

CHINA—JOURNAL

March 13, 1977

The first group meeting was on March 12 and it went well enough. No fights—and good spirits all around.

One totally ignorant suggestion sought to be directed to the Chinese Travel Services—which was that we work on some commune with the peasants! What a nuisance. I'm sure we would be twenty-four travel-weary city-soft guilt-ridden North American liberals on a world-busting site-seeing extravaganza who would likely spend half-a-day knee-deep in the rice paddies, and have their pictures taken, no doubt. Chiang Chiang went to the wall for such vanity! Oh guilt, how great thy burden, how high thy price!

Ray and I scuppered that. Someone will have to suffer their guilt a little longer.

The Canada-China Society is the old missionary community in exile. Missionaries are religious. Religious people are humourless. I'm told the Chinese are also humourless, no, serious is the chosen word heard so often. I'll make it one of my objectives to keep people laughing. A proper context to test the honesty of our laughter.

It is interesting to talk with Roy about trip plans, what we want to do, and what we don't want to see. Prisons, for example, Ray says no—they're the same as our own, and you don't get any sense of rehabilitative work. Or this Children's Palace—it's for elite children. We see what we want to see.

I like Philip Rawkins. He wants to request a meeting with high party officials in Shanghai and talk to them about the reforms of the cultural revolution. Balls to him.

My mind struggles for escape from the burden of professional practice and hopes the trip will be an occasion for inspiration. The poetic moments are so few. Thoughts of tripping off to Samoa, after Shanghai, seem to heighten the possibilities. A yearning for aloneness. I know it is only half an answer. Share a bath with a friend.

March 19, 1977

I have the strong impression from listening to Irvine Hilliard that the last CCS Delegation made no headway on their trip in penetrating Chinese protocol. Friendships were not forged, only polite toasts exchanged. Political comments and criticisms of us by them were never offered, worse, were specifically refused. Any serious criticisms by the group of China were

resented, and in fact, stifled by internal group pressure. This impression is confirmed by many other sources, typically saying, don't expect all your questions to be answered, and don't insult the Chinese.

I'm uncertain how to evaluate the pessimism. Are people warning against exalted expectations, or advising that we're walking into a fog?

It strikes me that my most important job as leader is to attempt to promote frankness and closeness. I shall attempt to address this problem directly in official arrangements and toasts, etc., and also by bringing in as many English speaking dinner guests as can be arranged for casual discussion of political issues.

Our meeting on medical affairs in China this afternoon threw off some interesting observations on sexual puritanism from medical students who had studied there for one or two years. Abortions are readily available and required perhaps for families with more than two children. Pre-marital pregnancies require abortions and lead to serious criticism of the offending parties. Little or no sex education, or birth control information, is offered to people before they marry. Romance is a foreign notion. Marriage is based on good character, admiration for good work and secondarily on physical appeal. Public presentation of self is modest. Dating is entirely different—more like friends working or studying together.

March 21, 1977

I am interested in the elaborate emotional precautions and preparations people make when talking of travel to China. We are frequently warned not to believe everything you hear. I don't understand the source of the urgency with which this advice is offered—is it disguised anti-communism, or a reaction to the China worshippers? On the other hand, we are regularly warned that you can't judge China by western standards; indeed, you can't judge it at all.

People seem to experience extreme disorientation when they visit China. Some describe it as another world, life's only real culture shock. This seems to induce a state of stunned worship. No comparison is possible, indeed no lessons are learned, nothing is transferrable. I suspect a rush tour contributes to this sense of amazement and lack of connection.

People invariably are measuring their own politics against what they seek in China. In this sense, it is a journey of discovery, in many cases, a crisis of political values in midlife. Direct comparisons and clear analogies to our own society as we understand it are important in order

that the journey be instructive and motivating, and not just an emotional and political trance. But it is clearly difficult to make comparisons without judging the effectiveness of Chinese methods by our own standards.

How many go with a hidden political agenda? Liberals to validate their support of our system? Socialists to find hope in truly communist society? How difficult to analyze our lives and society by studying an incomparable object!

I have been reading Orville Schelle's account of his group's six week experience in a Chinese factory and at Tachai. It is tortured by profound questions. *Mea culpa* in the New Yorker (March 1977):

Sometimes I simply cannot make up my mind about this country. This morning for instance. I began to feel that I understand the human purpose behind hitherto obscure phenomena or prohibitions as I see the country functioning smoothly around me... I find myself wondering if perhaps China is not some utterly new experience in history after all—one in which the caveats against too much regulation, regimentation and organization ought to be reconsidered. The old assumption that human energy and imagination can be released only with generous doses of freedom and self-expression ends with a question mark in my mind. Perhaps this is a new world as yet unfathomable by someone with Occidental experience.

The suddenly the loudspeakers come bellowing over the rooftops... Chairman Mao is a great red sun... I feel myself freezing again, doubt congealing. I find myself thinking back to accounts written with glowing enthusiasm by foreigners who watched and experienced the Russian revolution but failed to see the seeds of brutality and sourness until long after their bitter harvest under Stalin... Are there signs shrouded in all this hope and energy around me of a frightening force that is moving hell-bent for the future? Can I divine the future beneath China's proletarian optimism? Do I dare?

March 23, 1977

Schelle also recounts numerous attempts to "make contact" with the Chinese and their impersonal style:

- Don't sit around chatting after a meal

- When asked about what they want to do with their life, “whatever the Party desires”
- No one-to-one personal conversation—they feel uneasy
- Conversation not as give-and-take, but as an opportunity to re-educate yourself
- No interest in the exotic and bizarre
- Children have no private fantasy life—fairy tales are incomprehensible
- “A formality about Chinese reactions which mystifies and troubles Westerners geared to catharsis and interpersonal drama. Perhaps our world of careless emotions is frighteningly individualistic and somehow disruptive of the Chinese collective consciousness”
- No sex feelings evident at all—disapproval of manifestations of such by Westerners

How the Chinese present themselves to tourists:

1. Uninterested in countries outside of China
 2. Offended by people taking pictures of the old (eg. Old man sleeping, sail-powered barges, Antonioni movie)
 3. Excessively concerned for their health and safety
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Charles Taylor—see Trudeau’s book, *Two Innocents in China*, which tells you more about the man than the country. His essay on Dr. **, the missionary who went to burn Buddhist idols and stayed to collect them, contempt them and die in a zen-trance

March 27, 1977

Tonight I saw a slide show at the CCS meeting, presented by members of the ROM trip in 1975. Joan Fitzpatrick and her crew of well-heeled ladies did the museums, noting all the lovely goodies the Emperors buried with themselves.

They conveyed a different impression from many trips I have read about to-date. They were impressed with Chinese museums, not mystified, overwhelmed or gaga—just out-and-out impressed. They respected the way the Chinese used their museums for teaching—how they used them to illustrate the evolving history of the class struggle. Not a single wink or subtle

pun about the propaganda purposes of it all. Mind you, they stopped short of declaring revolutionary solidarity.

China—Ineffable Light

Liberals project their hopes—Are there specialized foster homes for dwarf delinquents?

Maoist says you can't judge by our standards; only listen and learn.

Ex-Missionaries prattle on about how the Chinese have suffered and wish they were there to enjoy it.

Conservatives tell us you can't believe what they tell you, what you don't see is real.

Hippies regret there are no personal “highs” with the Chinese.

Travelers regard it as the most exotic of the exotic and inscrutable.

* * * *

April 11, 1977

I want to work on some satirical pieces, some sacrilegious pieces about China. Not to be overwhelmed by the seriousness of it all.

A Mao beatnik poem

Mao Mao

An interview with some undiscovered old party war horse

Mao was into sugarless gum

Gang of Five

Make fun of exaggerated propaganda prose—collect way out—song titles—do a piece on punk rock Chinese

Perhaps object of all this is to win the audience then spell out the lesson

Chinese porno & sex

Satirical piece on Chinese politicals as conceptual art—from perspective of existential critic

Chinese T-group—feel yourself a potato

Imagine China with all manner of junk Americana—not to put them down but to measure our own absurdity

Chairman Mao's Honey Garlic Chicken Wings—the Chairman and his friends make it finger lickin'

April 20, 1977

Meeting of Groups

Peter Brodey interrupted Shirley Small's presentation to ask how the Chinese handled the "Crime" of "thought deviation"—Tension

Answering that question can be a theme of the trip. Or, at least, of presentations to right-wing groups when we return! He will be the right-wing lightning rod.

PART II Reflections

If travelling to China is really a voyage of personal discovery more than an education about Chinese society, let's chart a course directly. The Chinese exposure illuminates our own society more than theirs. Let the comparisons be direct, and immediate, and the personal "discovery" be carefully and deliberately sought.

For example, thinking about "law" in China is close to ridiculous because there are few equivalent formal legal institutions. This begs the question, "Why?" The answer is, of course, genuine collective socialism enforces social responsibility and reduces crime, property disputes, etc., at their roots. Efforts to perfect civil liberties, natural justice et al. are moves in the wrong direction. Question our social workers and bureaucrats and community-minded arbitrators.

Look to see how effective the Mass Line is?

How high up the ladder do popular wishes carry weight?

Can their own society, with their mass democracy, be a model for our own? How do you control the centre?

Chinese literature and arts serve the people casting heroic models larger than life. Do people “believe in” these characters or merely “relate” the way we do to the “bionic woman”? What’s the equivalent of Mary Hartman, i.e. a victim figure. Are we right or wrong to think our stage and screen figures are harmless when they do “wrong” because we know that they’re fictitious?

My own political perspective tells me collectives of workers in various institutions in our society have to seize control—and be vigilant against sectarian parties who would take over. They have to find a mode of internal democracy and a manner of democratic central control.

To explore in China:

- i) democratic centralism through bureaucratic and party channels—how?
- ii) relation of party and non-party forces at workplace and in the community;
- iii) manner of low level community decision-making not so difficult for me to envisage;
- iv) does it work because of collective experience of revolution only?

In other words, I must struggle against the process of mystification about China. I should ask the questions, political and social (and subsequent deduction personal) as they occur to me, and directly seek the analogies in China politics and society that may be relevant. If they are not, I must say so firmly. I have a tendency to specialize in the obscure for its own sake and studying China could easily serve as an eternal cerebral banquet.

The following is an excerpt from a letter to D. Feikert following up on these themes.

Excerpts from letter to D. Fiekert—April 8, 1977

“I puzzled over the equations and Freudian algebra in the letters of you and Colin. I feel confident that neither you nor he remember what you wrote so I am free, though too principled, to cast aspersions liberally. F, D, C & H should get together sometime at the M of A and see how many of you there really are. I hope my visits there with the four of you (individually and in groups) are not responsible for the despondency and melancholy that put you all back on the boat to the old country. But maybe, on that far off block of stone, the septic isle, a new Eden is being found, a free, flowing, close-knit, disciplined, spontaneous crew of serious drinkers, ready to take on the world’s problems every evening. Next time the gang is out have a pint of bitters for the old days, the bold days in the new world, and think of me freezing my nuts out there on the frontier of the wasteland. Ring your hands, and say Jeez or Shit or Not too bad. Remember me. I never drink anymore, except Scotch.

How morose! But I have a feeling that my legal and personal life is about to undergo a major shakedown and I miss even more of the “community life” of the Red Belt as it slips further and further into the past. Not that the recent past has been without its rewards. A whole other world of friends and associates. A very happy partnership. Quite good legal work by any realistic standards. Real skills. A book—albeit a simplistic quickie of matrimonial and children’s law, but a book with my name on it. How shallow! Ego-swine! But erosion and dry rot have set in. I’m going to have to rebuild in a better climate on higher ground. My trip to China is a convenient watershed. We shall see whether it affects my course, or merely provides an excuse.

For example, I am disillusioned with our courts. With justice as we know it. With the very concept of the law. Yes, friend, this is true. And you probably are asking yourself, “Who can this be?”, or “No, Charlie?”, or “Ain’t that sumpen!” or, “Holy Fuck, the sky is falling?” Yes, yours truly, the most cynical man at the entire stand-up bar of the Province of Ontario is a disillusioned man. A sad, unhappy, broken man. A man with no future. Nothing to live for. Well, how could the cynic’s cynic become disillusioned? What illusions were there to start with? He always claimed there were none. Now his friends call him naïve about courts. A dreamer of justice. A fool of the judges. This week, I finished a case of major proportions. Extensively prepared by a full-fledged team of eager legal workers. The angles were on our side. Fighting for a one-legged workman denied benefits by the evil and arbitrary bureaucrats at the Workmen’s Compensation Board. It was well researched, neatly written up, and reasonably presented by your favourite madman. I could live with the fact that I lost. With the fact that six judges rejected our arguments— which I can say quite modestly would have completely wrecked the entire programme of Workmen’s Comp. I can rationalize that I drew reactionary and stupid judges. But I can’t abide the fact that not one of the six judges read our material! I was told in law school that it was important to get the judge’s attention. That was my delusion. It’s not enough. You need to get his nuts tight in the ringer, both thumbs in the same screw, his body on the rack, and turn, turn, turn. Then shoot him up the ass, and seize power with a gun. I didn’t know how much I hoped I would win by eloquent pleading until I lost. Alas, there is a generation of lawyers bigger fools than I on the way.

A second major problem is this. I’ve grown bored with my legal friends. They’re repetitive and boring. They say the same boring things over and over again. Boring. Boring. Boring. But worse is that my own style of relating to people has become—of necessity—more and more officious. My conversation, even the casual sort, is carefully constructed, word by word, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph. Indeed, I make much more sense to people listening than ever before! The precise date of the commencement of this melioration is that day when I read the first transcript of my hapless submissions on sentencing. All this is not to claim any grand prizes—which, by the by, my peers would never award to me on

merit—but only to say the equality of social intercourse is different. I think I was happier in the old days when I said what I thought without thinking about it. In other words, all this articulated rationality is getting out of hand. It makes the rest of the world seem stupid, and I trust that vague recollection in the back of my mind that such is not the case.

A third problem is politics. Mine are non-existent at the moment. However, a good argument can be made that our office as a focus of certain political/legal struggles is as good a political situation as I am likely to find. We have a number of good “political” cases underway. But hardly enough to claim to be a “political” office. (And, by the way, I’m quite convinced that no political/legal work of any significant consequence is going to be carried out effectively in any office smaller than our own—except in very particular circumstances.) I can also correctly observe that the office is on good terms with almost all of the left in Toronto, and has done legal work at one time or another for just about every faction. Though it is also true that many of them denounce us as bourgeois. So obvious a classification doesn’t bother me. This confirms my reasoning for devoting so much time and attention to the office—that at some point the left will need our legal skills in a big way, and that we will be able to produce in a way the small-time more politically pure leftie lawyer could never dream of. Now my problem with this entire setup is not any doubt that we will cop out when the time comes. Though it is predictable one or two members may drop out. Another aside—in the crunch, our major problem would be our secretaries who would hardly be willing to sacrifice an hour’s work for any worthy cause. The problem I can’t manage is that I don’t believe that the political crises ahead will require our skills in any way, ready or not. And from a personal point of view, I believe the office could do whatever is necessary without me. That other tasks are more important. Not necessarily knowing what. General conclusion: uncertainty on the political horizon.

Last point—in my heart of hearts, I am an artist. You remember. I don’t remember what sort, but an artist nevertheless. I am withering on the vine. And God, God, God, Jesus, Dear God, Oh, Oh, OH, is it painful! (Is this the thirties identity crisis?)

So anyhow, things are going to change. My trip to China, and a week in Hawaii on the way back, will be the marker stone. The question is whether in any way it will alter the course.

PART III**Excerpts from letter to D. Fiekert—April 8, 1977****A VISIT TO THE EMBASSY**

As you know, I'm going to the People's Republic for a three-week sojourn starting at the beginning of May. Officially, I'm the leader of the Canadian China Society (Toronto) Delegation. My exalted status is no particular reflection of skill, talent, leadership or diligence in the affairs of the Society on behalf of the People's Republic, rather the end result of an unseemly and illogical process of elimination in which I played the role of victim. I had envisaged hunkering in the back row snickering at the translator and making rude jokes about Ching Chiang's hickies. Somebody on the selection committee knew me too well! That is literally true—being my intimate associate in the practice of law—Norman Endicott. I am advised that the Chinese have a leader fixation—which means that I will have to be a good boy, and not fall asleep after lunch, or laugh at the Chairman. The strain is already intense, internally generated, and also because the whole arrangement is tainted with the sweet mannered church-going, China-loving, ex-missionaries who run the CCS, the perfect PR for the somber, sober, serious and sagacious Chinese. When my little Marco Polo stunt is over, I fly to Honolulu instead of Vancouver, and then to Pago Pago in American Samoa, and by sea plane to Apia in Western Samoa, and by bus, ferry, and foot-foot in the northwest corner of the little island of Mamono, reefs, beaches, volcanos, and thence up the mountain to a small cave, now reserved, light a fire, take off my clothes, burn my shoes, paint my face, howl at the moon, suck a coconut, fish with a spear, primal scream quarter-hourly, and work on my magnus opus—Replevin in the County Court—A Commercial Remedy Adapted for Domestic Property Problems. Awww, sweet bliss, if those commie rascals could see me now! I will report all at a later date.

The strain of this seriousness is real indeed! Recently, I flew to Ottawa with the President of our local CCWS and the Deputy Leader of our trip, a church-employed China watcher of tea party disposition to meet with Officials at the Chinese embassy. We started at 4:00 p.m. exactly, drank tea, chatted about various “friendly persons” known to those present, the coming and going of various cultural exchange groups, drank tea, watched a movie—more in a moment—had dinner, discussed the trip very vaguely indeed, laughed, smiled and toasted

one another. The Embassy is located in what used to be a nunnery. I am positive nothing has happened to defile it. Anyhow, I wasn't even tempted to laugh. Nary a naughty thought. Not a yawn, fart or burp. In fact, I had nothing to say. Did ya hear the one about the farmer's daughter? Shut up you decadent pig! Do you know where you ARE?! After this little social was over, I joined some friends already through two bottles of wine, partway through hump the host, get the guest, and all other manner of verbal fisticuffs so favoured by the literati at Fright night debaucheries. Now I am not a sissy in such company. But, I must confess, I felt a little hand grab tightly in my gut where no had had ever touched before though these words have often passed my lips—this is decadent. I managed to ruin the party fairly quickly. Somebody asked about the movie. ***Sparkling Red Star***. I told them, as I'll tell you in a minute. They laughed. Have some wine. Try the lasagna. Was the landlord a revisionist scumbag or just a running dog lackey with scabies? HAW HAW. Fuck you. The movie made its point. Besides it's nice to be able to tell right from wrong. WE should be lucky. And HOW IS the weather in Toronto these days? Do you think Margaret was passed around?

The movie. ***Sparkling Red Star***. Dubbed in English of the Oxford variety, no less. Colour. Made by the Army's August First studio. Who have given us such favourites as Scene: a Red Base in Hunan during the first civil war, south China just before the Long March. The story opens with the fat, evil, rapacious and greedy landlord whipping our six year old, bright-eyed, emotive, determined peasant boy hero because he won't tell villain where hero's daddy has gone, run off to. WE all know from the very opening scene that strong, rugged, dutiful peasant dad has just bid adieu to serene, loyal and beautiful wife and gone off to join the Red Army, leaving our hero, little sonny, with a memento—A Sparkling Red Star. Red Army rushes in. Bugles! Triumph of the people. Tender close-up of scared boy hero, and his savior, Red Army Commander, clever, handsome, brave, Uncle Woo. Several months of nirvana ensue. Happy peasants. But then the treachery and cowardice of certain party factions make retreat to the mountains necessary. Hero and mother stay behind to be abused by the return of wicked landlord, and to organize the peasants on behalf of the PARTY. Mother becomes a member. Hero becomes a Son of the party. Hero and his friends take strength from the fact that

Chairman Mao knows what every party member is doing, and what they will do in the future. Just like Jesus. Cut to shot of Enormous Close-up and Flaming Orange Sun Rising. Smiling mom gets burned alive by well-dressed warlord troops as she covers the retreat of party and peasant insurgents. Sonny Woo and the guerillas living in happy misery up in the mountains. Sonny moves to town and takes a job with a corrupt rice merchant who withholds food from the people and sells it to the warlords' troops at an exorbitant price. Sonny reports all of this to the party. Leads an attack on his wicked employer. The PEOPLE liberate ten tons of rice. The Red Army liberates the town. In the fighting, our hero personally takes on evil landlord, now army commander. He pours gasoline all over him while he sleeps, lights up, then while the nasty bastard staggers around, bedclothes aflame, the little hero triumphantly slashes his throat. And, of course, smiling, determine, brave, little hero, now almost eleven, joins the Red Army as a full-fledged member. Handsome Uncle Woo who has just led the peasant troops into town pins that sparkling red star on our hero's hat. Then they go up to the mountain top to await new instructions from headquarters which arrive, naturally, in the hands of strong, rugged, dutiful peasant daddy. Daddy doesn't recognize our little hero at first—now a MAN, a Red Army Soldier. But then recognition bursts forth in his face, my sonny, a child of the Party. Proud music. The End.

Chinese Marlboro Country!

Only the very heaviest of anti-Nazi wartime propaganda comes close. But I have never seen any of that genre that played up the individual handsome hero like this. The Hollywood variety that featured handsome heroes was, believe it or not, far more subtle of plot than this. The picture was typically Chinese in the style of acting and presentation. Brave posturing. Ridiculous fake staging. This is an escape route. I react to it as I do to, say, ballet. We know it is only symbolic; realism is not a consideration. We have some art forms like this, but for the most part, not our films. So anyhow, if you get off on the message, the way is clear for catharsis. Boo landlord, yea peasants! Fight, team, fight! Like I said, the difference between right and wrong! I could never get worked up over fighting the Nazis. But this was great stuff!

Should be in every Saturday afternoon theatre in the land! I wonder if I can learn to hate the Gang of Four.

April 18, 1977

Everyone from the village is in the square where we are supposed to attend an exhibit of peasant paintings in one of the nearby buildings... they wait for us wordlessly, perfectly still. Clam eyes not even curious, but slightly amused or anxious; in any case, piercing, and certain of belonging to a community which we will never have anything to do with. They don't distinguish among us, man or woman, blonde or brunette... As though they were discovering some weird and peculiar animals, harmless but insane. Unaggressive, but on the far side of the abyss of time and space.

A species—what they see in us is a different species.

....

The strangeness persists, then, through a highly developed civilization which enters without complexities, into the modern world and yet preserves a logic unique to itself that no exoticism can account for.

I think that one of the functions—if not the most important—of the Chinese Revolution today is to introduce this breach (“there are others”) into our universalist conceptions of men and history. It is not worth the trouble to go to China if one insists on closing one's eyes to this breach. Evidently, there are those who find a solution: they try to fill the abyss by rewriting a China for “our people” (who may have some revolutionary or revisionist or liberal cause which will be strengthened by proving that the Chinese are like us, against us, or to be ignored) or creating a Chain against them (against those who are deforming China by making it conform to their ideology rather than “ours”). To write “for” or “against”: the old trick of a militant committed to maintaining his position. It can help, it can stifle: what is lost is the chance that

the discovery of “the other” may make us question ourselves about here and now, is now scarcely audibly disturbing.

Julie Kristeva, *About Chinese Women*, Urizen Books

As the plane touched ground I felt the strangeness of entering the Land of Oz. For years, I had heard about, read about, received letters from, many foreign residents in China who had participated first or second hand in the events that formed the country from the 1920s to the present. I knew these people existed—but like Ozma and Dorothy and the Tin Woodman; could they be real?

(p. xi) L. W. Snow—*China on Stage*

May 2, 1977 7:00 a.m.

Toyko

Trip from Toronto-Vancouver-Tokyo was uneventful. I stayed up all night as best as possible. Arrived in Tokyo at 8:30 p.m. their time. A good night's sleep tonight and I should be re-adjusted.

We met with Pat Horribin and Earl in Vancouver. She just returned from three years studying in Peking. After one year at the Language Institute, rather insulated from contact with the Chinese, she moved to Peking and was sent to the country on “open-door” education programmes. Canadian Chinese students in the same programme reported being completely integrated. Her proffered insight was that the Chinese treat foreigners with such distance and deference because they think of us as stuffy (or imperialists).

Earl's an old minister and it shows. Little religious homilies in his speech. Nothing significant. Nice man.

On arrival in Tokyo, we were met by our Japanese guide who introduced himself by his nickname. Big Mac. On the bus from the airport, he explained currency and how to buy beer and spirits from the slot machines in the streets.

We went for a brief walk after arrival at the Imperial Hotel to the Ginza, a sort of cross between Times Square and Fifth avenue. Many signs were in English. We were approached by two different well-dressed pimps within ten minutes. All of the genza are like Montmartre or Soho. There were very sexy ads all over the place, and totally nude women in large illuminated ads at the main street corners.

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Personally, as I recover from the exhaustion of the last four days of racing around, I am struck by two thoughts neither surprising nor profound. Should I continue my work? And that China requires close attention to detail and careful presentation of our group for maximum advantage. My general strategy is to stress the group's progressive (left?) politics as much as possible, hoping that it will open doors to better discussions.

May 3, 1977 3:30 a.m.

I went to bed early to try to catch up from jet lag—and woke early, defeating the purpose of the whole exercise! I should have hit the streets with everyone else after our meeting for some more “local colour”.

The day in Tokyo was interesting.

Excellent breakfast at the hotel. Everyone was down early. Jerome Chen arrived resisting efforts to speak with us on current politics in China. He insisted he was out of touch. I had underestimated the extent of his modesty as expressed in his letter, thinking he meant only that he couldn't help us very much. In any event, we abandoned thoughts of a group meeting that morning as originally scheduled and took the whole day for sightseeing. Jerome took a group of us to some department store, describe as the Harrod's of Tokyo. We looked through

the food section, sampling everything, bought two birthday cakes for Louise and Debbie, the section of fabrics and accessories for traditional Japanese dress was very expensive, as was the fancy housewares. I discovered I really like the fancy blue glazed china and the lacquer. But it was expensive. We looked in several small commercial print galleries and antique shops, but there was nothing special. Jerome mentioned there are much better stores in other parts of town. Our bus trip in the afternoon was passable, the Imperial Palace, a drive around the ** Shrine with no stop to go in, the 64 Olympic Swimming Pool, the Shrine, a Buddhist Temple, and a drive on the expressway around the downtown area. The ** Shrine was fascinating. There was a flea market of junk stretching for several areas in front of the Shrine, making the whole affair seem appallingly commercial. Hopefully, I got some good pictures, but I don't understand what it was about at all. The view from the elevated expressway was exciting. There is very little architecturally that is exciting here, just unrelenting density. I went, picturing taking in the area around the hotel afterwards. In parts, it reminded me of the Left Bank's narrow streets. There were hundreds and hundreds of small shops that Jerome arranged and a traditional sukiyaki dinner for us that was fun. I didn't follow any of the significance of the brief dance that was performed.

I have been very uninterested in Japan, but the day here has been fun, a chance to readjust our internal clocks, and to get a feel for the group. Some people took off on their own, but that's certainly no difficulty.

We had a group meeting and a birthday party in the evening. The review of preferred sightseeing turned up nothing new and was a waste of time. However, the discussion of how Ray and I might handle the potential crowded Peking schedule was useful. I hope we have the pulse of the group, and they appreciate our efforts to please as many as possible. I'm happy there was a feeling that some things would be *de rigueur*. Phil Biggin was anxious at the very suggestion that we might skip the Bethune Hospital! The group consensus of "skip it if possible without offending" was, I think, correct. My proposal for question teams was well received, with some evident qualms on the part of Peter Brodey. I illustrated our need for group discipline in questioning by commenting that the questions to Pat Horrobin about air raid

May 4, 1977 6:00 a.m.

- Arrived last night at 8:30—Dark—by bus from the airport. Road was tree-lined four deep for miles—Ray says he doesn't remember so many trees from 1971—Guide boasts of over one million trees planted in Peking
- Things arranged most smoothly at the airport on arrival and at the hotel
- I assigned rooms on arrival—good luck group
- Ray and I met with guide re: travel arrangements. They seemed to have done little in advance. Receptive to small group meetings if presented with a list of proposed questions. Six days in Peking. Six guides. Peking guides definitely in command here.

After our meeting, Ray and I walked two blocks down the street from our hotel to the Tiananmen Square. The evening was warm and dusty. The road through the square and past the Gates of Heavenly Peace was lightly trafficked with bicycles and trucks. Eleven million Red Guards paraded past Mao Tse Tung on the balance of the Gates here. I sensed a great relief that our trip was underway and apparently in control. And a greater relief to be in China. The only situation of my adult life when I am tempted to trust an entire nation. How profoundly satisfying to think of such great mutual public dedication to be able to abandon one's self-defenses and hopefully one's selfishness. The chimes play the East is Red.

I slept fitfully, waking, partly waking, at 3:30 and lay dreaming or wishing about the elaborate circumstances to bring one to China as a citizen to share all of this. Vain dreams, grand visions significantly in the wish to belong where one might feel secure.*

(*theme work for travel service on political angle of trips and groups)

My suspicions of the CPC promoting Emperor worship of Mao are reinforced. It appears a grand mausoleum is being realized in the Square.

Out of our window, the City is spread in the early morning light. The traffic is most audible and so are the horns. The Forbidden City to the right rises above it all. The excitement begins.

May 5, 1977 3:00 a.m.

Yesterday, we toured the Forbidden City, had lunch at the hotel, went to the Double Bridge Commune, had dinner at the hotel, and had a free evening in which we walked down one of the shopping streets and through a large department store. Others visit with the Crooks or Can. Students in the evening.

There was a discussion on the bus. Shish Ling Chen, the youngest of our Peking guides who was actually from Shanghai, went to the countryside after middle school with many classmates—sounds like they set up a special production brigade of the students under supervisions of peasants. Three years later, he was selected for university. He said that 10% of students who went to countryside left for university, and he spoke respectfully of learning from the peasants, etc.

There was much evidence of petty class privilege, such as first class in airlines and limousines not just for foreign guests—and the Department store had a first class section.

The goods on display in the store windows and stores around the hotel were brightly coloured stuff like western clothes of the 1950s, but nobody appears to be wearing those styles.

We spent half the day at the commune, which was not enough time, yet enough to blow my mind. I am instinctively ashamed to call someone a peasant, yet here it is a matter of pride. The commune appeared amazingly well organized and proud of accomplishments. This is a

nation of peasants and it is amazing to think of the struggle carried out in the day-to-day life to persuade and require the urban population and the intellectuals to serve the masses. The personal dynamic that would put Mr. Chan at the service of the peasants in the countryside seems explosive. But it seems that it is not a matter of one side humiliating the other, but rather a genuine willingness of the intellectuals to be productive. Without embarrassment or difficulty? I suspect it would be difficult for me, but perhaps in the context of this type of society, it would be enjoyable to try.

Meeting Guides on Arrival—May 3, 1977

May 4—Proposed Schedule

WED

AM 7:30—leave at 8:30 Forbidden City

PM COMMUNE—Double Bridge

THURS

AM MIDDLE SCHOOL

PM KINDERGARTEN

Peking—Generally proposed—Neighbourhood Factory—lumber mill, Handicraft Factory College

1 day—Great Wall & Ming Tomb

½ day—Summer Palace

½ day—free afternoon

Zoo

Law—Planning

National Minorities

News

Friendship Societies

Questions on Special Interests

- 1) CMC—Law
 - 2) Cathy S & Phil B—Mass Media
 - 3) Pierre—Planning
-

List of places outside Peking—CMC

3—Temple of Heaven—Questions for Commune—Production, Education

1—Reiterate re: theatre—offer extra \$\$

2—Names of Guides—Evening meeting—tomorrow night? Phil B. and Phil R.—Crooks—
Group Meeting on Current Campaigns

4. Banquet

5. Names

May 4, 1977

Double Bridge Commune—Vice Chairman of Rev. Com.

Briefing

Pop—40,000—90 square kilometers—18,000 production workers—6 production brigades, 46 villages to be replaced by apartments—62 production teams—mainly wheat & rice, grain but other agriculture

Before liberation swampy—increased dramatically 10x joint efforts of power and middle peasants—supply 70,000 tons of vegetables to Peking and 10,000 kilos of milk—Medical insurance—1 yen per year per person—Problems — low level of mechanization—i.e. 200 tractors and no agricultural research—Set up agricultural college to deal with this—G of F interfered with production—Commune not just production but also local government and handles civil disputes and divorce among peasants

Rev. Com. For each level—Rev. Com. Elected by members of Rev. Com. Below—3 in 1 combined—old, middle and young — in setting objectives, to take into consideration various matters primarily state objective—once objectives set, the brigades make plans to meet objectives

Q: Sell the “surplus” grain to the state—what is “surplus”?

Q: Sell vegetables and produce to city dwellers—how?

G of F affected production by their policy affected agricultural-oriented industry, eg. Factories didn't put out rice-planting machine, eg. Interfered in fertilization factories and we didn't get enough. G of F spread rumours that it's useless to go to school and kids didn't listen to teachers —peasants resisted their over-emphasis on politics

.....

- Since Cultural Revolution, we diversified agricultural production here

Tour: Duck Farm/Production Brigade and Meeting with peasant hospital—Hospital staff—80, 26 doctors, for commune of 40,000—basic equipment for diagnosis and surgery—60% traditional medicine

Other information picked from our peasant hostess: Her family had nine members, and two were working for income of 100B a year; she worked in fields, her husband was a barber and her grandmother did cooking. 5 room house—boasted of sewing machine and bike, etc.,—kept 5 chickens. Her father worked in town —no holidays from fields—grow vegetables for themselves on “private plot” being 1/100 hectare that is not near the home

Commune delivered produce to fixed stores in Peking

Rev. Com. Had 1/3 party members—it was elected by the peasant and all members approved by the Party—about 1400? Party members at the commune—no answers about changes in membership

- Abandon cram method and follow Mas (?)

- Changes in exam system—they still exist—in old system, teachers made tricky and catchy questions and made surprise attacks on students; open and closed book exams oral quizzes for which students can prepare; after graduation, students go to the countryside and after that there is further education—influence of the Gang of Four—sabotaged academic study—wiped up anachronism; sowed discord in guise of criticizing absolute authority of teacher—opposed 1) hard study; 2) rules and regulations

Changes Since Gang of Four (?)

80% belong to the Red Guard—help teachers organize students

Q: Is there an adult lead of Red Guard?

Lei Fong—Comrade exemplary soldier and modest servant of the people—object of current campaign

Vice Chairman here through Cultural Revolution—before we followed Lui—I followed his line—during Cultural Revolution, we had debates and criticisms—I was criticized and I have better understanding

Q: Was he removed and did he come back?

School was in disorder during Cultural Revolution as a result of Gang of Four—factions fought here—different points of view on the cadre in the school

Q: Over what?

No direct contact with Gang of Four here—their influence felt—they spread fantasies—you don't need to study hard—anarchist elements in student body were destructive of public property

Everything done under Party Communism—Rev. Com. is administrative—fight in schools whether to have exams with Gang of Four opposing them—experimental items—methods of exam

Discussion with Mr. Chan on the bus re: Workers Propaganda Team—would be chosen by the Party (or party committee)—sent in during the Cultural Revolution to make peace between the factions—not upset by rehabilitation of old guard—Gang of Four fostered line attack that

everyone in authority instead of a few—factions and their stated causes are nonsense—couldn't get out of him what the factions fought about

Q: Did rehabilitation of principle represent defeat for radicals?

May 6, 1977 A.M.

Odd Thoughts:

I think the alleged temporary earthquake shelters are used for housing. How or why, I don't know. Houses of un-cemented brick don't make sense for earthquakes

I woke up this morning with another fantasy of entire acceptance to Chinese society through guides of CPC cells. Tears et al. How desperate is this wish for political security.

I suspect considerable underemployment judging from the numbers seen on the street. Our guides continue to evade political discussions. I am stepping up my personal campaign.

CPC is 2% of population. I have no sense of what the other 98% think—what it means to normal unenthusiastic or even opposed to their regime?

Group Meetings En Route

May 2, 1977

Question Teams—to be the focus of questions in given situation

Legal—Peter, CMC, Ed W., Pierre Beekman

Political—Philip, Peter, Ray, Cathy

Women—Marie, Cathy, Judy B., M. Beekman, Barb Kho, Bob F.

Education—Bob F., Alison C-B, Mara D, Sue P.

Product.—Hibbert, Belma, R. Delegran, Sue P., Philip R.

Discussion of itinerary—see other notes

How to describe selves—CCS. Period. Otherwise in individual situations, talk about individual background

May 5, 1977

Push for rural commune—Hu Hsien County

Question period at end—Improvements—a) make questions shorter; b) Chairman to take stronger role in organization of questions and allow follow-up where appropriate; c) make political questions more concrete

Ad hoc group to handle Neighbourhood Committees, Cadre School

To discuss with Guides: 1) Rural Commune; 2) Hu Hsien; 3) question period at end; 4) theatre; and 5) Peking schedule—Summer Palace

Group Meeting—Agenda Items

Reports on various particular items people have picked up: Wages, Comp. Ev. Com., the Crooks

Before I left, I studied more than anything, those who studied China. I read and listened to their accounts of their travels, their generalizations, insights and explanations, the cognizanti, the ex-missionaries, China-watchers, leftists and exoticists. The message was clear enough: China is a mystery in a fog in the eye of a polemic hurricane. You are going to another world. Nothing you know now will be recognizable there, and nothing you see there, can be usefully compared to reality as we know it.

To illustrate this, note the following:

- 1
- 2
- 3

Message—going to China is a “magical mystery tour”. This message is all wrong.

China is quite a normal country, more populous than most, farther away than North Americans like to travel, speaking a difficult language that doesn’t translate very well, and happily going about its business indifferent to our judgments. The Chinese are very friendly in a formal way, open, proper, and good humoured.

I had concluded before I left that tales of China revealed more about the teller than about the Chinese. This was correct. The combination of racism and McCarthyism created in China an ineffable void in the public consciousness. Political impressions and assessments dramatically illustrate this. Say whatever you like, no one knows any better. Reactionary and racist conservatives as well as anti-Maoist left-wingers stress that you can’t trust anything presented to you while in China; it is all act and an elaborate display staged by the Party for gullible westerners. Pro-Maoist leftists are equally insistent on the suspension of the critical faculties and the impossibility of comparison. Everything must be evaluated in Chinese terms which, of course, we don’t know or understand. Liberals worry about how power changes hands in Peking and that it appears to be a legitimate succession. Not why it changes hands. Alternatively, they wring hands looking for pet projects to take home as models from the social heaven, specialized foster homes for dwarf delinquents, and the like.

China is normal. We can learn a lot from its people and its government in many areas by negative inference and positive example. There are also many areas where comparison is not

particularly illuminating, because of the different stages of historical development though the delineation of those areas is a useful task in and of itself.

Despite this basic truth, it is unavoidable that travelling in China is an examination of their life—and our own—from the bottom up. Where does mother sit at dinner? What do you do with the night soil? All the basic questions, existential, political and social, occur. The process of sorting out the useful observations from the mundane is a good exercise. Anyone who returns from a trip to China saying, “it is so different, it does not affect our lives” is being willfully blind.

The most common questions I have been asked about my trip to China concerns our “freedom” to look around. This question usually hides the expectation that brutal detention camps and squalid slums are carefully hidden from the tourist.

The quick answer is that we went where the Travel Service took us, though, on occasion, member of the group took time off to visit friends or relatives. There was no difficulty with this, indeed our guides assisted several times in making the arrangements. We were not compelled to stick with the group. We wanted to—we learned more. Regularly, we went for early morning (6AM) or evening walks. I don’t recall any stories of people being barred entry to any particular district, though certainly we were not allowed in certain buildings. The communes, factories and schools we visited were obviously ready for us, and skilled in handling visitors. One assumes that they were among the more successful local enterprises. By outward appearance, they did not seem significantly out of line with their neighbours. I saw no evidence that we were witness to an elaborate fabrication of well-being and happiness. (One of Schesenger’s party reported in the January 1977 Atlantic Monthly that he thought the entire model commune he witnessed in Monologia was a fake because the grass was green underneath the matting of the reception tent that he was in.) The only subjects that were forbidden to photograph were airports, military and indeed anything from the air. We were cautioned against photographing individuals close-up, without their permission. There was only one occasion we caught them “cleaning up” for us. In Yenan, some members of our group spotted some anti-Gang of Four cartoons in the main square, and photographed them, but when others returned to do the same, the posters had been removed. In the Shanghai Docks, we were asked not to photograph the numerous big-character posters. Some were translated to us in any event. Those ones, at least, were of no consequence. On other occasions, we made special trips to see anti-Gang posters in the company of our guides and were shown no hesitation in translating and discussing them.

In another sense, what people are wondering about with such questions is whether we met any “real” Chinese, who told us how they really hated the system, or displayed open cynicism about it, or an insatiable curiosity about, and eagerness for, “the West”. It is not uncommon for travelers in the Soviet Union, for example, to have an intimate evening with new-found Russian friends who talk critically about their country. Such an event is regarded as a “find”, and there is the tendency to believe it represent the “real truth”, rather than the party-line you have been getting from the guides. Nothing like that occurred in China. First of all, only two of us spoke Chinese, and English is still a rarity in China. Neither of the Chinese—speaking travelers reported any great revelation, even from their family with whom

they had corresponded for years. One of our guides came closest on occasion when we could make slightly cynical jokes. For example, on viewing the very expensive sofas et al, we saw as the end product in one factory, he cracked, "So this is workers' furniture!" He also commented to me one time that here were very embarrassing questions we weren't asking, but he would not tell me what they were because he'd get in trouble. These definitely do not indicate any fundamental disloyalty to the party-control, as many other conversations verified. They are the only hint of an even slightly critical spirit.

The uniformity of support and the consistency of the explanation and commentary we were given does not translate into a sense of mindless admonitions. Most people seemed vivacious and happy in a way I don't believe you can fake. They seemed quite comfortable with what they were saying. They really believed it, and thought it made sense.

The Chinese seem to think differently than us. They don't hold unresolved conflicts in their heads. They work them out correctly, with party guidance, and then seem to forget what the two sides of the problem were—they remember only the solution. "What did the Gang of Four advocate as ideal factory management?" The question begets the answer, "They were out-and-out reactionaries and agents of the KMT, and have been smashed". I don't believe this is evasiveness—it is a different way of thinking. If this is true, then there I saw no cynical underbelly to be tickled and pumped.

There is also much less of a concept of self as a participant in, and judge of, politics. Question: what do you want to be when you grow up? Answer: I want to do whatever the party asks of me. I questioned one of our guides closely about this particular point. AT the end of middle school when such decisions are made, the individual is, in fact, asked about career preferences. She translated this as "wishes". But she betrayed no deep regrets about her job assignment. The concept of "servant of the people" is thoroughly internalized. "Good" and "bad" are characteristics of the collective, not the person. If something is wrong, it is a matter of public consciousness and not private bitching. That doesn't mean that it will be discussed publicly in front of visitors.

So there were no secret rendezvous, heart-to-heart talks, or outpourings of grief and despair, nor cynicism, nor revelations. But our tour seemed not all the more thorough as a fraud because of that, rather all the more representative and honest for its integrity.

I should not leave the impression of perfect joviality. One guide in Peking obviously hated her job, and presumably us. She slept every spare moment and made no attempt to be sociable. A clerk at the Shanghai Friendship Store was brutally rude to one of our members. But these situations did not translate into revelations for our benefit.

Travelling in China is an astonishing experience. To the average North American, it is equivalent to being treated like royalty. We were met at every airport and railroad station by local guides. We never handed in a ticket or claimed a bag; all those were delivered for us at hotel room to hotel room. We travelled around town in a comfortable bus, mostly obviously better class than that which was available for the masses. We were whisked in and out of theatres, always to the best seats. Our tea cups never emptied. Children would stand at the side of the road clapping to us as we passed. Clapping is the Chinese way of signaling

hello/good-bye when a handshake is inappropriate or impossible. We were clapped in and out of theatres. We were formally greeted and introduced at every stop.

On the other hand, the standard of accommodation was by our standards, poor. We slept two to a room, in twin beds. Each room had a private bath. The rooms looked like what they were—left over from the 1930s and no money spent on them since. One place had mats, not mattresses, on the bed. No one complained.

The food was hearty, but undistinguished to anyone accustomed to Chinese cuisine. We were appalled by the amount of meat, five meat dishes out of six typically. By Chinese standards, and our own, extravagant—and unhealthy. I once took advantage of the always-open invitation to “offer your criticisms”, and criticized—that we got too much meat. “That is not a criticism”, was the saucy reply, “that is an observation”.

Our schedule was quite full, but not physically strenuous, aside from being busy. A lot of time was spent sitting in briefings and question periods.

It was arranged city-by-city by our guides, in light of our expressed preferences. I am quite convinced that they made great efforts on our behalf. The factory commune and school visits didn’t appear to be much more difficult than scheduling. But setting up interviews with judges, reporters and professors was a bit of a feat. I have the feeling that some of the theatre we saw represented some bureaucratic wizardry. They didn’t take us to the steel mill or railroad workers in Wuhan as requested and we suspect because those places remained politically unsettled —exactly why we asked. Nor did they get us into a People’s Court. But they did obtain so many other things for us that I didn’t complain.

They kept hammering away at the theme of friendship: “We have friends all over the world”. (The hostility of our governments notwithstanding, the unspoken assumption.)

We were in a category that I did not understand of “political tourist”. I suppose I had been in the same class during my visit to the Soviet Union, but in that degenerate aberration, it simply meant to the party hacks who came to meet us an opportunity to buy black market dollars. A “friendship delegation” is a group supposed to be sympathetic to China, interested in political social institutions, rather than sight-seeing. It is not supposed to be politically partisan. Nor is it supposed to have special professional interest, or concentrate its attention on one area. The subject matter available has the advantage of giving a broad overview; and the disadvantage is that nothing is studied in detail. For example, we visited several factories of 4,000 to 6,000 employees and barely scratched the surface in our questions about plant politics and organizations. There are no case histories available that trace the political developments of such a place through and beyond the Cultural Revolution. I want to know. In any event, being a “friendship delegation” is a “once-over”—and an outpouring of toasts and good wishes to the friendship between our people.

Our guides were guarded at first, but after a few days, they warmed up. I think we were judged as a “serious” group. They never became personally friendly, but most cooperative in every respect. I suspect many “friendship delegations” turn out to be thrill seekers with no politics. It was never clear to us which Chinese bureaucracy was responsible for us, the Travel Service or the Friendship Society. We were, in fact, under the Travel Service,

and had a meeting with the head of the "Friendship Society"—that didn't clarify matters a bit. He said they worked closely- and it depended on circumstances as to who would take responsibility. Our travel Service guide sat there very smug indeed. My suspicion is that the more serious friendship groups get treated as such by their Friendship Society, of those judged to be more tourists are so treated by the Travel Society.

Our guides enjoyed being in control and especially in surprising us. They strongly resisted revealing the planned agenda in any given city until it was absolutely certain—and obviously loved the suspense of it. When one of the union guides might let the cat out of the bag in advance, they would be visibly criticized—the only time it happened. At our closing "banquet" in Shanghai, they took advantage of us for fun. I use the word "banquet" guardedly — it was really a glorified hotel dinner, a few extra dishes, served a little late, with chocolate sundaes for dessert. When Dan and I went to pay for it, we were told the Travel Service had paid. Just then the Travel Service in the person of our six guides came in the back door of the dining room's cashier counter and stood smiling, nay laughing.

They were not without humour, though none were ready for Johnny Carson. Miss Woo in Peking enjoyed her great skill with English slang and timing to break the group up with such lines as, "This family is saving up to buy a boob tube", or "Anyone want to go to the loo?" Ray asked once how many goldfish in a particular pond in the Yu Gardens. Without batting an eye, they came back with the familiar refrain, "No statistics available". Mr. Chou would make cracks quite regularly. When Ed Watizer accidentally took a polaroid of the Hsushian Gallery ceiling, he sidled up and said "You just wasted a dollar, a whole day's pay for a peasant". Miss Sue made "friends" with Judy Biggin, and would often walk with her arm around her shoulder, Chinese style.

The strangest of all had to be the friendship of Mr. Chou and Barbara Kho, our lavender-skinned, red-haired lacquered silent pouty nymphomaniac librarian. She bought a three foot ceramic horse which had to travel with us throughout China. Mr. Chou dutifully carried it everywhere, like a boy mother would be proud of. He sat with her on the bus and in the theatres. They talked of trivia. We all thought that Mr. Cho was corruptible. He was the one with the cynical streak, who stated his likes and dislikes in clear language on occasion. He disliked waste. And I suspect he disliked our apparent extravagance. Once when the conversation on the train turned to sex, he turned tail and ran, so the story goes. Not a bad looking fellow, lean, well-shaped, simple and hearty in style. I'd like to think lusty. I'd like to think of Barbara modestly nude, a ruby rose in her mouth in the basement stacks of her library, and Mr. Chou overcome, stripped to his shorts, rippling and taut like a leopard, chase her a little, embrace and pin her to the sorting table in the anthropology section, panting delirious, as she swoons and receive the fulsome message of the friendship of our peoples. Unfortunately, I more often think of Mr. Chou in his hopelessly tacky apartment filled to the rafters with cheap artifacts and feathery boas. The image is complete every time. He turns and runs, head long, pell mell, careening down the corridor and probably crying.

HARD COVER RED BOOK

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Guides:

Chief: 1) Shu Shiao (f) 2) Chau Yangsze 3) Cheng Ren Ming “Jeng”

Peking: 1) Who Wan hswish, Li Susu (f) Shieh Lung Chen

- 3 Tues PM—Arrival
4. Wed AM—Forbidden City
PM—Double Bridge Commune (part of group meeting with the Crooks)
- 5 Thurs AM—Middle School
PM—Kindergarten
PM—Movie proposed and rejected—group meeting
- 6 Fri AM—Neighbourhood Committee
PM—Cadre School
- 7 Sat—Great Wall, Ming Tombs—Banquet—Peking Duck
- 8 Sun AM—Factory
PM—Handicraft Factory, Subway, Friendship Store/Movie
- 9 Mon AM—Peking University/Summer Palace
PM—Subway—Shopping
- 10 Tues AM—to Yemen
PM- Sight-seeing caves
- 11 Wed AM—Caves
PM—Museum—Cultural Performance
- 12 Thurs AM—Caves—leave Yemen at noon—arrive Sian
- 13 Fri—Cotton Mill/Hushien—Leave by train @ 7 p.m.
- 14 Sat—arrive 2 pm. At Wahan—Steel Plant/Sewing Machine Factory
- 15 Sun
- 16 Mon
Leave Wuhan
- 17 Nanking—2 ½ days—Sightseeing—Bridge—Yat Sen Mas—Park
- 18 Areas of interest—commune—
- 19 Ray’s friend?
- 20 Observatory
- 21 Legal
- 22
- 23
- 24 Shanghai—4 days—Machine Tool Factory/Workers University
Hangchow

Industrial Exhibition Hall
 Hospital
 Neighbourhood
 Children's Palace
 1st Nation CPC Congress
 Mass Media
 Legal
 City Planning & Construction
 ½ day free
 #1—Dept. store
 Friendship store
 Commune
 Party Discussion—difficult
 Rev. Opera—other arts

May 5/77 /PM

Peking #5—Municipal Kindergarten

Boarding system but they're from the neighbourhood
 Cultivate a sense of love for Chairman, love of physical labour and sense of class
 Chair of the Rev. Com. selected by district Rev. Com
 Wage for teacher are 40 to 45 @ month
 Costs 20 yen a month for boarding through workers families; get 5 yen a month subsidy from workplace Welfare Fund
 She says no financial difficulty for workers who make average of 100 @ month for each
 Before fall of Gang of Four, didn't spend enough time studying Ch. Mao
 Rev. Com composed of teachers and other representatives of the masses chosen by the Rev. Com
 Ch. Has to be a party member
 Rev. Com—4 teachers; 3 or administrator/members of masses (not sure now) 4 are party members

The school town was a carefully staged affair which is not to say it was insincere. Designed to win the hearts of foreign devils. It did. Such incredibly well-disciplined and apparently happy kids. No wonder they're the only children Lynn King liked! We visited three class rooms in a row for 10 minutes each. On entering each, we were greeted by cries in unison from the children. In the first, we saw a gym display to music. Girls in red, boys in blue. One girl on a balance board, a group on chairs. In the next room, we had a performance of several songs. The last room was an arts and crafts class. We were invited to observe their work. When I knelt down to chat, I was formally offered a little chair. After a few minutes I was presented with a basket of paper cutouts of some proclaiming friendship in a loud dramatic voice. And all of the members of the delegation were given paper necklaces.

We had our briefing session in the usual fashion. The most well provisioned room to date. Less BS to start.

Then there was presentation by the children. About a half an hour of short songs and dances in pageant form with many varied and colourful costumes. The “choreography” was good and appropriate for small children. Their skills were excellent. I doubt any group of children in North American could match it. Entrances, exits, announcer and while on camera, they performed, dramatic expressionistic pronounced movements, with no apparent self-consciousness. The songs were about half propaganda numbers.

At the end of the group, about twenty came running back into the room to shake hands and express friendship with Canadian children. Then they took us by the hand to escort us to the bus. In the courtyard, the rest of the school was gathered and waving. The kids in costumes took the first row waving. They waved steadily for five minutes, chanting goodbye. The bus pulled off down the laneway and the kids in costumes ran after us to the gate —waving.

Thursday, May 5, 1977

Lunch—Went for a walk after lunch. I was taking photos with my telephoto. Don B. snapped an old man who posed for him and then moved on. Don thought to go after him and give a CCS card. I thought it would be nice to give out a few more to the many spectators who were watching. Big mistake. After offering one, many many hands grabbed at goodies, ripping them right out of Don’s grip. Not quite a brawl ensued. Anything more vigorous and the people would have been on the ground. This makes me uneasy. Is this organization, this calm and superficial?

Compare to the other situations where people were very reticent to accept gifts, eg. Belma on the Double Bridge Commune, kids in middle school

One possible explanation is that perhaps they thought it explained me and my big lens!

May 6, 1977—Questions in Preparation

Questions at Neighbourhood Committee

What is the most serious dispute you have resolved and how?

Methods of discipline within Neighbourhood

Source of revenue for various projects

Composition of Committee—other work by members

What type of links with police

Study Groups—Courtyard in the sun

Relation to Women’s Federation

Pursue housing if raised—how are the houses allotted—Louise

What daycare do they run

- 1 Composition of Neighbourhood Committee
- Working or non-working

Women or no
 Party or no
 Subcommittees—study groups—esp. in small groups

- 2 Source of funds for projects
- 3 What services do they run—pursue how they do it
- 4 Dispute Resolution
 What is the most serious dispute you have resolved and how? Any sanctions available? Links to Security Forces
- 5 Role in allocating housing

May 6—Neighbourhood Committee/Temple of Moon—Neighbourhood Review Committee

Vice Chair of Rev. Com—Mr. Lee
 Neighbourhood Committee and staff—Miss Yao—cadre staff member

Briefing: Mr. Lee
 Basic unit of political power of people
 9 NRC in Western City District under its RC
 4.9 sq. kilometers
 110,000 people
 24,000 households
 6 main streets—161 lanes
 Operates 8 primary schools, 1 kindergarten
 9 house service centre—clinics
 24 Neighbourhood Committees

All built since liberation in old Peking suburbs—85% apt's
 Also built welfare facilities, parks, shops, stadium—we're at #1 Western Street, Resident's Committee

Residents Committee tasks

- 1 organize study groups for the masses—now studying Mao—Vol 5—Hua article May 5
 - 2 to carry out Party decisions—eg. Patriotic sanitation health—family planning—clinic were introduced in Cultural Revolution
 - 3 operate production groups and household service centres
- May 7 Production Group
 Shopkeepers in stores that are agents of state supplies
 1,300 in /20 in prod. Groups, shops, dining rooms, clinics, nurseries and extracurricular centres
 4 educate people until then, cultivate morality

Northern Street #1—pop 2,000
 900 are workers or government employees
 150 are retired
 Each Res. Com. has services, dining room, shops and clinics

School—rote learning, oral recitation, sit with hands behind their backs, and shout answers—reading hero text in praise of premier Chou that would be banned by Gang of Four
 Local Dining Room—70-80 people—a job for someone
 Clinic—equivalent of barefoot doctor—for kids aged young kids and family planning; Mrs. Chou previously a housewife
 Someone in each building to report sicknesses

A. Meeting with Family—4 children, several grown up
 Mrs. Chou cleans courtyard and does political study with aged
 170 yen a month household income, for three—one son in countryside comes home every two months—get paid annually
 Study group with the aged 3 x a week for 1 ½ hours—read newspapers and commentaries—everyone loves to participate—30 to 50 per study group with 2 or 3 coaches—some of the retired workers are party members and participate
 Rent 11.20 yen a month—based on size
 Looks quite prosperous—clos—tables, chairs, tea set, flower displays—next purchase is TV—save 25 yen a month
 Had postcard of N. Bethune birthplace
 Would be a second study group—two per building

B. Madame Bi Chu She

7 members in family—husband works in hotel	90
1 Son worked in steel plant and now in college; doesn't live here	40
2 Daughter works in cotton mill	40
3 Daughter works	40
4 Son—student in middle school	Rent—Monthly 11 + Y @ month
5 Son—student in middle school	4 Y electricity and water
Family Income 210 Y	30Y grain
Saving for a TV	60Y other food
Study group—Group leader	30Y savings
2 x @ week—studying Articles in 5 th Volume	
Not party members	
Study materials set by Neighbourhood Rev. Committee	
Special classes for coach of neighbourhood groups	

On time off, like parks and movies
10 residents in Res. Com. set a plan and then me with

Compare to income of peasant household

W get 300)900-1,000 annually

H get 600)

From Chau:

Wages Top cadre 400Y @ month

 Doctor 250Y @ month

 Worker 50Y @ month, or more, up to 100 depending on seniority

Workshop—stated by housewives 50-60—got materials from craft factory—do assembly—get paid for product by factory and in turn by factory, sells to Friendship Store—women paid 30Y a month—this is supplementary income to husband—there is a surplus kept by N.C.—factory also has a surplus which partly goes to the government and partly to local welfare fund.

The other half of our group met at a wealthy cadre doctor family
250Y@ month) and son and daughter @ 60Y; wife got pension of 50Y
Son and daughter and their child—two TVs, library—Wife local leader of Res.
Council—refrigerator, radio, etc., total income 400Y a month

Our guides warmed up today. Both Chau and Cheng were much friendlier and talkative on the bus. Chau is personable and very likeable. He was concerned over my vest not being long enough to cover my kidneys! He was quizzing Cathy on whether Ray was handsome. Has asked Don B. about his job, apartment, etc. Seems personally solicitous. Cheng too has been talking all day. I believe we have made a favourable impression. Both morning and afternoon sessions were very much to our liking with questioning in small groups.

On the way to the Cadre School, Chau talked about this study group. He's not a party member, because as he puts it, he doesn't work hard enough reading Mao. He likes novels and movies instead. But he still follows the line. Study Group is with work companions once a week as people are available. One third of the time is business and the format is as follows: Read 10 Major Relationships—meet and discuss it, with each telling what they see in it. Each then writes an essay on one aspect of it. Chau wrote on the relation between coastal and interior, and read it to the group. Criticism was possible but not was offered.

Chau gave me the substance of his paper and comments on the Gang of Four.

Friday, May 6, 1977—Cadre School (notes made later)

Well apportioned buildings and briefing room—nursery for trees as well as grain growing—astonishing progress in 9 years—in 1968, it was wasteland.

Six months of hard work—with two weeks with peasant familiars and the rest at the school—usually slept with peasant families for those two weeks in separate rooms—sometimes joined their study groups.

Met with eleven cadre—one squad—in their sparse room—9 party members—all young—study 40%, work 60%. Read and discuss—studying Volume 5 and Mao's essay on dialectics.

Of the eleven, one attended cadre school before—most relatively young

Only six months instead of two years as in 1968 when programme started—reduced because of demand to get in.

First students were leading cadre who volunteered—now selected on the basis of whether their skills are needed

School has staff for meals, etc., though students help in the kitchen.

All ages go back to the same job

No direct effect on the Study groups by Gang of Four who specialized in basic level unit, i.e. production—the Gang of Four stopped study of Marxism-Leninism [this doesn't make any sense because Gang of Four favoured study]

Go back to City one day a month

May 7/77

6:00 AM

Took myself on a walk to the parks around the Forbidden City. All variety of Tai Chi. People were singing, practicing scales, full volume facing the wall, four feet away; there was a great resonance. Clarinet, violin, flute. A wonderful and clear practice session. The people warm up. And the symphony begins.

The drive to the Great Wall—The countryside is so busy. Seeing the undeveloped rock-strewn field compared to the irrigated field. Such labour. Without fields.

Discussed mental health with Miss Woo. It was a totally foreign concept to her. She described going to church with a foreigner, and thought that the Catholic mass was silly, but had no idea what was involved in the religion. She asked me whether I win all of my cases. How I get paid. And listened for twenty minutes to my answer. She also asked about the about the "left wing" in Canada.

The wall was wonderful; I hope that my pictures turn out.

I was late getting back to the bus by almost twenty minutes. I discovered my camera film speed was set wrong, but I couldn't resist taking more photos. My only desire in China was my own pictures of the Great Wall for massive enlargement. Bourgeois selfishness. Also dragged Cathy along. I felt like shit back on the bus. Imagining appropriate self-criticism, overthrow education. My apologies to the group back at the hotel seemed accepted. Some members continued to make gibes. Miss Woo teased me to make self-criticism. Ming Tomb's a drag.

Dinner at North Gate Peking Duck Restaurant. Good meal, but not great. Peking Duck has potential. It's twenty-two courses and thirty-two duck parts. Entertained by head of travel office for North America. He gave us a large introductory briefing on the background of the Gang of Four. Chiang Ching was allegedly of bourgeois origins and he gave concrete illustrations of same. Civil disorder in Wuhan. Disruption of silk mill in Soochow. Slow trains. Opposing foreign visitors. Criticism of Travel Services as an instrument of collecting foreign exchange, of guide for spending too much time studying translation and not enough time studying politics. This was different from Mr. Cheng who said to Philip R. that they had no effect. May be no different. We were being told about their line, not their effect. He also spoke of Gang of Four causing disturbances in Peking, and gave lengthy discourse on the history of the Gang members. He then asked for our questions.

It seems that he was briefed about our interest in the Gang and his speech seemed in answer to our requests for concrete examples

His attack on their background seemed unfair and not in accordance with Mao's teachings.

Other hosts were from the travel bureau, and it was a very polished performance. I made a joke about the special privileges of the ducks being bourgeois rights and he took off on a speech that the banquet was not bourgeois rights. He was the only person we met who pontificated on politics.

May 9/77—Peking Timber Mill—Mr. Chen—Ch. R.V.

Established in 1952—30 small mills amalgamated

Had staff of 500—2 products—cutting farm and making furniture—low mechanization

1958—Great Leap—variety—now make 40 types of products, including chip wood—fabric board, plywood, prefab, rooms for houses and furniture

Used everything except sawdust and bark

Since Cultural Revolution, products further developed

Tour of 5 workshops—chip wood and exhibition of room of furniture

3,200 workers

Toured plywood, particle board, fiberboard, furniture manufacture and showroom

Large bedroom suite with table—2000Y, Stuffed chair, 300Y

Obviously bad safety

Told 1 or 2 serious accidents a year

Big character posters, were all anti- Gang of Four—occasionally there would be a major error by a worker that would be the subject of a big character poster

Q. Accident rate and safety; have procedures laid down and a Safety Committee

Young workers apprentice for several years

NB—Gang of Four interference—insufficient training for young workers, now we have professional study groups to provide training

NB—We have a union; a mass organization led by party for older regular workers except bad elements

8 grade wage system—5 or 10Y difference at each stage—33Y to 95Y for the workers—Administration 40Y to 80Y; their wages are calculated on basis of seniority and skills
Q Workers' wages increased on basis of attitude, behavior, and political consciousness after democratic discussion

Top cadres get 60-70Y—top leaders get 90-100Y

Average wage is 60Y

½ of the workers belong to 30-50Y

Shippers—5th grade

Carpenters—8th grade, but with some variations

Q—Have 3 in 1 Technical Group to develop equipment —affected by Gang of Four—are they new born thing

If injured, Factory provides—if paralyzed, state takes over

Re: deafness—get earplugs but no regular testing

Union active at mill workshop and the group involves workers in production emulation in workshops—sports—charitable worker—state pays 50% for medicine and mill puts up the rest
3% is deducted from wages for welfare fund—follow state plan re: plywood and mill plans re; furniture

Q—how do they finance non-state plan activities—RC handles sale of the product—Women typically 40 to 50Y a month; no women in leading position in RC of factory; 3 members out of 17 members—referred to as one “bad element”

All factory slogans anti-Gang of Four

Be red & export

Learning from Teaching in Industry

=====

Ray says that more accurate translation of Chinese word for criminal world would be sinner
Host of Duck Dinner commented about a symbolic poem that Gang of Four objected to it—didn't understand its metaphysical meaning—poem re: plum blossom that blooms in early spring while there is still snow

Requests

- 1 Railroad Workers Wuhan Gifts
 - 2 Cultural workers
 - 3 Minorities small group
 - 4 Film projector in Shanghai—Monday evening—Guides Come—Crooks Film
- Mon—University—stress University Questions or Special Interests

Discussion with Jen on bus on way to Wood Processing Plant on his Study Group and Gang of Four line against learning language—no “supporters” of the Gang though some were influenced—no specific articles by the Gang on this issue—before the smashing, they were aware of the line but not clearly—I suggested the critique of the Gang was simply too much theory and not enough work—No more than that—deliberate plot and use of study sessions to

disrupt production and distribution—those influenced by Gang were corrected—Study Groups don't sound like discussions but rather determination of what is correct

PM

Chau bus to Handicraft Factory

Wardrobe 105, usually 150 (a cheap one)

Antique Bed—10.5

Two armchairs as gift from friends—antique
50Y for two

Table—29

4 Benches—12 for 3

Chest—29Y

Small TV—240

Motorcycle—400-600Y

Shanghai people bathe more than Peking

PM Handicraft Factory—Peking Art and Handicraft Factory

Ivory jade carving

Filigree

}

Traditional pant

}

} for international markets

Lacquer

}

Figurines

Middle school grads take 3 year apprenticeship—40 to 100 with average 60

Craftsmen do own design on small and medium pieces

Small bad elements here from Gang of Four sent to police

Were criticized by Gang of Four for practicing traditional arts—workers confused but never stopped production

Chinese muzak

After Handicraft Factory discussion with Chao—no income taxes collected after deduction at work—don't have to keep track of bank account—private inheritances permitted—don't keep track of private trading income though friends would report you

Evening Movie:

“Motherland my Motherland”

A story of a Mongolian patriot going to Mongolia after several years in Yenan and rallying the people to support CPC and the Revolution

Very subtle plot—conflicts between peasant rebels led by women warriors and CPC and the evolution of their alliance eventually under CPC leadership

Conflicts within the bourgeois between reactionary and progressive persons—tricks and ruses of KMT

Byzantine plot

Much less posturing than other movies

Still stereotypical good guys, stupid landlords, etc.

Fire at the end burning the old bad things—Chang's translation is weak and his comments fine

Review of Trip Leadership, etc.

- Discuss with Ray whether the trip is too juvenile for him

I don't like being in the spotlight. Every little mistake is noticed and commented upon. In the political context, faultless leadership is expected and I cannot provide such

1 Being late to great wall—error—group seemed to accept apologies—RW made several jokes about it—"give him the silent treatment"

2 Joke at banquet about Peking Ducks having bourgeois privileges. Not sure whether host thought I was criticizing the dinner—both Chau and Cheng assured me that he knew it was a joke and exactly what the joke was about

3 Ray has several times made arrangements with guides and not advised me—only one time when it mattered slightly—group seems to be picking up on things to do themselves ok—feel some pressure to hustle around and do things before Ray to prevent undermining of authority—but who cares bourgeois pride—I'd rather make/let the group feel some initiative

4 Ray delivered a little criticism at group meeting tonight that I, as an example, made an inappropriate joke about Great Relationships in movie if overhead—I doubt it was—might have been a joke in poor taste, I doubt it—but should be more careful—RW didn't waste any time in jumping on me—about 15 minutes

I presume I am surviving but this crap I can do without. Pressure to keep up appearances so no pro/con factions.

Presumably RW will continue to find fault—or am I too sensitive?

Is RW jealous? He should know why he's not in my shoes. I hope this does not develop into anything. Redouble efforts with Ray, the group and the guides.

May 9/77—Breakfast

Questions:

- 1 Civil Remedies
- 2 Legal Education—what do people
- 3 Political crimes
- 4 Appeal proceedings
- 5 when do Neighbourhood Committees go to Sec. Forces
- 6 disputes between people and among people and class enemies
- 7 assessors
- 8 Mass Line in Court proceedings
- 9 Rehabilitation
- 10
- 11

To stress international law—what is the written law

AM Peking University

Mr. Jau—student

Mr. Joe—Cadre of RC

Prof Wo Prof Ec

Prof Yung Law

Prof Jung Law

Prof Lee R.C. Sec

Student representatives in English Department

Peking

2,700 teachers

7,000 undergrads

200 foreign students

Changes: Now students here have had two years in countryside and mass line followed in enrollment, i.e. selected by the masses

Open door university, i.e. go regularly to industry and agriculture

“Liberal arts should take Chairman Mao teaching to take all society as a factory”

Gang of Four controlled University:

Crimes: 1) make it tool for restoration of cap & usurp party and state leadership; followed a revisionist line; liberal arts orders to write articles opposing Mao’s line in education

Mass Criticism group set up—wrote 200 articles attacking central leadership

Gang personally checked many articles

2) Neglect party education policy and train student to serve their own interests

They wanted neither political consciousness nor culture, they made a model of a student who handed in a blank exam paper

Wanted red—not red and expert; opposed theoretical research in science

This model person said I prefer uneducated worker to educated elite, i.e. cultivated ignorance

Said all educated types were bourgeois intellectuals “good for nothing”—class enemy

3 Sabotage party policy to students and solved discord; said intelligence trained before revolution; laid cornerstone for evolution

Teachers are forces for capitalism

Teachers should never feel at ease or else there will be capitalist restoration

General attack on intellectuals

Set teachers against students

Questions on law on tape—very successful

Summer Place and Air Raid Shelter in PM

Cathy got lost at lunch

Group problem: Attend embassy guides wouldn’t come in—Cathy late getting back from Embassy—she gave film informally to guides

Biggins, Debbie and Louise criticized for i) being late; ii) having professional objectives on the trip; and iii) taping interview

Discussion with Chen Wen Pu(?)
 Friendship Association Meeting

Very sophisticated gentleman—asked about work of CCS—who we appeal to, etc.,
 Their work discussed—travel arrangements may be made by either—no specific reason why
 one or the other

Fugere should apply to one or the other

Gang of Four had no direct influence though they were opposed to foreign trade

Commented that North Americans have trouble comprehending Gang of Four

Welcomed us to gang of six

Expressed hope to supply more materials to Societies

Ray continues to manifest hostility, sneering during my thank you at Peking U for error make
 past serve present

Very loud in restaurant re: Cathy being late—suggested abandoning her then went to get her
 Complaining that I didn't tell him I'd arranged 5:30 phone call

Summary: Peking—CMC

- 1) seem well received by guides—after three days, they warmed up to groups—obvious
 political interests
- 2) guides refused to see film and no one to receive it —?
- 3) Groups getting tired, supercilious
- 4) Hostility building to Cathy

Cathy—support her on film; doddling on tours; professionalism—apologize re: topos

Agenda Group Meeting:

- 1) My review—well received—special treatment

Answers: better preparation

-
- too busy Monday afternoon—my fault for not going over timetable with guides
 better—getting giddy
-

- 2) How group would improve our group presentations, preparing answers, thank you's
- 3) Further requests
- 4) Cathy

Ray's Expenses

Taxi—31Y—Crooks both ways—cigarettes 4.15 ; no change at this stage

7Y

Info from the Crooks—Ministry of Health fell with the Gang

Discussion with Jeng on plane to Yenan

He insists Gang of Four were anti-Cultural Revolution

3 in 1 Com. after Cultural Revolutions were old-middle-aged and young—very few cadre removed at that time

They opposed it at first then moved into take credit

They said criticize everyone, overthrow all authority instead of criticizing those with incorrect line

Observed—fancy banquet limos for big wigs in Great Hall of the People

At airport saw two PLA with insignia the first

May 10, 1977

Briefing at airport while waiting

Summary Economic Planning at Peking

Prof. Who and students who didn't speak

Self-reliance v. technology and foreign assistance—nothing wrong with latter in some situations; Chou en Lai said to adopt foreign technics, the Gang opposed “foreign worship”

Mechanization of agric—goal complete this by 1980—agreed there would be imports; each region with machine industry; every brigade to do repairs; major repairs no higher than county repairs; now tend to shop back to factory—manufacture of equipment subsidized by state

Problems on mass production—alienation in workplace—political control and mass line in production is the answer—3 in 1 combo to solve

Uneven development—regional disparity—does mechanization create unemployment—no need labour for oil industry—emphasize interior and middle city development

Enterprises don't keep surplus—state gets it for public purposes—some small surplus kept by local institution

Emphasizing production not equal to theory of productive forces (rely on experts) per Lui Shao Chi who ignored politics in demand—Gang of Four alleged if you advocate more production, it is equal to “productive forces”

Foreign trade—will there be increased reliance on trade; will trade on basis of equality—no borrowing of foreign capital

Capital formation and banking—90% comes from surplus of state enterprises

Gang of Four attacked wage differentials as material incentives—now principle is “wages according to work” and they’re studying how to implement this properly

Policy to develop light industry with low surplus to the state

More Questions on This

Luxury goods high profits

Some goods rationed through ticket system distributed through organization

Banking—savings at 2.7%

People can borrow without interest from welfare fund—enterprises borrow from bank

Discussion with Chan at airport

Speaks French and English

Graduated in 1965—employed by Shanghai Textile Trade Co.—sent to the country but it was “voluntary”—cadre school—3 years

Didn’t like working in field or learned veterinary sciences

Asked who sent him—the Directors of the institution

“Didn’t remember” much about cultural revolution—wasn’t very political at that time.

His mother is a community worker who supervises 200 families—apportions welfare—mediates family arguments that come to her voluntarily or are referred by others—if she fails, referred to security Forces for formal mediation

Chang likes Peking Opera, Soochow ballads and energetic American music “the Locomotive”

Saw a fly at the airport

P., Rawkins discussed Canadian lack of defence preparation—Jing couldn’t believe it.

Legal Review –

Note law not generally codified—some areas are (?) eg. Counterrevolution activities

Education Report

Met 2 cadre of RC on Rev. Education

400 colleges and universities

200,000 enter each year for average of 3 years

600,000 total enrolment in China

Peking—3,000 in arts; 3,000 in science and 1,000 foreign languages

Origins—30% + from factories

40% from countryside

10% PLAC

15-20% services commerce and govern

Admission—not by exams as before Cultural Revolution

Persons selected by group or commune and universities interview persons comrades and pick

the students—look for analytical ability and political consciousness

Gang of Four recently agitated—now changed

Teachers can go to country through cadre school or open door schooling

When students and teachers go to country, teacher teaches their students and peasants and do

1 day a week of labour

Since 1963, no one elected to professorship—all call “teachers”

200 out of 2,700 are professors

May 10, 1977

Brodyism

At lunch

Q. What kind of foods is this province famous for?

A. No foods. Famous for Ta Chi.

Brody—is it the liver pate?

Briefing—Yenan is very famous. This is where Chairman Mao lived for 13 years in over one hundred different ways.

Brody—Are we going to visit any caves?

Phoenix Hill

Not really a house—rather a normal building—3 rooms, very sparse

Very very solemn religious presentation—even the story about Mao burning she was sad

Sight of famous picture of Mao and Bethune

Went for a walk after dinner down the backstreets with Ed Weitzer—climbed the switch back paths and observed the valley wall opposite with its huts and caves—many people stopped to stare at us—a fabulous landscape

Movie scheduled this evening but I went to bed at 8:45 and slept late, until 6:30

Virginia Robson

Reported on meeting with Crooks on May 9, 1977

He was framed as a spy during Cultural Revolution and was allegedly the fall guy for the losing faction at Peking University—no explanation as to what the factions fought over—released and taught English to seminar of 11, 9 of whom were responsible for imprisoning him—they’re all friends

Premier Chou had banquet for him and hundreds of others like him

They attacked “lies” about Chiang Ching in Witke book

Q: How could she fool so many people for so long?

A: You have to live here to understand

Yenan—May 10, 1977

Revolutionary Museum—arranged by Rev. Stages

“left opportunist line”

To wage struggle against petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie—no alliances—pursued sectarian politics in ruthless fashion; corrected in 1935 at Shensi Conference

“left opportunism” had three leaders at different stages including Wang Ming

Excluded Mao from central com. 1931-35(?)

Right opportunist line also right capitulationism, also led by Wang Ming during anti-Japanese struggle

6th Plenary Session 1038, repudiated line was capitulationist and subordinate party within the United Front—Chiang Ching also supporter of right opportunist line

Chang Ch Cho agent of RMT—attacked Lu Shan literary leader—advocated “alliance”

[“right” = all alliance and no struggle]

Chiang Ching supported KMT in 193 by supporting art performance to give \$\$ to KMT

Another aspect of “left” line is adventurous battlefield tactics

Both “left” and “right” opposed Mao’s peasant strategy in the 20s

Gang of Four opposed old revolutionary cadre—called them “democrats”—alleged that they would be capitalist readers

Gang of Four influenced museum

Distinguish democratic revolution against bureaucratic capitalist in alliance with petty bourgeois and socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie

Museum organized into 7 parts for different stages of coming to power, mostly photos and maps and Mao’s unnamed stuffed horse

The caves rather boring—various residences of Mao, Chou Che Te during Yenan period

Anecdotal re: their exploits and tireless work

First girl spoke reverentially re: O Lin Piao removed

Chiang Ching removed

Quiet and serene to visit

Our guides almost eager to have photos taken there

Cultural Night

Variety show of ballet, classical music and songs
 Provincial professional company
 Big production number in celebration to 1942 Production Campaign
 A song to Chairman Hua anti-Gang of Four
 Moderate skill—no acrobatics —good music
 Propaganda element crude—nothing noble in the series of short numbers we saw
 Clapped us in and out in perfunctory fashion

.....

Cartoons on Gang of Four removed from street
 Corner after photographed by Cathy S. this a.m.—later removed

May 12, 1977

Yenan Generally

Little children gather in groups to clap and wave us everywhere we go
 River very low
 Last of the caves we toured this a.m. was a bore—guide spoke for one hour on the tactical wisdom of Mao's decision to pull out in 1946 when KMT attacked —must be sensitive point
 A lot of play being given to other revolutionary leaders

Generally

Politics seem less visible than I expected—few signs evident
 Was the Cultural Revolution press overkill?
 Ray mentions friends living in Shanghai during Cultural Revolution who hear or saw nothing of the alleged violence
 Gang of Four something the same—doesn't appear to affect lower echelons typical answer we get is that they had "no followers but some influence which has been corrected"—People seem ready to talk about it but don't know more than was written in the newspapers

Ray told me White Haired Girl originally an opera developed in the early days in Yen-an—opera dwelled more on details of early oppression and in it was actually raped not simply threatened as in the ballet

May 12, 1977—1:30 arrival

Sian

2.5 million—provincial capital Shaanhsi Tang-Chou, Ch'in, and Han Dynasties—1,180 was capital
 Headquarters of early peasant uprising
 Industrial output 40x that of 1949; grain output 3.5 x that of 1949, from 2 to 13 institutes of higher learning from 1949—6x the number of students
 Ta Chi—agriculture
 Ta Ching—industry

SIAN—#4 Textile Mill—N.W. Sian

1 Director of Office Mr. Leo

2 Cadre of Rev. Comm.

Built in 1954 and producing since 1956

130,000 spindles, 3240 automatic looms—all made here in China

60% women workers of 7,140 workers

Factory meets national quota every year esp. after Cultural Revolution

Gang of Four has disrupted somehow —couldn't follow

Factory has dormitories for workers, shops, restaurants, barber shop—swimming pool—sports, theatre, kindergarten and nursery, junior middle school and primary school and July 21

University

Spinning up from 40 to 60 thousand daily after Gang of Four overthrown

Weaving exceeded daily quota—\$280,000 up to \$340,000 after

Gang of Four gone—1,700 workers take part in management i) workshops; 2) factory; 3) production team levels

Per Ansham Constitution

Visited nursery—

Signs all over the factory praising and encouraging individuals

Q: exactly what did Gang of Four do?

Brown line

Wage spread and women's place in it

Women's place in RC

Last strike and why

Women in 3 in 1 committees

Workers University

Question Period—

No strikes or stoppage last year though production target not quite met because of a) influence of Gang of four; b) low attendance; c) inefficient equipment

Generally on Production Problems

Gang of Four never visited here, but influence felt some followers pushed their line—expressed as follows: put organization into confusion by advocating throwing out capital readers. 50% and of cadre at workshop level were criticized and repudiated and on R.C. for Factory excluded followers of Mao and accused them of being capitalist readers and tried to replace them by their own men—prevented formation of leadership and leadership in grasp rev. and promote production

Persecuted leading cadre

Accused leaders of being followers of theory of “productive forces”—use production to suppress revolution

[WHAT HAPPENED TO FOLLOWERS?]

They would criticize workers who wanted to work

[WHAT DID THEY DO WHILE IN POWER]

This resulted in poor maintenance—1.1 mil of yen and 5.8 mil meters of cloth lost

Decrease of 6.4% in production

Said regulation designed to suppress the workers—under their influence, some workers left their jobs—described themselves as legalists who didn't engage in production—attendance fell to 70% at most serious—average of 20% during their influence—WHAT WERE ABSENT WORKERS DOING—WHERE THEY PAID—WERE THESE FOLLOWERS PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE IN STRIKES OR CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND IN WHAT WAY

2 or 3 followers were here but self-criticism and assistance was successful and we're allowing rehabilitation

Since mill started, never been stoppage

For tardy workers, we use patient education, no punishment

Can have leave for family matters

Factors in poor attendance

Some came to mill but didn't work

Called "professional revolutionaries"

Some did other things at home and shouldn't be paid per constitution, but they still got paid

Three members of RC of Factories are followers—1 chairman, 6 vice chairman and 3 followers were Vice-Chairs

Gang of Four controlled Mass Media and pushed counter-revolutionary line and therefore influence was great

Two have admitted mistakes to workers and returned to Mao-line and hold same position

Third member hasn't made deep relations of errors—is working with workers and criticizes the Gang—he has further chance to return to fold and get his job back—no disciplinary actions

Role of Women:

60% of workers are women

23 on R.C. of factory

4 are women, 2 Vice Chairmen

157 women cadre—34% of cadre

41% of party members here are women

70% of Youth League are women

20 women are in high position in factory

50% of advanced workers are women
 80% of women in forefront of production
 Women's Fed encourages women in production drive—socialist emulation drive

Average wage of workers—60Y—cost of nursery and daycare
 8 grade wage system—32Y-104Y
 Women on average in weaving workshop earn more because of higher skill
 Before Revolution, few skilled workers and since then Party exchanges them

Workers University
 Graduated 3 groups of students—1 to 2 year programme train worker technicians—enroll only after 3 years work; selected and approved by workers after graduation to production to become skilled workers

Cultural Performance—Siang Song & Dance Co.

Hail Historical Victory
 Male and female chorus
 A little acrobatics—that were excellent—ends with Ch. Hua—Chau calls this entertainment for the people not intellectuals* (*they need something more subtle)—very bright costumes

Chorus Songs—Scratch the Gang of Four—humorous style

Flute solo with small orchestra: i. Birds of Forest; ii. Busy in Transportation of Grain—EXCELLENT

Dance —Transportation of Grain in Water Area

Duet—Bear in Mind the Great Favour of Ch. Mao for generations
 Universalize Ta Chi type consciousness
 A new look all over the country

Dance of Happy Light—to music and song set—house with Mao picture backdrop—mountain claim and hydro wires
 Note announcer style

Couple dance—hang an electric light bulb over Mao—suddenly lights come on all over backdrop—on the tower and the light itself

7 Violins & Accordion
 Red Sun on Ching Kon Mountain—Walk the Path of Tai Chi

Dance Under Grape Vine—non-political chorus dance

Accordion Solo
 Peking City in my Heart
 Songs:

People's Commune is a Golden Bridge
 Cow Song —Chan thinks it was excellent

Ferry Crossing Dance
 Only toe dancer—used very little—men wear stockings on their face—young girl entrusted with responsibility of boat—bad egg comes along with basket on his back—She deliberately rocks boat—he puts down basket—won't reveal contents—then spilled—stolen radio, big fight—she wins—audience laughs—he goes into water—fight in the water—old man comes back to help—she slaps him big smack

Soprano Solo
 Works on Ch. Mao are brilliant
 I offer the Best Song in My Heart
 Weave the Golden Embroidery—popular song—dance to same song in Yenan
 Wave upon Wave in Honan Lake—also done last night in Yenan
 Heavy Snow in Deep Winter

Woman Guerrillas in Grassland
 Women with guns
 Chan—"lovely soldiers, eh"

Music—generally shrill or sharp with great percussion—Mao said give masses loud upbeat music
 Generally the Gang opposed ethnic art and these shows reflect new freedom

Friday, May 13, 1977

Hushian Peasant Art
 Developed in 1958 during Great Leap Forward—originally 7 painters
 Mainly poor and lower middle peasants
 Team of \$3,000 in Art Team
 Produced 80,000 pieces in
 1000 pieces in praise of Hua and the historical victory
 300 pictures criticizing the gang of four
 Painting teams at each level of the commune
 Huge mob waited for us outside the store

Mr. Chou when Ed Waitzer accidentally took a polaroid picture
 "You just wasted a dollar—a peasant would work all day to earn that much"

Discussion—Mr. Jung on bus to Hushian

I suggested two models of anarchism—A—struggle against work (alienated); B—struggle for ultra-democratic control

Absenteeism suggests A; criticism of cadre suggests B

Jing amused by the thought of B

Gang of Four advocated lessening of wage differential—Mao line says during socialism from each according to his ability to each according to his work—only when communism arrives will be it according to his needs

Asked about spillover between factory and neighbourhood politics—he had no answer

Gang of Four said rules and regulation were means of controlling workers but not detailed declaration of this policy

Gang of Four said those who follow Mao “Grasp Revolution and Promote Production” were followers of theory of productive forces

Explained my interest in Gang of Four was to understand the dialectical process at work

From Ray W. on bus back from Hushien Peng was acting Premier Chou was dying—November 1975

Attacks on him started immediately forced out by February

March or April mourning day for Chou was banned by the Gang in Tun An Mien and this exposed them publicly

Were the Gang opposed to Chou or just ancestor worship? Their opposition to glorifying heroes of the long march is consistent—i.e. worship only Mao

Memo—May 13, 1977

The Chinese are not so inscrutable as alleged. After a few days of diplomatic prancing, we have settled into a cordial frank give-and-take relationship with Mr. Jeng and Mr. Chou. The exception to this observation is the saga of Cathy's film which I write off to Peking politics; the Ministry of Health has apparently fallen. In any event, I have several occasions for friendly discussions of priorities and possibilities with Mr. Jeng. Not only are they co-operating with us, they seem to be making a real effort on our behalf, and are quite open about what they can and cannot do.

The group seems reasonably calm and satisfied. Several comments have been made how calmly things are going. Ray remains friendly and very very busy organizing every little thing. He realizes he talks too much. He said the other day, “I answer every question whether or not I know the answer”. Altogether very helpful. Indeed the group is quite resourceful and good about getting things done.

Judy B. had a little sulk at Hu Hsien today when it appeared question period would be cut and threatened not to ask questions. Ray handled very nicely. She clearly doesn't like me and would prefer a showier style of leadership.

I'd feel better if I trusted Ray completely. I suspect he resents my leadership feeling he has more expertise and experience. He does. But then, he's lucky to be along. I also suspect he's trying to show me up by his busy busy. Should keep him out of trouble, I hope.

I am getting little feedback from the group. A few comments "how are you bearing up", etc.. It worries me why I should feel any strain. I hope my detached mode of behavior has the desired effect on the group—to prevent quarrels—and that they don't want pizzaz.

PM after lunch, left a 2:30 for famous pagoda and Hot Springs. A bust. Not enough time. Either place. Ray blew at pagoda because everyone wasn't close at hand to leave early. Quite unreasonable.

Sian hotel the Russian monster

Ray rushing around even more the usual this afternoon. Made insulting remarks against me in Buddhist shrine—this frowning Buddha was group leader. Belam defended me. Sweet lady. She likes me.

Train ride a good break. Frankly, I worried Ray was about to try something. Maybe his scene with Allison and Barb destroyed him.

One compartment had serious discussions with other serious drinking. Can't say I felt very cheerful. I think we alarmed Mr. Cheng on the subject of foreign policy; he ran off. Chau ran off when the question of sex came up in the other group.

SIAN & train ride to WUHAN—late afternoon May 13—all day arrive 4 PM May 14/77

SPENT—67.84 cake and booze

Perhaps Ray has reason to be jealous of my position here. But he knew and agreed to the situation. Which couldn't have been otherwise given his citizenship. No direct evidence of jealousy—only him trying to take over.

But others may think I have position of virtue of NAE. (Telegram crack.) (maybe Beakman?) I resent that kind of attack.

May 14—Group meeting on the train

RE: Agenda—Report by CMC on negotiations—extra requests esp. hospital cancer and barefoot doctor training. Ray on Mauti. Richard H. commented no excuse. (I don't think there ever was a problem.) No major complaints. We made plans to keep together more. Ray and I at front and back. Judy says my speeches are fine, but I practice too much consensus politics. Should tell people what to do. (Try telling her what to do.)

May 14/77 Wuhan

Mr. Chen—local boss

Pan—branch workers
 Lee—branch workers
 Cheen—branch workers

2,700,000—comprehensive industrial city
 Pivot of river transportation—capital Hopei Prov.
 1911—Rev of S. Yat Sen took place here
 1923—Hangaw Strike leading to founding of party—workers from Peking—Hangou—went out starting the strike
 Note various sections of the City
 Mao's institute on Peasant Rev. happened here 1927
 Rep. of Inv. On Hunan Peasant Movement

Since Lib., became sufficient and lots of heavy industry
 Gang of Four interfered here
 What is it
 [sabotaged politic, economic and organizationally, they alleged Mao didn't correctly analyze classes in China and that they could give better analyze, they attacked old revolutionary comrades for becoming democrats and cap. Readers
 They said 3-in-1 was old middle age and the rebellious not just the young rebellious could be any age
 In the summer, they attempted to put their allies in leading posts in R.C.
 Hotel in former foreign sections held by French fire—flood in the 50s
 You ask—How could Gang carry on this way within the Party?
 Because acted in name of Mao and had leading posts and controlled mass media
 Programme
 Hupei Museum of relics
 Sightseeing in East Lake Park
 People's Commune]—[Performance
 And Farm Implements Factory]

Next day—Wuhan University on Rev. Educ. with special experts

Museum very good—small—two galleries—usual bad lighting—apparently excellent collection of old relic to Ming and Ching glazes
 Very representative of various stages
 Quick tour the group stayed as close together to be falling all over one another

East Lake Park nice—Lake 2 kilometers across—manicured trees all around
 One great scene—narrow finger between bay and lake lined with trees
 A typical arch bridge in the middle
 Group of kids wandering along silhouetted against the evening sky

My romantic imagination returns

My sympathies to acrobats of Wuhan. There aren't enough busses

Our guides here speak excellent English though they don't know it. Want to learn slang. I started a discussion about the Gang asking for the concrete demands for their followers. They said no discipline, no rules and regulations defended irregular hours. Rejected any implication the Gang were concerned with working conditions which the Gang denounced as economist—want to study politics all the time

This city is terrific. Very lush. Streets double tree-lined, but much bigger than Peking. The Yangtze, with hundreds of boats, is enormous. At least $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide. City almost all low rise. Many stores wide open to street. Very colourful with goods on display. Many two story worker cottages. Other buildings reasonable modern because everything was rebuilt after 1911 fire. Not so many unsuccessful courtyards as Peking. People less impressed with foreigners. Don't follow. Wearing open shirts and more colourful clothes. Almost seems Parisian bohemian. Walked down back residential ally. Passed men playing cards on street. Down to docks. Altogether filled with powerful images. Stores open to the streets. Two story workers' houses. Walked around at night to the Yangtze River and smaller wharfs. Atmosphere of waterfront adventure. Grubby tugs etc.. Sense of street gangs. Great variety of clothing.

May 15, 1977

Walked around 6-7AM streets of Wuhan. Very exciting. So much happening. Many open air restaurants. People hanging out washing. Cleaning (?) Rolling brickett. Making shoes. Shopping. Small crowd would gather if we stopped. Steam mist and smoke rising. Dramatic. Another image of China—saw only my human wreck. Marie warned by Peking relatives to watch her purse in Wuhan.

Discussion on bus on way to Commune

Quizzed about parties, role of each, nature of NDP—role of unions—who supports NDP—revolutionary party—do workers support union

Comments on G of F:

There were demos in support of Chung after Chou's death by G of F supporters

Same difficulties in Wuhan at memorial time—G of F opposed memorials

G of F opposed disciplinary procedures re: lateness, rules and regulations as oppression of workers—opposed work for workers safety and conditions as economist—wanted political study—reject my analogy to protest against work conditions—workers can work for improvement

Commune

Rice—two crops—May and October with rapeseed in winter—Rice we saw was planted two weeks—raise seedlings in greenhouses

Persons

Vice Direction of RC of County

Vice Direction of City Office

Vice Chair, RC of Commune—City Seat Commune

Chair, RC of Brigade—Shang Yang facing the Sun Brigade

Visits—Capital Construction? Pigsties. Kindergarten. Families. Hospital.

In afternoon, visit the City level harvester factory

Briefing VC of RC of Commune from prepared speech that translator had

Founded in 1985—7 square kilometres

Town and countryside —4 brigades and 3 town R.C.'s—have local militia

22,111 of which 6,903 in countryside

Chief crops are grain and vegetables

Have marking board, police hospital, water co. and more—7 total of 11 co's—banking, culture, 6 schools and 1 kindergarten

48 professions produce 420 products

Improved cultivated land from 20 to 90% of the area

From 1 diesel engine to 185 pieces of equipment—are mechanized in irrigation husking and threshing

Grain and vegetables—2x prior to Cultural Revolution

Working on improved housing

Lots of visitors—prepared speech

Collective savings—76,000 Yen, savings 320,000 Yen of the Brigade and Production Team savings

Reserve grain belonging to Brigade—300,000 caddy

Newborn things growing

Have night school and cultural brigade

Have literature and propaganda team produce “colourful interesting things”

Hospital for Commune and health station and barefoot doctors in the brigade

Following learn from Tai Chi (?) studying Vol. 5

G of F opposed Learn from Tai Chi (?)

(Brady on the way into women's washroom—“What's this—another historic site?”—Mass Su broke up)

Tour

Show—primary school—all political songs—cheerleader style very scary—anti G of F chant Volume 5 dance

Brigade medical substation to service 1000 persons, 4 rooms, Nursery School—gave out

Pigsties—collective and private one pig per person raised collectively

Family Discussion

3 workers—11 members—gross income 1800—gross expenses 1300—had 500Y in the bank—saving for coloured cloth and weddings—W decides on \$\$—no TV—house built with assistance of neighbours—she bought materials and team built

Two teams lived in that particular village

Get 6 weeks off for maternity

4 Bedroom house—lots of nice wood furniture

One family said bars on windows because bad elements still a problem

A most lavish meal—true artistry—11 dishes—also hosting a City banquet

Question Period:

Main current objective replace shoulder as transport and mechanized planting to end back-breaking labour—have established five small industries: electric, fertilizer, steel, mines (coal), cement

There are enterprises run by commune and the brigade

Programme short of equipment and capital

Three sources of capital: a) accumulated surplus of team and brigade; b) enterprises run at each level; c) government gives some aid

Agriculture accumulation 70%) of savings—at what level

Enterprise accumulation 30%)

Get large loans from state for agricultural improvements and also for interim financing

Rich teams don't need state loans

Big machinery distributed by state according to plan

Middle and small machinery distributed by City

Tools bought by peasants

70-30 organic over chemical fertilizer regular soil analysis

Brigade processes brigade food—City processes for urban people

How state controls grain prices and supplies

RC of Commune

Cadre at commune earn a wage from state

Cadre at brigade earn work points

13 in RC of Commune

2 are original local members

11 are from other place

12 are party members

Houses are private property

Commune will buy old houses from peasants for cash and commune rents back to them—preferred by commune—also housing construction—individuals prepare

material—collective constructs—according to a plan—peasant will own the house—most of housing is private

Commune decides which team will build

Births down from 20 per 1000 to 7 per 1000—goal is 5 per 1000

State arranges exchange of food and equipment between city and country

Commune keeps grain for a) food; b) reserve; c) sells surplus to the state

PM

Tour of Hand Tractor Co. (prepared briefing)

Built during Cultural Revolution

530 employees—produces 3 “thresher” “Harvester” —under City Rev. Com.

7 workshops

1974 produced 107 tractors

1976 produced 803 tractors

Takes places of 40 people!

½ of equipment is made here

11 in RC

Most are workers with Socialist Consciousness and experience

Only 2 came from other factories

Originally part of another machinery factory; had assistance from state designed with assistance of state bureau = took opinions of peasants on design; produced only for this City and distributed by Farm Machinery Bureau

Cost of 2,260Y to produce—sold to state for 2,400Y—sold by state at 2,460Y

Amounts to 200Y subsidy—?

Of 530, 46 admin and technical, of which 16 are technicians

45 average—36-87Y range

Singles live in dorm @10 cents per month

Get special subsidies for nourishing food for health care

Financial assistance for those in need

Women are 1/3rd of factory staff—1 woman technician, 3 women cadre, and 1 woman on RC

Average women's wage is the same

Admin

Average

Lowest 40Y

Highest 70Y

Technician

Average

Lowest 45Y

Highest 50Y

Wages of leading cadre 40-70Y

Research Group on efficiency of the machine takes place at all levels

At Factory level, 9 members 3-3-3

Their innovations—64 major innovations, 1000 minor innovations—improved type of wheel for use in paddy wheel from rubber to iron

Ketsup—Best China

Wuhan seems rich. Hotel is best equipped yet. Red Guard show with multi-costumes
Head of travel service a real character. P'eng Supporter. Old army man, regaled the bus with Civil War stories. He, Ray and I discussed Gang of Four on the way back from the Commune. He was very glib

Underemployment evident. Three tables of us at commune lunch. Four tables of them.

Pace all day in the county was hectic. Tough job bringing up the rear and keeping the group together. Ed Waitzer made a joke of my reprimands and hung onto my coat like a kid.

RE: Gang of Four—Travel boss gave answers, translator deferred to him. Concrete example of Gang of Four disruption was calling meetings to criticize the cadre and interpreting them so they couldn't do their job. Gang of Four never got control of any factories in Wuhan. No age or occupation characteristic of their followers. I advanced a theory that struggle represents class differences and Gang of Four represent cadre seeking to avoid productive labour. Answer no. Gang of Four are reactionary counter revolutionaries. Not spies since liberation. At least no evidence discovered yet. Worse because they reveal secrets to the press.

Lin Piao advocated violence in Cultural Revolution. Chiang Ching said violence self defence.

Performance in hotel in evening. For us and a French delegation. Big boss probably recruited Red Guard for free, splurged on lunch and took all his cronies along.

Ages 8 to 14. Music, dance, solos. Three skits. One with bad element of robbers beaten by happy smiling children.

Another about Gang of Four with masks and another about Gang of Four without masks. That was very well done.

Everyone smiles. Postures. Cheerleader choreography. Heavy pro-Hua propaganda. Gang of Four skit done with great apparent animation. How come? It disgusts me. Kids shouldn't have that kind of discipline at that age.

Reviews

- 1 speak to Bill D.
- 2 Going through factories—speed posters

May 16

Tour of Wuhan University

Library—English Section (have Ayn Rand)

Laboratory—collection of stuffed animals—school run factories saw TV and manufacturing of silicone chips

Wuhan University

Briefing Chair of University Office—prepared speech

Various teachers—none on Rev. Com.

University has various factories—3,000 students, 1,200 teachers, and 800 cadre

Workers Prop. Team came under direction of the party

Main principles—i) working class control education; ii) prevent training of new aristocracy; iii) science department follows “open door” school; arts department follows “take whole society as our factory”—smashed divorce from practice, from workers and peasants and from politics and joined 3 revolutions—class struggle for production, for scientific experiments

Going to factory—36 occasions whole department has visited factories

Influence and sabotage of G of F—a) distorted Party ed. Principle—opposed training student with socialist consciousness; put stress entirely on social consciousness but no knowledge b) distorted M-L by opposing studying basic theoretical knowledge; c) distorted Mao line toward intellectuals [they’re all bad]

rev. Ed. In various Departments

Biology department—chair—still called Prof—spent his academic life here

Before Cultural Revolution method—i. book ii specimen, outside iii) taught students

Sought fame through discovery of new species—old education characterized by 3 divorces work not useful to state or the country but now our purpose is different—several people eg.

Previously in countryside we sought new species—now we study needs of and care of herbs and the medicinal use of herbs, do teaching research and production in the past student couldn’t do research work

Most of discussion a waste of time

History student: example of student trained by G of F—their model was student who submitted blank exam—slept late came in the window—Tsang/Tien/Sheng

Asked ourselves, could this be a model of a revolutionary—most thought him a bad student

We hid our opposition to this model all students opposed this bad example

Literature Professor

Before Cul. Rev., had no way to evaluate literature, old or foreign

Eg. Dreams of Red Chamber—classic novel—heroine constantly crying because of feudal oppression—hero couldn’t resist feudalism and gave up to become a monk—previously students didn’t see class basis of sentiments—students adopted the sentiments department now —researching how to combine rev. feudalism and rev. romanticism

Criticizing theories of G of F which emphasized main hero to exclusion of all middle characters

Cadre—2 or 3 followers of G of F who were ordinary cadre

Have reached no conclusion on their cases

Can read any bourgeois book in library as vaccination

Another discussion Mr. Cheng on the bus on the way to Wuhan University—suggested there must be a material base to G of F struggle for the followers eg. The cadre—he says no—just misled—class interests not so clearly definable—accepts class interests of new aristocracy during Cul. Rev.

Discussion at University regarded as very bad by most—would have preferred to hear from either biology prof or literature prof

Bob's written questions were ok, and would have yielded particular answers, but his oral question was vague and invited piles of BS down on us. Would have been better to break into groups but we had no warning we would be met by so many big wigs. I should have asked earlier about the programme by the time we got there it was too late

I felt sore throat, fever, etc., this day but not so bad to stay in bed

Rode on the plane to Nanking with Mr. Cheng. We discussed struggle between the superpowers. He asked my views, etc. Also asked if Canada dominated by US. I expounded my theory that international banking becoming an even higher form of imperialism

We didn't go on suggested afternoon programme in Wuhan to Buddhist temple . People took to the streets. Also the plan was ready to go early, so we had to round them up. Between Ray and one of the guides, we found 13 in 20 min. Rather hard for a big nose to lose himself in the streets of Wuhan.

There are not enough busses in Wuhan. No wonder there are mob scenes at the bus stops. We saw people running. Many busses with broken windows.

May 16/1977

Nanking

Briefing

Province Kiangsu

2400 years old—capital of many dynasties—Capital of Sun Yat Sen Republic and continued after CKShek betrayed

Programme—Discussion with Guides

AM— Industry—keep down to 1 or 2—

PM— Agriculture Res. [fish—fruit trees—strains of grain —pest control]
Opera—photos ok



AM—City Planning
 PM—Com. Party Site and Observatory—
 KH DING
 Free Banquet

AM—Sightseeing
 PM—Leaving at Noon

Breakfast 7:15 a.m.

Nanking appears to be a “beautiful city” by our standards. Many attractive buildings. Boulevards have separate bike tracks. Double and triple rows of mature trees. Hotel has manicured grounds. Roses. Good facilities. (Hard mattresses).
 To bed early—work up before six. Dreamed of learning French—fighting with father

Chiang Ning City
 Tues May 17, 1977

AM—trip to City Five Industries.
 Countryside all truck gardening = very attractive

Briefing—prepared and translator didn’t have a copy
 Mr. Yen—Ind Bureau of City and Director of Office of City
 Mr. Chang—In charge of Small Iron
 Mr?—also from foundry

City has 26 communes, 700,000 persons and 800,000 cultivated mo—have established 39 factories—with 6,000 workers
 Industrial program based on self-sufficiency and independence—obtain raw materials locally, eg. Iron mine
 Since 1970, use pig iron for agricultural machinery factory—36 products—mine limestone to make cement for water conservation
 Silk factory
 Set up plans ourselves
 Learned skills ourselves also by sending workers to large factories
 Have incase output chem fertilizers to 40,000T
 Cement production 35,000T
 Pig iron 13,000T
 Have supplied 25,000 pieces of agricultural equipment—last 7 days

Mechanization—the following areas—transport, plough, irrigation and drainage, drainage, fodder crushing
 Agricultural machinery factory has trained—10000 agricultural technicians
 Grain output has increased 75-76 up 23%
 G of F pursued ultra-right reactionary line—no followers here—sabotage serious here
 Spread counter-rev opinion through mass media
 Slandered hard-working masses, saying they're pulling carts with heads bowed without looking to see the road ahead—i.e. productive forces
 Fertilizer factory closed for 110 days because of transport problems due to sabotaged by G of F

Iron and steel has 600 workers 1970
 Fertilizer has 700 workers 1965
 Produces ammonia carbonate
 Agriculture machinery factory 560 workers 1968
 Tractors and threshers
 Filature Mill—400 workers 1970
 Silk thread
 Cement (a) 1956 } 200
 (b) 1975 }

Briefing
 Re: Steel Foundry
 Whether a loan depends on need—leadership will apply for a loan—goes to City level for approval
 Q—what happens if you can't pay
 Then to state level
 Q—loans between local industries
 All loans paid back in one year—other sources of capital
 When just built designed and made by small foundries that were amalgamated—Q any small ones left?
 Some large items bought by the state
 Only financing required 800,000Y first year—invested by the country
 Innovation processes transport within the plant and Sulphur separation effect reduce labour intensity
 Production costs lower than small furnaces—1 tonne costs 200Y
 Division of labour clear cut and co-ordination close
 Meet 1 time every 3 days
 Workers at each stage met every day
 City may subsidize repayment if necessary

 Wages for workers, technicians and cadres similar

Min Max Average

Workers	34-36	53	40
Cadre)	36	65 (two at 90)	
Technicians)(same)			

Some of the technicians and cadres selected from among the workers and they don't care about it; it is division of labour —salaries remain same; some veteran revolution cadre earns a little more

RE: Filature Mill

Completely newly built in 1970 during Cul. Rev.—not an amalgamation

Capital came from the City—investment of \$400,000—principle equipment bought by state, the rest made here

A lot of innovations in 1970 on mechanization of process of filature—got assistance from a) other filature factories; b) limited state aid by giving equipment; c) self-help

Wage—Scale

More women in this workforce

Same wage scale—same wage for equal

Re: City investments

Ind. Bur. Calculates capital from reduced benefits

All 5 industries give 40% of profits to State Govern—0% of profits kept by City Govern.

Amount invested in each factory and decision what type to set up determined by possibilities and needs—availability of raw materials and marketing locally

Don't establish new industry unless you're local plan is approved by Municipal Bureau in

Nanking which governs all suburban areas

Get state subsidy for loss of rice trans planters—costs 150Y to produce and sold at 90Y

Pig iron casts \$240 Y and sold to City Industries at 150Y

Loss subsidized by the City

630,000Y is not profit of Iron Foundry —is amount of accumulated profit distributed by City to communes

Enterprises make a profit and state distribution agency gives the subsidy

Silk will make \$\$

PM—Research Institute of Agric. Science of Kiangsu

Director of Office and various workers—briefing by Directors

Departments: 1) good grains, 2) industrial crops, 3) soil improvement and fertilizers; 4) plant protection; 5) fruit and gardening; 6) agro physics and chemistry; 7) livestock

700 workers

Rice, wheat, corn and sweet potato—local crops

Cotton soybean nape seed

Research areas fruit—crop rotation—seed strains—chemical fertilizers—fodder

Network of 1.2 mil. Science workers throughout the province—team from provincial office go regularly to fields to work with peasant

14 substations with professional staff—teams from local areas come here for research

Research work influence but not really interfered with; we were confused ideologically and speed of research work affected

Look around: 1) grain exhibits new strains; 2) high yield plot—1 ½ ton per mo—6 mo = 1 Acre
3) wet crops—two rice and one wheat ; 3 arid—wheat, corn and sweet potatoes; 3) specimen room for pests and diseases

Mr. Cheng liked my crack as follows—Brody “Eagles are endangered species” Eagle is endangered all over the world—one of your eyes is bigger than the other—it looks like a false eye—as I dawdle behind group he heckled “bourgeoisie right”

Brody—why is the rice in Japan better than the rice in India?

Judy B—what hybrid is this = Nanking #9 & Nanking #22—Oh

Of the pest display— isn’t this one beautiful

Treatment of night soil—don’t generally apply too much chemical, fertilizer—two methods—tie and sink into water or in pits—mix sixth river silt—put in human night soil

A most amazing collection of questions from dumb city folk on pigs, bugs, rice, corn, night soil, phosphate grain yield—how ignorant I am!

Re: The new pig virtues expounded

Judy—does it have any disadvantages?

Judy—Q.—plant hormones

Sister Chiang

Set in Szechuan pre revolution—communist heroes in western area dress very plain—suit & coat—audience talks constantly—percussion paced all through it

KMT are typical grease balls

Act 1—she leaves city and intrigue

Act @—arrives in north part of province—thigh length blue dress—political leader of guerilla is Comrade PUN who is husband of heroine

PUN has been executed—mean police search her purse—stormy grief

ACT 3—Guerilla camp—leader is lady—pearl gray hair = grey serge yellow flannel coat—they decide not to tell her of death—she arrives blue pant suit—checked blue blouse—finally slips out—general discussion of desire for revenge but Chieng says hold off for general attack

ACT 4—Local general’s house—interrogate traitor Mr. who about locating Chiang on orders from Generalissimo

ACT 5—Roadside Café—Commie Leader fools dumb KMT guard of arms shipment

KMT boss recognizes Chiang good acrobatic fight—commies make off with the arms—gun shots offstage, more bad guys arrive looking for commies—quivering cowards—big boss in white

suite and pith helmet arrive and complains of bungling—also spy comes along—Chiang declared omen evening
Chiang in pants and long sleeved blouse—blue combination

ACT 6—betrayed and captured—double blue

ACT 7—Sumo—US co-operative Camp—dark blue high cut—suit & red sweater—big boss comes in for a cordial talk
Extended argument in song on class struggle—she tells him off and ends up at his desk
She walks willfully into the fiery furnace

ACT 8 —Jail

Crazy man leader of peasant leader—Chiang is dark blue sack dress—she and the girls plot escape—they come for executions—lead off some party leaders—she goes for execution but for some reason is reprieved—old madman reveals his political sympathies

ACT 9—Guerilla & Commies attack

Chiang in blue jeans and different checked blue dress and red sweater

Old man brings a note that Commies have won the war

Women prisoners embroider the flag

They escape—big fight—great acrobatics

Peter B. sees socialist emulation campaign as beginning of individualism—praise of individual

.....

May 18 AM Breakfast

Cold has broken—more stuffed but feel better—late for breakfast—Ray makes jokes about mutiny

French shrinks finally met Chinese counterparts and were satisfied—all low level illnesses handled at home —only admitted to hospital after 1 year struggle in Community—say they have all of our psychiatric tools

May 18, 1977

AM—Briefing on City Planning

Population 3,200

Capital of 6 dynasties, walls date from Ming Dynasty 600 years ago

Surrounded by mountains and lovely river valleys, massive civil improvements since liberation

Pre-liberation—300+ slums with 50+ households—they have gradually been transformed

Their work includes extensive drainage and irrigation work—re-routing rivers and coordinating city drainage with country-side

Pre-liberation 400 km of mostly narrow roads, now 1000 km

Water supply has tripled since Liberation

Tree planting is all post-liberation, 200,000 trees line the street

Questions:

There is a national plan re: cities [WHAT DOES IT DO?]

There are general and specific plans for the city—general plan covered moving RR track from city to suburbs, Nanking Yangtze River Bridge—Boulevards—early stages of housing programme, masses given state aid to transform by themselves the slum areas, now City builds new buildings

Remaining private houses are small % but can be used to exploit others—no rental

Will compensate for houses that are taken over

With 7% of cultivated land of world we feed 1/5 of world population

Skipped the rest of the meeting to sleep and recover

Picked up Journey to the Beginning in the room

“When I first reached Shanghai, I was every youth, full of curiosity and wide open to the world”. Cursed the loud propaganda machine outside the window as I lay down. But she stopped talking and played the Internationale. The chills ran up and down my body. The blissful silence save the distant drone of the traffic and horns.

Peter returned to report on the meeting. Thought it was magnificent. Totally non-political. Our best session. He was utterly fascinated that guiding principles of planning were to prevent private control of the means of production and to reduce differences between workers and peasants, mental and physical labour and town and country. Also his theories on the dialectic of the automobile and highways.

PM

The group has gone sightseeing and I’ve stayed to rest although I feel almost better. Feels great to be free of responsibilities for a while. An opportunity is granted for reflection.

The dinner this evening seems on the tracks. Ray is off to see K.H. Ding instead. A solo visit is all that is manageable apparently.

Everyone seemed happy with AM session on planning, especially its non-political nature.

Paranoid thoughts of attack by Ray welled up this AM, triggered solely by one of his snide remarks* (*also “Mr. Leader can people leave meeting early?”) about the fact that I looked ill. I must watch myself. I started to snap back. Yesterday he cleared a routine announcement with me—the first time ever, and I so commented to D. Barlow. And at lunch I let slip his visit to Ding that was to remain confidential and also made some jokes about his drinking. All in all, things are going well enough. Simply must remain steady to the end. I have little sense of how I am perceived and whether I am doing a good job. What are the criteria anyhow?

At a deeper level, my experience with this group seems the perfection of my distant way of relating to people. I believe it has set the right tone for the trip, but it is a very strange space.

Ed W. commented, “You’d think you were sincere making these speeches.” People seem to

accept me as a trustworthy mediator of interests. Also I can organize and ask questions much better than anyone else.

But in this position, I don't feel I can make friend without destroying my impartiality. Fugere complimented me, saying I'm probably being more "human" now than in other circumstances of my life. I wonder. Does this total devotion to my role in the group make me more human, does it transcend the apparently total alienation?

I commented at lunch at City Town Commune that being a lawyer had altered my personality in that I am beginning to internalize the values of the performance I am always putting on. In their words, a public personality.

Question to push ahead or draw back. Is it the path to a socialist consciousness? Or ultimate alienation? Is there a new level of friendship to be discovered once securely established in my new role?

Maybe I've drifted off with the birds? Maybe effective leadership is in Ray's hands? Maybe I'm rationalizing a very foolish position? I don't know.

Watch out for dinner

16.40Y each

Should put in 16.40 from kitty, divided into 24

Multi-toasts—the elephants of Nanking, the Emperor Chin

Mr. Jeng kept toasting friendship

Menu to be translated

Ray went to meet with K.H. Ding reported back:

Banquet—Kiang Su Restaurant of Nanking

1 Assorted cold dishes—sugared dried shrimp, sugared walnuts, duck slivers, peas, dried fish, marinated cucumbers, bamboo slices (arranged as rosettes, brown dried mushrooms), salted duck slices 2. fried dove egg yolks and deep fried shrimp on toast; 3. Shelled shrimps scrambled in scrubbed egg whites; 4. Broad beans with shredded ham garnish; 5. Duck tongues buried in egg white; 6. Cuttle fish (squid) with minced chicken; 7. Boneless Nanking duck stuffed with assorted vegetables, cutlets and surrounded by egg dumplings; 8. Sweet and sour mandarin fish; 9. Fine apples and tangerine fruit salad; 10. Water bamboo shoots in milk 11. Supreme chicken soup and fish balls; 12. Chinese sweets—like rice meringue balls with chocolate filling

Tsingtao beer, Mastai and Plum Wine—no rice—Mr. Chou's message with translation—16Y—½ a peasant's monthly income

May 19, 1977

Visited Sun Yat Sen memorial

Beamless Temple

1929 Pagoda

Lake Park

Worship of Sun puzzles me—Chau wouldn't admit a subsequent revolution against Sun would be necessary

KH Ding involved in United Front politics still

The trickiness of dealing with Com. in United Front is brought home—they treat their alliances seriously. But the writing is on the wall.

Entry—Ray 17Y for booze—he is now even

I suggested to Mr. Jeng on train to Shanghai Ct's should be independent of government to prevent abuse by party renegades—no reply—we rely on education—party won't yield control of everything—besides independence of Justice a myth—is it?

Discussion re: Stay

SHANGHAI

PM Leave

Friday 21	AM	8:00	Docks	#9 working zone
	PM	2:00	Legal (2 to skip)	
	PM	7:00		

Saturday 22	AM	8:00	Tool Plant
	PM	2:00	Journalism (Liberation Daily—4 skip)
	PM		Free—have her for dinner

Sunday 23	AM	8:30	Children's Palace (there are 11 in town)
	PM		Free—Town—Shop
	PM		Dance/Opera—The Dagger Society 1850 uprising

Monday 24	AM		High Com. Pros & drugs
			Hospital
	PM		National Congress
	PM		Free

Tuesday 25	AM	8:30	LEAVE
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Items to Cover

Docks Work Zone

Children's Palace

Machine tool Plant (Workers University)—students not in school now

Discussions —Legal/Journalism/Neighbourhood Rev. Com—transformation of old vice

Com. Party Founding Site

Evening—Acrobatics Dance Opera
 ½ day free and shopping

Meeting of Group
 Agenda
 Passport
 Banquet—Ray & Maria
 Adoption of Programme
 Judy's Report

Docks
 Ray—Judy, Dave, Debbie, Bill
 FRIDAY A.M. 7:15

Legal
 CMC—Peter, Ed W. Don B.
 LUNCH FRIDAY

Machine Tools	Journalism
CMC	Ray
Judy	Cathy
Debbie	Maria
Bill	Phil
Dave	Debbie
Bob F.	Alison
(Friday Dinner)	(Saturday AM)

Notes on Meeting of Group
 Everyone too tired to argue, even let me appoint myself and Ray to every discussion group without opposition
 Groups set up to pursue questions
 A few additional requests

Shanghai
 Walk after meeting—Wonderful, Ship lit up and dark around the harbor. Tus chugging and slinking around masts lit—dark semi submerged flows in two. Horns blast. Tin old tower clock chimes 11. Rain, rain, mist and horns. Rusting hulls. Tangled cranes towers loaders
 Expected Marlon Brando to step out of fog at any moment. Where are you Marlene Dietrich, Humphrey Bogart—dressed like characters from Revolutionary Opera

Pesa Hotel —the Grand Hotel of Shanghai 1923—enormous rooms—a sofa, two chairs—soft mattress—golden painted dragon, etc. in dining room

Friday, May 21, 1977

Docks—Briefing

Mr. Lee	Leading member RC—tough old nut, heavy bags under eyes
Mrs. Su	leading member trade union
Mr. Lee	leading member Com. Youth League
Mrs. Wong	Staff member—trade union for women's affairs

Working Zone #9—Shanghai Harbour

Transfer to RR & Inland water transport and also to Shanghai plants

Six births—10,000T of freight capacity—30,000 sq. meters of warehouse and storage space inside—200 trucks and forks—2.8 mil tons of cargo handled
2,500 employees

Among stevedores, 8 teams; 1 truck team, 1 warehouse team, 1 team for foreign freighters

Welfare Facilities—dining room, nursery

1959 major construction and renovation of docks but still fail to meet needs “must to be desired”

G of F exerted a lot of influence

Cited an example of speed-up in unloading in half time

Union Staff here has a staff of six

Tour of docks

Workers used to stop when it rained, now they work—the G of F are smashed

Questions

Re: strikes and slowdowns

Built in 1959 and equipment was backward no buildings—much labour was shovel, pole and bucket

Stoppage never occurred here

Slow down due to management and deck leaders, et. Don't allocate resources efficiently due to shortcomings of management

Influence of the Gang here—eg. Wanted to establish system for participation of masses—Chiang (G of F)

Suggested building a factory without rules or regulations

If we attempt to discipline production accused of attacking masses and advocating theory of productive forces; therefore cadre couldn't do good management job because cadre couldn't discipline various undisciplined phenomena occurred

Slowdown

Also sometimes made off with tools on departing ships

1975 party investigated started closer management of tools and machines on the docks
 Mass discussion on rules and regulations—leaders summarized and placed proposed rules under mass discussions
 Not control “strange, and suppression of masses” as G of F alleged—this had popular support –
 Reorganization saved 100,000Y
 Big character poster—We want to be master of dock rather than the slaves of tonnage”
 “this is counter-revolutionary”—in other words, can’t work enthusiastically for soc. Rev. to sit idly made you master of the dock
 This “viewpoint reactionary to the hilt”
 Aimed against Mao and Chou
 Since the smashing dock now better—workers ahead of schedule
 The rules and regulations re: control of tools and machines are new—during Cul. Rev., masses repudiated Lui Sho Che line and his rules and since 1975, they have taken part of the old rules and modified them
 “hard to say % of involvement in this big character poster and how to deal with them.
 “quite a number deeply influenced”
 Even before G of F smashed many boycotted G of F by their deeds
 Eg. A few came late and left early [an example of G of F influence!]
 Eg. Out of team of 20, 4 or 5 might be G of F slowdown types
 This poster was written by workers at Dock #5 in 1973 or 1974 under influence of G of F—aimed at creating confusion in production and seize party and state power and affected #9 Docks
 Followers were keen on “anarchism”
 20 year old author of this poster in #5 is being re-educated—G of F took advantage of this poster

Q to trade union Miss Su union leader—most machine-like creature
 Working since 1958—at first an apprentice welder
 “due to trust of workers pushed to leading post since 1969”
 Union works under unified party leadership

Functions

A mass org—a big family for working class
 Organize, study M-L and expose G of F
 Educate workers to patriotism and internationalism
 Party member and on RC of factory
 During cultural revolution workers rose in rebellion against LSC revisionism—we criticized bourgeoisie—“grasped rev and promoted production”—resisted economism which to me was illustrated by someone trying to pay me more but we gave it back

Q to Mr. Lee—Com. Youth League—relaxed type
 Since 1968, many new young new workers
 Young workers earn roughly equal wages in all areas
 Majority are stevedores veteran stevedores earn 80-90Y and new stevedores earn 40-50Y
 Average for the dock is 60Y

Cadre veterans earn more—new cadre 40-60Y

Will raise wages of lowest in accordance with development of production

Now 70% of workers are young; their attitude improved under tutelage of veteran workers who have comparatively higher social awareness because they suffered under old regime—some of better educated youth preferred office work to manual labour—young workers have better access to newly emerging technology

Majority live in dormitory or residences supplied by the Dock in the vicinity and transport provided—dock building housing every year—last year 3,000 sq. meters—for those living downtown docks given 5Y subsidy a month for bus pass and workers pay 1Y themselves

Discussion Guide on the way back

Mostly young workers influenced by the poster

No specific programme of running factories without rules—just general attitude

Sequence of events—1973 after support by G of F of the posters rules fell into disuse

PM Legal Discussion—People's Court

Mr. Lee) Judges Shanghai People's Court

Mr. Ching)

Court system in Shanghai by Mr. Ching

Shanghai has 1 High People's Court; 1 Intermediate People's Court (20) District and City Courts
Courts under absolute leadership of party

Tasks:

Punish counter rev. and criminals

Do a good job handling contradictions among people

Propaganda work with people

In criminal situation, Pub Sec. Organ does investigation

Q. and pretrial hearing and if necessary, start proceedings in court

Eg: grocery store broken into—500Y and goods taken—total value 1,000Y—reported to district co. by clerks and by them to Party Com of the Co. Pub. Sec. Organ —investigation of the locale by Pals Sec. Org. who reported to Party Co. Comm.—found prints and clues—photograph—did prop. Work in people in the shop to expose bad elements in the his way, two clues obtained—a) petty theft in store common and b) one shop assistant appeared to have extra \$ to drink, etc.

Analysis of prints showed the prints of this particular assistant and another—questioned him—asked him to confess—follow policy of leniency if you confess and severity if not

Store leadership also gave education to help him confess; also parents got at him (his dad had worked for capitalists—he returned the stolen \$\$ and goods—offender was young person—confession stated he got on well with a neighbouring worker who took advantage and urged him to steal for personal indulgences of both—bourgeois tendency—worker informed

against—when Pub. Sec. Org. investigated this worker and discovered thefts at his place of work

Held meetings at Factory—co-workers cited facts that worker had light fingers—after further investigation, the defendant arrested and held in custody (with higher approval)—investigation of worker and in mass meeting continued—worker admitted theft—with approval of leaders of Pub. Sec. Org, he was arrested and sent to trial

Judges of Court looked into fact and went to Party Com of Com. and asked for representatives of the masses to assist in further investigation and hearing the case—further investigation by meetings held to which public invited

At first defendant refused to admit guilt, policy about virtues of confession stressed (i.e. accomplices under pressure not punished—meritorious deeds means not punishment and great meritorious deeds means rewards)

Call meeting of Judicial Assembly attended by masses after conclusive evidence of his guilt for their opinion or disposition of these two

They recommended lenient treatment for young first offender but harsh on worker who was slow to confess

Masses said 1st on put on probation and 2nd offender should go to jail

Leadership of factory and store also suggested disposition of similar fashion

Q—then Judges took case back to People's Court to Judicial Group—5-8 persons discussed and seceded on probation for young offender and 3 years in prison for older

Q—Decision then submitted to leadership of court who discussed and approved this decision

Then Judges took decision to an assembly of all the workers

Prisoner taken to prison for labour reform

Mediation Com.

Most civil cases resolved at grassroots level principle—masses should investigate and resolve on the spot by mediation

Mediation organized at lane level in neighbourhood

Mediation organized at brigade level in commune

And in factories by trade unions and women's organization

Consists of 3-5 persons, some workers and retired workers

Most efficient to do this—saves time for more work

Example—retired old woman washing clothes and naughty children playing jokes went beyond the limit —she became irritated—also suffered high blood pressure—she fell accidentally in state of irritation—was hospitalized—the old woman's mother, 81 years, and bumped into bike and was hospitalized with a fracture—then the son of the retired woman was angry with child and blamed the child and attempted to beat the child—masses had different views on whose fault—danger of fighting between various viewpoints

Med. Com went to hospital and extended sympathy and to child's home—assessed facts—asked residents—gave education to son who promised not to use force to resolve the situation

Then the Com. educated the parents of the children and these parents went to hospital to apologize

Because ideological question solved damages easily—the old mother had only ½ insurance scheme and her costs out of pocket—5Y

Parents of kids offered to put this up but old lady and son paid in any event thinking things well worked out (the retired lady had full insurance)

Q's—what is “supervision of masses” —In the example, the store had 50-60 employees and work in groups of 3-5 persons per counter and people at his immediate workplace do the education and reform—no organization specially in charge of reforming him—if he had screwed up, there would have been further investigation

This case not a case of labour under the supervision of the masses—no particular period of supervision

If a criminal gets supervision of masses through labour for a period at the end of the period masses asked for their opinion and if he behaved well, he gets back rights of a citizen, but if he commits further crimes in future, the original crimes not considered in terms of punishment but this record is considered

Length of process—generally takes ½ year but in the simple example given, it was 2 months

Judges selected from outstanding workers peasants and soldiers with high class conscientiousness and with certain educational standards—apprentice for a while and then appointed some with legal education as well who also apprentice

Mr. Lee was rubber worker from 1947 to 1953 and was part of 3 Anti-Movement when he was transferred to basic People's court and in 1959, to High People's Court

Mr. Ching—Middle School Grad I 1960—then I army—apt. in 1965, practice for 1 year—both party members

Role of Masses in Court procedures, especially in investigation

In early period of inventing, combine Public Sec. Org. and People's Court and mass line, i.e. broad masses who know the case

Mass Line—1) rely on masses to clarify criminal factors, hold meeting for people who know a lot or a little—or private talks on the facts; 2) aim at preventing future crimes so people who know and don't know the case are mobilized

Should consult party leadership at the particular unit to get in touch with masses—select people familiar with the co-workers

Sometimes opinions of masses limited and wide diversity of opinion on disposition—we analyze their opinion on disposition —we analyze their opinion to decide which is correct

Q—majority may be wrong—if so we analyze why—eg. Because they are victims and if we educate with party's policy—process may go up and down several times

Comparison prior to Cultural Rev.—before we invited people into People's Court—seldom did Judges go out

Representative of masses are Cultural. Rev. evolution of Assessor Movement

Assessors were elected at time delegates to People's Congresses elected area by area

Now we have representatives—a more flexible system because persons knowledgeable about the case care appointed—at the experiment stage

Leadership (ie. Party com. old middle age & young) (Pres & Dept. Pres & Chief Judges are de facto members)

There are separate Criminal and Civil Courts and Administrative Offices

Under the Criminal and Civil section there is Judicial Group of Judges and Recording Clerk
Function is to discuss cases and facts and confessions—they make recommendations or decisions submitted to the Court—this is democratic centralism—Defendant is present when a hearing of People's Court or meeting to criticize or at Jud. Assembly but not meeting of Jud. Group

Group

Except for simple cases handling requires 2 or 3 judges

Masses can give opinions at meeting on investigation or if judges or representative call them or when court hears the cases either verbally or in written form (no vote it seems)

No statistics—nothing available—private

G of F had influence on every front including People's Court—sabotage judicial system by turning contradiction btp & btpot c.e. upside down—the G of F wanted to attack ve.

Revolutionaries—tried to screen their followers—spread fallacy—i) that disobedience to the law is not wrong; ii) that killing with knives is courageous—case of students fighting with knives, some wounded but continued fighting—Pub. Sec. Organ. Considered it serious and presorted it to Mun. Rev. Com. Chang read the case and said the student was a brave person—had the aim of inciting people to fight

Chang also said he'd rather labourers without culture rather than bourgeois aristocrats with it

Some were persecuted by G of F went through the court and were re-examining everyone

If G of F openly persecuted people, it would be resisted by court personnel—but they really aimed to create confusion—carry the struggle against them through to the end

What is counterrevolutionary activity? Sabotage and troublemaking for overthrowing dict. of proletariat —example: in city/suburbs, a counter-revolutionary retaliation murder case—had committed past crimes—was under labour supervision and masses informed against him, had face to face criticism and he therefore hated proletariat political power and he went to murder person who informed against him—attempted murder —then he attempted to run but people searched him out and turned him in

Small Sword Society

PM

Japanese tourist ship—attended dance—hundreds of them; photos all over the place

Wangpoo Dance Co

Bits of trumpet music like bagpipes; some like surging modern Russian music

Costumes very bright—hero in white pants, red jacket with yellow trim and silver bangles red and headdress

Women don't dance on toes—some acrobatic steps and flips are excellent—many dance routines derived from sword exercises as are all basic positions- very martial music and dance perfectly in step—need a big ** to get momentum going

Lots of flag waving and marching back and forth

Instead of battle—take heroic poses

Satire of British is cute—of them dancing Win dances along to be polite but military gestures and strides kick while they dance politely

Acrobats In scene two in disguise are spectacular—batons, boleros, swords
 Several sword swirling dances in unison
 Actual fight dances not so good—usual poking with staves and dodging by victim
 Everyone heavily made up
 Lighting very old fashioned—stage centre spot light
 Since through window of Consulate, crowd appears when window opens
 Heroes in orange and scarlet in the doorway
 Scene as Pan leaves with fire and smoke behind the walls and he lopes off
 Dream sequence solo in front of black curtains in 4 spot lights
 It snows
 Most of deaths occur offstage—deprived of fight crisis and climax until the closing scene and
 battle, eg. Staggering on stage already shot. Going offstage to battle. But last scene satisfactory,
 except no knowledge what happened to Pan. Climbing up the mountain flag high
 Men rarely partner women

Leaving theatre to dancing in street and clapping crowds Our guides excited we liked it all.
 Bubbling over with happiness that G of F smashed and all this happiness possible. Their joy
 irrepressible

This whole day has been an overload. The judicial discussion was deeply moving. The judges
 were precise careful and thorough as I would expect of legal minds. But also apparently
 compassionate. The particularity with which they described their obedience to the mass line in
 judicial proceedings was most persuasive
 And in this funny old hotel, a tinny, grand piano play Chopin. How can I keep up? Polarize duty
 cover rolled back only far enough to expose the keys. An Englishmen and wife and two puzzle
 Chinese observers how strange—his guests for drinks
 All the furniture covered and decorations removed. Curtains are hung sheets—as if Brits just
 left for the winter and will be back to open up soon.
 The attendants all dressed in white or tan. Mao suits. Look like hospital attendants. Maybe
 that's where I am. Hotel serves lemon meringue pie.

Lovers of the dock reassure one of humanity

The dance was “National Dance”, not ballet—martial style—brighter costume, no toes—

Re: Shanghai high-rise—22 built only 1 occupied—still experimental

May 22, 1977

Machine Tool Factory Workers University
 Mr. Wu—RC Education Manager

Mr. Gu—Teacher I Workers College
 Dr. Gu - Clinic of Factory
 Miss Wolf Teacher
 And secretary of R.C. of Workers College

Nursery and Sanatorium on the tour
 For grinding type equipment
 6000 person includes 300 females
 10 departments and research and 3 schools—recreation centre
 1958 started designing and manufacturing own tools and more precise type equipment—since
 Cul. Rev. all new products from 3-in-1 combination
 Now 300 types of grinders
 1976—2x output of 1965
 15% of output for export
 July 21, 1978—Mass general directive that should train technicians from among the workers
 though Workers University—also by 3-in-1 Com and also by spare-time University
Problems: Businessman is not satisfactory
 Quality of parts unsatisfactory and our techniques are not the most advanced
 G of F influence—i. some lacking of Gang. Mr. Ma Tien Shi advanced anti-empiricism . Gang
 and empiricisms is main danger of socialism, i.e. excessive reliance on factual induction

2. 1974—State Council approved import of high precision equipment—Gang forced our factory
 to make same thing bigger and better to fill the blank in our industrial system—contrary to
 state plan
 This distorted whole state plan and Gang used this to attack State Council, saying, the import
 was “worship of foreign things”—machine completed but not being used

3. Put—revolution v. production—theory v. practice; leader v. masses; politics v.
 technology—carried out metaphysics
 If workers sought technological education accused of being bourgeois and expert
 Main campaigns here: A. criticize G of F; B. learn from Tai Ching

MANY SIGNS but not picture of them permitted
 Workshop do parts for grinding equipment; workers can but don't repair their own equipment
 Make their own equipment

Q—71 production, 2600 machines per Ray now 2,500—has it remained constant?

Q—100 workers in university—3 year program—65% of technicians trained here—who are the
 other 35%

Told a success story of a worker who rose to manager of engineers after prolonged study

Showed us internal-external side wrinkle grinder—mirror finish the best of in the world—appeared to me a perfect mirror put into mass production

Also a polished computer drum

Moving into numerical control of grinding

Factory Hospital Clinic—110 beds—7 doctors—44 staff—also visited nursery for small children
Q—Have greeted 3 terms of workers from the plant and also from other plants and all returned to their jobs—learned i) design and manufacture grinding equipment but now machine tools generally; ii) technicians; iii) politics

Courses A) political 20% 2) vocational training 65% B) higher math 3) much draft 4) engineer dynamics 5) design of grinding 6) hydraulic transmission 7) selective techniques 8) and English
C) military affairs 5%—2 weeks a year training; D) Labour in industry and agriculture—10%

1st semester—in basic theory

2nd semester—practice work (study the war—the war)

3rd semester—raise theoretical knowledge

4th semester—return to practical work—divide into groups for design and manufacture of machine

Students could design and manufacture every part of a machine and best students could do overall design (difference?)

1st class designed and built 20 new types of machines within first year

Part go to research, design department and part go as technicians and some go back to machine operation

G of F took advantage of good name of July 21st University—forced us to write a letter to Mao critical of comrades in central and local government—Mao said re: Teng Shao Peng we would reeducate, etc., but they were more vindictive and the letter attacked him —wouldn't admit his correct points—he said July 21st is the one but not the only form of training—but Gang attacked this saying it was the only form. WE, for example, may send workers to University. Gang added to Workers' letter without their knowledge

Gang attacked July 21 U as educating for revisionism and forced changes in programme—wanted 50% for politics and 50% on labour, but we resisted, said we'd done enough

They practiced metaphysics and idealism

Teaching staff is 3-in-1 combo of teachers, technicians and veteran workers—the Gang opposed this—said technicians wouldn't do this or teachers were bourgeois

Part-time School

14 classes

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| A Political |) Whatever is necessary for |
| B Literacy |) factor—eg. journalism |
| C Technology |) fluid mechanics, etc. |

Specialization

New workers get basic theoretical knowledge including mechanical drafting and independent math, so he'll have basic understanding of the machine he operates—should be expert on one machine and be able to do something else

Nursery

Under 1 year spend most time—bed, 2x a mother comes to feed them for ½ hour, if not sleeping, we give toys for play

Older kids—feed, 1 hour play, 1 hour sleep, lunch, play, drink, 1 hour nap, feed, go home

As we observed them, babies awake and not playing with anything

Check health regularly—give shots

Nurse was worker after graduating technical school—learned on the job, reading and short-term hospital courses

Studied some child growth but it sounds like it's all health

“Child begins to think at 6 months”

At 6 months, kids begin to recognize parents and nurses assist them in signs of recognition

Begin picture books at 1½ years

Confucian/Lin Piao taught some kids born smarter but we now take more active role in helping kids develop

Think girls more patient with learning at nursery stage—her observation

We've reached the point of no useful additional input without major effort on our part.
Starting with reinvention of wheel on technical subjects

Tendency to be journalists and look for scrapes eg. mass media session, meeting with crooks re: tapes

Info from guides re: small stores—they're grouped and owned privately, then operated collectively—salaries and prices managed

Mr. Cheng—G of F were responsible for 30% of bad part of Cultural Revolution, i.e. factional fights, criticize all cadres (rather than the bad ones)

PM—Mass Media—Liberation Daily

Mr. Jai	Rural Reporting Chief
Mr. Le	Correspondent on Judicial, Culture and Education
Mr. Kaw	Party and Youth League
Mr. Chang	Office Staff

Made party organization after liberation—is party organization—daily circulation 600,000—600 staff

Our work interfered with by revisionists eg. Lui Sha Chi & Lin Piao—controlled recently by G of F through minions, need for counter-revolutionary opinion—strategy—create chaos and raise power and our paper served this for 10 years

Methods of control

A Gang of Four controlled paper organizationally—one follower controlled mass media in Shanghai who gave instructions to paper

B Used People's Daily and Red Flag Journal to control us through which they laid down unified narration

Our paper would copy—had to copy (per P.R.)—

Examples—a) fabricated last device of Chairman Mao—one of their Mun. allies delivered the false device to the paper—this person opposed reporting of great sorrow and worry for future of the country—forced us to report that people filled with “fighting will” i.e. opposed to Central Com.—headline came out that people acting in accordance with Mao's device

Similar stories followed saying people acting according to principles of Mao device

Slandered leading comrades by accusing them of distorting Mao's last device* (*don't know the substance of the dispute)

Wouldn't let them report the people's sorrow or concern for the future

Gang took wrong line, eg. slandered the “four moderns” as capitalist restoration

Workers at paper “stored hatred in their hearts” in face of all this

A Took advantage of mass media to attack and overthrow leading comrades, etc. Teng Hsiao Peng

Correct line on Teng would be he made some mistakes and was correcting self

G of F had their own version in criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius—doesn't say what—generally that they attacked leading comrades

Fen Ching first ocean going freighter built by self-reliance—10,000 tons—G of F heralded the return of the freighter and attacked decision that other freighters be imported as worship of foreign things—made freighter sound like a victory over revisionism—import of freighters approved by Mao

Conclusion—G of F is ultra-right

Wong said Shanghai doesn't need to learn from Tai Ching—Shanghai is large and it is small—reporters resisted this line
 They prohibited memorial meeting to Premier Chou in Shanghai and prohibited propagandizing his indelible deeds
 Our article on this was not published

Question Period

A Illustrations how masses not misled by false stories —1. During campaign against Teng, they claimed he was chief capitalist reader and arch reactionary but masses didn't accept all aspects of this, though they had some criticisms of Teng—reporter told he would be corrected for his wrong line by friends and peasants he was interviewing—advised him he was confusing appropriate rectification with inappropriate restoration 2. See end of notes.

B Attitude of Masses to Paper (pronounced “Jang Ching”)

During period of control, papers seems propagandistic—masses didn't like it—confusion between news as reported and directions of the central com., eg. whether Teng an enemy or not

They thought paper boring and only read the headlines—my articles criticized by friends as shrill and false and suggested I was betraying the party—told some workers tore up paper in disgust

Admitted to public after smashing the nature of our prior error and trying to improve to reflect opinion of the masses and improve for brighter style—also articles on Lei Fung—we're receiving congratulations

C Content & _ Character of Paper's **

Debate allowed in the papers per dictates of 100 followers, follow correct orientation—this generally is our role

G of F were 1) high-handed and 2) strict blockade of news, eg. and also concealed Mao's instructions and thereby distorted character of papers

Eg. 1—one of reporters knew Chiang Ching in 1930—he was put in custody—expelled him from party and lost his job

April 12, 1968—numerous persons doubted official personal history of Chang (since exposed a spy of KMT)—those doubting were accused of “charging the proletariat headquarters and persecuted—no debate showed up in the press

Gang of Four transferred the work opponent did

Impossible to carry out debate and papers because of their obstruction and control

Example of debate—over slogan that veg. communes should produce their own grain—Chow En Lai opposed this but his instructions in the press—but his objections concealed—example of strict blockade

Gang concealed Mao's instructions on art and literature, eg. On the Pioneers film (cont'd at end of book)

Question content interpreted as a request for political line which was summarized at length—all the campaigns that are being waged

Question about public debate called down on us history of persecution by the Gang

Telketha Gerlock—80 years

Born in Pittsburgh—of Methodist minister

Trained as medical social workers—1920s

Worked for YWCA travelling with students

Came to china in 1926 with YWCA and was on their staff until 1940; in Shanghai headquarters from 1930 and travelled around

Eleanor Hinder Australian Y worker for settlement area doing factory inspection, 1940 worked in US in charge of US training of overseas volunteers

1945-1947—YM and YW hired her to run staff training conference

Came back to work for China Welfare Institute; grew out Madame Sun Yat Sen work for refugees and China Defense League

Refugee's inland and Shanghai surrounded by Japanese

Returned in 1952 to work for China Welfare—can't get her YWCA pension

Told a story of getting a Y teacher out of jail like Chiang Ching—hailed teacher out of class with a name like the person they were looking for

Wouldn't talk about infiltration of Y by communists—thinks not—\$ came wealthy Chinese families

Y started doing field work in country

1946-1947 wealthy women were pushing bible study for industrial classes

Y foreign staff didn't identify with mission community

Some Y staffers into unionizing somebody is doing thesis on Y in China (someone from Canada)

[Brody—do you report back to YWCA n US about starvation?]

Returned to China in 1952

After Revolution, we felt work of Y finished and Women's Federation could take over—but Women's Federation said don't stop yet—continue to work with religious type women and did political study with these women until Cultural Revolution

In 1951, National Board didn't renew contract, got a union in for all employees—she was chairman of negotiations—union was coopted by liberal unions—there was a picket

Entry—Rm sent Meeting 12Y

Judy asking Teletha for concrete examples

I visited Tai Ching 2 years ago and witnessed struggle against 3 major differences, etc. A) Cities v. country (they're not building big cities); B) workers v. peasants (workers' wives doing farming and some oil work and oil workers have done some farm work); C) intellectual v. manual.

China Welfare—hospital, nursery, children's palace

Notice continuing tendency at every stage to reconstruct everything and ask about utter basics, eg. Sue—look at the basketball court the house the tree—Judy, similar questions on basic technology, plant hormones

Peter—did you see people starving before the revolution

All because we don't believe the country is real

Toasts

Meaning of Friendship

Dialectical conclusion or constituent parts—some obvious now but weren't to everyone at the start

1 Between peoples despite government; 2 extremes of hospitality; 3 no suggestion we should copy; 4 tireless in answering questions; 5 we have Friends All Over the World

How could we reciprocate if you came to our country

We don't all agree

May 23—Sunday

Children's Palace

Tour—Acrobatics, Ping Pong, Balance Bar—Ballet Bar, Art, Paper Cuts, Puppet Show, Orchestra—Western, Accordion class, Violin class, Drama Chant—Gang of Four, Piano Class, Science Class—making organic pesticides (hormones), lathwork, Ship Models, Electronics Class, Anatomy Class

Long march through the garden, slides, ropes, climbs, rope bridges, and water drained from moat

10 tour groups on the way through, no time for a briefing, little host to take me around

Theme to think about—growing tourism in China, resentment of Christians that Commies don't recognize their contribution

Mr. Chou—response to comment quotations from Mr.—I'm small potato

Acrobatic Show (5 or 6 tour groups present)

No trapeze tumbling on high wire, spinning tables and tubs with feet

Clown with goldfish

Nose balancing tricks

Pole climbing group

Jumping through hoops

Bird calls and other sound effects

Pair who balance head to head

Maria Lire relatives waited 2 ½ hours outside the hotel for permission to come in while she waited for them inside in the lobby

Shopping fun—lots of excellent needle work available cheap

No briefings all day—just fun

No trouble from guides about free time

A decadent bourgeois day

May 24

Put hand Miss Sue shoulder and it was quickly brushed off

(people looking for news scoops)

People asking leading questions because they know the answers

May 24, 1977

Neighbourhood Rev. Com.

Nanking Rd. E—R.C.—51,000 persons or 1 community

And two lower level types—9 “living communities” (of 9000 persons, 1,600 families)

In shopping centre of Shanghai

27,000 employed

2,200 retired \ 14,000 families

13,400 students

As well, 3,600 employed in workshops run here by N.C.

Previously brothels, dance halls, opium den center; we have renewed neighbourhood since liberation and especially since Cultural Revolution

Com. Workshop

Average wages—\$26Y monthly about 10 persons 1) assemble bicycles for the Department Store; 2) make sweaters—94 persons, work 5-12, and 12-7 in two shifts

Paid on daily basis

Any profit for Welfare Fund of N.C.

Not main wage earners in their household

Leader elected not party member

Nursery

8 classes—260 kids, 27 teachers

Show 1) Hail Publication of Book Five of Ch. Mao—Chant Book—Ch. Mao like a sin that warms the heart

Solo 2) We have friends all Over the World; 3) Weave with Golden Thread (same as dance in Yenan); 4) Dance—Present Red Flag to Ch. Hau—eight little girls enter carrying chairs, lipstick etc., heads cocked—wave red hankies and skip behind their chairs, many arm postures and motions, then unfurl the flag

One class throwing bean bags at the Gang cut-outs—clap at everything whether a hit or not, though not so loud

Chang us in every class

Class builds Yorkshire River Bridge of building blocks—also farmyard

Chant—“Love live party —learn from the workers”

Family

77 year old retired gent is head of family

8 kids now all working—4 in Shanghai and 9 grandchildren

He and wife live here with two daughters, one of whom married and her family live here, both working—total income 130Y for two girls and parents (husband doesn't live here) his pension is 45Y (70% of last pay)—pork .90Y per ½ kilo of pork, .85Y per ½ kilo of eggs

Rent 5Y for apartment—2 rooms—one very large, utilities also 5Y a month

Things now much better than before Liberation

Before liberation and after liberation as janitor in Dist. Municipal Office, but with higher status

Children #1—in farm in Shanghai, #2 in Shanghai cinema; #3 electrician in Shanghai; #4 son in sugar plant, #5 in post office, #6 son on farm in NE China; #7 same; #8 in wool mill

Doesn't do much—Wife prepared food

Tells stories of pre-Lib. Life
 400Y for bed, table and 4 stools, wardrobe, bedside table
 Repairs done by House Com.
 Pre-liberation people gambled, smoked opium, brothels,
 Post-liberation—better organized, everyone studied, drugs cut off

Tells children my life—how hard I worked and how I was treated and how lucky they are
 Children seem to appreciate their good fortune
 Part of general constant education re: class struggle

Old housing and kitchen shared typically among 5 or 6 families—because it's old—not preferred
 Families have separate gas burners in the kitchen

General Briefing
 Lowest level of Party at lane community level; lane com. is People Org.
 Neighbourhood Rev. Com. is govern though there are lane level organizations for house maintenance

Re: Prostitution

On my street, pre-liberation, there were 24 brothels and 100 prostitutes—typically country girls—“jumping into fire pits”—bosses typically cops or local despots—brothels licensed
 Immediate revocation of licenses and orders to stop and man stopped, but some continued
 secretary and govern busy with other business and took time for mass mobilization on issue
 and it continued to 1952 when total ban made and a crackdown with arrests and procreators
 punished according to crimes and attitudes
 Sentences of 5 to 50 years—some who confessed
 Got supervision of the masses and labelled “bad elements”
 Prostitutes gathered in groups for remoulding and medical treatment—given class education
 eg. Saw White Haired Girl—were assisted to reestablish themselves and return to country (q: who did this programme)
 Q—education to clients of brothel—wrong and bad to go

Re: Opium Addiction
 Banned import of drugs, production, transport, etc.,
 Some in the business accepted this and reformed
 Work team set up in neighbourhood and masses mobilized to expose and condemn and arrested those who continued opium business

Main strategy let addicts stay home—worst addicts hospitalized as a group
 Previous campaigns against drugs, ineffective because police and KMT involved in the business
 Ex-addicts give gratitude to party
 Former Addict spoke
 1st husband was born of opium-smoking mother—smoked as a child—lost his job because deteriorating health due to smoking and when married, she smoked as well and failed to care properly for a sick child who died—tried to kick habit pre-liberation—went to hospital but too many temptations available—husband died—everything pawned—kicked habit in fear of own death but was very difficult
 Assisted in 1952 movement against addiction by propagating for party and telling my story
 Subsequently remarried and had second child, now grown, who works in neighbourhood workshops, personally feels great gratitude to change of the social system

Q—about Prost. Ed. Campaign
 Programme with pros from Dept. of Civil Affairs and their staff in charge
 Same group and “client education” face-to-face and mass propaganda—family, neighbours and co-workers would be some education as mobilized by central staff—often discussed at mass meeting
 Punishment for pros who resisted re-education would be custody for treatment
 Q. clients treatment? A. prostitutes didn’t describe details of their re-education
 For breaking abuse—no medicine rather, a tonic to recover strength

Alcoholism not a problem “due to unstable mind or secret life”
 Anti-smoking campaign for children
 No regulations re: smoking and drinking age

RE: Lane Community

A 21 members of committee for the Lane, of mixed background—12 or 13 regularly employed
 Main function is to organize study—sanitation movement and do mediation and educate kids after school and safety work
 Some of cadre for community is paid by workshops
 Neigh. Rev. Com. for 51,000 basic facts
 26 members, being 8 men and 16 women, 7 paid by state as cadre, of 19 remainder they are representatives of old, etc.,
 Pay 40-100 for full-timers
 Staff of 50 in 10 department being a) general, b) health, c) education, d) placement of youth, e) political propaganda, f) workshops
 60% are party members

Pensions usually from factory
 But might be transferred to Neigh. Com. at 70% of salary

Others get pension from Neigh. Com in amount of 15Y, no rent utilities or clothing, health to be supplied

Guides impressed that everyone along this P.M.

PM

Founding Congress July '21

5 day meeting of 12 persons representing 70

Small room—dining table for 12

Furniture refinished and place replastered in for quarter—lovely honeycomb of buildings and rooms

Briefing

M.L. spread into China after WWI—intellectual spread work among the masses

Mao started classes for workers in 1917 and also a party in 1918 in Hunan

May 4, 1919—anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement against feudal warlords who sold out country in peace negotiations—first a student then a workers movement “marked maturing of China prol. who had become revolutionary leading class”

In 1921, there were 8 groups with 70 members

Mao represented Hunan group

Ding Pe Wu Hopei—died 1975 as a state leader

5 delegates died in revolution

Two of delegates sent by 3rd International

Narrowly escaped capture on the 4th day of Congress and moved to tourist boat where meeting concluded

Dispute between those who wanted an academic study programme only within the law—opposed discipline—called legalism bourgeois reformism

Some delegates said work should be restricted to a few persons [who] they wanted to exclude intellectuals “closed doorism and divorce from masses”

Programme advocated 1) army and 2) violence for political purposes—1st step in carrying out the workers’ movement

Former French concession—a quiet rural suburb in 1921

Reps from 3rd International Marin Dutchman, Likenofski—Russian

They reported on Revolution in USSR and on situation in Europe

May 4 movement view as source of cadre and roots of the party—3rd International played a positive role

Traitors: 1 Chang Kustao

During long march, he split and in 1938, ran from Yen-an and became a KMT spy

Split due to his conspiracy and careerism

He set up rival central committee

Thought he had more guns and personnel wanted long march to flee to border region and USSR rather than go north to fight Japanese

He was defeated—party struggle and professed to mend his ways but wasn't sincere—"a typical counter-revolutionary double dealer"

2 Lui Reng Ging

From Peking Group

Became a Trot after 1927 and expelled in 1929 and went over to KMT

Now living in Peking

3 Chen Kung Po

4 Chou Fu Hai

A student from Japan

Chen and Chou betrayed in 1923 and 1924 and went over to KMT and to Japanese; in 37 and were puppet rulers—Chen executed in 1946 after Japanese defeated and Chou died in KMT prison in 1948

Five died

Four renegades

Mao and Ding Pe Wu

Le Da—lived on loyalty and died of illness in 1965 as president of Wuhan U.

Chen Tse Hsu—elected Gen. Sec. at first Congress although he didn't attend

Was main opponent of Mao in peasant issue

He was a well-known progressive—Peking Prof.

He organized CPC in Shanghai

He was, in reality, a radical bourgeois democrat though not fully understood at the time he had serious ideological difference—didn't go deep with workers and peasants—held bourgeois should lead the revolution—thought working class childish and peasants scattered and backward

Mao Rep. on Hunan Peasants not published in party organization

A right capitulationism line which led to 1st defeat

Left opposition line—wanted only workers not peasant, Revolutionary eg. Wang Ming

In my thank you here, I said I found their questions very informative—Philip thanked the Sian guides for stay in Yen'an

Catch up Meeting

Huhsian Peasant Meeting—Judy

Painters tend to be young, they are denied any special local conditions for painting—started during Great Leap

Quality stuff if it reflects struggle to high degree—discussed widely—do visit other local counties to where painting has started

Said other localities had different styles

Pro-artists got 40-50Y

Colourful clothes justified as revolutionary romanticism

Ray—KH Ding

Re: book

Main criticism—didn't discuss united front—he's active in United Front now but no details given—church gets rental income for their buildings

Debbie—hospital visit

Saw hernia operation under acupuncture—put a current through needles

Mass Media Notes

2nd illustration how masses resisted incorrect line taken by paper at insistence of Gang
Paper reported Teng was following theory of productive forces in education by stressing competition and studying vocational subjects—but students and teachers rejected this—said they were subverting Mao's educational line and continued studies

Notes continued:

After smashing paper has 1) sponsored discussion on literature; 2) stress exposing crimes of the Gang Tai Chi and Ta Ching campaigns; 3) the growth of the newly emerging things of the Cul.

Rev. eg. barefoot doctors

Training of Journalist—usual methods, C.R. to lead to 75,000 amat. correspondence for the paper

No change in circulation during Gang dominance

Often reprints central editorials

Gets instructions from Rev. Con. in Municipality and reports on them and on implementation by the masses

Sitting on the bus at the Toyko airport, waiting for the trip to the terminal, wondering how to address the 2nd major task of my trip—how and why and whether to continue my legal

practice—the green sign flashes on at the front of the bus—PLEASE HOLD ONTO THE BAR.
Hidden powers watch over me.

Sitting in the transit lounge with Virginia, blathering out loud about “souls in transit”.
“Somebody call one”, said the curly-haired, powder-caked, ruby-lipped, almond-eyed,
big-busted, sultry-voiced tart on the next stool. “Isobel Sole’s the name, where you from
honey”. All this is a true story.

Some thoughts on my personal participation in the expedition. Judy Biggar complimented me
for treating the trip “seriously”, and also on reconciling the factions. Debbie had a kind word or
two as well. Their respect is worth something, but I continue to suspect that they harbor
resentment regarding the fact of my leadership as opposed to Ray, perhaps. Cathy, Ed, Phil,
Don, Virginia, Sue and Bob seem like soulmates preferring my leadership because I don’t take
all the Chinese diplomacy seriously. I wonder what they think? Prisoners of a polite commie? A
jerk? Jealousy? I am neurotic in my fear that they think my trip is free. A gift to me as leader,
really from Ed and Cathy, in the form of a whistle. Am I greedy or vain to think that I deserve
better. In the context of a trip where we leave gifts everywhere, I take it as a repudiation by
the Beckmans, the Delegrans, Brody, Kho, Alison, Hibbert, Marie, everyone, that for all that
effort and worry, I get a whistle!

Should I care? The trip was a success in terms of an excellent programme and no fights. Ray
and I can claim credit first for impressing the guides with our intentions, and for keeping the
group organized so that special interests could be served. I think I get more credit for the
second because of my posture of neutrality, my success in synthesizing group opinion and
successful conflict management of conflict, and for my strategy of well-organized questioning,
though my people made the implementation of this a project.

My failing—in my own eyes—was that I was more distant than necessary. That is an objective
criticism of leadership, as well as a subjective complaint of the effect on me.

Brody’s complaints about questions being too structured, I reject. It was the only way.
Jealously I reject.

I am hurt by criticism by way of comparison to Ray. No one even voiced this, but I felt it. And it
has a logic as explained to me from the beginning. Perhaps what irks is that I believe Ray
encouraged it. Perhaps not directly and deliberately, but certainly by means of self-promotion,
aggrandizement and hustle. I think he went beyond what was helpful to wage a prestige
campaign. It ought to have been an easy victory for him, although I don’t think it even that. I
resent the fact that it happened.

I fell into the father figure and formalities, into the facilitator/compromiser quite easily. Too easily. I seem to have totally internalized group welfare. Have I acquired a socialist personality or have I committed emotional suicide.

Ray is a silly gossip, a mother hen, a hypocrite, a manipulator, power mad, status hungry, egotistical, snide, rude, disciplined, well-intentioned, useful, and an excellent type for group leadership. But I strongly suspect that on his own he would inevitably fall into some serious quarrels with the others on the trip.

What should I report back? My feeling is to tell Bill: “everything went well but I don’t think my leadership was popular by virtue of the inevitable comparison with Ray. Nothing was said to me, but silence says more. I found the situation personally trying. Ray’s behavior was ambiguous. We never discussed the situation. On occasion, I felt he was deliberately upstaging me for prestige purposes, but always in the best interests of the group. I think the leadership should have been discussed more before departure, through certain individuals, not as a group. My conclusion is that I wouldn’t agree to do such a thing again except with someone I know beforehand”.

So much for that subject. In the grand scheme of things, this particular situation was not too important. In the grand scheme of things, the important observation is how easily I fell into the distant facilitator/arbitrator role.

Our departure seemed symbolic. Seen in decadent bourgeois pleasures being entertained at the Children’s Palace, shopping and going to the acrobatic show. And the last day discussing reform of prostitutes and drug addiction, and visiting the founding place of the CPC, and the Yu Gardens, classic Ming mandarin rock tree pavilion splendor. Dragons, lions et al. To touch the historical roots. And the last few days in Shanghai. It looks like what it is—a filthy rich city of European splendor taken over by the well-organized poor. Maintained but unadorned. A little neon left over to remind us, but mostly it speaks to us that this is what liberation will mean to people like you. The jewels and glitter are gone, the real assets remain in the people who rule all in a disciplined Spartan crowded but happy world.

May 24, 1977

I have the “best of possible works—Pangloss” sensation. I seem to be sneaking across the Pacific with 50 lbs of extra luggage. One bag is to Vancouver, at least, and maybe Toronto. The other is, presumably with me on this flight to Honolulu, unweighed. My mind is clear. The China trip is reaching in my notes for reflection and there is time. My difficulties are noted, consolidated, summarized and set aside. Primarily, I have a sense of great satisfaction, and an enormous new something positive in my consciousness. I am looking forward to arriving with my bounty intact and with a set of photos forever to remind me.

My health is noticeably improved, no stomach or chest pains to speak of. Working is clearly a mistake. I have some time and I feel the energy to review all that. But also the inclination to

relax and indulge myself, which is better. A few empty hours in the Tokyo airport has put space between me and the enormous events of the past three weeks. Finishing up my notes seemed psychologically very satisfying. A clear sensation of second major journey. A dark departure down the runway, and again carrying light years from the past perhaps. And to top it off, I stumbled into first class passage to Honolulu. A continuation of the sensation of royalty. The staff smile all over me and as I fall into the cushion, I smile back as is my professional wont.

SMALL SWORD SOCIETY

A Dance Drama

Scene One: Uprising

The story takes place in the autumn of 1853 in Shanghai. Dark clouds gather over the Whangpoo River. The officers and soldiers of the Ching Government under the thumb of the imperialists ride roughshod over the people, force them to carry opium and extort money and grain from them. Led by the leaders of the Small Sword Society Liu Li-chuan, Pan Chi-chang, Chou siu-ying the angry masses meet there, ready to stage an uprising. Pan is arrested as he flies into a rage and beats Matthew P. Yates, the cunning lackey of the U.S. imperialists. A soul-stirring armed uprising ensues.

Scene Two: Victory

Pan is sentenced to capital punishment by the Ching Court and is to be executed in no time. While shedding crocodile tears, Yates in the guise of a priest conspires to buy Pan over. The fighters of the Small Sword Society, who disguise themselves as an acrobatic troop, storm the execution ground, rescue Pan, capture Wu Chien-tsang, the magistrate and take the county seat. When the masses go on a spree, Wu escapes after capture although wounded by an arrow.

Scene Three: Protest

Under the aegis of Yates, Wu Chien-tsang sneaks into British Consulate. He goes so far as to beg the imperialists to help stamp out the uprising of the Small Sword Society and is forced into signing a treaty of national betrayal. Liu suddenly arrives on scene, lodging a strong protest and demanding that the runaway captive W be turned over. Playing the fox, the British consul denies that he screens Wu. However, the masses' angry protest strikes terror into the hearts of the imperialists, and Wu is discovered hiding. The presence of the arrow gives him away. Still refuse to yield him up. With contempt for the consul, Liu, Pan and Chou go away, ready to fight.

Scene Four: Night Raid

Shanghai County Seat is besieged for several months by the Chinese and foreign reactionaries that work hand in glove to attack the Small Sword Society. As food in the county seat runs short, the fighters are in a jam. The masses steer clear of the enemy's sentries to bring grain

into the county seat for the fighters. But unfortunately they are intercepted by the soldiers of the Ching government. Pan and Chou lead their men to launch a raid on the enemy's headquarters at night, rescue their fold in distress and take back the grain. Bad guys attack and are driven off. The fight is entirely a posture with bad guys replaced at the walls. Rescue takes place offstage.

Scene Five: Asking for Help

A few months later the situation worsens. The heroic fighters of the Small Sword Society put up a valiant fight despite hunger. Filled with hatred for the common foe, the fighters and the people fight the enemy with one heart. Liu decides that Pan be assigned the task of taking a letter to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Army for help.

Scene Six: Making a Breakthrough

Seventeen months pass. The enemy attacks the county seat with ever mounting intensity. But the fighters and the people do not turn a hair. They celebrate the Spring Festival as usual. After the military drill, Chou falls asleep and dreams of seeing with great joy the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Army men coming to the rescue. Dream = flashing lights and flags. The roaring guns bring her back from the dream. Yates suddenly appears and approaches Chou with stick in one hand and carrot in the other (meaning gifts offered/rejected. Then Pan sword presented, indicating his death. Fighting turns against heroes). However, the fighters stand rock firm. With the support of the people, they fight the enemy tooth and nail and succeed in breaking out to the countryside.

Scene Seven: Forward

In the countryside, the fighters stick it out in a night's fight despite heavy casualties. Liu kills Wu but gets killed himself. Chou finishes off Yates and leads her men in driving the enemy into retreat. With the uprising banner held high, they continue to march forward, greeting the morning sun, tough half decimated. One of the heroes dies nobly centre stage...

A momentous people's uprising meets with temporary setback, but the single spark can never be put out. The revolutionary storm which will thoroughly overthrow the reactionary rule will come in the end.

Tuesday, May 3, 1977	Arrived Peking Airport 7:00 pm.—meeting with guides Walk to Tien An Men
Wednesday, May 4, 1977	AM—Tour—Forbidden City PM—Visit—Double Bridge Commune Duck Farm, Families, Hospital PM—Meeting—part of the group—the Crooks
Thursday, May 5, 1977	AM—Visit #2 Middle School Attached to Peking Teachers' College PM—Visit #5 Municipal Kindergarten Evening Free—no one attended movie offered: The East is Red
Friday, May 6, 1977	AM—Temple of the Moon Neighbourhood Revolutionary Committee School, two family visits, neighbourhood workshop PM—May 7—Cadre School Evening—Free
Saturday, May 7, 1977	AM—Tour—Great Wall PM—Ming Tombs Evening—North Gate Restaurant—Peking Duck
Sunday, May 8, 1977	AM—Peking Timber Mill PM—Handicraft Factory, Antique Street, Friendship Store Evening—Movie: Motherland My Motherland
Sunday, May 9, 1977	AM & PM—Peking University, Summer Palace, Air Raid Shelters Evening—Discussion—China Friendship Association
Tuesday, May 10, 1977	AM & PM— Travel to Yen'an by plane Delayed en route 3 hours Phoenix Hill: visit one cave late Afternoon in Yen'an
Wednesday, May 11, 1977	AM—Other Cave Sites PM—Revolutionary Museum Evening: Cultural Performance—Local Song and Dance Co.
Thursday, May 12, 1977	AM—Visit One Cave PM—Fly to Sian Visit #4 Cotton Mill

	Evening—Cultural Performance, Local Song and Dance Co.
Friday, May 13, 1977	AM—Hsuhshian Peasant Art PM—Pagoda, Hot Springs Evening: Departure by Train—Wuhan
Saturday, May 14, 1977	AM—Train PM—Arrive mid-afternoon—Tour—Archeological Museum & East Lake Park Evening: Free
Sunday, May 15, 1977	AM—County Seat Commune—Show, Kindergarten, Pig Styes, Clinic, Families Lunch in local town PM—Hand Tractor Co. Evening: Red Guard Show in the hotel
Monday, May 16, 1977	AM—Wuhan University PM—Free time; flight to Nanking
Tuesday, May 17, 1977	AM—Five Small Industries—Steel & Silk PM—Research Institute of Agricultural Science of Kiangsu Province Evening: Rev. Opera—Sister Chian
Wednesday, May 18, 1977	AM—City Planning—Hotel PM—Bridge, Communist Party House of Chou En Lai Evening: Banquet—Kiang Sue Restaurant
Thursday, May 19, 1977	AM—Sun Yat Sen Memorial, Pagoda, Lakeside Park PM—Train to Shanghai, arrive Shanghai
Friday, May 20, 1977	AM—Work Zone #9—Docks PM—Legal Discussion Evening: Dance—Drama—Small Sword Society
Saturday, May 21, 1977	AM—Machine Tool factory #9 Workers University PM—Mass Media Discussion Evening: Teletha Gerlock
Sunday, May 22, 1977	AM—Childrens' Place—Kaduree Mansion PM—Shop Evening: Acrobatics Show

Monday, May 23, 1977

AM—Nanking Road Neighbourhood Committee
Bicycle & Sewing Shops, School, Family, Drugs &
Prostitution—also Hospital trip
PM—1st National Congress—CPC—Yu Gardens
Evening: Dinner Hotel

Tuesday, May 24, 1977

Shanghai, Tokyo—Honolulu

Reel One:

-
- 1 Airplane
 - 2 Airport
 - 3 Airport—Porter
 - 4 Skyline—Dawn
 - 5 Walls—Forbidden City Dawn
 - 6 Tai Chi—Sun Yat Sen Park—Dawn
 - 7 Peking—Street life
 - 8 Peking—Street life
 - 9 Peking—Street life
 - 10 Peking—Street life
 - 11 Peking—Street life
 - 12 Peking—Street life
 - 13 Peking—Street life
 - 14 Peking—Street life
 - 15 Mao's Mausoleum
 - 16 Mao's Mausoleum
 - 17 Tien An Men—Square of Gates of Heavenly Peace
 - 18 Great Hall of the People—Banquet Hall—5,000; Theatre 10,000
 - 19 Forbidden City—roof view, 250 acres, moat 54 yards wide, started 1407 during Ming Dynasty—200,000 workers mostly built during 1700s, Emperor's family lived here under house arrest to 1924
 - 20 Corner pavilion—walls 35' moat around this set of walls
 - 21 Same
 - 22 Wu Men Gate—built 1420
 - 23 Hall of Supreme Harmony—built 1669, 87' high by 210' long and 115' wide, main ceremonial hall
 - 24 Courtyard of Supreme Harmony, Old Imperial Shops
 - 25 Marble ramp
 - 26 Marble ramp
 - 27 Entering Hall of Supreme Harmony—ceremonies Winter Solstice successful examination candidate
 - 28 Detail of roof

- 29 Throne Room—Hall of Perfect Harmony is behind Supreme Harmony, small personal Throne Room (no picture)
- 30 Courtyard between Supreme and Perfect Harmony
- 31 Courtyard before Hall of Preservation of Harmony
- 32 Courtyards to the Rear
- 33 Courtyards at rear—going to three Rear Palaces a) Palace of Heavenly Purity; b) Hall of Union; c) Palace of Earthly Tranquility—Missed Palace of the Culture of the Mind, Palace of Abstinence and Palace of Peace and Longevity
- 34 Gate to Personal Quarters
- 35 Personal Quarters
- 36 Personal Quarters
- 37 Interior Gardens
- 38 Interior Gardens
- 39-50 Details of Forbidden City
- 51 Turtle
- 52-56 Peking Timber Mill
- 57-58 Double Bridge Commune
- 59-63 #5 Municipal Kindergarten
- 64 Temple of Heaven
- 65-72 May 7 Cadre School
- 73-76 Primary School at Temple of the Moon Rev. Com.
- 77-79 #2 Middle School
- 80-89 Summer Palace
- 91 Craft Factory
- 92-94 Apartments
- 95 Miss Wu
- 96-97 Peking University
- 98-99 Great Wall

Reel II

- 1-6 Great Wall
- 7-22 Yen-an—general—30,000 inhabitants
- 23-34 Revolutionary Caves—residence from 1935
 - 22—Phoenix Hill—Bethune Chair
 - 23—Phoenix Hill—Bomb Shelter
 - 24—Assembly Hall
 - 25-30 Yang Jai Ling—caves of new leaders
- 35-37 Posters—1. Chiang Ching; 2. Wang Huang Wen (youngest) 3. Chang Chin Chiao; 4) Yao Wen Yuan—wrote first article of Cultural Revolution
- 38-39 Yen-an—General—Intellectual
- Sian 1,600,000
- 40-42 #4 Textile Mill - 60% of 7140 workers are women; had a Workers University
- 43 Big Goose Pagoda—Built 652 by Buddhist pilgrims return
- 44-49 Hsushian City

