formations known as karsts. They originally existed in huge subsurface caves carved out of the soft limestone by the eroding action of underground rivers. Eventually the ceilings of the caves collapsed, leaving a great stone forest behind. Sheer rock formations thrust upwards like the menacing spine of some primeval dragon. Weirdly shaped trees and exotic vegetation have taken root and turned them into green jade mountains.

Audrey Topping is a photojournalist whose work has appeared in magazines such as National Geographic.

Because the karsts vary in size, with the larger ones often in view even at a great distance, the total scene is strangely two-dimensional and thus strikingly like the old scrolls, in which perspective is depicted by vertical order, or painting up, rather than reduction in size. This technique has usually been described as the work of the painter's imagination, but here in Kweilin—inside the scroll—one sees the reality of it.

Almost all of the thousands of rocks or mountains with any character have names and with the name goes a legend. Tour guides in Kweilin narrate the ancient tales of the mountains, which were believed to have been possessed by the spirits of the fairies, demons, gods, dragons, and mythical beasts who dwelt therein. Visitors sailing down the Li River must stretch their imaginations to envisage the setting for these legendary beings.

Some of the things that are pointed out are obvious, like Elephant Rock, the Seated Camel, and Folding Silk Mountain, but it is more difficult to see the enchanted monkey who stares across the river at the nine celestial horses that cavort over one of the rock faces rising from the blue waters of the Li.

Legend has it that an emperor once required scholars competing in the examinations for membership in the Imperial Court to find the horses. Those able to identify all nine horses became mandarins of the first rank. If they saw only seven, they became mandarins of the second rank, and so on.

Past and present, legend and fact, illusion and reality: mingled yet contrasting impressions of the enchanting landscape that is Kweilin. . . . □



Below: Mountains and ghosts of mountains echo in this scroll of Wan Shou Mountain in the fall.





Panorama of Kweilin.
Below: Orange sails on the Li River.

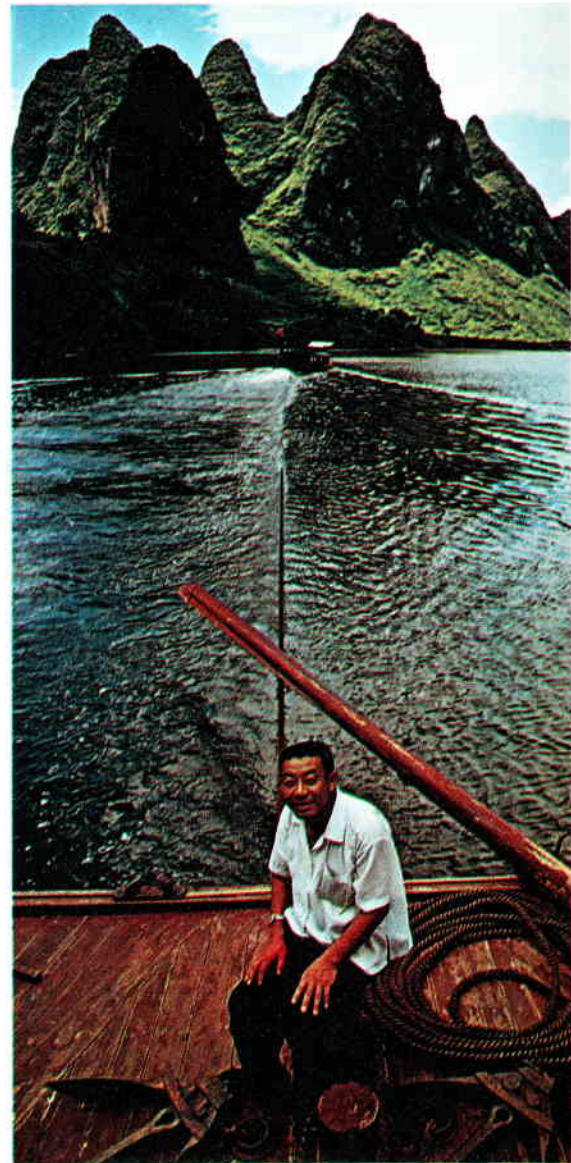




At the trunk of Elephant Rock. Below: Clouds and water mirror jutting mountains.



Karst mountains loom over ferry stop.
Below: Gliding along the Li.



IS THERE any inflation in China?

Magdoff: The answer to that is very simple: there is no inflation in China. Since the early 1950s, prices have either remained stable or have gone down. The price of medicine, for example, has gone down by about 80 percent. Seeing this lack of inflation and lack of economic tension is quite an experience for someone from the capitalist world.

How do they manage to keep prices stable or to actually reduce prices?

Magdoff: Prices are determined centrally by the planning commission, with the advice of local groups, and keeping prices stable is one of their major priorities.

There are three categories of goods in China. The first category includes the most essential goods, such as grain, vegetable oil, and cotton. These goods are generally subsidized by the government to keep the prices low, and they are rationed so that all the people will have their fair share. Prices of these essential goods are uniform throughout the country. Extra costs, such as the cost of transporting grain to an area that doesn't produce enough for its needs, are absorbed by the state.

The second category includes consumer goods that are important, but less essential than those mentioned above; for example, radios, bicycles, and watches. Prices of these items are set by establishing a cost figure and adding a tax and profit margin. As the cost of production decreases, the price to the consumer will also decrease. When these goods are in short supply they are rationed, but the price remains the same. For example, bicycles might be rationed for three to six months until the supply increases. In a capitalist society, on the other hand, the price of a commodity will generally rise when the supply is short.

The system of rationing will work only in a society with a high degree of public morality. In many societies, rationing is often accompanied by a black market where goods can be purchased illegally but at higher prices. This, of course, defeats the whole purpose of rationing. We saw no evidence of black market activity in China.

The third category is luxury goods. The prices of these luxuries are kept at the original high level of cost. Even if the production costs decrease, the price is not lowered; the additional profits are then invested in further social development.

How are profits in China different from profits in a capitalist country?

Magdoff: Profit is the difference between the cost of production and the consumer price. In a capitalist society, the decision about what to produce and what not to produce depends on the degree of profit-making. If it isn't profitable, it generally isn't produced. In China, on the other hand, profits are used to develop the productive capacity of the country. For example, the profits from bicycles might be used to pay for new housing or irrigation projects. In a capitalist society, the profits generally go into someone's pocket.

What determines how much rice is grown and how many radios are produced?

Magdoff: It's all part of the central plan. Before the plan is adopted, it is sent in draft form to production units at various levels where it is discussed. Workers and peasants consider the plan for their unit and recommend changes, frequently by raising their production quota, we were told. Workers also contribute to the development of technology by building new machines themselves, often on their own time with

Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff are editors of Monthly Review. Mr. Sweezy is co-author of Monopoly Capital. Mr. Magdoff is the author of The Age of Imperialism.

left-over materials. It is really impossible to evaluate production of this kind by using a monetary figure.

Sweezy: I'd like to comment on this. Certain important decisions about the use of resources must be made at high levels, either the county, provincial, or national level. A great deal of information is

No Economic Crisis in China! Why?

Two American economists, Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, explain how planning controls inflation

required to understand all the alternatives. The amount of democracy that is possible in making decisions of this kind is fairly limited.

What is unique about the Chinese situation, though, is the struggle to develop a political consciousness and unity about which are the most important things to be done. This is what the Chinese mean when they say that politics is in command of economics. For example, there is agreement that 1) differences between city and countryside should be eliminated, 2) basic needs should be met before luxury goods are produced, and 3) agricultural science and technology should be developed. The political involvement of the workers, including their participation in the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, is part of the process of arriving at a consensus on the society's major priorities.

Workers do participate at the local level in their own factories. For example, we asked some of the managers of the Anshan steel works how the anti-Confucius campaign had affected their plant. Worker-management relations at Anshan are considered to be the model throughout China, but the managers told us that they themselves had been criticized by the workers for trying to change some of the work rules without consulting the rank-and-file first. We asked them, somewhat startled and surprised, "You, who were the leaders in representing a more advanced form of worker involvement, were criticized for violating this very concept?" They laughed and somewhat shamefacedly said, "Yes, we had to get things done in a hurry, so we just went ahead and did them." The workers have to be on the alert about the recurrence of hierarchical relationships, even in a model factory.

Could you talk a little more about the uniqueness of planning with politics in command?

Sweezy: What comes first in China is changing human beings; changing their social relationships and eliminating the "three big differences"—between manual and mental labor, between city and country, between industry and agriculture. They believe that if people work wholeheartedly for the attainment of these goals, they will also do better in a purely economic sense. Putting politics in command does

not mean neglecting production and economics; on the contrary, it is seen as a better way of achieving results.

Another unique characteristic of Chinese planning is the mixture of centralization and decentralization. Although there is no doubt that the center is in firm control, a vast field is left open to all lower levels for initiative and implementation. This takes a great burden off the center, helps to prevent the development of a rigid bureaucracy, and leaves a lot of decision-making to local groups. That's a matter of extreme importance in China and seems to be responsible for the flexibility and the relative success of the system.

Since all levels of planning keep reserve supplies of goods, bottlenecks due to a shortage of a particular product are less likely to develop, and production can proceed more or less without interruption. There is a contrasting situation under capitalism, and we've recently had a dramatic example of it. When the coal miners went out on strike, thousands of railroad workers and steelworkers were laid off on the first day, and many other lay-offs followed. Repercussions were felt throughout the entire economy. If a coal cut-off were to occur in China due to delays in the transportation process or to the breakdown of machinery, nobody would be laid off. Instead, workers would clean up the factory, or study, or make technological changes, or build housing for the factory—all sorts of things can be done. Capitalist logic based on the balance sheet and on profit-and-loss has been disregarded in favor of a much broader kind of rationality—using all kinds of resources for the accomplishment of worthwhile ends. This is the essential change that the Chinese Revolution embodies.

We've heard a lot about trying to encourage people in China to work for moral rather than material incentives, yet people do receive different salaries for different kinds of jobs. Can you comment on that?

Sweezy: I don't think that "material vs. moral incentives" is a good way to discuss this. Sure, there are differences in pay. I would guess that the lowest-paid factory worker, a beginning apprentice, gets about one-third the salary of the highest-paid worker. But there are no bonuses or premiums of any kind; these were eliminated during the Cultural Revolution. Most workers know that they will progress from lower to higher incomes with increased seniority; this is the normal course of events. So, I don't think that income differences have much to do with how much work is done, or how enthusiastically.

I really don't like the term "moral incentives." Instead, I would ask, "What are people encouraged to do?" They are encouraged to work for the society, for the general good. Working for individual gain or for the good of an individual department is discouraged. And people do work hard because of this social consciousness. Of course, as the standard of living is improved, everybody will benefit, not as individuals but as part of the group.

Magdoff: I'd just like to elaborate on the question of incentives by comparing planning in China with planning in the Soviet Union. Economics is in command of Soviet planning, and high efficiency and productivity are the main goals of all units. Soviet planners encourage attitudes of competition and individualism among the people to promote production. Managers whose factories are highly productive receive incentive funds to distribute to the workers.

The Chinese, on the other hand, while recognizing that some of these same attitudes exist among their own people, are struggling to change this capitalist way of thinking and to develop a socialist consciousness. Achievements of Chinese factories are not judged in terms of their profitability as in the Soviet Union. There are no incentive

funds in China. The factory welfare fund for the health and education of workers is based on a percentage of the payroll and is not tied to productivity. A good factory in China is one that can produce managers, technicians, and skilled workers who will go into non-industrialized regions of the country to set up similar factories. The move toward a socialist consciousness is a major aspect of planning and social organization in China.

Would you comment on the food situation? How has China solved its formerly massive hunger problems, and can these methods be applied to other countries?

Magdoff: That's the most important question that's been asked. China proves that the solution of the world's food problem requires a social transformation in which the people take power. Let me give you a simple illustration. Certain sections of India have very wide canals with water that can be brought to individual peasant plots for irrigation, but the water never gets to the peasants' land. The reason is that digging a ditch to bring the water from the canal requires moving through the land belonging to a rich landlord who demands a toll for letting the water pass through his land, and the peasants can't afford the toll.

In developing their agriculture, the Chinese have applied the highest standards of technology, science, and education, because they have given top priority to eliminating hunger. And when a society gives top priority to eliminating hunger, an awful lot can be accomplished. On the other hand, when the profits of landlords and of manufacturers of fertilizer and machinery take first priority, the people's need for food can't be met.

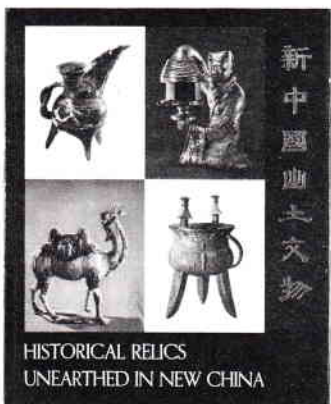
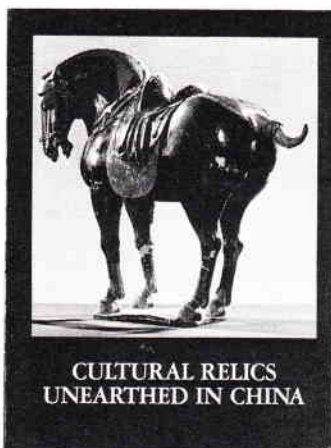
China used to have incredible problems with natural calamities, especially floods and droughts, but the people were mobilized to control the waters. They still have a long way to go and there are still unsolved technical problems. But the controlled water supply is being used for irrigation and to generate electricity.

Even small innovations can improve agricultural production. For example, by using a very simple form of technology, rubber tires and ball bearings were incorporated into the wheels of carts so that the carts could move faster. Literature about how to build these carts and other simple equipment has been widely distributed throughout the rural areas. Changes like these may seem silly to many of us, but once you are familiar with the problems of underdevelopment in the Third World, you can understand that even such small changes are tremendously important.

Through studying the thoughts of Chairman Mao, peasants were taught to use trial and error in the selection of seeds, plant types, and different methods of cultivation. By learning from their own mistakes, the people began to learn about the scientific method and about practicing self-reliance. Even a relatively underdeveloped production brigade owns a drill, a lathe, a grinder—sometimes old and sometimes crude, but useful nevertheless; they're also tools to learn with. Some brigades have small foundries for casting metal and repairing their own machinery and equipment. People are encouraged to make things for themselves. Synthetic fertilizer is often made in small factories located in the brigade areas. We saw some of them and we were tremendously impressed.

There's much more that can be said, but there's no doubt that the question of hunger is a question of the social system and how priorities are set. India, Pakistan, and many other countries around the world could feed their people if they had the kind of social system that China does. □

The Art of Ancient China



Many of the beautiful objects in the Exhibition of Archaeological Finds from the People's Republic of China, opening December 13 at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., are presented in these three books from China:

NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN CHINA. Introduction to the history and background of recent archaeological discoveries in China. 54pp. 53 photos, 44 in color. Foreign Languages Press. Peking 1973. 1.00

HISTORICAL RELICS UNEARTHED IN NEW CHINA. Covers the whole range of work in archaeology in China since 1949. 13" x 11". 217 plates, 85 in color. Foreign Languages Press, 1972. \$20.00

CULTURAL RELICS UNEARTHED IN CHINA. All recent finds discovered during the Cultural Revolution. 14" x 11". 250 plates, 34 in color. Wenwu Press, Peking, 1972. \$25.00

CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS

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Books *Continued from page 8.*

at meals and met with Premier Chou En-lai.

Though obviously sympathetic to the Chinese revolutionary experiment, the authors have compiled an honest account of what they saw and what they were told and have been frank to report where the results are not yet all that is desired—equality of women in every field, for example. And their long interview with Chou En-lai is here in its entirety, with him disputing their praise of the China Travel Service and softpedaling some of their enthusiasms.

Many Americans who have been to China since 1971, this writer included, have come home overwhelmed by the spirit and dedication of the Chinese people—all the people from the Premier to the peasants in the communes—and by the social achievements since 1949 in health, industry, food production, education. In spite of, or maybe because of, the continuing revolutionary movement, this spirit still prevails.

This is a valuable book, packed with information. Though three years have passed since its first printing, it is as fresh and timely today as it was then.

Charlotte Y. Salisbury
New York, N.Y.

China: Science Walks on Two Legs—A Report from Science for the People. New York: Avon/Discus, 1974. 316 pp. Paperback, \$1.75.

Ten Americans representing a national organization of radical scientists pack an impressive amount of solid information into an account of their 1973 tour of China. Who are the ten? A chemist, three psychologists, a welfare mother engaged in science-related organizing, a college science teacher, a computer programmer, a graduate student in biology, a medical student, and a nurse. What are the "two legs" of Chinese science? According to the authors, modern research plus traditional knowledge is one of them; the other is the masses, "who had always been denied access to scientific developments. . . ." Basically, the authors explain, "the idea of walking on two legs means to exercise the underdeveloped one, rather than putting all resources into the stronger one. It does not mean cutting the stronger one off in favor of the weaker, as some western observers have implied."

China's approach to making science serve the people can be seen at the Hsikou People's Commune where, among many other activities, a "three-in-one" team was formed to

improve crop yields. On the team were school-educated young people who had settled in the countryside, older peasant field workers, and quite old peasants with a wealth of practical experience and knowledge. (The widely used "three-in-one" team utilizes the talents of all people, and discourages the development of technical elitists.)

By cross-breeding two local low-yield varieties of Hsikou Commune corn, the team developed a hybrid higher-yield variety. The same cross-breeding must be repeated each year to obtain seeds for the next planting. The authors comment that this "requires effort and planning that would be impossible in a peasant economy without the collective system" of agriculture.

In industry and industrial research, the "three-in-one" team of the Shanghai Electrochemical Works learned to use harmful waste gases to produce liquid hydrofluoric acid, which is then used in metallurgical extracting. Besides curbing pollution, this saves the factory money because the acid no longer has to be purchased separately.

Sections of the book on the Red Flag Canal, research institutes, and scientific education contribute fascinating information. An unusual chapter provides material on the etiology

Announcing the New China Bookshop

As a service to our readers we offer the following items on some of the subjects treated in this issue, as well as basic books on China and new books released within the last few months.

BOOKS

China, Science Walks on Two Legs By Science for the People. Written by members of an American scientists' organization who visited China and interviewed many of their colleagues in agriculture, industry, acupuncture, research, etc. Avon Books, 1974. 316 pp. Paper, \$1.75.

Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China: Changes in Management and the Division of Labor By Charles Bettelheim. On industrial planning and organization of work in China after the Cultural Revolution. Monthly Review Press, 1974. 128 pp. Paper, \$2.95.

Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung 39 articles written from 1926 to 1963. "On Contradiction," "On Practice," "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," and other important writings essential for an understanding of the new China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1971. 504 pp. Cloth, \$2.25; Paper, \$1.75.

Red Star Over China By Edgar Snow. A pioneer report on the early days of the Chinese Revolution. The Long March, liberated areas, interviews with Mao, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh. Grove, 1971. 543 pp. Paper, \$2.95.

Fanshen By William Hinton. Fascinating account of the Chinese Revolution in a Chinese village where the author worked and lived. It is already a classic. Vintage, 1966. 637 pp. Paper, \$2.95.

China! Inside the People's Republic By the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. Good introduction to many aspects of the new China. Arts, women, factories, Cultural Revolution, foreign policy. Includes an important interview with Chou En-lai. Photos. Bantam, 1972. 431 pp. Paper, \$1.50.

Turning Point in China By William Hinton. Penetrating analysis of the two opposing

forces in the Cultural Revolution. Monthly Review Press, 1972. 112 pp. Paper, \$1.75.

Women and Childcare in China By Ruth Sidel. Marriage, motherhood, kindergarten, and the liberation of women in today's China, contrasted with the "bitter past." Many photos by Victor Sidel. Reading list, index. Penguin, 1973. 207 pp. Paper, \$1.75.

Serve the People: Observations on Medicine in the People's Republic of China By Victor and Ruth Sidel. Health service in city and countryside, integration of traditional and modern medicine, mental illness, barefoot doctors, etc. Photos, tables, index, bibliography. Beacon Press, 1974. 317 pp. Paper, \$4.45.

Education in the People's Republic of China By Fred Pincus. Analysis of all levels of the educational system. Bibliography. Research Group One, 1974. 32 pp. Paper, 65 cents.

Pandas By Joseph A. Davis. You want to know more about pandas? Well, here is a detailed study with pictures. Curtis, 1973. 191 pp. Paper, \$1.25.

China's Voice in the United Nations By Susan Warren. On major aspects of China's foreign policy, including detente and the superpowers, Third World unity, the Middle East, nuclear arms and disarmament, raw materials and development, energy, and food. World Winds Press, 1975. 146 pp. Paper, \$1.50.

RECORDS

The East Is Red. The history of the Chinese People's Revolution in epic ballad-opera form. The world-renowned pageant traces the development of the Chinese Revolution from 1921 through 1949 and the triumph of the Red Army. Performed by more than 3,000 workers, peasants, students, and soldiers in Peking for the film *The East Is Red*. Set of three 12" LPs and booklet with English translation, \$15.

Please list all items ordered and their prices. Include your name and complete address with zip code. Add 25 cents for postage and handling for each item plus sales tax if you are a N.Y. resident. Mail your order prepaid to: **New China Bookshop**, 41 Union Square West, Rm. 1228, New York, N.Y. 10003.

and treatment of mental illness not previously encountered by this reviewer. Perhaps more familiar will be the accounts of the health care system and of the schools since the Cultural Revolution.

The frankness of the Chinese in analyzing their problems—both setbacks and achievements—is also well reflected in this volume. There is much here to read, and re-read.

Richard Angel
Squibb Institute for
Medicinal Research

Suggested Reading

Chou En-lai China! Inside the People's Republic by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. New York: Bantam Books, 1972. \$1.50. Appendix 1: An Interview with Chou En-lai.

Quotations from Premier Chou En-Lai. New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1973. \$4.95.

Red China Today: The Other Side of the River by Edgar Snow. New York: Vintage, 1970. \$3.45.

Turning Point in China: An Essay on the Cultural Revolution by William Hinton. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972. \$1.75.

Women: The Long March Toward Equality *The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China*, 3rd ed. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973. 25 cents.

Women and Childcare in China by Ruth Sidel. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972. \$1.75.

Women, Resistance and Revolution by Sheila Rowbotham. New York: Vintage, 1974. \$2.45.

Lin Piao and Confucius *Confucius: "Sage" of the Reactionary Classes* by Yang Jung-kuo. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1974. 35 cents.

Selected Articles Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, Vol. 1. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1974. 75 cents.

No Economic Crisis in China *The Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China* by Charles Bettelheim. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974. \$6.95.

Economic Management: China 1972 by Joan Robinson. London: Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute, 1973. \$1.25.

Archeological Finds *Cultural Relics Unearthed in China*. Peking: Wenwu Press, 1972. \$25.00.

Historic Relics Unearthed in New China. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972. \$20.00.

New Archeological Finds in China. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1973. \$1.00.

Friendship Has A History: Paul Robeson *Paul Robeson* by Marie Seton. London: Dennis Dobson, 1958. Out of print.

Here I Stand by Paul Robeson. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. \$2.45.

Paul Robeson, the Life and Times of a Free Black Man by Virginia Hamilton. New York: Harper and Row, 1974. \$5.95 (age 15 and up).

USCPFA Statement of Principles

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

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Away With All Pests

An intimate, dramatic, and penetrating insight into life in China today by the famous English physician Dr. Joshua Horn. Dr. Horn worked in China from 1954 to 1969 as a surgeon, and he traveled throughout the country as a member of a mobile medical team. In English—16mm—1 hour—black and white.

Children of China

This documentary offers a comprehensive view of how children from birth through middle school are cared for and taught to be responsible citizens. Koji Ariyoshi of the Hawaii-China Friendship Association was a consultant in the production of this film. In English—16mm—1 hour—color.

Han Tomb Finds

A film about recent archeological finds in the People's Republic of China. In Chinese with an English soundtrack on an accompanying tape cassette—16mm—35 minutes—color.

Red Detachment of Women

A modern revolutionary dance-drama about the way in which young Chinese women were drawn into the armed struggle for Liberation. 16mm—2 hours—color.

Red Flag Canal

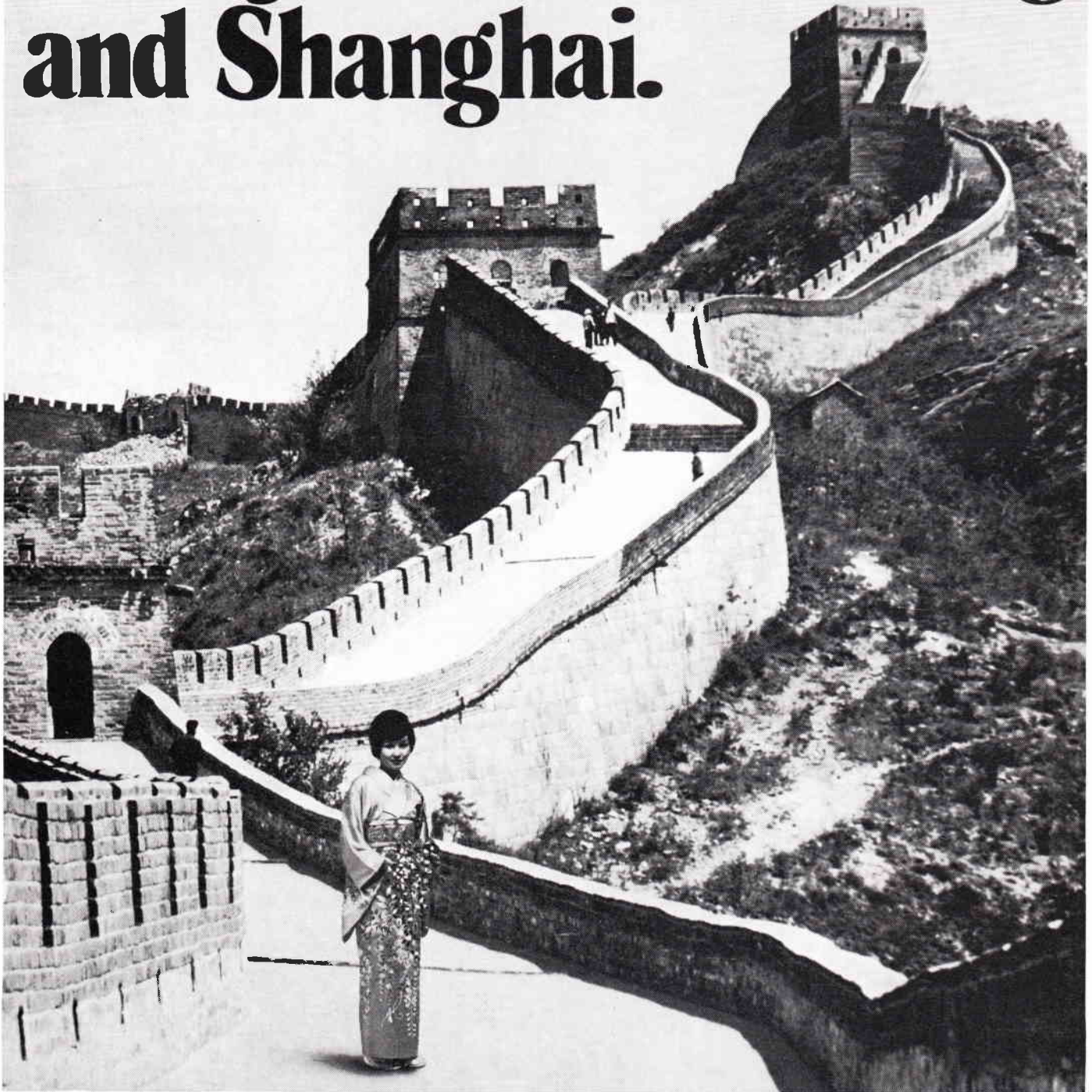
The account of the construction of the Red Flag Canal by the peasants of Lin Hsien County who turned a barren, drought-stricken area into flourishing farmland. In Chinese with English subtitles—16mm—45 minutes—color.

White-Haired Girl

A modern revolutionary dance-drama about the resistance of the peasants of North China against the Japanese during the struggle for Liberation. 16mm—2 hours—color.

For rental information contact the nearest U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, or Cook Glassgold, c/o the New York USCPFA, or George Lee, c/o the Chicago USCPFA, or Ellen Brotsky, c/o the San Francisco USCPFA.

Now JAL flies to Peking and Shanghai.



Japan Air Lines is first to offer flight service from North America to Peking and Shanghai.

When the JAL flight from Tokyo touched down in Peking and Shanghai on the afternoon of September 29th, it marked two years to the day since the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and almost exactly twenty-three years since the very first Japan Air Lines flight.

JAL, which now flies to 43 cities in 26 countries, begins regular, twice-weekly DC-8-62 service immediately. On Mondays, JAL flies from Tokyo to Osaka, Shanghai and

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

JAL's new flight sharply cuts the time required for North American passengers flying to these cities via the Pacific route. Moreover, it means they now can fly direct to Peking and Shanghai on the same airline.

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



JAPAN AIR LINES

	Mon F1 785 DC-8-62	Mon F1 786 DC-8-62	Wed F1 781 DC-8-62	Wed F1 782 DC-8-62
TOKYO	LV 9:00AM		9:00AM	
OSAKA	AR 10:05	LV 9:30PM		8:30
SHANGHAI	AR 10:55			7:40
PEKING	LV 12:30PM		12:25PM	3:40
	AR 3:15PM	4:45PM		1:55PM