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From the desk of

H M... file in Paley- CBS file
discuss.

GEORGE BUSH

March 22

GB wrote Paley-- telling him he was writing Schne
thanking him for passing letter on, hoping Paly
come visit Bushes.

mailed internat'l mail

March 22... GB wrote Schneider... thanking him,
letter follows in pouch..

ED PALM
6363 LANSDALE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76116
817-731-2256

HM.

3/19/75 fibr

Dear People,

Rita and I have been thinking of you a lot so thought it would be best to let you know. Talked with Pete last month. He told me you had zipped in for a few days but the chow mein, or whatever you are eating, had really taken a toll on you. Hope you are up and at them again and feeling better.

My mental image of China is that it is a vast country with the people very healthy, adequately provided for as to their basic necessities, but also very drab in comparison to what we are accustomed to. Is there any evidence at all of Christianity or is the state the only reason for existence? Sometime when or if you have time we would enjoy getting a real birds-eye view of how you + Bal view the people.

Your friend with the hearing problem at RWC called me today asking the brand of my hearing aids. He's going to check the market to see if maybe something with advanced technology has been developed. I hope he can get

Some relief.

The real estate business is so bad that I've been dusting off my geology degree. I'm trying to peddle interests in two shallow deals outside Abilene. If I can get hooked up with a good geologist, I'll let him do the brainwork and I'll do the fund raising. Investing in these deals is like playing craps as you well know. If you have any ideas about how to make money in the oil business pass it on. Maybe the Chinese friend Confucius has something to say about it.

Politically nothing is going on. Ross Perot had a party for Anne Armstrong last month. Rita & I were included along with 800 of his "closest friends." It was at the Fairmont in Dallas and really was a good party. You all would have enjoyed it.

The economic picture here is still not good but the market is doing well and Kiplinger says, don't fret, everything will be all right. I'm sure it is hurting all GOP fund raising efforts.

Our buddy Bentsen seems to be raising quite a bid of presidential

ED PALM
6363 LANSDALE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76116
817-731-2256

money, but Dee Kelly doesn't think the
Demos will ever accept a Texan anytime
soon. Since he is a demo and is in
contact with Strauss I suppose he has
more insight than me. The general
feeling here now is that there isn't
any leadership in either party. I think
everyone wants a King with a benevolent
twist. Most people seem to think Ford
is too nice and is unable to effect
any meaningful leadership. Whether this is
true or not only time will tell. The
real menace at this time is the
wild-eyed boys in the majority party.
Depletion is down the tube as of
yesterday for the majors. Benton is getting
press here for saving the Independents, but
I'm not too sure.

Barbara, if you have picked up any
neat Chinese recipes let us know.
We love you and are thinking of
you. Take care of yourselves.

Sincerely,

Ed

July 28, 1975

Mr. Ed Palm,
6363 Lansdale,
Fort Worth, Texas 76116.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your good letter of the 30th. I think Ray Hutchison will do a great job.

It's amazing how fast I get out of touch with politics over here, though I had heard that Rita was retiring.

I'm encouraged that President Ford seems to be doing a good job, and there is no question that his honesty and integrity has been a great shot in the arm for our country.

Bar leaves Wednesday for the States, and I'll be going home at the end of August, so call me in September at our house in Washington, (202) 966-6876.

I've just come back from a fascinating week's visit to Northern China.

It's really hot here now, not unlike Fort Worth.

Give my love to Rita and tell her we Bushes think of you both all the time.

Yours very truly,

George Bush

ED PALM
6363 LANSDALE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76116
817-731-2256

6-30-75

Dear George & Bab.

Ray Hutchison was elected as the new State GOP chairman yesterday. He impresses me as being very capable and he should do an excellent job. The vote was 38-25. Erny Angelo was his opponent. I think everyone left on amicable terms.

Reagan has really been helping Texas raise money. He's talking all over. Goldwater was quoted in one paper as saying he was all for Reagan and that Reagan made him look like a "dove". That statement probably would be the kiss of death for Reagan. However, yesterday one paper said Goldwater was for Ford. Do you think Rockefeller will be the U-P nominee? Are you interested? What do you think Connally is going to do?

ED PALM
6363 LANSDALE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76116
817-731-2256

The whole Congress appears about as inept as an uneducated mob. Only time will tell if we aren't heading irrevocably down the same path Great Britain has trod. All indications point that way.

Is the climate in Peking similar to anything you have experienced here? We would love to see you all. Good luck to you.

Sincerely,
E

P.S. 7/8/75 Just learned Rita Bass Clements is resigning as National Committee woman. Ellie Selig is getting friendly for first time so assume she wants it. However, Betty Andujar is apparently going to run her a race for it.

FRANK PACE, JR.
622 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017
(212) 490-6800

October 9, 1975

NOV 27 1975

Ambassador George Bush
Department of State
United States Liaison Office
Peking, Peoples Republic of China

ans
11-27

Dear George:

Suzanne Reynolds who is the daughter of Janet and Wiley Reynolds, (two of our oldest and dearest friends) is coming to China with the National Council for U.S.-China Trade, in about two weeks.

Wiley was interested in seeing that she had some point of contact in China and I told him that I knew you and would write advising of her coming. I know that you are extremely busy but if you could alert someone in the Embassy whom she might see if she called, it would be most appreciated.

You have a fascinating assignment and a great opportunity. Peg and I wish you best luck in the challenge that you face and we send our warm regards.

Sincerely,



Frank Pace, Jr.

FP Jr./lmh

cc: Miss Suzanne Reynolds
National Council for U.S. China Trade
1100 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

October 3, 1975

Mr. Ed Palm,
6363 Lansdale,
Ft. Worth, Texas 76116.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your great letter of September 17. I was quite concerned about the editorial you sent me. What paper was it in? Frankly, it's simply not true. I am told by others that have been at USLO longer than I have that the Chinese have given us as much if not more access to their officials that in the past. True, it is nothing like Ambassador Huang Chen, the PRCLC Ambassador in Washington, gets, but by Peking standards it is pretty darn good. Certainly we are not discriminated against vis a vis other embassies here.

Thanks again for your letter. Stay in touch.

Warm regards,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

ED PALM
6363 LANSDALE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76116
817-731-2256

9/17/75

Dear George,

Thought you would appreciate
getting the enclosed. You need
to get out of that mysterious
land or start a "small" incident
or something to get back in
the news. If you do start
an "incident" please keep it
controllable as our poor hearts
can't stand too much more
turmoil. Was the fellow from
New Hampshire a good sharp
campaigner (the Republican)?

Sorry I didn't get to visit
more with you. If I get to
Midland I'll be in touch with
little George.

P.S. Thanks so much for
remembering Courtney's autograph. Sincerely,
Ed

Ford's California scare...the assassination attempt is certain to change his style of campaigning. Fewer dangerous trips into crowds. A tighter rein by the Secret Service, no matter what Ford himself wants.

And now Rockefeller is MORE controversial because of his age... at 67. Some Republicans who have supported him are changing attitudes. They are whispering that a "younger man" might be far more preferable... someone who could carry the banner in 1980 to succeed Ford as President. This isn't yet being talked openly, but it is suddenly "inside chatter." And it comes from liberal and moderate Republicans. Thus significant. If it develops, as we expect it will, Rocky may suddenly be a liability.

Conservative Republicans are after his scalp. To team them up with the old-line Rocky supporters who are "wondering" would finish him.

Who might run with Ford? Some younger governor...or a senator. Senators: Brock or Baker, Tenn. Dole, Kan. Percy, Ill. Taft, Ohio. Governors: Bond, Mo. Holshouser, N.C. Milliken, Mich. Evans, Wash.

The point is that Ford's announced wish for an open convention is being taken to heart...raising a question about Rockefeller's future.

Yours very truly,

Austin Kiplinger
THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS

Sept. 12, 1975

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$28-ONE YEAR, \$52-TWO YEARS, \$72-THREE YEARS, \$110-FIVE YEARS.
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Same man, Norm Vinson, ERDA address. Ask for "Selling to ERDA." Free.

If you want to get in on gov't contracts, look into this service:
"Bidders' Early Alert Message...BEAM...run by Nat'l Small Business Assn.
Has data on gov't contracts. It also gives advice to smalls on bidding.
Of course, there are fees for this, including membership in the NSBA,
but may be worth it to you if you're anxious to get contracts from U.S.
Get the details of services, fees from Mr. Herman B. Director,
Nat'l Small Business Assn., 1225 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Local police forces are in a turmoil in many metropolitan areas.
Budget cuts are hurting them...reducing their heft. Applicants,
many with better formal training than veterans, often must be rejected.

Police unions are growing...frequently causing local controversy.
Few strikes, but they raise a fear. Most locals will push arbitration.

Teamsters have organized some forces, which raises the eyebrows
of many. But police officials think the Teamsters will not get far...
"too many officers have loyalty to police force first, to union second."

Foreign investments in U.S. real estate...a few points to note:
Some states have laws that limit foreign ownership. No federal law now,
but gov't and Congress are studying this...may put on limits in future.
Check investors, too. Most foreigners operate via U.S. representatives
who are pretty well known...mostly major banks, large real estate firms.

9/16/75

Editorials • Columns • Letters

Opinions

Peking Makes Pawn of Mr. Bush

Some U. S. congressmen who recently visited Peking were disturbed to find that George Bush, the Texan who now heads the U.S. mission to the Communist Chinese government, has been put in a diplomatic deep-freeze by Chairman Mao's underlings.

When Mr. Bush was sent to the new Peking post after serving as U. S. ambassador to the United Nations it was widely assumed that the move was made to further upgrade U.S. relations with China, making his job just short of full ambassadorship.

But the former congressman from Houston virtually has been walled off from contact with the Peking government in what visiting Americans say is an obvious strongarm move by the Chinese to obtain full diplomatic recognition from Washington, and at the same time force the U. S. government to break off full diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Republic of China on Taiwan.

President Ford plans a trip to Peking shortly and if he is exposed to the same pitch that other U.S. officials have received, he will learn that the Chinese have built large expectations on the basis of President Nixon's 1972 visit to China and the "Shanghai communique" which the president and Premier Chou En-lai issued at the visit's end.

The Chinese now are telling Ameri-

the part about Taiwan. What he did say was that eventual withdrawal of U. S. military forces from Taiwan was desirable. But neither he nor any other president so far has suggested canceling U. S. recognition of the Taipei government which was established in the late 1940s by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek after the Communists seized control of the Chinese mainland.

While the Peking officials pursue their indirect, deep-freeze diplomacy at home, their spokesmen at the United Nations have adopted a red-hot anti-

American propaganda stance, under the apparent assumption that the whole world will recognize it as propaganda and not official policy.

The Chinese minister of foreign trade, Li Chiang, told the U.N. General Assembly the other day that "the two superpowers (the United States and Russia) are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors today, and they are the source of a new world war."

His elaboration on that charge tended to shift most of the blame for the world mess to the Soviets and less to the

Americans. He urged the Third World developing nations to "beware of Soviet exploitation" as it supplants U.S. or other Western "imperialism and colonialism."

Clearly, President Ford will find in Peking that the Chinese government regards its Asian neighbors, the Soviets, as a real and growing threat to China, and that the Chinese are interested in making whatever use they can of America's resources and world position to parry the Russian threat. And do it without yielding much of value to us at all.

The Chinese now are telling Americans that they want, in addition to the Taiwan switch, a more generous helping of U.S. technology to assist them in their efforts to raise their living standard, more U.S. vigilance toward Russia (and less detente), and a longer delay before substantial trade agreements are reached between Peking and Washington.

Apparently it doesn't mean much to Peking that President Nixon did not promise such a rose garden—especially

John H ☒
Don A ☒

THE AMBASSADOR
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Peking, January 16, 1975.

CB

Dear George,

Mr. Roehreke has safely arrived in Tokyo and has been received by your hospital in a very competent and very kind way. May I thank you again for your great help given to us in this serious case and the fine understanding you have shown to us from the very beginning when I first approached you . I know how difficult it was to receive permission from Washington and, I am sure, it could not have been done without your personal intervention.

*With personal
regards
truly
yours
Ref.*

H.E. George Bush ,
Head, US-Liaison Office,
P e k i n g



Tehran, 28 January 1975

Dear Ambassador Bush,

On my arrival at the Prime Minister's Guest House in Rawalpindi I had the pleasure to read your kind note. It was really a pity we missed each other.

I am very glad you are enjoying your new assignment. I am sure that it is a challenging position.

Please give my regards to your charming wife.

I look forward to seeing you both soon. How about Tehran?

Ashraf Pahlavi
Sincerely

Ashraf Pahlavi

H. E. Mr. George Bush
United States Liaison Office
Kuang Hua Lu, 17,
Peking
People's Republic Of China



JF
msand - same
Pahlavi

His Excellency Mr. George Bush
United States Liaison Office
Kuang Hua Lu, 17,
Peking
People's Republic Of China

October 7, 1975

Miss Courtney Palm,
6363 Lansdale,
Ft. Worth, Texas 76116.

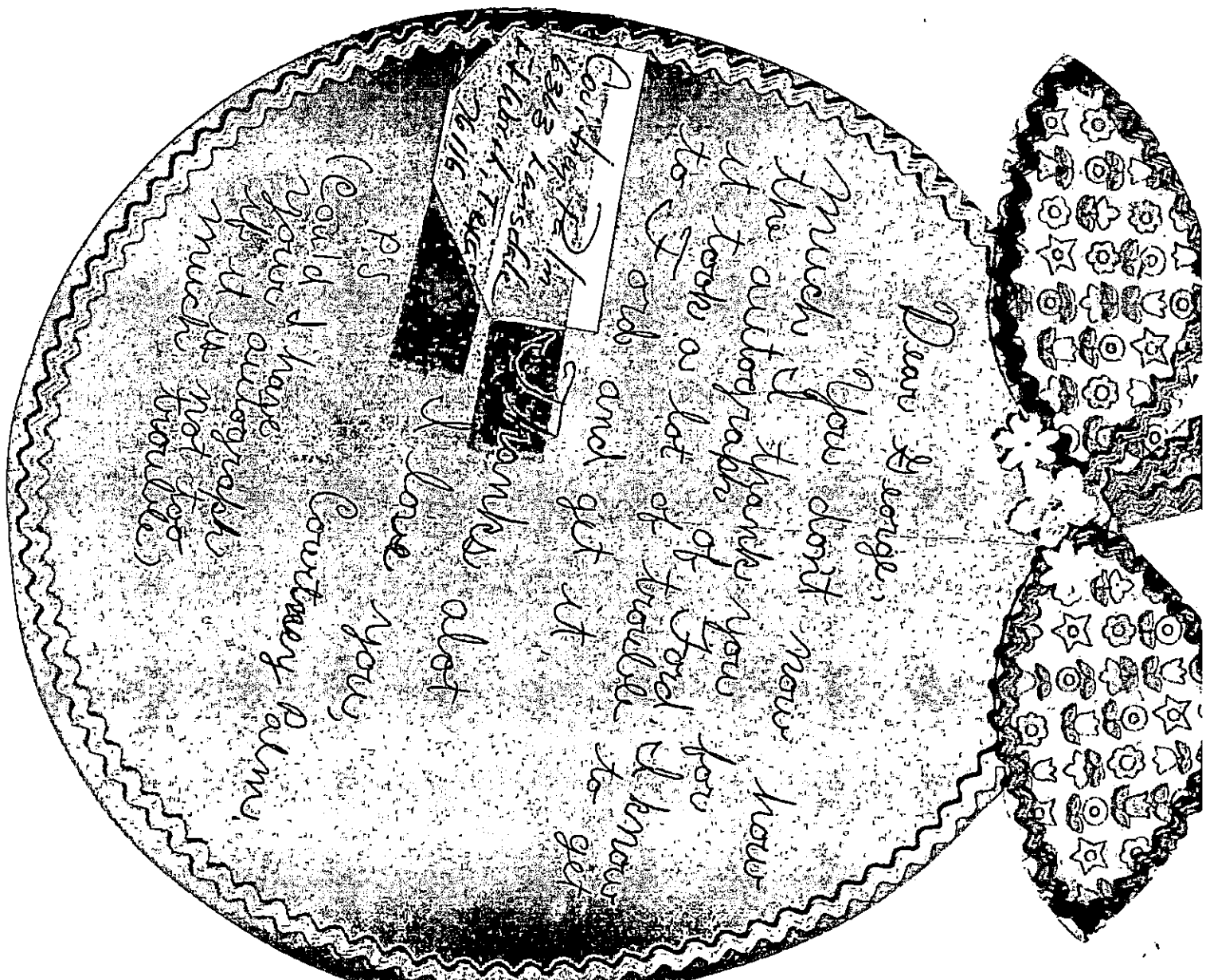
Dear Courtney:

I love you, too.

Here's my autograph, and as you
can tell from the stamps on the envelope
I am sending this all the way from China.

Love,

George Bush



Pantzer

229 Starboard Dr.
Rockport, Tx.
23 Feb. 75

Dear Poppy:

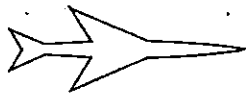
Just a few lines to announce that we arrived in this pleasant little town by the sea on 26 December, and have been here ever since. Our plans -- the pronoun referring to my wife, me, and four dogs -- are to remain till the last week in March, then return north via Kansas, where my mother-in-law lives. The weather has not been perfect; but it's been pretty good for Rockport, with a fair amount of sun. Anyway, I'm supposed to be so busy with projects that weather observations are only incidental. I am editing a book on Japanese folktales for Harvard UP. In connexion with that, I'm learning Japanese. In addition, I am the only Rockport subscriber to The CHINA TRIBUNE (all in Chinese) from NY. And I am trying to revamp a Non-Western Civilization course for next Fall along new lines (ekistics, psychology of art).

Time passes busily if not profoundly. I notice by the WASHINGTON POST (which also reaches us here) that you have come and gone since our last exchange, and that you stopped long enough to give them "what-for". They took peculiar delight in giving the brand-name of your pingpong racquets this time; and as you probably remember, they painted you in a mood of melancholic languishment upon an earlier occasion. "Would the phone never ring?" I am sure their version cannot be true. Reassure me anyway. Also, sometime I'd be interested in your opinions on Andover--whetheryou think it has gone downhill since our days, etc. I'm still somewhat suspicious of Sizer.

As an amateur Chinese cook, I could not ~~fail to drool at the mention of the viands there. The "system"~~ has been working, even in Texas, and I was delighted to uncover a surreptitious backyard oriental store in CC. The chillies and peppers and ginger here are a great experience. My confections, however, cannot approach "the real thing".

Good wishes to you and your wife. And happy new year of the rabbit-- we observed that here, too, with a zing! pow! banquet. Hope we can be here next year to welcome in the (what is it) year of the dragon next Winter.

Sincerely,
Gene
Gene Pantzer



美国联络处

Hon. George N. Bush
US Liaison Office
Peking
People's Republic of China

Personal.

AEROGramme • VIA AIRMAIL • PAR AVION

② Second fold



Additional message area

Pantzer
Rt. 1
Franklin, NH 03235

*replied
3-19 no copy*

November 27, 1975

Mr. Franklin E. Parker,
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York, N.Y. 10020.

Dear Frank:

One of the great frustrations of this job in China has been that we have not been able to help people obtain visas to visit the PRC except when they came and stayed with us as houseguests. I have two suggestions for the Whites: first, they should contact the People's Republic of China Liaison Office, 2300 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20008, stating their interest and asking for visas. Second, they might want to contact Cooks Tours in London. Cooks have trips that come here a couple of times a year, going to most of the places that the White's indicated they wanted to see.

To sum it up, all the visa action is on that end, not here in our USLO office.

It was good hearing from you again, Frank. I hope our paths cross before too long.

Yours very truly,

George Bush

PATTERSON, BELKNAP & WEBB
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020
(212) 541-4000

19__

TO:

FROM:

Dear Pop

Please forget about this if
it is in any way a burden
or outside of your jurisdiction.
I shall hope to see you
soon after your return to
Washington.

Very best,

Frank

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N.Y.
10020

212 541-4000

November 5, 1975

Honorable George H. W. Bush
Chief, U. S. Liaison Mission
at Peking
Peoples Republic of China
c/o Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear George:

I am delighted to hear of your appointment as head of the CIA and I assume that you will be winding up your assignment at Peking in very short order. We desperately need men of your caliber at the very seat of power in Washington and I hope that the new team which is now being put together will result in a strong showing for the Republican Party in 1976.

I have no idea whether in your present assignment you get involved in any way in the obtaining of visas to visit China. However, two of my very close friends and neighbors in New Jersey, Peter and Mary White, are most anxious to obtain visas to visit there, preferably for a period of around six weeks starting in June 1976. They have also advised me that they would be willing to go whenever the necessary arrangements could be worked out.

Mary White is presently a teacher in Asian studies at the Kent Place School in Summit, New Jersey and as you will see from the enclosed resume she has an extensive background in this field. They have advised me that they would like most to visit Peking, Sian, the Lungmen and Tung-Huang Caves, Soochow, Hangchow and the Yangtse Gorges. They said that this would enable them to visit schools and communes and to concentrate on the great material beauty and artistic heritage of China.

I know that both Peter and Mary would be excellent representatives of our country and would clearly stay

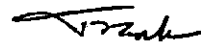
within the bounds of any restrictions imposed on them by the Chinese Government.

If this is something in which you are not in a position to get involved, please forget this matter. I am sorry in any event in all probability you would not be there to see them when they arrive in Peking presumably next summer.

I have both seen and talked to Pres very recently and feel I am quite current with your activities. I can well imagine that the experience in China will always be a vivid one for you. I am terribly glad you will soon be back here and directly involved in the future of this great country. We have problems which appear to be more overwhelming than any we have encountered at least in our lifetime but I have every confidence that we shall work them out in a very effective manner in the next few years.

With very kind regards.

Sincerely yours,



Franklin E. Parker

Enclosure

MARY DE G. WHITE

Resume 1975

Address: Post Road, Bernardsville, N.J. 07924.
Telephone: 201 766 4762 (Home), 201 273 0900 (Office).
Husband: Peter J. White, Jr., Attorney
President, Venture Exploration Corporation, N.Y.C.
Children: Adrienne, Smith College, B.A. '70, New York Law School '77.
Timothy, Yale University, '75.
Dana, University of Vermont '77.
Education: Smith College B.A. '48, Government Major.
Institute of Asian Studies, Seton Hall University, '68-'74.

Courses Studied:

<u>China</u>	<u>Japan</u>
History, Ancient and Modern	History, Ancient and Modern
Literature, " " "	Literature, " " "
Language	Language
Religion and Philosophy	Religion and Philosophy
Calligraphy	Arts and Music
Arts and Music	
<u>India</u>	<u>Africa</u>
Ancient History	Modern History
Music	
Buddhist Art	

Currently writing Master's Thesis designing Senior
High School courses on the cultures of India, China, Japan.

Activities: Teacher, Asian Studies, Kent Place School, Summit, N.J. '69-'75
Lecturer on Asian Culture at local institutions, '69-'75.
Initiator and Chairman "Asia Week", Gill School, '70.
Initiator and Advisor, "Highlights of Asian Art" Exhibit
and Festival, Morris Museum, '72.
Chairman, Board of Directors, School Consortium of N.J. '72-'73.
Member, History Department Visiting Committee, Phillips
Exeter Academy '72-'75.
Executive Committee, Friends of Asian Studies, Seton Hall
University '73.
Member, Fine Arts Committee, Morris Museum '72-'75.
Chairman, Arts Committee, Kent Place School '75-'76.

Associations: Asia Society Japan Society
China Institute Morris Museum
Metropolitan Museum Morris Council of the Arts.

Travel: 40 U.S.A., Europe, Canada, Mexico, Taiwan, Japan, India,
CHINA ???

May 14, 1975

Mr. Foster Parker,
Brown & Root, Inc.,
P.O. Box 3,
Houston, Texas 77001.

Dear Foster:

It was great hearing from you, and, as ever, you are a thoughtful guy to send me "Lincoln and the Russians". I can hardly wait to start it.

The Tony Bryans and the Elkins from Houston are here now having a great time. Rog and Anne Morton are also here, so the visit takes on hopefully more interest for the Es and Bs.

Barbara and I are thoroughly enjoying our new and fascinating life in China. WE have been here six months now and like it more every day.

Thanks again for your letter and the book.

Sincerely,

George Bush

H M please write reply... great hearing from you. Bryans and Elkins here.
now having great time, Mortons here too so visit takes on hopefully more
interest for the Es and Bs... Thank for book. Like new life etc etc...

Brown & Root, Inc. Post Office Box Three, Houston, Texas 77001

Foster Parker
President and
Chief Executive Officer

(713) 676-4255



May 1, 1975

The Honorable George Bush
U. S. Ambassador to Peoples
Republic of China
Peking

Dear George:

At a recent dinner which we were hosting for a group of Russians headed by V. F. Zhigalin, Minister of Heavy Power & Transport of the U.S.S.R., I sat next to Ambassador Yakov Malik and had a most informative three-hour visit.

During the course of our conversation, your name came up and I was pleased to be able to inform him that you were a friend of mine and a fellow Houstonian. His comments about you were most complimentary and he asked that I extend to you his regards the next time I saw you. Not knowing when this might be, I am taking the opportunity of doing it by letter.

I think of you from time to time and wonder how you and your family are enjoying what must be a very interesting assignment. We miss you from the Washington scene for your advice and counsel would be most valuable in these days.

Recently I came across a fascinating chapter of American foreign relations about which I had not previously known relating to the background of our acquisition of Alaska. It is such a fascinating story and so little known that I thought perhaps you might enjoy reading the book also. I am enclosing a copy of "Lincoln and the Russians." I hope you enjoy it.

Sincerely,

Foster Parker

FP:jb
encl.

George Bush
310 1st St. S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

J.F.
please
send

Dear George Bush,

Could you please send
an autographed picture of
yourself to a friend of mine.
He would really appreciate it.

Send to:

EMIDIO PARMIGIANI

2355 BRANT ST.

SAN DIEGO, CA.

92101

Thank you
very much.

BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
TEXAS MEDICAL CENTER
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77025

DEPARTMENT OF OPHTHALMOLOGY
(713) 790-4633

June 9, 1975

M

2001 27 NOV

Mr. George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office
Peking, People's Republic of China

Dear George:

Thank you so very much for your letter of May 20, just received. It was so kind of Josephine Bryan to mention my interest in eye surgery as performed in China. Through an Australian professor of ophthalmology who is a friend of mine, I have seen some "home movies" of a cataract extraction technique that is quite unique and most skillfully performed by Chinese ophthalmologists. Whatever bridge we could establish between the academicians over here and those in China could not fail to be of mutual benefit.

Jimmy Baker "dropped in" last night when jogging by our home and I told him of your letter. Jimmy said that he and Susan have had great interest in visiting with you but know how inundated you have been by well-meaning friends. Sometime in the next six months he just might find it advantageous to make a business trip to Iran and Jane and I have an ophthalmological commitment in India in the first two weeks of November. In short, maybe Jimmy and I and wifely baggage could combine our trips toward the end of October, at which time he might get a set of tennis with you while I check the local eyeball situation -- but neither of us could or would impose on you.

I will write Mr. Armstrong immediately (copy enclosed). It may be that an ophthalmological delegation might be organized at some much later date. In any case, I am deeply grateful to you for your thoughtfulness and effort.

Judging by the headlines, there seems a chance we may be seeing you in the United States even sooner than expected.

Huge thanks again.

Sincerely,

David Paton

David Paton, M.D.
Professor and Chairman

bmc

cc: Mr. James A. Baker, III

BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
TEXAS MEDICAL CENTER
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77025

DEPARTMENT OF OPHTHALMOLOGY
(713) 790-4633

June 9, 1975

Mr. Oscar Armstrong
Director
Office of People's Republic of China
and Mongolian Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Armstrong:

Mr. George Bush has just sent me a copy of a letter he kindly wrote to you in regard to my interest in facilitating an ophthalmological exchange with the People's Republic of China. Like other academic ophthalmologists, it is my feeling that a great deal of good would come from in-depth discussions of current techniques employed both in China and in the United States. Several ophthalmologists have visited China in recent years, but more as tourists than as individuals dedicated to the establishment of useful information exchange.

My own particular interests relate to a rather new technique of cataract extraction employed in China, brought to my attention by Professor Gerard Crock of Australia. It would certainly be of great interest to me to have first-hand knowledge of that method and were I to have the opportunity of visiting colleagues in China, I would be pleased to attempt to share with them an account of the techniques and systems that are evolving in the United States.

Should you think that an arranged visit either by myself alone or as part of a delegation would be mutually beneficial to both countries, I would be a most enthusiastic participant.

Yours sincerely,


David Paton, M.D.
Professor and Chairman
bmc

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
Peking, People's Republic of China

May 20, 1975

Dr. David Paton, M.D.,
Department of Ophthalmology,
Baylor College of Medicine,
Texas Medical Center,
Houston, Texas 77025.

Dear David:

Josephine Bryan gave me your letter and told me of your keen desire to visit China and of your particular desire to see a cataract operation utilizing China's new methods. With this in mind I have today written Mr. Oscar Armstrong, Director of the office of People's Republic of China and Mongolian Affairs at the Department of State. Attached is a copy of that letter.

You must apply for a visa to the PRCLO, 2300 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., setting out your interests.

You should also write Arthur H. Rosen, the new President of the National Committee on US/China Relations, Inc., 777 United Nations Plaza, 9B, New York, N.Y. 10017, telling him of your interest.

We have been helplessly ineffective on this end in facilitating visits for people interested in scientific exchanges. They are all handled on the other end.

Lastly, David, I would suggest that you drop me a line setting out in full detail what it is you would like to do in China. Maybe I could find an opportunity to present this to the proper authorities. I do want to be helpful.

ccs: Arthur H. Rosen, National Committee on US/China Relations'
Mr & Mrs Anthony Bryan, P.O. Box 1212, Houston, Tex. 77001

-2-

Please give my warm regards to the Jimmy Bakers. I sure miss them both. Though Baker is pretty good about writing, I miss the feeling of being able to crush his serve with my devastating freehand.

Warm regards,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
Peking, People's Republic of China

May 20, 1975

Oscar Armstrong, Esq.,
Director,
Office of People's Republic of China and Mongolian Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C. 20520.

Dear Oscar:

Dr. David Paton, M.D., is one of the outstanding Ophthalmologists in the United States, located at Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Medical Center, Houston, Texas 77025. He is very anxious to come to China to see certain kinds of cataract operations, and he also would be most interested in facilitating an ophthalmological exchange with the PRC. I have advised him to contact Arthur H. Rosen, the new President of the National Committee on US/China Relations at the UN in New York, and the PRCLC, but if you have any other suggestions or know of any delegations being formed, Dr. Paton would be a fantastic addition to such a delegation.

Thanks for any help you might render on this one.

Sincerely,

George Bush

cc: Arthur H. Rosen
Dr. David Paton

BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
TEXAS MEDICAL CENTER
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77025

DEPARTMENT OF OPHTHALMOLOGY
(713) 790-4633

May 5, 1975

Mrs. Anthony J.A. Bryan
4600 Post Oak Place Drive
Houston, Texas 77027

Dear Josephine:

A million thanks for remembering my interest in Chinese ophthalmology! Enclosed herewith is the requested curriculum vitae and bibliography. I will mark with a yellow pen whatever credentials there may be to justify my own academic curiosity. ORBIS, since it still remains in the discussion stages, is not mentioned but I hasten to say that a great deal of exciting interchange could occur were ORBIS to visit China in some future year.

I had the pleasure of meeting George Bush through Jimmy Baker my college roommate and very close friend since our days together at The Hills School before Princeton.

Because of the time problem I will ask our department's administrator Mr. Louis Schlanger to deliver this.

Have a wonderful trip.

With thanks and very best regards to you and Tony.

Sincerely,



Attachment

*wants to see
Cedars-Sinai
operation*

CURRICULUM VITAE

David Paton, M. D.

Date of Birth	August 16, 1930 - Baltimore, Maryland
1948-52	A. B. : Princeton University, graduate with honors. Associate Member, Society of Sigma Xi Trachoma survey, summer 1950. Iran (Sponsored by the Iran Foundation, New York City)
1952-56	M. D. : The Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, Baltimore, Maryland.
1955 Summer	Twilingate Hospital, Newfoundland. General Medicine and Surgery at an off-island hospital.
1956-57	Internship in straight medicine (Professor: Dr. David Barr) New York Hospital, Cornell Medical School.
1957-59	Clinical Associate in Ophthalmology (Senior Assistant Surgeon): National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. Dr. Ludwig von Sallmann, Chief. Two years of accredited training in ophthalmology. Nutrition survey ophthalmologist. April, 1959. Ethiopia. Sponsored by the International Committee on Nutrition for National Defense.
1959-62	Ophthalmology residency, The Wilmer Institute, The Johns Hopkins Hospital. (Professor: Dr. A. E. Maumenee)
1962-63	One year on the staff of the St. John Ophthalmic Hospital, Jerusalem, Jordan. Hospitaller: Sir Stewart Duke-Elder. Chief: Dr. A. J. Boase. Founder, The Eye Bank of Jordan, Branch of the International Eye Bank.
1963-64	Chief Resident, The Wilmer Institute. (Seventh year of training in ophthalmology)
1964-67	Assistant Professor of Ophthalmology (Full Time). The Wilmer Institute
1965-70	Founder, Co-Director, The Wilmer Surgical Research Laboratories.
1964-70	Consultant in Ophthalmology, Fort Howard Veterans Hospital, Loch Raven Veterans Hospital and U.S. Public Health Service Hospital.

Nov. - Dec., 1966 World Trip for development of eye banks; a lecture and demonstration tour in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Jordan, Lebanon, Thailand, Taipei, Korea (under the auspices of the International Eye Foundation).

Nov. - Dec., 1967 Keratoplasty clinical pilot studies (full thickness corneas with silicone "endothelium"), Algiers, Jerusalem.

Feb. - March, 1969 Five nation lecture tour, South America; Pan American Association of Ophthalmology - Visiting Professorship.

July, 1967 - 70 Associate Professor of Ophthalmology (Full Time)
The Wilmer Institute, Johns Hopkins University.

July - Dec., 1970 Assistant Dean and Chairman of Admissions Committee,
Johns Hopkins School of Medicine.

January 1, 1971 - Professor and Chairman, Department of Ophthalmology
Baylor College of Medicine, Houston, Texas.
Ophthalmologist-in-Chief, The Methodist Hospital.

ASSOCIATIONS, MEMBERSHIPS & AWARDS

Markle Scholar in Academic Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, 1967-72 (5 years)

American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology

Fellow (1964 - present)

Committee on Instruction Courses (1971 -)

Ad Hoc Committee on Audio-Visual Assessment (1971-1973)

Associate Secretary, Program for Continuing Education in Ophthalmology (1971-73)

Chairman, Basic and Clinical Science Course for Continuing Education
in Ophthalmology. (1973-)

American Board of Ophthalmology

Fellow (1964 - present)

Member (1975 -) (Elected in 1973; membership to commence in 1975.)

American College of Surgeons

Fellow (1967 - present)

Board of Governors, Representative of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology (1972-73; resigned appointment thereafter)

Maryland Ophthalmological Society

President (1969-70)

Member, Governor's Commission Regarding Optometry Legislation (1969)

Medical Eye Bank of Maryland - Medical Board of Directors (1969 - 70)

Wilmer Residents' Association - Secretary-Treasurer (1968-70)

International Eye Bank, Washington, D.C. - Medical Advisory Board

The Iran Foundation - Medical Board

American Eye Study Club

Pan American Association of Ophthalmology

Secretary, Executive Committee, IX Pan American Congress of
Ophthalmology, Houston (1972)

Council Member (1973)

Pan American Microsurgical Society - Member

Peruvian & Chilean Ophthalmological Societies - Corresponding Member

Brazilian and Mexican Ophthalmological Societies - Honorary Member

Royal Decoration of the Third Order from King Hussein of Jordan for founding
the first eye bank in the Middle East (1963)

Fourth Annual Professor Ignacio Barraquer Memorial Award for "Outstanding
contributions to medical education through the use of cinematography"
(1968)

Editorial Boards: 1. Annals of Ophthalmology (196? - 70; resigned)
 2. Journal of Ophthalmic Surgery (1971 -)
 3. Board of Advisers, Highlights of Ophthalmology (1972 -)

Conrad Berens International Eye Film Library - Board of Directors

American Society of the Order of St. John

Associate Commander

Assistant Hospitaller

Fellowship Program Director (1964-69)

Ethicon Ophthalmic Advisory Panel - Chairman (1970-71)

Alcon, Inc. - Board of Advisers, Instrument Development Committee

American Foundation for Overseas Blind, Inc. - Advisory Committee on
Prevention Activities (1969-72; resigned)

Texas State Commission for the Blind - Medical Advisory Board

Texas Ophthalmological Association - Member

Veterans Administration Hospital - Dean's Committee

Harris County Hospital District - Member, Medical Board

Baylor College of Medicine

Policy and Planning Committee

Advisory Committee for the Center for Allied Health Manpower
Development

Ad Hoc Patent Policy Committee

Ad Hoc Committee on Ethics of Medicine Center

Harris County Medical Society - Member

Co-Chairman "Ophthalmology and Rehabilitation -- Toward More Effective
Cooperation" - A National Symposium, Houston, Texas, April 25-27,
1974. National Council of State Agencies for the Blind, Inc.

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1. Bonner, P. G., Koontz, L. and Paton, D.: (Thesis) Size in relation to the rate of migration in the slime mold *Dictyostelium discoideum*. Mycologia 45:235-240, 1953.
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4. a. von Sallmann, L. and Paton, D.: Hereditary dyskeratosis of the perilimbal conjunctiva. Tr. Am. Ophth. Soc. 57:53-62, 1959.
b. von Sallmann, L. and Paton, D.: Hereditary benign intraepithelial dyskeratosis. Arch. Ophth. 63:421-429, 1960.
5. Paton, D. and McLaren, D. S.: Bitot spots. Amer. J. Ophth. 50:568-574, 1960.
6. Darby, W. J., McGinty, W. J.; McLaren, D. S., Paton, D., Alemu, A. Z. and Medhen, A. M. G.: Bitot spots and vitamin A deficiency. Public Health Reports 75:738-743, 1960.
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8. Paton, D.: The conjunctival sign of sickle-cell disease. Arch. Ophth. 66:90-94, 1961.
9. Paton, D. and Walsh, F.: Hypophysectomy for diabetic retinopathy. Internat. Correspondence Soc. of Ophth. Collected letters. Series 6: 121-123, 1961.
10. Paton, D. and Maumenee, A. E.: Surgical management of exposure. Proceedings of First International Symposium of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery of the Adnexae, Washington: Butterworths, 1962, pp. 242-248.
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13. Goodman, R. M., Smith, E. W., Paton, D., et al. Pseudoxanthoma elasticum. A clinical and histopathological study. Medicine. 42: 297-334, 1963.
14. Paton, D.: Spot diagnosis in ophthalmology. Journal of the Army Base Hospital. Amman, Jordan, 1963, pp. 5-12.
15. Paton, D.: Acromegaly with angioid streaks. Letter to Editor. Correspondence Section. Amer. J. Ophth. 56:841-842, 1963.
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17. Paton, D.: The Melkersson-Rosenthal Syndrome. Amer. J. Ophth. 59:705-709, 1965.
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19. Gills, J. P., Jr. and Paton, D.: Mottled fundus oculi in pseudoxanthoma elasticum. Arch. Ophth. 73:792-795, 1965.
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21. a. Duke, J. R. and Paton, D.: Primary familial amyloidosis. Ocular manifestations with histopathologic observations. Tr. Am. Ophth. Soc. 63:146-167, 1965.
- b. Paton, D., and Duke, J. R.: Primary familial amyloidosis. Ocular manifestations with histopathologic observations. Amer. J. Ophth. 61:736-747, 1966.
22. Paton, D.: Injuries of the Eye, the Lids, and the Orbit. In: Zuidema, G., Ballinger, W. and Rutherford, R. (eds.): Trauma and the Surgeon. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1967, pp. 180-212.
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 - f. Paton, D.: Results of combined cataract extraction and penetrating keratoplasty. pp. 286-288.
 - g. Paton, D.: Complications of suture types. pp. 339-341.
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- b. Paton, D. and Emery, J.M.: (Chapter) Injuries of the Eye, the Lids, and the Orbit. In: Zuidema, G., Ballinger, W. and Rutherford, R. (eds.): The Management of Trauma. Second Edition. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, pp. 219-253, 1973.
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 - b. Paton, D.: Management of inadvertent iridodialysis.
 - c. Paton, D.: Minutiae of microsurgical technique.
 - d. Paton, D.: Management of inadvertent cyclodialysis.
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63. Paton, D. and Craig, J. A. (Monograph): Cataracts and Their Management. Clinical Symposia: Vol. 26, No. 3, 1974. CIBA Pharmaceutical Company, Summit, N. J.
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65. Paton, D.: Trans. of Ophthalmology and Rehabilitation -- Toward More Effective Cooperation. A National Symposium. Houston, Texas. April 25-27, 1974. National Council of State Agencies for the Blind, Inc. In Press.
 - a. Welcome.
 - b. Medicine's New Roles and Responsibilities.
 - c. Functional vs. Legal Blindness.
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US 40

June 13, 1975

~~SB~~
~~LD~~

David Paton, M.D.
Department of Ophthalmology
Baylor College of Medicine
Texas Medical Center
Houston, Texas 77025

Dear Dr. Paton:

Ambassador George Bush has asked me to write to you concerning your interest in visiting the People's Republic of China (PRC), and particularly in observing cataract operations there. Ambassador Bush also sent me a copy of his letter to you.

As you probably know, a fairly large number of American physicians and medical researchers have visited the PRC under various auspices. The organization which has sponsored a number of such visits is the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. In addition to its own activities, the Committee is also well-informed on visits which it has not sponsored. You may wish to write to Mrs. Anne Keatley, Staff Director of the Committee, at 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418.

We understand that a number of American doctors have been able to visit the PRC individually, or in small groups, by making a direct approach to the Chinese. Should you wish to pursue this approach, I suggest that you write to Mr. Hsieh Hua, President of the Chinese Medical Association, Peking, People's Republic of China. You should outline as completely as possible the reasons for your interest in visiting the PRC, when you would hope to make the visit, and your professional qualifications. It might also be helpful to provide a copy of the letter to the Cultural Affairs Section of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China, 2300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20008.

I would be less than candid if I did not note that compared to those who have succeeded in making a visit to the PRC, there are a large number who have tried but so far failed. The Chinese authorities have explained that they are not yet able to receive large numbers of visitors from abroad, due to a shortage of necessary facilities (including, among other things, technically-qualified interpreters).

I wish you success in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar V. Armstrong
Director for
People's Republic of China
and Mongolia Affairs

cc: Ambassador Bush, USLO Peking

EA/PRCM:PGSmith:ced 6/13/75

@/I letter from USLO May 20, 1975

Clearance: CU/EA - Mr. Nichols



JUN 3 1975

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
Peking, People's Republic of China

May 20, 1975

RS - Amy
through
JVA

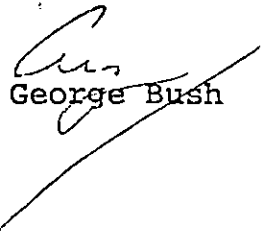
Oscar Armstrong, Esq.,
Director,
Office of People's Republic of China and Mongolian Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C. 20520.

Dear Oscar:

Dr. David Paton, M.D., is one of the outstanding Ophthalmologists in the United States, located at Baylor College of Medicine, Texas Medical Center, Houston, Texas 77025. He is very anxious to come to China to see certain kinds of cataract operations, and he also would be most interested in facilitating an ophthalmological exchange with the PRC. I have advised him to contact Arthur H. Rosen, the new President of the National Committee on US/China Relations at the UN in New York, and the PRCLO, but if you have any other suggestions or know of any delegations being formed, Dr. Paton would be a fantastic addition to such a delegation.

Thanks for any help you might render on this one.

Sincerely,


George Bush

cc: Arthur H. Rosen
Dr. David Paton

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
Peking, People's Republic of China

May 20, 1975

Dr. David Paton, M.D.,
Department of Ophthalmology,
Baylor College of Medicine,
Texas Medical Center,
Houston, Texas 77025.

Dear David:

Josephine Bryan gave me your letter and told me of your keen desire to visit China and of your particular desire to see a cataract operation utilizing China's new methods. With this in mind I have today written Mr. Oscar Armstrong, Director of the office of People's Republic of China and Mongolian Affairs at the Department of State. Attached is a copy of that letter.

You must apply for a visa to the PRCLO, 2300 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., setting out your interests.

You should also write Arthur H. Rosen, the new President of the National Committee on US/China Relations, Inc., 777 United Nations Plaza, 9B, New York, N.Y. 10017, telling him of your interest.

We have been helplessly ineffective on this end in facilitating visits for people interested in scientific exchanges. They are all handled on the other end.

Lastly, David, I would suggest that you drop me a line setting out in full detail what it is you would like to do in China. Maybe I could find an opportunity to present this to the proper authorities. I do want to be helpful.

ccs: Arthur H. Rosen, National Committee on US/China Relations'
Mr & Mrs Anthony Bryan, P.O. Box 1212, Houston, Tex. 77001

Please give my warm regards to the Jimmy Bakers. I sure miss them both. Though Baker is pretty good about writing, I miss the feeling of being able to crush his serve with my devastating freehand.

Warm regards,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

June 16, 1975

Thomas W. Pauken, Esq.,
Attorney at Law,
5114 Willis Avenue,
Dallas, Texas 75206.

Dear Tom:

I was glad to get your letter of June 2nd and am delighted to know you're throwing your hat into the ring.

I appreciate enormously your kind words about my being needed back there, and someday I may get back into the political arena in Texas. Now, though, my plate is full, and I am having a challenging and rewarding experience in what I think is important work in China. Barbara enjoys it as much as I do.

Four of our kids are here with us now, and you can imagine how happy we are.

Good luck in your race, and I hope our paths cross in the not too distant future.

Yours very truly,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

THOMAS W. PAUKEN

ATTORNEY AT LAW

5114 WILLIS AVENUE

DALLAS, TEXAS 75206

214/826-4468

June 2, 1975

Honorable George Bush
Chief, U. S. Liaison Office
Peking, Peoples Republic of China
c/o Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

JUN 16 1974

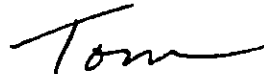
Dear George:

I just wanted to drop you a line to let you know that I have decided to get back into politics next year. My plans are to run for the State Senate seat currently held by Bill Bracklein here in Dallas. Bracklein was elected for the first time to the State Senate in 1972, and won by a 52-48 margin over the Republican opponent at that time. Although I am fully aware that it is never easy to defeat an incumbent, I think that the district is such that a Republican can win it with a good organization and an aggressive campaign. I hope that both can be done in this case.

Although I am sure that you must be enjoying yourself in your capacity as head of the U. S. Liaison to Red China, a number of us would love to see you come back to Texas and run for political office again. I do feel that the Republican Party is not that far away from being a major force in the state of Texas, but it would make things a lot easier in achieving that objective for a man such as yourself to return to Texas and run for governor or senator.

Hope that all is well with you and your family, and I look forward to seeing you again in the not-too-distant future.

Best regards,



Thomas W. Pauken

TWP:jh

Feb.17, 1975

Mr. William Payeff
Asst. Director- East Asia
U.S. Information Agency
1776 Penn. Ave
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Bill,

I am sorry to miss you when I was
home on recent consultations.

I did call Jim Keogh with a special
request. I am wondering if we can work out a better
deal to get more updated entertainment type cassettes
for our VTR machines here in Peking.

It occurs to me that they would be
easier to ship and handle. What I would like to have
are the following kinds of tapes:

Movies
Sports films- football, tennis
T.V. Specials- either documentaries
or Bob Hope type things.

We get old press conferences and some
talk show programs- Meet the Press etc.

Everyone thinks his post is different.
I think our post is different. Can you help us?

I saw Betty Ecker on my way back to
China- the world's most thoughtful person. Best Wishes,

UNCLASSIFIED
USIA
UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON 20547

March 7, 1975

GB
File
Good guy!!

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear George:

Have just got back from a month-long trip to East Asia, which unfortunately coincided with your visit to Washington. I am most disappointed at not having a chance to see you. I thoroughly enjoyed our brief time in Honolulu. It was a genuine pleasure getting to know you, and I hope that before too much longer our paths will cross again.

In the meanwhile, I got your note concerning the video cassettes and Frank Scotton will fill you in on the details. It looks good, and I can assure you that on our end we will do everything possible to support your requests. The same from USIS Hong Kong. Don't hesitate to ask. If we can do it (even if we can't) we will.

Hope all goes well with you. Will write a decent letter soon, but am taking advantage of Frank's trip to have him deliver these few words personally.

Warmest personal regards and my very best to you.

Sincerely,

Gill
Bill Payeff

The Honorable
George H. Bush
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office
Peking

UNCLASSIFIED

May 30, 1975

Miss Susie Peake,
201 Kinkaid School Drive,
Houston, Texas 77024.

Dear Susie:

Here is a Chinese magazine for you and
a Chinese newspaper. Mrs. Bush would have
sent them to you but she is in the United
States attending Marvin's graduation.

Give my love to all our friends in
Houston, particularly to your wonderful
parents. We miss you very much.

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

Enclosures

201 Kinkaid School Drive
Houston, Texas 77024
May 5, 1975

Ambassador and Mrs. George Bush
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office
Peking, Peoples Republic of China
Care Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520 *Aut Dictate*

Dear Mrs. Bush,

How are you? Houston is fine
and hot. I was very interested in
your conversation about China the
last time that you were in Houston.
I was wondering if maybe you
would please send ^{me} a Chinese
magazine and a Chinese news-
paper. I really would like it if
you would. Tell everyone hello
and I hope to see you all this
summer if you can make it down
here. Please tell Dorothy hello
and hope to see her soon.

Love, Susie Peake

December 22, 1975

Dear Andy:

Thank you for your letter of December 18. I am very pleased to accept the invitation to speak on Monday, April 12th.

I hate to throw in any caveats, but I just can't foresee the entire spring schedule. The only reason for cancellation would be some crisis that kept me from making the deadline, and I hope that is unlikely, or the necessity of being out of the country. To the degree I control my own schedule I will, of course, try to see that the latter does not occur.

There is one other thing. I will be glad to give my views on China, but I would prefer that you not pin me down to a title. It may well be that there could be some high-level embarrassment for the Director of the CIA to be speaking about China, so if we could leave the subject matter loose we would be protected. It might be that I would have to swing over and talk about something related to the CIA. In any event, I want to be there.

It's kind of like the mongrel at the Westminster Club pet show -- "I'll be in some damn fine company." Thanks for asking me.

Yours very truly,

George Bush

Mr. Andrall E. Pearson
President
Pepsico, Inc.
Purchase, New York 10577

GB:rs

United States Liaison Office
Peking, People's Republic of China

August 18, 1975

The Hon. Claiborne Pell,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Claiborne:

Here is the piece of paper you handed to me.

The name of the man who so impressed you in
Shanghai is:

Vice Chairman Hsu Ching Shen
(top leader in Shanghai - great leadership
potential)

You told me he addressed himself frankly to the
question of revisionism, etc.

What a treat to see you here. I just wish
Kuala could have been with us on that enchanting
visit.

Sincerely yours,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

Enclosure

CLAIBORNE PELL
RHODE ISLAND

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

17 Aug 65
en route Athens

Dear George

You really are a peach
to have looked after me as you
did. I arrived a bit tired
and bedraggled and you sent me
off refreshed and invigorated.

The picnic at the Ming
Tombs was wonderful - a memory
I shall always retain. And
something I had read or heard
about, but never thought to
experience.

I only hope I was not
too much of a nuisance to you and

I really feel embarrassed
about you going back at forth
to the Airport.

I shall keep our conversations
in mind & will phone McCloskey.
Always let me know if I can
be of any help from this end.

Remained at heartfelt thanks
for a wonderful visit.

Yrs ever

C. Clinton

December 24, 1975

P

Dear Louis:

Thanks for your telegram. It just caught up with me in Washington.

The job is tough, but I am really looking forward to it and I am going to give it my best.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Mr. Louis Pendergraft
5419 45th Street
Lubbock, Texas 79414

GB:rs

MGMWSHT HSB

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 **Mailgram**[®]
western union



▶ GEORGE BUSH DIRECTOR
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON DC 20505

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR APPOINTMENT AS DIRECTOR OF THE CIA MY VERY BEST
WISHES IN MY OPINION THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS CHOSEN THE
RIGHT MAN FOR A TOUGH JOB

LOUIS PENDERGRAFT
5419 45 ST
LUBBOCK TX 79414

13:07 EST

MGMWSHT HSB

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

NOV 5 1975

File

February 5, 1975

Mrs. Willard Pendleton
"Cairnwood"
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania 19009

Dear Gay:

I have been sick as a dog since I got back to the U.S.A. - in and out of the hospital.

I did get your letter and I told Phil Guarino I wanted to help.

I have discussed the Indianapolis Symphony's desires with the head of Cultural Affairs in State, Mr. Richardson. Also with Mr. Oscar Armstrong, head of the PRC desk.

The Symphony people should follow up on Senator Scott's letters to the PRC Liaison Office in Washington.

Frankly, we at USLO have very little say in these matters with the Chinese.

I loved your newsy letter and am sorry that, due to my fouled up schedule due to illness, we couldn't get together.

Bar and I love our new life and challenge in China.

Sincerely,

George Bush

"Carmwood"
Bryn Mawr Pa
1900
January 10th 75

Ambassador T. Chen
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ambassador Bush

Happy New Year to you and
yours! The Bush family card reached us
in our Catskill mountain farm home
where some of us Senators went to
rest after Christmas. Also we enjoyed
your photographic greeting.

Several weeks ago I learned from
our friend Philip Tamm that you plan
to be in Washington in late January.
Before you left for China I sent you
copies of the enclosed letters apropos
of the Indianapolis Symphony going to China.
While you are in Washington, Conductor
Ling Tany and his wife and Mr. Sydney
Weissenau, manager of the Indianapolis
Symphony would like to have an opor-
tunity to meet with you. I would so like
to be with you if you can spare the time
but don't want to complicate arrangements.

Our youngest daughter Joan had a baby in mid December. The poor little poor bawler has many physical problems - and it will take years of surgery before she can walk. And a complete palate will have to be built so that she can talk. In a few weeks she may be able to leave the hospital and I will go to Searsdale to help care for her till she adjusts to her new environment. Next week I will go to the New York hospital to be with Joan when the surgeon removes what we hope is a benign lump in the breast.

I do not want any of my personal plans to complicate setting up a meeting between you and the King, Luce and Spang Weadman, who by the way, is an ardent, hard working Republican, as Paul Guarino can verify.

I am hoping to talk with Mary Louise Smith and Connie Armstrong in the near future about rebuilding the Party in Pennsylvania. Last October I invited Mrs. Everett Jackson to spend two days in Bryn Mawr and arranged for her to be at the Pennsylvania Award

3

Dinner in Philadelphia and at a
 luncheon in Harrisburg. President Ford was
 delighted to see her and asked Lush to
 accompany him to Illinois in November
 - which she did. She has been in a
 Florida hospital for several weeks - but
 still plans to help me this late Spring
 or early Summer - as we reorganize some
 Republican women's clubs. I don't know
 how well acquainted you are with Drew
 Davis. Some of us are enthusiastic
 about him - and not long ago I
 talked with him and Marilyn about
 the future. Next time he will surely
 win. We need that kind of Governor in Ga.

During the first few sad days after the
 baby arrived Joan said, "In a way, we - you &
 I & others - need to work for better things
 for other people's children, not just our
 own. I feel that my friend Julie has
 been living through a tragedy."

Ann has a dear George Bush. Life as the
 wife of the second Bishop of a diocese has
 not been easy and in private, our
 daughters and I have shed some bitter
 tears over the treatment of a man who
 has been the finest Administrator as

well as a spiritual leader of our church. Our organization is only two hundred years old. But what we have suffered through loneliness, and because of our being willing to accept the responsibility (physical & financially) seems so minor when I contemplate the tragedy of the Tuscarora family. But I must people all over the country (and in foreign lands) who still speak with gratitude for what Richard Tuscarora accomplished - and for what he tried to do.

As far as the Republican Party goes, I'm still trying. And I love working shoulder to shoulder with women like Sandra Werham, Martha Rountree, Carrie Amittage - and many others.

Two years ago I brought Ann & her husband together with Dr. Quinn, Harold "Bud" Arberg. And some day you may attend their nurse-play the reunion - about December 29th 1976.

There are many ways in which we can work for a 1976 celebration to restore patriotism for our kids - & for the great-grandchildren

Warm regards
Ray Binalatan

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
MIKE MANFIELD, MONT.
FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
GALE W. MC GEE, WYO.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
GEORGE MCGOVERN, S. DAK.
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
HUGH SCOTT, PA.
JAMES D. PEARSON, KANS.
CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 16, 1974

Mrs. Willard Pendleton
"Cairnwood"
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 19009

Dear Gay:

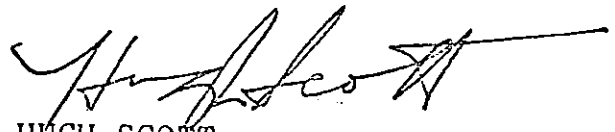
It is my pleasure to send you copies of letters going out today in support of the proposal of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra to visit the People's Republic of China.

I enjoyed meeting with you, and with Mrs. Ling Tung and Mr. Weedman. Copies of this correspondence is also being sent to Mr. Weedman.

You will hear from me when I receive reports regarding action being taken in support of the Orchestra.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,



HUGH SCOTT
United States Senator

HS:vr
Enclosures

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
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FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

May 16, 1974

His Excellency Chiao Kaun-hua
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Peking, People's Republic of China

My dear friend:

In view of our past interesting association and memorable interchanges, I am writing to you regarding the proposal of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, of Indianapolis, Indiana. They wish to visit your country on a people to people musical tour.

I am enclosing copy of my letter to His Excellency Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office, which will give you the background information regarding this outstanding musical organization. Your appraisal and your consideration of this proposal would be appreciated.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

HUGH SCOTT
United States Senator

HS:vr
Enclosure

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
MIKE MANSFIELD, MONT.
FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
GALE W. MCGETT, WYO.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
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ROBERT F. GRIFFIN, MICH.

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 16, 1974

His Excellency Huang Chen
Chief, Liaison Office
People's Republic of China
2300 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.S., 20008

Dear Mr. Huang:

It is my pleasure to express my interest in the proposal of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra of a people to people visit to the People's Republic of China. It is one of the leading musical organizations of our country, with an outstanding conductor who was born in Shanghai, Dr. Ling Tung.

The Mayor of Indianapolis, The Honorable Richard G. Lugar, wrote to you on November 21, 1973, regarding the proposal, and at that time sent a recording and descriptive material regarding this musical organization.

As you recall, the people of Indianapolis were privileged to have the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe visit their city. They were impressed by the beauty, artistry and precision of these excellent performers and appreciated the opportunity of an exchange of friendliness as well as culture. The Troupe enjoyed the smaller city atmosphere of Indianapolis, where they could tour the farmlands, the steel mills as well as the interesting aspects of the city.

The Indianapolis Symphony will bring to your country a fine musical program. They are hopeful a reciprocal visit can be made which will include Shenyang. Your consideration of this proposal would be appreciated, and I can assure you it will enhance the people to people cultural exchange.

Sincerely,

HUGH SCOTT
United States Senator

September 24, 1975

The Hon. Charles H. Percy,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chuck:

Humiliation! I didn't get up to read the notes of your visit with President Nixon, and for this I apologize. (If there is any way they could be pouched to me through State Department channels I promise I would destroy the copy you send me after reading.)

When I got back to Peking yesterday I found your very thoughtful letter of August 25. It is I who should have written to you for bringing joy and vitality to our lives here in Peking. One of the happiest things about this job is having friends come to see us, and when they are friends who help increase our knowledge about China it is all that much more meaningful.

Love to Loraine and Mark. I hope our paths cross soon again.

Yours very truly,

George Bush
Chief, US Liaison Office

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 25, 1975
(dictated but not read)

SEP 4 1975

Dear George:

I cannot begin to tell you how much we enjoyed our visit to China and the opportunity to see you in action there. Our only regret was that we did not have a chance to play a game of tennis with you, but we will have to make this up on your return to Washington in September.

I particularly wanted to commend your lovely secretary, Jennifer Fitzgerald, for the assistance and help that she provided to us, to Stan Brooks and Lynn Pascoe for the liaison service provided to our entire delegation. I enjoyed meeting Harry Thayer, your Deputy and was only sorry that I did not have a chance to talk with him at greater length.

I called Barbara immediately upon returning to Washington and told her that I had neglected to send your swimming trunks back to Peking by way of Claiborne Pell, so she simply suggested that I mail them to your Washington address, 5161 Palisades Lane, N.W., 20016, which I shall do and they will be

The Honorable George Bush
August 25, 1975
page two

waiting there for you on your return.

Many thanks again for all of your kindness and thoughtfulness. We are proud of the job that you are doing and I told Barbara that I am enroute today to spend the evening in Peoria on board ship with some of the Cabinet members and then spending the day with the President tomorrow in Pekin and Peoria, Illinois -- where he is dedicating the Everett McKinley Dirksen Library. I did call General Scowcroft in Vail on Sunday, to brief him on our trip.

Loraine and I were on AM America Monday morning to give a little first-hand report. She so seldom will ever do anything like this that I was very pleased that she succumbed on this occasion.

Warm personal regards,



The Honorable George Bush
Ambassador
United States Liaison Office
Kuang Hua Lu, 17, Peking
People's Republic of China

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 25, 1975
(dictated abroad)

Dear Ambassador Harland:

We greatly enjoyed meeting you during the course of our visit to Peking and do wish to express particularly our appreciation to you for the use of your tennis court and swimming pool on several occasions. It provided to us one of the few opportunities we had in China for some exercise. Most importantly, it gave us an opportunity to exchange a few views with you and I do hope we will have occasion to meet together some other time, some other place.

Meanwhile, on behalf of our delegation, our deepest appreciation for your cordial and warm hospitality.

Warm personal regards,

The Honorable Bryce Harland
Ambassador
Embassy of New Zealand
Peking, People's Republic of China

✓ cc: The Honorable George Bush

bcc: Dr. John Lewis

CHARLES H. PERCY
ILLINOIS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

HP

October 23, 1975

Jennifer.. Please ask Mr. Ben if there is any word on
Senator Percy's teeth at the Hotel.... Did we send his letter
down there???? GB

NOV 13 1975

Dear George:

Enclosed is a letter to the Manager of the Peking
Hotel. I would very much appreciate your seeing
that this letter is delivered to him.

Thanks again for all of your help.

Warmest regards,

Charles

The Honorable George Bush
Ambassador
United States Liaison Office
Peking, People's Republic of China

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

November 3, 1975

Mr. Jesus Perez,
Chairman, Southside GI Forum,
112 Goodwin,
San Antonio, Texas 78204.

Dear Jesus:

Though I am out of politics now,
I read your October 7th letter to
Senator Tower with keen interest.
As you know, I am well and favorably
acquainted with the American GI Forum.

Thanks for sending me that information. It was good hearing from you.

Yours very truly,

George Bush

October 7, 1975

The Honorable
John G. Tower, U. S. Senator
142 Russell Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator:

We, respectfully solicit your help in a matter concerning our organization, "The American GI Forum of the United States."

Our objective is to be recognized by the Government of the United States on a national level and on the same basis as, for example, "The Veterans of Foreign Wars," "The American Legion," and "The Disabled American Veterans."

We believe our organization promotes similiar objectives and stands for high moral and patriotic principals as these other organizations. It is an organization in which the spanish-surnamed american can relate closer to his/her country through the togetherness created by this single body organization.

Reason for asking such a request is that in the past, the American GI Forum has been confronted with all sorts of "red tape" when we ask the United States Government facilities for help. These requests have been for the purpose of aiding a disaster, i.e., flood, hurricanes, and tornadoes. The efforts of collecting food and clothing are sometimes defeated for lack of transportation or administrated leave. Our answer from local military is simply that we are not recognized.

Justifications:

The American GI Forum is a patriotic National Veteran Family Organization founded by Doctor Hector P. Garcia on 26 March 1948 in Corpus Christi, Texas. Over one-half million spanish-surnamed veterans served in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. Not a single person with a spanish surname betrayed his country or became a turncoat. More than two-hundred and fifty-thousand lost their lives or were wounded in battle excluding Vietnam. More Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded to veterans with spanish surnames than any other ethnic group in the nation. Therefore, we veterans with spanish surnames have a very impressive war record to be proud of.

Page 2
American GI Forum
7 October 1975

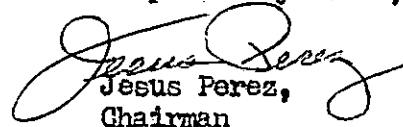
The aims and objectives of the American GI Forum are as follows:

1. To develop leadership by creating interest in the spanish-speaking population to participate intelligently and wholeheartedly in community, civic and political affairs.
2. Advance understanding between citizens of various national origins and religious beliefs in order to develop a more enlightened citizenry and a greater AMERICA.
3. Preserve and advance the basic principles of democracy, the religious and political freedom of the individual and equal social and economic opportunities for all citizens.
4. Secure and protect for all veterans and their families, regardless of race, color or creed, the privileges vested to them by the Constitution and Laws of our COUNTRY.
5. Combat juvenile delinquency through the Junior GI Forum program which teaches respect for law and order, discipline, good sportsmanship and the value of teamwork.
6. Uphold and maintain loyalty to the CONSTITUTION and FLAG of the UNITED STATES.
7. Award scholarships to deserving students.
8. Preserve and defend the United States of America from all enemies.
9. Aid needy and disabled veterans.

We believe we should be recognized and accredited as an organization promoting the American way of life for which many of us have fought for and many have given their lives for.

Please give us some guidance towards this endeavor. Thanking you, we remain,

Respectfully Yours,


Jesus Perez,
Chairman

Cys to: ✓ The Honorable, George Bush,
Special Ambassador to the
People Republic of China

Anne Armstrong (Consumer Affairs)

Dick Eddelmann, Bexar County Republican Chairman

Joe Guerra (Bexar County Assistant)

December 16, 1975

Dear Chuck:

I received the attached letter from Jack Troller, an old friend of mine. I have marked the appropriate places. Perhaps one of your staff could look into the matter of making Miss Coleen Rotchford a page. Apparently, she's really hot to go.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

George Bush

The Honorable Charles H. Percy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Enclosures

: Copy of GB letter of 12/16/75 ~~letter~~ to John W. Troller, together
with copy of John Troller's letter of 12/1/75 to George Bush

GB:rs

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

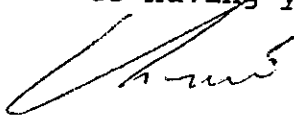
December 5, 1975

Dear George:

How thoughtful of you to write me and also to give me a report on the mouthplate. It is not only the cost of the blooming thing (\$150) but the time it takes to go out to my dentist in Wilmette, Illinois and have a duplicate made, which requires two appointments. Apparently I vent my frustration at our inability to solve all of our national and international problems at night and the dentist felt that I might be in danger of grinding my teeth down, so he prescribed the plate. But unfortunately, some Chinese person of comparable facial features is going to benefit from it, as I inadvertently left it in the hotel in Peking. Please think nothing further about it, as I have already gone ahead and had one appointment to make up another one.

You are going to have a rough time on the confirmation hearings on the new appointment, but I do feel that you will prevail. It is a wonderful opportunity for you to explain the thinking that led up to the President's decision. I want to do everything I can to be helpful to you and, of course, you know I am for your appointment 100% (I said 100%, not 1000%) and feel assured that you will be confirmed after a struggle. It will be somewhat more controversial, however, than my other longtime friend John Paul Stevens, who appears to be on the brink of sailing through the Senate for the Supreme Court.

Our love to Barbara. We are anxiously looking forward to having you back in Washington.


The Honorable George Bush
Ambassador
United States Liaison Office
Peking, People's Republic of China

November 27, 1975

Hon. Charles H. Percy,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C. 20510.

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your good letter of October 31. I took the three reports you gave us and passed them out to our own staff. As for future distribution, my suggestion would be that you give them to Ambassador Huang Chen and ask him to convey them to your hosts, to the Foreign Ministry, and to other interested parties. If you would rather have specific names, perhaps your staff could call Oscar Armstrong at the PRCM desk in the State Department. His judgment on this would be as good, if not better, than ours.

We will keep on the lookout for Abe and Jay Pritzker and wives. I will try to engage Jay in a little tennis action at the International Club.

Bar and I are in a turmoil here getting ready for the President's visit, and then getting ready to come back home to a world of controversy. We have loved our year in China, and now we are going to leave this rather tranquil environment for something entirely different. I happen to think the new job is very important, and I have some strong feelings about what needs to be done. I also note that Frank Church has raised the question of politics. I think it is most understandable that the Senators want assurances on the charge that I will "politicize" the Agency. I see no problem in satisfying them on that. Please keep even these bland comments confidential. I send them to you for your own consumption. I have avoided making statements to the journalists, feeling that anything of substance or direction should be discussed first with the Senate Committee.

One happy thought: we'll get to see more of you and Loraine, and hopefully Mark and the others.

Most sincerely,

George Bush

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

October 31, 1975

Dear George:

I was indeed sorry not to have seen you on your last visit so that we could have gone over my notes on my meeting with President Nixon, and many other items of interest. I would think it would be best to go over these the next time we see each other, as I would rather not send them, even by pouch, not that they contain much confidential information, but a few of his comments are rather personal about a world figure (namely; Indira Gandhi and India). Besides, this is a good inducement to get you to come up and have a cup of coffee with me.

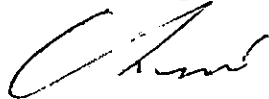
I am enclosing, however, several copies of our China report. After glancing through it I will leave it to you as to who in the Chinese Government should receive copies. If you feel we should send them direct from here, please so cable me, otherwise we can pass them on directly to you for your forwarding.

You might be on the lookout for Abe Pritzker and his wife, and Jay Pritzker and his wife Cindy. The latter two are very good friends of ours and Jay is an exceptionally good tennis player. They are a fabulously wealthy family, are all attorneys, but own the world's largest hotel chain now (Regency Hyatt Houses), coal mines and a raft of other industries. Abe Pritzker was asked for a gift to the University of Chicago by Ed Levi and he presented a check for \$10 million for a new medical building! Got any favorite charities? They leave here November 1st and should arrive shortly thereafter. I presume your legation will have information on the group. If you do not, please let me know by cable and I will send it to you immediately.

The Hon. George Bush
October 31, 1975
Page Two

Loraine joins me in sending our affectionate regards to
both you and Barbara.

Warmest personal regards,



The Honorable George Bush
Ambassador
United States Liaison Office
Peking
People's Republic of China

encls

94th Congress }
1st Session }

JOINT COMMITTEE PRINT

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THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

A REPORT

TO THE

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

AND THE

HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

BY THE

Seventh Congressional Delegation :
to the People's Republic of China

SEN. CHARLES H. PERCY, Chairman REP. PAUL FINDLEY
SEN. JACOB K. JAVITS, Co-Chairman REP. MARGARET HECKLER
SEN. CLAIBORNE PELL, Co-Chairman REP. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.
SEN. ADLAI E. STEVENSON

DR. JOHN W. LEWIS, Administrator



OCTOBER 28, 1975

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WASHINGTON : 1975

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN,
Chairman, House International Relations Committee, House of Repre-
sentatives, Washington, D.C.

OCTOBER 28, 1975.

DEAR SIRs: You will find enclosed a report on the fact-finding mission to Japan, and primarily, to the People's Republic of China by the Seventh Congressional Delegation to the People's Republic of China between August 1 and 16, 1975.

Sincerely,

CHARLES H. PERCY,
U.S. Senate.

(v)

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

I. INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY

This is a joint report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee on a Congressional fact-finding mission to Japan and, primarily, to the People's Republic of China (PRC) from August 1 to 16, 1975. The members of our delegation were Senators Charles Percy (Chairman), Jacob K. Javits (Co-Chairman), Claiborne Pell (Co-Chairman), and Adlai E. Stevenson, and Representatives Paul Findley, Margaret Heckler, and Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. Dr. John W. Lewis served as Administrator. Others with the delegation included Mrs. Loraine Percy, Mrs. Marion Javits, Mrs. Nuala Pell, Mrs. Nancy Stevenson, Mrs. Lucille Findley, Mr. John Heckler, Mr. Mark C. Percy, Miss Carla I. Javits, and Mr. John McCloskey.

Ours was the first Congressional delegation to visit the People's Republic of China since the National People's Congress in January 1975. A major purpose of our visit to the PRC was to better understand its governing system, to estimate its future directions, and to try to perceive its external purposes and motives. Only with a better understanding of the Chinese system and the Chinese Revolution can the United States hope to make wise policy decisions concerning the PRC.

Each member of the delegation, of course, reached separate conclusions on the visit and the major subjects covered; many of us will be making individual observations and recommendations where appropriate. China, a large and diverse country, inevitably strikes each visitor differently. Background, interests, and personal encounters significantly affect individual views formed over so short a time and without previous experience in China. Our hope is that this report will make the visits of future delegations to the PRC more meaningful, and that over time more definitive conclusions on the PRC and on U.S.-China relations by the Congress will be possible.

Our perspectives from this two-week visit came together on several major points.

We agree that China, already a major force in Asian politics, has the resources, the energy, the will, and the leadership to join eventually the world's great powers. And as it moves in that direction, relations between the PRC and the United States will have an increasing bearing on international peace. These ties must be developed through constant contact and consultation at all possible levels so that the hazards of misunderstanding or misperception can be minimized. With the consequences of U.S.-PRC relations so vital to us all, we hope consulta-

tions will increase and come to deal regularly with all common objectives and differences. The opportunities for peace in these new relations now appear to us to outweigh the possibilities for conflict.

The Chinese believe that, although our two countries have vastly different political systems, the recent development of our bilateral relations has been satisfactory. Today, the fundamental unsettled issue between the U.S. and the PRC is the status and future of Taiwan. China's desire to resolve the Taiwan issue on its terms, however, is tempered by strategic considerations. The Soviet threat to China, we believe, remains the dominant rationale underlying Peking's desire to normalize relations with the United States. Within this strategic context, the PRC now approaches the Taiwan issue on a step-by-step basis and does not appear to place the highest priority on its immediate resolution. For now, it is satisfied with the formulation in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972.

Next month, President Ford is scheduled to visit the PRC. The Chinese clearly place a high value on that visit even if no major substantive issues are resolved.

We left China with the impression that the PRC's immediate intentions outside its own borders are peaceful, although Sino-Soviet tensions and Peking's continued commitments to revolution and to the communist cause in Korea could bring China into future conflicts. The PRC appears to be concentrating on its domestic priorities now, but if in the future it feels militarily threatened, we can expect it to react as it did in Korea in the 1950's. Throughout our visit we emphasized U.S. treaty relations with South Korea and the importance of both the United States and the PRC exercising restraining influences to prevent hostilities erupting on the Korean Peninsula.

China supports a unified Korea and opposes the admission of two Koreas in the United Nations. Its leaders contend that this reunification can be peaceful and that North Korea will not attack the South unless the South attacks first. Korea does not now appear to be of priority concern to Peking.

The Sino-Soviet dispute importantly affects China's entire foreign policy; the PRC clearly considers the U.S.S.R. its principal adversary. The danger of a Soviet attack, while clearly on the minds of the Chinese, is not considered very great for now. If Soviet troops should launch an attack on China, we were told, they would have to be prepared to fight for at least two decades. The Chinese thus design military preparedness on a long-term basis and with a view to strengthening domestic solidarity.

The Chinese say that for the present, Soviet moves in Asia, including Indochina, are secondary in the Soviet Union's overall strategy. The U.S.S.R.'s main target, they maintain, is America's preeminence in Europe and in the Middle East. China has given high priority to its own ties to Europe and has become an open advocate of a strong, unified NATO. Its officials look with disfavor on the European Security Conference, and members of our delegation were repeatedly asked: "Which do you consider more important: President Ford's visit to Helsinki or to China?"

The PRC does seek to exert its influence in many parts of the globe, but at present apparently does not intend to do so by devoting an excessive proportion of its resources to the military. The procurement

and deployment of all weapons, conventional and nuclear, reportedly are being slowed down at present. It is highly possible that the PRC is placing as much emphasis on economic development internally as it is because its leaders feel that the United States can provide at least an adequate counterforce to offset the Soviet threat.

With respect to the Third World, the Chinese predictably assert that the U.S., as a rich and powerful nation, has dealt shabbily with the less developed countries in the past and hope that we will play a different role in the future. We recognize that in pushing the Third World's demands, the PRC would be gratified if the Third World looked to it, not to the U.S.S.R., as the exemplar of communism.

The emphasis in China's industrial development is on self-reliance and self-sufficiency, principles permitting limited opportunity for international collaboration on either a bilateral or multilateral basis. The Chinese in the main will rely on their own labor, not on significant imports of capital, technology or equipment. For the foreseeable future, China's government will not ask for loans and will accept only "genuine export credits," meaning medium-term deferred payments. There is no willingness to accept joint-venture investments or to become heavily dependent on foreign imports.

PRC officials state that China's offshore oil reserves are larger than the total reserves of the United States, but China will concentrate on exploiting its land reserves first. The Chinese may have to utilize some U.S. oil technology but if so will obtain that technology principally through normal trade channels. The PRC does not expect to become a major oil exporter (although it now ships some oil to Japan) because, its leaders say, "we will need too much ourselves."

The PRC considers its trade relations with the U.S. satisfactory, but emphasizes that trade, to be of lasting value to both, must be mutually beneficial. We need now to find ways to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries. We believe that we should seek to maintain even-handed import and export policies toward the PRC and the Soviet Union and should agree to technical cooperation even where trade may not yet be possible. In doing so, we must also bear in mind the present acute unemployment in parts of our own country, making sure that this situation is not exacerbated.

Technical interchange between the U.S. and the PRC already is of growing importance, and we saw possibilities for further mutual cooperation as, for example, in the technology of water control. Other areas, now quite unexpected and unexplored, may develop in the future. From our visits to hospitals, convalescent homes, and child care centers, we could see opportunities for mutual benefit from expanding technical interchange and research cooperation in the medical and health fields, including, on the part of the U.S., in cancer research and, on the part of China, in acupuncture anesthesiology.

Our own experience in China made us acutely aware of the need for individuals in each country who understand both societies and languages well and who can assess developments in the other knowledgeably and with sensitivity. There is a pressing need for more China experts in business, the professions and higher education.

With respect to travel and cultural exchanges, we expressed the hope that we might reciprocate the hospitality shown to us and to other Congressional delegations. We look forward to the time when

PRC officials will visit the United States. It is important to expose both systems to first-hand observation, and we believe that the People's Republic of China can derive as much benefit from that process as we derived from our visit to China.

Peking's domestic priorities are shaped today by three major questions. Its leaders are asking: Will the new generation remain true to revolutionary values and thereby continue to build China into a communist society? Will the Party and State institutions guide the course of the post-Mao transition successfully or fall prey to bureaucratic stagnation or "capitalist errors"? And, will China build itself into a modern industrial state capable of joining the front rank of the world's leading powers?

We, like most visitors, were struck by the emphasis on unity, collective persuasion, peer pressure and dedication to China and its revolutionary ideals. Educators, youth, and intellectuals, we were told, have to be especially concerned with the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary theory; literature and the arts must serve as weapons to defeat "bourgeois enemies." The preservation of revolutionary values is obviously central to the selection of China's future leaders; the price of preserving those values is terribly high, including as it does inhibitions on expression, limitations on movement, restrictions on freedom of choice in education and employment, and other individual rights.

A new Party and State institutional system has been created in China to ensure the orderly political transition to a post-Mao leadership when the present senior leaders pass from the scene. It is explicitly designed to achieve the succession through collective leadership, but only time will tell whether this proves possible. China is currently compiling a new set of laws, which will be promulgated for mass discussion before being officially enacted. But, we were told, laws—and courts to enforce them—are far less important to national order than collective social pressure and public education campaigns. For example, a Constitutionally-guaranteed right to strike exists, but by having to submit a strike request to "persuasion" by officials, workers find it difficult to exercise that right.

What we saw of China's economic and social development was impressive in a great many sectors and tended to confirm the impressions of earlier reports. In the places we visited, progress, accomplished without material foreign assistance, apparently includes the ending of floods and famine, the preservation of urban order and safety, and improvement of individual health and well-being. Women appear to have been freed to make their individual contributions to society; within the context of communism, the woman's options seem to be equal to the man's at all but the highest echelons of the Party and State. We saw every evidence that incomes have been distributed quite evenly.

In assessing motivation and social incentives, we discerned a difference between the rural and urban areas. Ideological arguments and collective pressures do not appear as convincing to urban workers as they are among relatives and co-workers in the traditional villages.

In all this, the Chinese take the long view. They have great patience. They intend to establish an adequate defense posture, stretch out procurement, rely on the militia, and apparently allocate more resources

to internal development, accepting no alien influences except when absolutely necessary. (One result is a dramatic increase in the role of the militia for maintaining domestic order and augmenting the regular armed forces.) The economic burden of armaments appears not to be so great that it detracts from the standard of living. The State does not appear to promise beyond its ability to perform.

This joint report details these and related findings of our visit to Japan and the PRC. Our itinerary and our departure communique are found in the appendix. As can be seen by our agenda, high-ranking Japanese and Chinese officials gave generously of their time throughout the course of our visit and, in China, exceptionally well-qualified interpreters were available as needed.

In respect to the PRC portion of our trip, we were pleased that, other than for scheduled events—most of which were negotiated in the U.S. or just after our arrival in China—we were free to move about within the areas we visited (as time permitted) without interference or restrictions. Usually this was done by members of our delegation in the early morning hours before our daily schedule began, and occasionally in the afternoon or after completion of scheduled events in the evening. We used the time to wander through the streets and to stop in homes or shops, where we were generally greeted warmly. Where interpretation was not available, smiles, nods, and gestures seemed to suffice as a means of communicating at least emotions and attitudes. No 16 mm cameras were permitted despite a special request by one member of our delegation in advance, but we could freely use 8 mm sound movie and still cameras and tape recorders, except in meetings with high-ranking officials. There were areas that we had asked to visit in China that we were advised were not open to us or to other visitors.

We wish to express appreciation to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, General Brent Scowcroft, and others in the White House, National Security Council, Department of Defense, and Department of State who assisted and helped facilitate our trip. Prior to departure, Secretary Kissinger met with us for an extended conversation about our visit to China and reviewed with us several aspects of the U.S. relationship with China, past, present and future. Our thanks, too, to the Chinese Liaison Office in Washington, to the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and to China's U.N. mission in New York, all of which were most helpful.

Finally, the delegation particularly wishes to commend our Administrator, Dr. John W. Lewis, William Haas Professor of Chinese Politics at Stanford University, for his expert assistance prior to, during, and since our trip. Having him available throughout our visit to China to interpret, to provide historical background and to appraise and analyze as we traveled proved invaluable. His editorial assistance, along with that of Calvin Fentress of Senator Percy's staff, was essential to the preparation of this report.

II. DISCUSSIONS IN JAPAN

The delegation met separately with Secretary General Yasuhiro Nakasone of the Liberal Democratic Party, Vice Foreign Minister Fumihiko Togo (now Ambassador-designate to the United States), and other high-ranking officials for several hours on August 2, 1975.

In the evening the Vice Minister honored us with an informal dinner and garden party. We were particularly grateful to the Japanese for welcoming us so generously on the afternoon Prime Minister Takeo Miki and Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa were leaving for discussions in the United States with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger.

We discussed major questions that exist between Japan and the United States, and quickly established a common ground in our mutual interest in a secure peace on the Korean Peninsula. The Japanese also expressed great concern about the world economy and how it could recover from the present recession. The Security Treaty between Japan and the United States represented another vital element of the U.S.-Japan relationship deserving the highest consideration. Finally, the Japanese felt that cooperation among the ASEAN nations ought to be encouraged. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which was formed in August 1967, consists of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Each of these concerns raised a number of critical policy questions for discussion.

Regarding Korea, the Japanese leaders would like to see both North and South Korea enter the United Nations at the same time. The Japanese have discussed this possibility with senior Chinese officials, but the Chinese have insisted that so long as North Korea does not support this then China must oppose it. According to Japanese leaders, the Chinese position on North Korea is a product of a variety of diverse elements. One is ideological: "Peking stands behind its Communist comrades." Another is strategic and relates to Sino-Soviet relations; Peking does not appear willing to give an inch in ways that will help Soviet interests. These two elements currently constrain the Chinese options on Korea, and in the final analysis "whatever happens, the Chinese will probably be obligated to support the North Koreans."

Still, some Japanese leaders feel there is a possibility of going through the PRC in order to exert a restraining influence on North Korea. The countries China wants friendly to it are especially the United States, Japan, and those of the European Economic Community. Japan is responding cautiously to overtures for stronger ties with China, in part as a way of having some input into events on the Korean Peninsula.

The way in which the relationship of the PRC, Japan, and the United States finally emerges will be closely connected with peace in Southeast Asia as well as in Korea. Tokyo supported the U.S. actions to rescue the Mayaguez after the U.S. withdrawal from the Indochina Peninsula. However it is now concerned about the fate of Thailand. The Japanese view the whole Indochina situation as still in a state of extreme flux and are not now receiving much information on that situation. Having neither adequate capital nor technology for reconstruction, Hanoi, it was argued, might come to Japan for assistance, but the North Vietnamese are asking for 8 billion yen as a condition for normal relations.

Much of our time in Japan was spent discussing the current state of East Asian relations. Even after Indochina's fall, the fundamental situation "remains much as before," one official noted. Basically, the Japanese see the principal actors in Asia as the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, and the United States. It was put to our delegation as follows: "Security and stability in Asia are based on the power rela-

tions among these three states. What is essential to us and what we want is for the United States to continue to be interested in this part of the world. It alone can maintain the balance of power in Asia. The ASEAN nations appear to be moving toward neutrality. What they view as neutrality is having their own way without outside interference. In this sense they depend on the maintenance of the balance of power."

The Japanese referred to Peking's statement that the world is on the eve of a storm. They appeared to agree with the Chinese contention that there is competition between the two superpowers but that the United States no longer pursues this competition so actively. Accordingly, the Soviet Union is seen to be gaining political influence at American expense, and the Japanese view is that the Soviet Union might try to use any gains in its conflict with China. Tokyo predicts that as a result the Sino-Soviet struggle will be intensified in the period ahead.

In this context, Japan is seeking to move beyond diplomatic ties to more constructive relations with China, but: "We have had no experience with normal relations with China until now." The item blocking complete normalization is the final negotiation of a peace and friendship treaty. In these negotiations the Chinese are insisting on the inclusion of an anti-Soviet clause in the treaty opposing "hegemonism" in the Asia-Pacific region. Most other outstanding questions between Japan and the PRC appear to have been solved or shelved. They have recently settled, for example, questions on fisheries.

The Japanese, like the Americans, closely watch internal developments in China. The recent watersheds in Chinese history are considered to be the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) and the demise in 1971 of Defense Minister Lin Biao, who had hoped to profit from the Cultural Revolution. From 1971 on there was a process of institutional stabilization resulting, in 1975, in the holding of the National People's Congress. Stabilization, however, may not be permanent. The Japanese believe that Chairman Mao Tse-tung wants to create turmoil in China every few years to halt bureaucratic stagnation and maintain the revolution. They predict that there will be periodic cultural revolutions to rejuvenate the Chinese bureaucracy.

The fulfillment of Mao's hopes for Chinese political institutions depends most on who will succeed him. The process of succession is already underway. As Party leader, Mao still supervises the Army and the State, but he is now 82 years old and less and less active. Premier Chou En-lai at 77 has had serious health problems and receives visitors mostly in his hospital room. Thus China's two senior figures are in the process of retiring. The Japanese believe that the number three man in the hierarchy is Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Number four is Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, 56, "a rising star out of Shanghai's radical group" and an experienced administrator. The fifth ranking, Wang Hung-wen, 39, reportedly could be an heir apparent. However, the Japanese feel he may be somewhat young yet to be leader of China. The question of succession is so decisive because the Japanese see all important decisions in China as coming from the top down. When the Japanese talk with the Chinese at whatever level they always get the same answer. There is no diversity in response even though the Japanese acknowledged that decision-making does not all happen at the top level of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. "This is not physically possible."

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In dealing with the Communist countries, the Japanese believe, we must first make them aware of the firm position on our side. The key to such firmness is U.S. policy. "The United States is the only country which can bring the PRC and Russia to real talks," and its normalizing relations with the PRC are considered a real first step in influencing China. The Japanese tactfully observed: "The Chinese of course see themselves as the center. Others come to them, they do not go to others."

III. UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Everywhere we went in the PRC we were constantly struck by the juxtaposition of past and present. China, a living museum, is building its Communist system on the bedrock of uniquely Chinese traditions and outlooks. The current campaigns to criticize Confucius while studying the proletarian dictatorship draw heavily on China's past to guide present policies. History also shapes Peking's outlook on the West, a fact that was borne in on us throughout the visit.

In Nanking, for example, an exhibit of astronomical instruments was used to illustrate the history of Western aggression against China and the correctness of Peking's current emphasis on self-reliance. In 1900, at the time of the West's military campaign to suppress the Boxer Rebellion, the Germans took one of these instruments to Berlin and did not return it until after Versailles. Another instrument, invented more than 600 years ago, taken by the French in the Boxer fracas but returned in 1902. A third, dating from the Ming Dynasty, shows the damage from the military actions involved in putting down the Rebellion. We also saw a modern telescope which is being used to track China's third satellite (put into orbit on July 26, 1975). The telescope was designed at the Nanking Instrument Factory in 1964. Before then even the repairing of a telescope had to be done by Soviet experts, but now "by maintaining independence, keeping initiative in our own hands, and relying on our own efforts we have been able to develop our own astronomical instruments." In each case, history right down to the sixties teaches a lesson of distrust of the West and the need for China's independent development in the future.

Dealing with the West over the past 100 years also has set the context for much of U.S.-China relations. In this respect we believe that the words written by the Senate's distinguished Majority Leader in early 1975 bear repeating:

It is impossible to understand current U.S. relations with China without some awareness of our China policy since World War II. After the military clash with the Chinese in Korea the United States sought to quarantine the new People's Republic of China. This policy continued for two decades, long after its relevance to Korea had disappeared. Its continuance was related to our support of the Republic of China which found a haven on the island of Taiwan. The implicit but unrealistic expectation was that that government would one day return to the Mainland.

While this policy originally saw the People's Republic as a reckless and powerful belligerent, manipulated by the Soviet Union, Peking saw itself as a struggling revolutionary government trying to build on the rubble of civil war a political and economic order better able to serve the needs of the Chinese people. U.S. efforts at containment were regarded as an extension of the Western world's efforts to dominate and exploit China as had been the case for the previous century and a half.

The Current State of U.S.-China Relations.—Perhaps the most pressing questions now being asked in Peking concern the international environment within which China will be operating into the 21st century. Here, China's relations with the U.S. are critical, a fact that was confirmed in our four-hour meeting with Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on August 6, 1975 and in other meetings during our thirteen-day stay in the People's Republic. What follows is a report, essentially without comment, of these and other discussions, including those with Vice Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and other Foreign Ministry officials. Regrettably, Premier Chou En-lai could not meet with us. We considered it very thoughtful that Foreign Minister Ch'iao, who had not been well, would greet the delegation.

In opening the discussion with Vice Premier Teng (who is acknowledged to bear the responsibility of managing China's day-by-day affairs), we referred to Mao Tse-tung's "prophetic statement" made in 1949 on "certain ties that bind the U.S. and the People's Republic of China." At that time Mao predicted that these ties might in the future be ties of closest friendship. Chairman Mao's words were acknowledged by the Chinese: "For twenty years until 1972 we did not change this view. We want friendship with each other. In the past, certain people in the international arena said the Western World was an open society and China was a closed society. This had nothing to do with us. Since the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, China has been open to the U.S."

Peking continues to place great importance on former President Nixon's decision to come to Peking and sign the Shanghai Communiqué. One Chinese observed: "Only during the Nixon Administration was there a decision to come to China."

The Chinese stated that, although we have different systems, the development of our bilateral relations has been satisfactory. The fundamental issue between the U.S. and the PRC that remains unsettled is Taiwan.

China's desire to resolve the Taiwan issue on favorable terms is affected by strategic considerations. Its basic motive in dealing with the U.S. would appear to be concern over Soviet military and political pressures—although the desires to increase international prestige, improve trade options, and gain access to new scientific and technical resources also seem to be involved. The Soviet threat, we believe, remains the dominant reason underlying Peking's seeking to normalize relations with the United States.

Within this strategic context, the PRC now approaches the Taiwan issue on a step-by-step basis and does not appear to place the highest priority on its immediate resolution. Currently for Peking, the central question regarding Taiwan is whether principle or practice is overriding. Principle involves Washington's past policy of recognizing the government in Taiwan as the government of all China and thus "interfering in a purely internal" affair. Practice means actual U.S. involvement in Taiwan in the form of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty and U.S. economic and political ties. The question of principle seems to have become more salient as the U.S. military presence in Taiwan is being reduced to a level below 3000 non-combat personnel.

From Peking's perspective, the U.S. in principle adopted a satisfac-

tory "one-China" policy in the Shanghai Communiqué of February 27, 1972. The wording of that document was intentionally ambiguous, and the U.S. can claim that it merely "did not challenge" Peking's position but, in effect, abstained from judgment. The relevant sentences of the 1972 Communiqué are:

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

We should note that we did not receive any pressure from the Chinese on the Taiwan issue. For the present Peking stands by the Shanghai Communiqué.

Any final solution of the Taiwan issue, the Chinese said, would require U.S. acceptance of "three cardinal principles." These are: 1) the Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China must be annulled, 2) the United States must withdraw all troops from Taiwan, and 3) the United States must break diplomatic relations with Taipei. At all levels these principles govern private Chinese statements. Propaganda about Taiwan is also quite explicit. Signs in every city declared: "We definitely must liberate Taiwan." We were told: "Whether the Taiwan issue is settled by peaceful means or otherwise is up to China, for the matter of Taiwan is an internal affair." One lower-level official said: "We have the means ourselves to settle the Taiwan issue." (About Hong Kong, he said: "Hong Kong is, of course, a part of China. It is an unsettled question from the past.") Another mentioned that "the Taiwanese long to return to China and therefore an election to determine Taiwan's fate is not necessary."

In insisting that the United States withdraw from Taiwan as a condition for full normalization, the Chinese suggested that the pattern followed by Japan "offers some guidance." They noted that after Tokyo established diplomatic relations with Peking in 1972, Japanese commercial interests augmented their economic ties with Taiwan and set up a commercial office on the island.

The next step according to the Chinese is President Ford's visit to the PRC scheduled for this fall. In its own communiqué, this delegation stated:

As to the maintenance of peace, the delegation considers the Shanghai Communiqué an excellent basis for improved relations. It hopes the visit of President Ford to China later this year will further U.S.-PRC relations.

The Chinese clearly place a high value on the visit of President Ford this November even if no substantive issues are addressed or resolved.

IV. CHINA'S WORLD OUTLOOK AND STRATEGIC PRIORITIES

At present the international environment appears to be as confusing to the Chinese as it is to everyone else. The Chinese regularly quote Mao Tse-tung to the effect that the "present international situa-

tion is still characterized by a great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater."

An important recent attempt to set forth authoritatively Peking's perspectives on the contemporary international arena was made by Teng Hsiao-p'ing at a special session of the U.N. General Assembly in April 1974. It was Teng's view that the world, like Gaul, is divided into three parts. The first world is made up of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Those two "superpowers," he said, were contending for world hegemony and the contradictions between them meant that "either they will fight each other or the people will rise in revolution." The second world is made up of the developed countries, particularly Europe and Japan. The Third World is made up of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, whose resources are the object, Teng said, of superpower aggression and competition. China declared itself a member of the Third World. The trend was for the Third World, often in cooperation with the second world, to unite and struggle against superpower exploitation.

Following from this international outlook are Peking's strategic priorities that currently tend to focus on major security issues in Asia and Europe. Some of the most significant answers in China came in response to our questions about these specific issues and about China's view of America's role in each.

Our first concern was whether the weight of China would be cast on the side of peace and whether we and China could cooperate to achieve a constructive peace. The Chinese acknowledged that "certain people" accuse China of being warlike and wishing to wage wars. They noted their own warnings that the danger of a third world war exists. Those who have the capacity for waging such a war, they stated, are the United States and the Soviet Union, but the greater danger is from the Soviet Union. "We have only spoken out on the nature of things, but in our heart on our part we do not want a war. China is such a poor country. We need a good international environment to fulfill our plans. We have our own plans, but we need a good international environment," said a leading official.

The Chinese insist that if the people of the world are aware of the danger of a world war that this, perhaps, will help delay that war. One official stated that there are two attitudes toward the dangers of war: "One is that some people are mortally frightened out of their wits, and two, other people are not afraid of war. What is the use in being afraid? Whether war will break out is not up to us. Catastrophe will break out anyway so why be afraid of that? If people fear war day and night, we'll need 10,000 hospitals in China to cure the nervous breakdowns."

Sino-Soviet Relations.—The Sino-Soviet dispute clearly governs or importantly affects China's approach to its entire foreign policy. China considers the U.S.S.R. its principal adversary. The Chinese claim that the Soviet Union has over one million troops along the Sino-Soviet border, although U.S. sources indicate that Soviet troop strength is only half this figure. Soviet troops, the Chinese said, are spread over 7,200 kilometers and "are not of much value." With respect to Chinese forces, "there are not anywhere near the Soviet number as we do not need that many there to defend our border. We

could quickly determine if the Soviets had any aggressive tendencies toward us, and we would have ample reserves that could be moved to the border quickly." If Soviet troops should launch an attack against China and occupy Chinese territory—even Peking—this would only be the beginning. They have to be prepared to fight for "at least two decades." Therefore, the danger of a Soviet attack is not considered very great, "but we must be on guard against Soviet designs. That is why we dig tunnels," said one official, referring to the extensive civil defense installations. While we did not see these underground shelters, we did learn about the military preparedness campaigns and the militia as reported in this report's section on "Social Control."

Korea.—In Korea, the ability of the North's leaders to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet dispute makes Peking feel it necessary to support the North Korean position. While certain accounts have stressed that China privately urged restraint upon North Korea during Kim Il Sung's state visit to Peking in April, the Chinese publicly have endorsed Kim's Korea as the sole legal sovereign state on the Peninsula. They call for the ouster of U.S. forces from the South and repudiate all attempts to create two Koreas.

It seemed to us that the Chinese are of two minds about Korea because increased tensions there presumably help China exert political pressure on Japan. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Tokyo and Peking in September 1972, the Chinese no longer say much about the resurrection of Japanese militarism. They seem instead to be attempting to use Tokyo as a foil against Moscow.

In the Peking discussions and throughout the visit, our delegation used every opportunity to emphasize U.S. treaty relations with South Korea as confirmed by the Senate. We noted that we consider it our obligation to use our influence to restrain the South from moves against the North, and we would expect the PRC to do everything in its power to restrain the North. We frequently urged the Chinese to make it clear to the North Korean government that if reunification is to come about, it must be a political, not a military, matter, and must be done peacefully without force of arms. The Chinese replied that Washington has such obligations, but Peking does not, for the stated reason that it has no troops stationed in North Korea. The PRC refuses as a public position to make suggestions concerning the policies of other countries, in this case North Korea. It does support "the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

We stated that if North Korea attacks, the U.S. might reluctantly be drawn into another war. The Chinese replied that they do not worry about North Korea, but feel that South Korea is the one likely to launch an attack. The North's policy, we were told, is that Korea should be unified and should have peace, and this is the policy that China supports. "South Korea has a much stronger defense than North Korea and has far more weapons. The underground tunnels supposedly built by North Korea are a myth. We believe that what the North Korean government says is true. We can never visualize two Koreas in the United Nations and we support the position that Korea must be unified. As long as [South Korea's] Park doesn't wage a war there will be nothing significant happening."

Europe.—Korea did not appear to be a major concern to Peking, and the Chinese continue to believe that for the present Soviet moves in Asia are secondary. The main contest, they hold, is between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in Europe. By extension this includes the Mediterranean and even the Persian Gulf. The Chinese repeatedly suggest that Moscow is making a "feint to the East while attacking to the West." The state visit by Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing to France in May and the establishment of ties between China and the Common Market the same month are the most obvious evidence of how critically Peking regards the maintenance of anti-Soviet forces in Europe and the Middle East. China has thus given high priority to its ties to Europe. It has become an open advocate of a strong, unified NATO and takes no exception to the presence of United States troops in Europe; in fact it would be dismayed at their withdrawal or reduction. Officials in China told us that the size of American forces there will "have to take into account conditions there." On the other hand, these same officials look with disfavor on the European Security Conference. The members of the delegation were repeatedly asked: "Which do you consider more important: President Ford's visit to Helsinki or to China?"

The Chinese describe their opposition to Soviet power as opposition to "hegemonism." We were hearing the Chinese describe a concept which had been brought up in our Tokyo discussions. Chinese leaders declare that a large number of countries oppose Soviet hegemonism and that China's support for a united and strong Europe is an act of resisting that hegemonism.

The Chinese expressed concern over the Soviet role in the upheavals in Portugal, and one official expressed surprise and regret over the action of Congress in cutting off U.S. aid to Turkey. Another said: "We support the position that the Mediterranean Sea belongs to the Mediterranean countries. This is an act of opposing hegemonism. We have the same purpose in mind in making the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia into zones of peace. It is beneficial for Europe to have an equal partnership with the U.S. The U.S. can have a solid relationship with Europe only on the basis of an equal partnership."

The Chinese do not appear to fear what some years ago had been called "American hegemony." Their view of the Soviet threat makes them equivocate on the establishment of U.S. military bases and the stationing of troops in foreign countries. China takes a "realistic approach" to this question and argues that this question can be solved only by the countries concerned. Peking acknowledges that it has told this to Europeans and the Japanese and to the leaders of such Southeast Asian countries as the Philippines and Thailand. The Chinese say they have told the Japanese that their first priority should be the U.S.-Japanese relationship and their second priority China and Japan.

We left with the impression that for the foreseeable future the intentions of China outside her own borders are peaceful. For the present the PRC appears to be turning to its domestic priorities, manifesting an increasing concern with its own development and the solution of its own social and economic problems. Under such circumstances, it appears unlikely that the Chinese leadership will go out of its way to seek external adventures, although unsettled boundary

issues and a commitment to selected "wars of liberation" could involve China in external conflicts. If China feels threatened, moreover, we can expect it to react as it did in Korea in 1950. If North Korea should launch an attack against the South, the PRC would probably support it, even though it disapproved of the initiation of such a strike.

On balance, the People's Republic of China appears to have no fear of any military threat from the United States, nor tendencies toward aggression against other countries that we could see. They are deeply concerned with the Soviet threat. It is highly possible that they are placing as much emphasis on economic development internally as they are because they feel that the United States can provide at least an adequate counterweight to the Soviet threat.

Third World Relationships and China.—The Chinese indicated to us that they do not presume to be the leaders of the Third World and are not aspiring to be. As noted earlier, they do consider themselves a part of it and associate themselves clearly with many of the views, hopes, and aspirations of Third World countries. They made it clear that they feel the U.S. has dealt, as a rich, powerful nation, rather shabbily with the Third World countries in the past and hope that it will play a different role in the future. Their rhetoric was predictably strong in pushing the Third World's demands, for the PRC would be gratified if the Third World looked to it, not to the U.S.S.R., as the exemplar of communism.

It is interesting also that the Chinese, in closely affiliating themselves with the Third World, are saying that despite their vast human resources and great national potential they want no part of being classified as a "superpower." This is not to say that they are not trying to exert their influence in many parts of the world, but we had no indication that they do not intend to do so by devoting an undue proportion of their resources to the military. Our own observations in seven different locations in China seemed to support this.

The Chinese regard Soviet moves in India as well as in the Middle East and elsewhere as part of a grand strategy to dominate the Third World and to encircle China. Their comments on Prime Minister Gandhi's proclamation of a national state of emergency reveal the Chinese view that Indian democracy has fallen victim to Soviet, not just to Prime Minister Gandhi's, necessities.

Nevertheless when asked why China had not raised the question of Sikkim at the UN, the Chinese indicated their only recourse was to issue a government statement. Thus, even though "the annexation of Sikkim is a clear act of imperialism by India," China did not inscribe the issue of Sikkim on the agenda of the Security Council because "we never consider that the Security Council can settle any question." The Sikkim events have had a useful purpose from China's perspective in revealing "what kind of government Gandhi's is." In the past, many countries have been lauding the system of India, it was said, but now Sikkim has revealed the true system of India. "In opposing hegemonism we are not just opposing the U.S. and U.S.S.R., but we are also opposing this kind of regional [Indian] hegemonism. India earlier dismembered Pakistan and was supported by the U.S.S.R. behind the scenes. People say India is a sub-superpower out to control Asia. India wants to dismember Pakistan a second time."

On one occasion, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs argued that the developed world needs the developing world more than the latter needs the former. We debated this point and pointed out that they needed each other equally. In this context, we discussed the Middle East and were told it was China's policy that Israel withdraw to its 1967 boundaries, to support essentially the radical Arab position, and to assert and protect "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." Another official said that the PRC does not understand U.S. policy in the Middle East and that in the long run there is a grave danger that a conflict with the Soviet Union could erupt there. "The United States must simply take into account the arithmetic of the situation. It is aligned with three million Israelis against 120 million Arabs. The United States is in a very bad position."

Finally, in discussions about the Third World, we asked why China favors the extension to a 200-mile limit in a country's territorial sea, which could be considered against China's own national interests: "One-third of the seas would be precluded to international use. Why do you take this position when it is against your interests in free passage on the high seas?" The reply was that China does not take into account only its own national interests: "We also take into account the interests of the people around the world." The major powers in the past centuries were also castigated for enjoying full use of the seas while the smaller coastal countries have not been able to do so. The 200-mile territorial zone proposal is "a point to restore and safeguard national rights against hegemonism and oppose exploitation."

China's Military Posture and Its Position on Disarmament.—Before undertaking our journey we read some of the Western appraisals of China's strategic posture and its present military strengths. Peking's strategic units reportedly are beginning to acquire nuclear missiles, the requisite hardened silos, and command and control systems for a survivable second-strike force. For reasons that are not yet clear, its procurement and deployment of both conventional and nuclear weapons have apparently slowed over the past few years. China has the world's largest conventional army and the third largest air force. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) units we saw seem well equipped and well trained, though uniformed troops did not appear in any number in the seven places we visited.

We were able to obtain little first-hand information on this subject during our visit. Vice Premier Teng Haiso-p'ing, the senior Party leader who now oversees the General Staff of the PLA, commented only on China's strategic outlook, not on its military posture or programs. The Chinese seldom allow Westerners to interview PLA leaders for purposes of discussing military or security questions, but in some cases have provided tours of underground shelter facilities. We did see signs to celebrate the 48th anniversary of the founding of the PLA on August 1, 1927, and learned a bit about war preparedness as reported in the section on "Social Control." One typical sign declared: "Under the leadership of all local party organizations, we must strengthen the army-people joint defense and enthusiastically carry out militia work. We must heighten our vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war, and be fully prepared to wipe out any enemy intruder."

We were made aware that the Chinese see little advantage to themselves in adhering to arms control or disarmament agreements. They have said that the superpowers have to choose between total nuclear disarmament or nuclear proliferation. Arms control as a middle way, Peking argues, only serves the interests of the mighty against the weak. There is one area of potential compromise: where the Third World countries have called for nuclear free zones to constrain the superpowers—as in the case of Latin America, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia—China has given its selective support.

We explored China's position on nuclear proliferation further by noting that China is surrounded by nuclear or near-nuclear states. The U.S.S.R. has a major nuclear arsenal, and India has joined the nuclear club. Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea all have the capability to acquire nuclear weapons. What then is the PRC's policy on preventing the use of nuclear power for non-peaceful purposes? China, we were told, does not engage in nuclear proliferation, "but if others do proliferate we can do nothing. As for India, it would rather starve and have nothing to eat in order to develop nuclear weapons. That is its right. Taiwan can decide for itself if it wants nuclear weapons. That is its right. Who will transfer the nuclear technology? This is something we can do nothing about."

The present Chinese position on disarmament modestly differs from earlier published formulations. For example, Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua at the U.N. in October 1974 had stated:

The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: All nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries and nuclear free zones . . . and [second] they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries.

We have already noted the unexpectedly strong Chinese support for a continuation of U.S. troop strength in Europe; this support has thus altered the second of China's conditions for taking part in disarmament discussions. The demand that the United States withdraw its forces from abroad has been abandoned, and the Chinese now state their conditions for taking part in disarmament negotiations as follows: "First the U.S. can gain the initiative when it undertakes the obligation not to use nuclear weapons first. China can be a party to this agreement if you [the U.S.] say you won't be the first to use them. Second, agreement should be reached gradually to destroy all nuclear weapons." If an international disarmament conference under the U.N. is to be held and the first agenda item is no-first-use and the second agenda item is "toward complete and total destruction of nuclear weapons," then China says it will take part in such a conference. It is unlikely that a conference could be convened under such a condition. As now put forward, the no-first-use formula enables the Chinese to affiliate themselves more closely with the Third World nations and thus has an essentially political, not a military, purpose.

It should be noted, however, that the Chinese often subordinate demands or conditions of this sort to larger governing realities. The acceptance of the no-first-use pledge, for instance, could diminish any U.S. ability to deter an overwhelming attack by Soviet conventional forces upon Europe. Thus a tension could arise between a Chinese desire for an effective Western deterrence in Europe and their demand for a no-first-use pledge.

V. TRADE AND EXCHANGES

Trade. There are several lesser issues that still requires resolution, and that could be used to signal progress or setbacks in U.S.-China relations generally. One is the development of balanced trade; a second is private American claims against the PRC and the blocked PRC assets in the U.S.; and another is whether the PRC can be given "most favored nation" status. In the case of trade, Chinese cancellations of grain and cotton orders from the U.S. will lead to a major drop in the value of U.S.-China trade this year as compared to last year. By its reduction of imports the PRC will have reduced the imbalance favoring the United States in Sino-American trade (in 1973, 11-1 in favor of the U.S.; last year, 7-1) to an estimated 3-1 or 2-1.

Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chai Shu-fan informed us that the PRC considers its trade relations with the U.S. satisfactory. An official trade delegation from the PRC would arrive in the United States in early September, and "the development of trade will increase Sino-American contacts and broaden mutual relations." (Subsequently, some members of our delegation met in Washington with the Chinese trade delegation for an exchange of views.) The Vice Minister remarked that since the Shanghai Communique trade between the two countries "has had a sensational development," but there is also an "unfavorable balance of trade with the U.S. on the Chinese side." He blamed this imbalance on China's inability to "meet U.S. requirements" and on "high U.S. tariffs," and expressed the view that trade must be conducted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We indicated our intention to study further questions of trade and commerce and to determine, on the U.S. side, how to establish suitable areas in which the economic ties of the two countries can be strengthened. We believe that as a minimum we should maintain even-handed import and export policies toward China and the Soviet Union and should agree to technical cooperation where possible. In doing so we must also bear in mind the present acute unemployment in certain parts of our own country and make sure that it is not exacerbated.

For the future, China's government will not ask for loans and will accept only "genuine export credits," meaning medium-term deferred payments. There is no willingness to accept joint-venture investments. Peking does not expect to negotiate large grain purchases from the U.S. for "no country can offer significant enough amounts of grains to such a large population as ours." A number of officials criticized the U.S.-Soviet grain deals, and the Vice Minister added that "because the U.S.S.R. has bought all your remaining grain, China will not add to your burden."

China believes that its offshore oil reserves are larger than the total reserves of the United States but will concentrate on exploiting its land

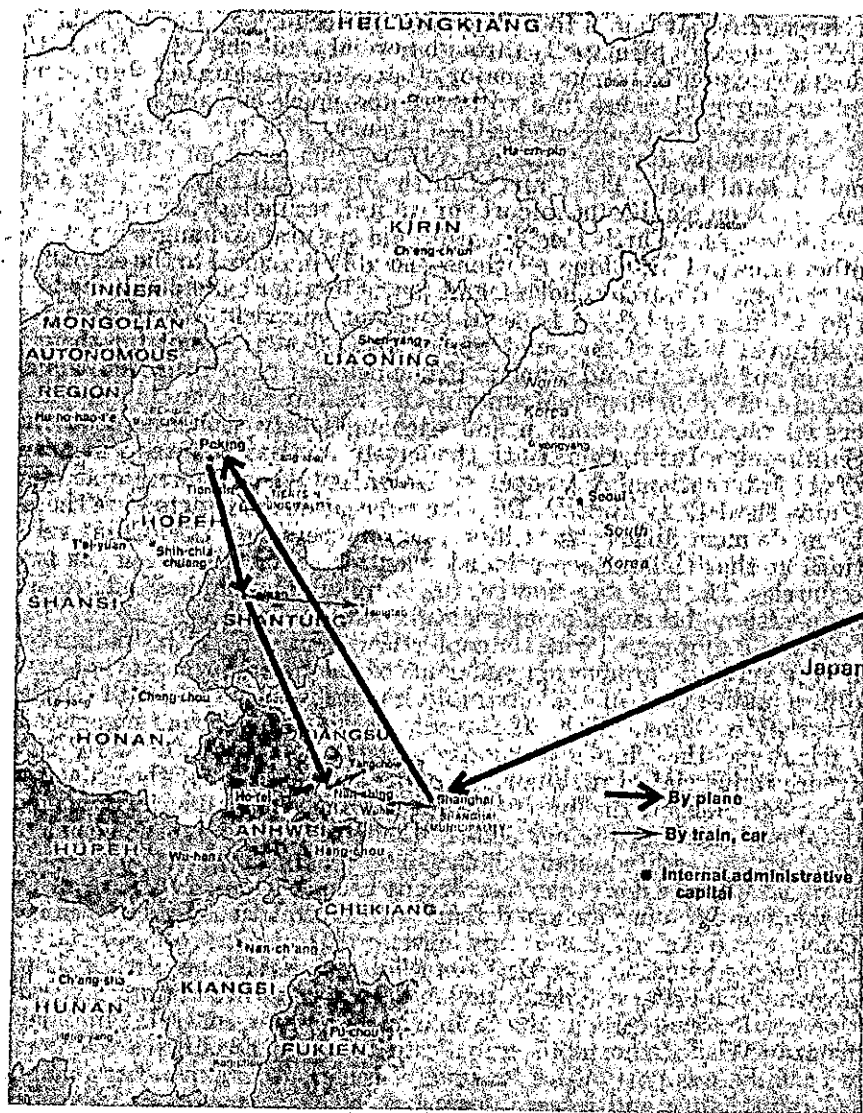
reserves first. It hopes to utilize U.S. oil technology but will obtain that technology principally through normal trade channels. The PRC does not expect to become a major oil exporter—it already ships some oil to Japan—because "we will need too much ourselves." The emphasis is on self-reliance and self-sufficiency, principles permitting little opportunity for international collaboration on either a bilateral or multilateral basis. The Chinese in the main will rely on their own labor, not on significant imports of capital, technology, or equipment.

Exchanges.—Furthering scientific and cultural exchanges is yet another issue in U.S.-China relations—notably in regard to the exchange of students, research scholars, and journalists for extended periods—and we discussed these issues throughout our visit. We pressed for additional visits of men and women from Congress and for the exchange of farmers and scholars in the fields of agriculture and aquaculture. At the Purple Mountain Observatory in Nanking we discussed possible cooperation and exchanges between China and the Smithsonian Institution. Until the late 1950s, the PRC was a member of the International Astronomical Union, but when Taiwan joined the Union the PRC withdrew. Regular international contacts were thereby made more difficult for Chinese astronomers, and U.S.-China relations at that time also precluded scientific contacts between the two countries. The time may now be ripe for regular exchanges and greater cooperation in this and other scientific research fields.

We were impressed with the sophistication of some of the tooling for high-level mass production and some of the inventory, material-handling quality control, and assembly line techniques that had been developed in China. With 80 percent of their population engaged in agriculture, the Chinese recognize that the manpower for the PRC's future industrial growth must come from this sector of the economy. Therefore, despite the low cost of labor, labor-saving devices are being developed, both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Although the Chinese readily admit that they have a long way to go, and "much more needs to be done than has already been accomplished," the desire is there and the natural bond for a working relationship between the Chinese and American economy exists.

We noted in this regard that technical interchange already is of growing importance and saw possibilities for further mutual cooperation as, for example, in the technology of water control. Similarly, from our visits to hospitals, convalescent homes, and child care centers, we could see opportunities for mutual benefit from expanding technical interchange and research cooperation in the medical and health fields, as for example, on the part of the U.S., in cancer research and, on the part of China, in acupuncture anesthesiology.

Our own experiences in China has made us acutely aware of the need for sustained communications between China and the United States at all levels. Only a few individuals in each country understand both societies and languages well and can assess developments in the other knowledgeably and with sensitivity. We believe it should be a national priority to add significantly to the number of these individuals in government, business, and the universities. There is a pressing need, not only for more scholars, but for more experts in all facets of Chinese life.



Map of areas delegation visited in North and East China

Finally, as to travel and cultural exchanges, we noted that the United States and China already enjoy an increasing exchange and that a large number of Americans want to visit the People's Republic. While we look forward to future visits of Americans to China, including those from the Congress, we emphasized to the Chinese the importance of expanding travel from China to the U.S. We expressed the hope that we might reciprocate the hospitality shown to us and other Congressional delegations. We look forward to having officials of the People's Republic of China, including those of the National

People's Congress, visit the United States, when the time is propitious, to engage in bilateral discussions. We believe that it is important to expose both systems to first-hand observation and that the People's Republic of China can derive as much benefit from that process as was derived from our view of China.

VI. DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PRC

Peking's domestic priorities are now apparently shaped by three major questions: Will the new generation remain true to revolutionary values and thereby continue to build China into a Communist society? Will the Party and State institutions guide the course of transition successfully or fall prey to bureaucratic stagnation and "capitalist errors"? And, will China continue to be built into a powerful modern state capable of joining the front rank of the world's leaders?

We, like most visitors to China, were impressed by its preoccupation with the retention of revolutionary values which underlay the launching of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), the formation of the Red Guards (in 1966), and the recent campaigns to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao (1973-1975). However, failure to find fully satisfactory answers to the above questions has delayed final decisions on the educational system and sparked new ideological reform campaigns. Youth are enjoined daily to "serve the masses" and to reduce the "three major differences"—those between mental and manual labor, between town and country, and between workers and peasants. To get an idea of the magnitude of the number of youths involved, it should be remembered that in early 1975 there were 130,000,000 primary school students, 34,000,000 in high schools, and 400,000 in universities. The press constantly reminds cultural workers—the artists, writers, propagandists, playwrights, moviemakers, and performers—of their obligation to use literature and the arts as weapons to defeat "bourgeois enemies" and to preserve the purity of the revolutionary ideology. Politically, the preservation of revolutionary values is at the heart of selecting future leaders from the younger generation who will manage Chinese society and occupy the positions of power. Such an aim dominates the official approach to work, to careers, and to family life, and sets the tone that so distinguishes China in its current stage of development. Unity, collective persuasion, and service to China—these are the watchwords that appeared so often throughout our visit.

Political Developments.—Since 1973, the Chinese have reconstructed their national Party and State institutions. It is this process that raises the second question about the future elite. The 28 million members of the Party (less than 4 per cent of the total population) are now enjoined to occupy all senior positions in official organs including the Army and the mass organizations, and at the local levels. The Party celebrated its 54th birthday on July 1 this year and could acclaim the fact that it had successfully weathered nine years of reorganizational campaigns and emerged with its national apparatus intact. Compared to some 15 years ago that apparatus is, according to the Chinese, much more streamlined and efficient and its members much more conscious of their mission in building China and setting the example for the populace. But all has not gone smoothly; we were surprised at how freely the Chinese speak about struggle and debate which presumably is reflected in party decision-making at various levels.

Whereas the new Constitution of the Party was adopted at its Tenth National Congress in August 1973, the new State Constitution (see Appendix C for the text) was approved at the Fourth National People's Congress (NPC) this past January. That approval was the final episode in a year-long discussion about the form of State institutions conducted in the course of the anti-Confucian and anti-Lin Piao campaign. A basic aim of the new institutional system is to ensure the orderly transition to a post-Mao leadership when the present top leaders pass from the scene. It is explicitly designed to achieve the succession through collective leadership, but only time will tell whether that proves possible or not.

Organization of The State Council of The People's Republic of China

Premier: Chou En-lai			
Vice Premiers (in rank order):			
Teng Hsiao-p'ing	Ch'en Yung-kuei		
Chang Ch'un-ch'iao	Wu Kuei-hsien		
Li Hsien-nien	Wang Chen		
Ch'en Hsi-fen	Yu Ch'iu-ti		
Chi Teng-k'uei	Ku Mu		
Hua Kuo-feng	Sun Chien		
Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry Minister Shu Fang	Ministry of Foreign Trade Minister Li Ch'ang	Ministry of Metallurgical Industry Minister Ch'en Shao-k'un	Physical Culture and Sports Commission Minister in Charge Chuang Tse-tung
Ministry of Coal Industry Minister Hsi Chien-ch'ang	Ministry of Light Industry Minister Chien Chih-kuang	Ministry of National Defense Minister Yeh Chien-yung	State Capital Construction Commission Minister in Charge Ku Mu
Ministry of Commerce Minister Fan Tze-yü	First Ministry of Machine Building Minister Li Shui-ch'ang	Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries Minister K'ang Shih-en	State Planning Commission Minister in Charge Yu Ch'iu-ti
Ministry of Communications Minister Yeh Fai	Second Ministry of Machine Building Minister Liu Hsi-yao	Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications Minister Chung Fu-hsiang	
Ministry of Culture Minister Yu Hui-yung	Third Ministry of Machine Building Minister Li Ch'ih-fai	Ministry of Public Health Minister Liu Hsiang-p'ing	
Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries Minister Fang J	Fourth Ministry of Machine Building Minister Wang Cheng	Ministry of Public Security Minister Hua Kuo-feng	
Ministry of Education Minister Chou Jung-hsin	Fifth Ministry of Machine Building Minister Li Ch'eng-fang	Ministry of Railways Minister Wan Li	
Ministry of Finance Minister Chang Ching-ju	Sixth Ministry of Machine Building Minister Pien Chiang	Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power Minister Ch'ien Cheng-yung	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua	Seventh Ministry of Machine Building Minister Wang Yang		

As one of the first Congressional delegations to visit the PRC since January, we made a special effort to learn how the new Constitutional system works. As noted in the speeches by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice Premier Chang Ch'un-ch'iao at the NPC meeting this past January, the new State Constitution emphasizes Party leadership, centralized State power, planned transformation of the economy, and national strength and preparedness against war. The main theme to be studied in the Constitution, the Chinese are told, is the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Banners in each workshop we visited proclaimed that theme and called for greater efforts to achieve proletarian unity and to expose ideological opponents.

While in China we met several members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and a number of other delegates. We learned particularly about the role of the Standing Committee of the NPC. This 143-member Committee is responsible for both administration and for foreign affairs, but has no power in the area of military affairs. It is empowered to "interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, [and] ratify and denounce treaties." The Chinese state that these powers are more actively practiced by the Standing Committee than under the previous 1954 Constitution. In particular, its relative position vis-a-vis the ministries has been enhanced.

We were told that the Standing Committee meets once a month. The Vice Premiers of the State Council also meet, but not so regularly or so often. In foreign affairs the Standing Committee discusses new policies before they are sent to the Foreign Ministry for implementation. The Foreign Ministry carries out only established policies. We discussed the official collection of laws compiled in the 1950's and 1960's, and learned that many of these laws are no longer considered valid. The Standing Committee is currently compiling a new set of laws, which will be promulgated for mass discussion before they are officially enacted. In the final analysis, we were told, laws and courts to enforce them were far less important to the national order than the "discipline and persuasion of the masses"—i.e., social pressure and public education campaigns.

One official informed us that the Party's leadership role in the State and Army has now been stated explicitly in the new Constitution because Lin Piao had used the absence of any such reference to the Party in the previous Constitution to insist on a separation of Party and State. The NPC Standing Committee, whose powers have been increased under the new mandate, has direct relations with the Party, although there is no special section of the Party for liaison with the NPC. If the Standing Committee cannot decide on a matter of principle, then the issue is referred to the Party's leading organ, the 21-member Political Bureau. It decides either in full Politburo session or may even send the matter on to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

In passing we were told that recent western press reports of strikes in various parts of China were exaggerated, although Article 28 of the Constitution guarantees the right. Strikes could occur, but only if the plant managers refuse to correct so-called "bureaucratic errors." Such refusal, however, could call into question the managers' performance. Moreover, by having to submit a strike request to "persuasion" by officials, workers find it difficult to exercise the right to strike legitimately.

Economic Goals and Achievements.—Chou En-lai, at the January National People's Congress, set forth major guidelines for China's modernization. He noted that China would fulfill its Fourth Five Year Plan (1971–1975) at the end of this current year and stated that by the end of the next plan in 1980 China should have built “an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system.” Thereafter, he said, China would “accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology before the end of the century.”

What we saw concerning China's economic and social development was impressive in a great many sectors. It tended to confirm the impressions of earlier reports which noted:

There has not been a major flood, pestilence, or famine for many years. The cities are clean, orderly, and safe; the shops well stocked with food, clothing, and other consumer items. . . . The housing is of a subsistence type. . . . Crime, begging, drug addiction, alcoholism, delinquency are conspicuous in their absence. [Senator Mike Mansfield, April–May 1972]

So widely shared has been the progress since 1949, so improved the lifestyle of the average Chinese, that these people living, by our standards in relative privation, gives every impression of counting their blessings, grateful for even modest progress, not restive with only the bare necessities of food, clothing, shelter and health. [Representatives Hale Boggs and Gerald Ford, June–July 1972]

All this has been accomplished during the past decade and a half without foreign assistance (since the termination of Soviet help in 1960) and despite continuing onslaughts of bad weather and other natural disasters.

We were shown evidence that incomes had been distributed more evenly than in the recent past. People seem to be able to work and find a place where they can feel needed and wanted until late in life, and yet retirement policies are lenient and invoked voluntarily at age 60 for men and 50 for women in manual pursuits, with up to 70 per cent of employment income provided after 15 years of service. Our visits to the homes of a number of families, retired from employment, confirmed what we were told. Price stability in the economy has been maintained. Apparently there is no deficit being accrued, and the financing of the national, provincial, and communal structure is on a more conservative fiscal and economic basis than the Keynesian theory that has been so widely adopted in the United States. The Chinese discipline themselves to keep their foreign trade in balance even though it means sacrifice on their part. Because of the high element of volunteer labor, the 48-hour work week without overtime, no vacations except for holidays, and the high proportion of the population engaged in productive activities, it is difficult to estimate accurately what the PRC's real gross national product is.

We were struck with the degree of economic decentralization and local self-sufficiency that characterize Chinese society. This was particularly noteworthy considering the fact that most planning seems to move up from the grass roots. Compared to other countries we have visited, the PRC's development seemed much more progressive and creative, taking into account obvious deficiencies in communication and transportation (although the roads and highways we traveled both in cities and between cities were far better than we had anticipated).

Marxism plus Chinese nationalism have transformed China into a country with a purpose. Its people appear to be united by the revolution and by strong social forces. There is little room for dissent, although persuasion and education are the preferred means of assuring social order. This should not be mistaken for the right of dissent or freedom of speech. Peer pressure and educational measures to produce conformity can be as strong and effective—and as real—as repressiveness.

In all this, the Chinese take the long view. They have patience. They establish an adequate defense posture, stretch out procurement, rely on the militia, and apparently allocate more resources to internal development, accepting no alien influences except when absolutely necessary. The burden of armaments appears not to be so oppressive, since the standard of living—the base from which the Chinese start—has always been very low. Public expectations are measured and substantially met by slowly but steadily rising living standards. They do not seem to promise beyond their ability to perform. The “revolution of rising expectations” is not being thwarted as elsewhere.

Their leaders credit three things for the PRC's present accomplishments: adherence to Mao's thought, the Communist Party's leadership, and the “heroic work” of the workers and peasants. When these three are combined the basis is said to be laid for “great leaps forward.” Within these political-ideological contexts, experimental social arrangements are constantly being devised and tested—examples are found in trade unions and residential establishments. All such arrangements are intended to encourage China's self-sufficiency.

Urban Development.—We might give some examples of urban development. In Tsingtao (which no Congressional delegation had visited before), with a population of 1,542,000, new light industries have been created to make sewing machines and wrist watches and heavy industries to build diesel locomotives, tractors, and turbine generators. The population is three times its 1949 size but the total output is reported as 16 times that of 1949. Since that year the percentage of industry classified as “heavy” is claimed to have risen from 16 to 54, while there has been great progress in education, hygiene, sanitation, and the like. There have been in the last two decades very major changes, “but we look forward to even better progress in the years ahead,” we were told.

We visited the Tsingtao Embroidery Mill, set up in 1954 with 63 people, 30 machines, and only a single shop. There are now 860 workers and three workshops: embroidery, sewing and packing. Eighty-five per cent of the workers are women who used to be housewives. The salary of the women is about 40 yüan per month. (The yüan in August 1975 was worth about \$0.57.) The design of the product at the beginning was very simple, and the mill only produced pillowcases. Since then, the former housewives are said to have made over 70 technical inventions.

The emphasis on equality affects both management and personnel incentives in the mill. The workers take part in the management. Eight per cent of the workers belong to the Communist Party, and the Party carries out ideological education among the workers and helps in policymaking. Of the 15 members of the mill's revolutionary

committee, ten belong to the Party. With respect to incentives, some workers produce 200 items, some only 180 items in the same period, but the worker producing less does not necessarily get less. "We summarize our experiences and try to have the backward catch up. Production may also be less because the worker is on leave or attends meetings. If the worker does more than the assigned quota this is a gift to the State." The mill's manager make about \$40 (70 Yüan) per month—in contrast to the average worker's \$23 (40 yuan)—because, the manager said, "I have a longer working experience. I was appointed by the State as a manager. This is a State-owned factory. The State runs many public facilities and provides a subsidy for workers on housing, transportation costs, and other things. Most important it maintains stable prices."

The stability of prices tells only part of the story for the overall cost of living tends to be low. Wages and prices do vary regionally as well as seasonally on many items, and State planners, who strive to keep the price of necessities low, put most luxuries beyond the reach of the average pocketbook. The monthly wage of urban workers averages about \$28.00 (50 yüan) and ranges from \$10 to \$50. The question is: What can these wages buy? In Shanghai, rent for a well-off, retired couple we met is \$3.08 (5.40 yüan) per month for two quite adequate rooms, a bath, and part use of a kitchen. Their monthly light bill is \$0.85 (1.50 yüan), water bill \$1.43 (2.50 yüan), and gas bill \$2.00 (3.50 yüan). Rent can be as low as \$0.11 (0.20 yüan) for a dormitory bed and averages about \$2.00 (3.50 yüan) in some of the places we made inquiries. For 30 per cent (\$8.40) of an average single worker's monthly income the following can be bought in these same places: 22 pounds of rice, 11 pounds of flour, 2.2 pounds of pork, 1.1 pounds of sugar, 1.1 pounds of table salt, 33 pounds of assorted vegetables, 39 inches of white cloth, 2 cakes of soap, 55.1 pounds of coal, 2 pounds of edible oil, 1.1 pounds of kerosene, an aluminum pan, and a visit to the neighborhood medical clinic. Some consumer prices, however, seemed out of line: the ubiquitous bicycle costs about \$85.00 (150 yüan) and its tire \$5.70 (10 yüan). Since both husband and wife invariably work, such items can be bought by pooling family resources and setting aside planned amounts over a period of time.

We also tried to evaluate the difficult problem of incentives and decided that in making any such assessment a comparison between rural and urban areas is important. The Party and the State do not seem to have cracked the riddle of how to inspire the urban worker through social incentives when he deals individually with the employer (the State) as the recipient of a wage or salary. Ideological arguments and collective pressures do not appear to be as convincing to urban workers as they are among relatives and co-workers in the traditional villages.

Our Chinese hosts displayed a considerable dislike for the "revisionist" incentives found in the Soviet Union, saying that the Soviets had restored disproportionate material benefits to high-ranking officials: large salaries, holiday villas, and private automobiles. The Chinese continually argued that no "material" rewards or incentives were needed for increased productivity or effort. They were somewhat apologetic that their own system retains eight grades of pay, from \$14 (25 yüan) up to \$63 (110 yüan) per month. (A skilled amputation

surgeon we met in Shanghai, for example, earns \$57 per month.) They also considered semi-capitalist the practice of private garden plots and of separate enterprises run as a "side-line" by individuals who are permitted to bank any surplus. They conceded this was not yet the "ideal" communism of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

In Nanking, a city of 2,460,000, we visited the majestic bridge that spans the Yangtze River. It makes direct train and truck traffic possible between Peking and Nanking without the use of ferries or barges for the first time. The bridge exemplifies major aspects of China's developmental principles and long-term goals. The 6,772-meter-long span was completed in 1968 "by keeping the initiative in China's own hands" and by rejecting earlier Soviet advice. The project was considered strategic to building a national rail network; \$160 million (280 million yüan) was spent from China's scarce capital resources. For the future the Chinese said that they envisage doubling the rail traffic on the bridge and greatly increasing the auto traffic. They noted that the arches of the bridge are only 30 meters high. Only Chinese vessels that are small or equipped with collapsible masts will be able to go up the river beyond Nanking because of this height limitation. Large foreign vessels thus will be prevented from making the trip.

Finally, the Chinese seek to achieve development through the minimal use of bureaucratic organs. Nanking has 10 to 20 neighborhood revolutionary committees within each of the city's 10 administrative districts. These committees and the revolutionary committees in the smaller residential groups under them collectively supervise the life in each area. This makes it possible for less than 10,000 people, not counting municipal employees, to be involved in the municipal government.

China's Rural Economy.—The long-term fate of China's economic programs will be determined in its more than one million rural villages. Traditional marketing areas are now called *communes* (with the commune seat normally the former market town); large villages, or clusters of small villages, are called *production brigades*, and small villages or groups within larger villages are called *production teams*.

The Vice Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Hao Chung-shih, said that farm production had always received great priority. The guiding principle is that "agriculture is the foundation of the national economy." After agriculture come light industry and then heavy industry.

The Vice Minister reviewed the history of post-1949 land reform, the mutual aid teams, the lower and higher level agricultural producers' cooperatives, and, finally in 1958, the people's communes. An estimated 100,002,000 peasant households took part in the people's communes, but the number of the communes has varied over time. There were more than 26,000 in the late fifties and 70,000 in the early sixties, but now the number has been reduced to something over 50,000. The reorganization, he said, has been undertaken locally; there is no standard pattern. In some places the communes are considered too large and in some too small.

Vice Minister Hao went on to say that the people's communes are an economic, managerial, political, and military organization. They

are part of an integrated chain of command that goes from Peking to the provinces to the special districts to the 2000 counties, and thence to the people's communes. The people's commune is the lowest rural level in charge of local political administration. The two forms of ownership in the commune are collective ownership and state ownership; the latter is called "ownership of the whole people" and usually applies to factories, railways, and all means of post and communications.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is in charge of planning industrial crops and helps to decide how fast grain production should develop. (Grain production went from 246 to 255 million tons in the years 1971 to 1974.) The contact between the Ministry and the people's communes is not direct, but goes through the agricultural bureaus at the different levels. The agricultural bureau at each level leads the bureau at the level below it, and decisions on production are made level-by-level from the team to the national Ministry. Each bureau is only one among many under the revolutionary committee at that level and is subordinate to the bureau above it. Among other bureaus are those for light industry, heavy industry, and transport. Each bureau works out preliminary plans for production. In working out a plan, if differences of opinion arise, these are discussed by the entire revolutionary committee.

Communes near cities are replacing grain with vegetable acreage. Each municipal area—meaning a city, its suburbs, and nearby communes—is striving for self-sufficiency, but this means sacrificing some grain lands to vegetable growing. Those communes devoted to supplying the city with vegetables are provided grain by the State. Similar make-up supplies are available for farmers who grow cotton and other industrial crops. Other than this the plan is for most communes to be self-sufficient in grain.

In seeking to achieve self-sufficiency, with all communes producing as large a surplus for the State as possible, China must control its population growth to attain real increases. Birth control campaigns are underway throughout China. Vice Minister Hao said that the commonly stated figure of 80 per cent of China's 800,000,000 people on the farms is not quite accurate, since some are engaged not only in farming but also in commune industrial work, rural communications, and sideline occupations. The figure includes those who make farm machinery and chemical fertilizers, engage in transport and processing, and produce the daily necessities for the farmer. When asked how many were directly engaged in crop production alone, he said he could not draw a strict line between this kind of producer and others. Some people, he said, do farming during the busy season, and then go on to do other things, and there are other complications.

The problems in the Chinese communes have been satisfactorily, even subtly, handled although there is a good deal of surplus labor on the farms and even some idleness. But morale appears high in the communes we visited, and the principle of sharing on a generally equal and cooperative basis is accepted. Such attitudes are grounded in the incentive of collective well-being and national progress. This is contrasted to the cities which do not appear to be performing (with performance keyed to industrial production) up to expectations. Great

progress has already been made in subduing China's age-old enemies, famine and flood. From direct observations in North and East Central China, we believe that rural progress is obvious and substantial. We reached these conclusions:

1. Communal organization has made possible the development of large, efficient planting units, the irrigation and/or drainage of vast areas, the efficient coordination of growing and distribution, the gradual application of mechanization, the introduction of chemicals, and the distribution of manpower where needed.

2. Double and even triple cropping has become widespread and successful.

3. Education is advancing, with each commune supplied with both primary and middle schools, and evening courses available for older citizens who had no primary or middle school education. These courses are general, not technical.

4. Everyone is made to feel part of a smaller working unit (a team varies in size from 100 to 150), a larger unit (a brigade might number from 500 to 1500), and a community (an "average" commune would number about 15,000), and an effort is made to make each person seem needed and wanted. There are few psychiatrists, and compared to some other societies, perhaps less need for them. Against this must be weighed inhibitions on expression, limitations on movement, restrictions on freedom of choice in education and employment, and other rights that we take for granted as among the most prized characteristics of our own way of life.

5. The economic position of rural and urban people can be considered roughly comparable. Although peasant wages are perhaps 30 per cent less than those paid to city dwellers, the farmers do have advantages. They maintain small private gardens whose produce may be consumed or sold. They own their own hand tools. They usually have access to more abundant food. Their share of income from sales of crops to the State is based partly on individual productivity.

6. Water conservation projects are widespread, highly successful, and growing.

We also observed some weaknesses in the rural sector:

1. The culture of corn is of spotty quality and yield. There is undoubtedly room for improvements in seed, fertilization, and perhaps moisture application. The quality of the corn we observed was all below the U.S. average. There is a wide range of color in the plants, but the rich green common in the U.S. corn-belt was nowhere to be found. Many plants appeared stunted, and none was comparable in height to U.S. norms. We believe that China should be getting far better results from its corn cropland, particularly since many fields of corn are large enough for highly efficient use of machinery. Some fields we saw were at least 100 acres in size.

2. The production of soybeans is also a problem in China. Although we did not see fields under cultivation, officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry told us that the output of soybeans has not been high in recent years. Clearly, the production trend in soybeans has been disappointing. An increase in

yield is an important goal of government policy. Research on the yield problem is being conducted. From what we were told, soybeans—unlike corn—are not planted on an efficient scale. They are produced mostly on the edge of fields and not in “mass areas.”

3. Our impression is that the problem-solving system in agriculture appears loose and relatively inefficient. Each commune, county, municipality, and province has its agronomy and science department but responses concerning the size and functions of each were vague. Higher education in agriculture exists, but not for the masses nor even for the leadership of production brigades in rural areas. We could find no trace of a system of continuing adult education in agriculture for people at the production level which would be at all comparable to the U.S. extension service.

We concluded that China could make a substantial advance in its economic development by introducing labor-saving machinery in agriculture and giving priority to the continuing education of farmers in the use of modern technology. These steps could quickly boost per capita food production and free millions of people for other economic pursuits. Chinese leadership is aware of this.

Examples of Three Rural Production Brigades.—We visited and studied three of China's 700,000 production brigades—two in Shantung Province and one in Kiangsu Province—and have these additional observations to report on each.

The Ch'i-li-p'u Production Brigade, Wu-chia-p'u People's Commune, north of Tsinan, Shantung, has 110 households with 540 people and a labor force among them of 210. This brigade, one of 48 in the commune (whose population is 30,000), consists of one traditional village and is divided into four production teams. The brigade has a land area of 1000 mou (166 acres, a mou being one-sixth of an acre) in agricultural production plus another 200 mou (33 acres) for reeds and rushes. The brigade has a health clinic, a supply and marketing shop, schools, a pig farm, and a fish pond. The chairman of the brigade's revolutionary committee credited collective organization for the brigade's progress in overcoming the alternating scourges of flood and drought. “We drained the water and raised production,” he said. “We adhered to Mao's call that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and to his call in 1964 to learn from Ta-chai [a model brigade in North China]. Before 1964 we did not have any surplus of grain, but now we supply not only ourselves but sell 50,000 kilograms to the State.

“In diverting the water to build up the soil and strengthen the Yellow River dikes we first studied Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. After this we learned to turn harm into benefit of the people. For example in 1971 by using the silt from the Yellow River we filled up 400 mou of marshland. Almost all low lands have now become stable and have high yields. We get two crops a year. One crop is rice and one wheat. The per-mou yield in 1974 was 508 kilograms with an average ration per person of 270 kilograms annually. The production brigade has 50,000 kilograms of reserve grain. It has 300 pigs which averages to about 3 per household, 30,000 trees, and fish ponds. The trees and the ponds net the brigade about 20,000 yüan [\$11,400] annually. The brigade has about 50,000 yüan [\$28,500] in the

public accumulation fund. They have used this fund to buy collective tools, machines for pumping, threshing and grinding. The members of the brigade have free medical treatment.”

We also visited a brigade northeast of the city of Tsingtao, Shantung Province. This is the Tan-shan Production Brigade of the Hsiachuan People's Commune. The chairman of this brigade reported that the entire commune has 60,000 people (12,000 families) organized into 43 brigades, 290 teams. In addition there are another 40 technical teams, six of which are responsible for forestry. The brigade itself has 710 families, with 3200 people. It has 1800 mou (300 acres) under cultivation, 1500 (250 acres) of which are in fruit trees. The orchards now have 30,000 trees; 90 per cent are apples, the rest peaches and almonds. Because of the “lack of experience in management” and because of natural disasters the output from the orchards has not been high nor stable. “Especially because of our lack of experience against insects, our production has suffered.”

The commune is organized and run by a revolutionary committee made up of 30 members. Sixty per cent of these members are elected representatives of the “masses.” These members are “three-in-one” combinations, or drawn from the old, middle-aged, and young. The other 40 per cent are elected representatives of the cadres, generally trained Communist Party members. The revolutionary committee reports to the Lao-shan County Revolutionary Committee. Elections are held once a year at the brigade level and once every two years in the commune. The list of candidates is first suggested by the commune members. They are selected from those who have distinguished themselves in production, study, and behavior. This list is then sent for review to the commune revolutionary committee which discusses the list and then sends it back to the people for further discussion and ultimately for a vote. During this process both the leadership and the populace can eliminate potential candidates.

The commune's production follows the unified state plan. Produce is sold to the State. The price that it receives for grain and orchard products is fixed by the State according to the quality of the produce. The basic accounting unit is still the production team. What is sold to the State after consumption is considered the team's income which is distributed in the majority to the members. A small percentage, usually from 5-7 per cent, is set aside for the public accumulation fund. Individuals and families regularly maintain bank accounts for their surplus savings, modest as they might be, that pay interest of 1.8 per cent per annum (or 2.8 per cent if left for two years).

We learned at this brigade that here and elsewhere there is a substantial price support program for farm products. About 1 pound of silver carp is sold by the brigade to the State for \$0.26 (0.46 yüan) and bought in the city by the public for \$0.17 (0.30 yüan). We noticed similar price supports (although not to such a substantial degree) for other products of the communes we visited. For example, when it comes to grain, the Ho-lo People's Commune sold grain to the State for \$12.54 (22 yüan) per 100 kilograms (220 pounds). The State husked the grain and sold the remaining pure grain, which amounted to 72 kilograms (158 pounds), at a rate of \$15.96 (28 yüan). This amounts to a loss to the State of \$1.06 (1.84 yüan) on each 100 kilo-

grams (220 pounds) it bought, a calculation that does not include transportation and spoilage.

Finally we visited the Ho-lo Production Brigade, Ho-lo Commune in Kiangsu Province. Here we saw the harvesting of rice, seri-culture, hog and fish farming, and many other aspects of rural life in what is an old, very beautiful market town on the edge of Wuxi municipality. The commune contains 7 production brigades with 82 production teams. There are 4,335 households containing 15,002 people in the commune, with a working force of 7,000. There are 108 acres of land for grain, 256 acres for truck farming, 383 acres of water surface for fish breeding, 133 acres for mulberry groves, 1167 acres for forest and orchards. There are 11 commune-run factories, and 13 run by the brigade. Houses or factories in the commune occupy 12 per cent of the land. The Chinese noted: "The commune has 15,690 mou [2615 acres] of land. When 15,000 people live on that amount of land [about one-sixth acre per person], it is just about right."

The mechanization of production is gradually increasing. Presently in the commune there are 80 hand tractors, 2 medium-sized tractors, 95 threshing machines, 5 trucks, 11 rice transplanters, 22 motorized boats, and 43 aerators. When mechanization is increased, we were told, "we can supply manpower to work in urban industries. With development, labor can be spared for the factories. We can have surplus for other parts of China and for the cities." Later it was said the main purpose of mechanization is to increase production and reduce labor intensity.

We were told that the commune has about 450 Party members out of 7,000 adult workers. The Party members exercise leadership in all public life, and the task of the brigade Party committee is "to carry out the line and policies set by the Central Committee, to impart socialist ideas and increase political consciousness. All Party members must set fine examples in the class struggle, struggle for production, and struggle for scientific experimentation."

There has been a constant rise in commune living standards. As to the distribution of income in 1974, each "fully able-bodied" man received \$342 (600 yüan), lesser able-bodied men received \$200 (350 yäün), purely as collective income from the commune excluding income from any side-line occupation. Health care has been improved. There are 16 doctors in the commune hospital and 32 clinics run by the brigade. Every production team has its own health clinic. General cases are treated in the commune. As to education, the brigade has 3 junior high schools and 9 primary schools. Rural children in this province can look forward to 9 years of education.

Aquaculture (Fish Farming).—There is much we can learn from the Chinese in the way of aquaculture. Each commune had from 5 to 10 per cent of its area devoted to fish cultivation. Even when the production of young fish (fry) consumed 30 per cent of fish pond area, the production is 721 kilograms per mou (4.8 tons per acre). Fish are harvested 4 or 5 times a year (we witnessed one) by net when only larger fish are taken and smaller ones thrown back in order to grow. Mud at the bottom of the fish ponds is used as organic fertilizer. Different fish are at different water levels; fish near the surface are fed with grass, bottom fish feed off snails. The principal difference with

the United States is that the Chinese breed, feed, and harvest their fish, just as they do any other crop, and do not simply catch fish grown naturally as we do.

We learned in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry that fish farming is not yet a major industry in China and that they consider the catch from the sea by far the greater part, although fresh water fishing has long been a tradition in China. Most fish farming is principally to be found in the interior parts of the country. China has poor facilities for long-distance transport, and in those inland areas where the lakes are few in number people find it difficult to get fish. They can buy salted fish but normally cannot get frozen or processed maritime products. Overall, however, it can be safely said that the PRC leads the world in the field of fish farming.

Water Control.—The goal of communes throughout the PRC is said to be stable, high crop yields. The highest priority in the brigades we visited was given to all aspects of water control to achieve that goal. We visited the flood control, irrigation, power generation, and land renewal projects on the Yellow River in Shantung Province and then were afforded the opportunity to visit and compare this project with the vast Kiangtu Hydro-Junction on the Huai River in East Central China. While touring these projects we saw possibilities for mutual cooperation between our two countries in the technology of water control.

We visited the Yellow River in Li-ch'eng County, Shantung. We were told that there are ten major pumping stations along the Yellow River in the county. They have used Yellow River water, which is extremely muddy, to reclaim over 21,667 acres (130,000 mou) of land for rice. This land yields about 1,440 pounds of rice per acre. We saw the sluice gates at one of these projects and were told that the entire station has multiple purposes: to accumulate silt along the dikes, to replenish the water in the rivers and canals so that the river can be used for navigation, and to collect sand for building purposes. The pumping stations are built to last 20 years. In 20 years the plants have to be moved because of the silting. We noted a number of signs bearing Chairman Mao's slogans along the river. One said: "Water projects are the lifeline of agriculture." We also noted that the water level is from 2-5 meters above the surrounding land level. In many of the swampy areas reeds and other marsh grasses are grown which are used for handicrafts.

We then went to the Kiangtu Project in the Huai Basin, north of the Yangtze River. We saw pumping stations, sluice gates, and locks of the hydro-junction. The project engineer told us that the river basin covered by the Kiangtu Project is 18,000 square kilometers and historically it was a backward area subject to waterlogging, drought, and flood. It had flooded on the average every two years. Sometimes there was no water in the Huai River, and seawater seeped in and ruined the land. Because of this, the villages, we were told, were subject to exploitation. People were so oppressed that they resorted to begging and selling their daughters. Thus when Chairman Mao in May 1951 issued the call, "The Huai River must be harnessed," many millions of farmers responded. In the years since then the floods have been contained and grain production has increased four times. "All

of this has greatly improved our ability to withstand natural disasters. The irrigated areas have been expanded each year, and the water from the Hwai River exceeds our demands."

The State makes arrangements for those dispossessed by the Project and helps build them new houses. A commune's "tax" or remission of funds to the government is always about five per cent of its gross product regardless of benefits or losses from nearby projects. The project benefits the communes so "they are glad to provide the labor." On large canal construction projects as many as 200,000 volunteer. The labor is paid for by the State through the communes at the rate of regular construction wages which generally are 50 per cent higher than those received as farm income. The average wage for the full-time construction worker is \$26 (45 yüan) a month whereas the peasant receives \$14-\$17 (25-30 yüan) a month. The worker receives his pay through the regular commune distribution system.

Approximately 70 people constitute the core of experts for the total project. These move from one large undertaking to the next in the project; they are not used on medium or small efforts. These skilled personnel comprise the only full-time force in water construction work. Some received training in the Nanking Engineering College and a Water Conservancy College; others became experts on the job. The Army normally does not participate in these projects but sometimes its soldiers help in digging the big reservoirs.

The entire project, we were told, cost \$1.4 billion (2 billion yüan). The project leaders send an annual plan for the overall project to the provincial Bureau of Hydrology and after discussion the revised plan is sent to Peking for decision. The local engineers said they know the people in the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power and can suggest projects to it through provincial channels. The people who participate in the decisions in Peking are mainly from the Ministry itself. Sometimes, however, the Ministry cannot have final say because the project is too big. It is then sent to the State Planning Commission for final disposition. The entire Commission can discuss projects, but most plans go to one of its specialized groups. When a project comes up for review or approval, the project chairman and vice chairman normally take part in the Peking discussions; leading members of other concerned ministries often take part as well. We were told: "The people are always welcome to visit the leadership and to make complaints. They may tell the responsible people of the area or write letters, even to Chairman Mao. Answers must be given to these letters as required by the Constitution. You can have people go directly to Peking if they feel that is necessary." We had no way of determining the extent to which these rights are exercised.

VII. SOCIAL CONTROL

While there can be no doubt that China's internal development has been achieved at the cost of some human rights and freedoms, it is also clear that from the Chinese view their road to modernization has already yielded important human benefits. We came to realize how complex China's industrial and social development is and how difficult it is to reach simple conclusions about it at this stage. Nevertheless there is a strong American tendency to inquire into the human condition in

China according to our own system of values. We did see that the Chinese have a different view of incentives and costs but know of no way to assess objectively how individuals in China view any sacrifice of rights or freedoms.

One constant on the Chinese scene is the powerful impact that Mao's sayings and doctrines have. As the Senate's distinguished Minority Leader put in his own China report three years ago, "Teaching, guiding, vivifying, and heading is Chairman Mao. Larger than life and somewhere closer to the red sunrise in the east than other men is the one who brought the New China into existence and who defines its present and future." His portrait and his sayings are ubiquitous. They are on sign boards, walls, and even on buoys anchored in the sea. They are enunciated to inspire, unite, command, and encourage. His words are freely quoted for they seem to vitalize the bureaucracy and give a sense of cohesiveness and structure to the organization of Chinese society.

Having said this, we also learned that the Chinese are not satisfied with the outcome of previous campaigns. Furthermore, they are disenchanted with the activities of the Red Guards in the sixties. Mao admitted himself that they "lacked experience," "were easily deceived," and "were led to extremes by bad elements." The new stress is on Lenin's works and on his efforts to establish a disciplined proletarian dictatorship. One of Mao's sayings on a billboard in Shanghai reads: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

Our farewell banquet in China on the eve of our departure was given by a Shanghai official who, more forcibly than any other in China, discussed the purposes of ideological campaigns for social control. His comments are worth quoting at length:

Shanghai is a city with over 10 million people. How to unite it and turn it into a unique force, that is the greatest challenge. There are 10 million old, middle-aged, and young from different professions, different classes and social strata. How to unite and bring together all these elements with different thoughts is a real problem.

What the KMT [Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party] left over is a really arduous task. There is much to reform. We are determined to transform the city of Shanghai into a socialist city, a majestic city.

Whom to rely on? The several million industrial workers, this is whom we will rely on. Chairman Mao says if each industrial worker has 4 people in his family, then there are 5-6 million industrial workers in Shanghai. They were the down-trodden and the oppressed. They are the fundamental force to rely on.

Shanghai has 10 counties under the municipality [where food growing for the urban population is the principal work]. That means the city has peasants as well as [urban] workers. The greatest challenge is to carry out ideological education among the 10 million—both workers and peasants—and make them realize they are not working for themselves alone but for the great majority of the people. This is not easy. People from the old society feel human beings exist only for themselves. There is an old saying: "If a human being does not work for himself then heaven and earth will collapse." Tradition and feudal ideas will influence people for a long time. As socialist revolution and construction continue, we must continue education to work for the great majority.

This is what you call "brainwashing." Some people fear the term. We brainwash ourselves every day. Every day there are bound to emerge filthy ideas in the minds such as putting one's own interests above that of the State. This kind of individualism we are against. To change is not an easy job.

Even within the Chinese Communist Party there were dedicated party members who entered Shanghai at the time of Liberation. Their ideology gradually changed. Originally they knew they should serve the people in a dedicated way. Then, however, they became bureaucratic officials in a big way—they liked big houses and cars. Now should people live in better houses? Yes. But not just a handful. Those who live better should be a majority. Some people like to swell their own purse. We call these revisionist elements. They preach of service to the masses wholeheartedly but as a matter of fact take into account only their own interests. Some people like this climbed to very senior positions. They were discovered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the future we'll see if we ourselves become revisionists. Our own people will observe and Mr. Lewis [the China scholar with our delegation] will observe. We must educate people with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then they will overthrow us if we become revisionist.

"Brainwashing" then is educating people ideologically. We have been doing this in the past few years—we are persisting in doing it.

Because of this, industrial output doubled the figure before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We do not give incentives as a bonus. We did increase collective welfare as you saw with the Workers' New Village this morning.

There is a problem. A segment of the people is very difficult to educate. Some are influenced by the theory of the petit bourgeoisie and dream of acquiring possessions and wealth. Also a handful of our youth would like the lifestyle and dress of the West. They are unwilling to serve the people with all their strength and energy. Every day hundreds of seamen land in Shanghai. Some young persons follow them and admire their clothes. Some youths think these are good. How can they become successors to the revolution? To educate the more stubborn old people is less difficult than the challenge of educating the youth.

The first and second generation are revolutionaries. Can we be assured that the next generation will remain so? We still have a great amount of work to do. Next time when you come you will see if we have advanced.

Internal Uses of the Militia.—In a number of places we learned about China's military preparedness programs. When linked to the movement to study proletarian dictatorship, these programs had a pervasive domestic impact. In Tsinan, for example, teenage girls with electric bull horns called on the people to obey the traffic laws, and signs said: "We must have discipline, the revolution must be continued." Red banners, hung in the traditional manner, proclaimed: "If the army and the people unite as one, who on earth can match them?"

In a park in one large city we talked to one "workers militiaman" who stressed the domestic role of the militia. The working class had to be vigilant, he said, because "bad elements" had infiltrated the park. We asked the man why there were so many of these militiamen in the park, and he said that the bad elements were always particularly active in parks. (We might note that none of his mood of danger touched us. He and all the people responded warmly to us, particularly when we told them we were Americans. There was absolutely no hostility to us from anyone. Quite the contrary, there was a great deal of positive interest in us. In several cities that had not had previous American delegations such as ours, as we left the train stations crowds of applauding Chinese lined the streets to welcome and greet us.) Given such a limited sample, we have no way of judging the significance of the "bad elements" in this or other places. Are there real internal enemies, or are foes fabricated as necessary to unite the people? We simply do not know.

We were particularly struck by the emphasis on militia training and in the variations in militia activity from one commune to the next. In one brigade 40 per cent of the brigade's population participated

in the militia. We learned that they could join one of two types of militia: the basic (*chi-kan*, literally "basin level backbone") militia made up of men and women from 18-30 (most especially demobilized soldiers) and the ordinary (*p'u-t'ung*) militia made up of women aged 16-50 and men aged 16-55. Which militia a person joins is decided by the People's Armed Forces Department of the commune revolutionary committee. The purpose of the militia, we were told, is to be able to rely on the broad masses of the people to carry on the fight in time of war, though none of those we talked to had received any first-aid training. All engage in political study, drill, and some forms of training with small arms. Once a week the militia men and women train during regular working hours; other training comes in the peasants' spare time.

The basic militia unit in one brigade has its own guns. Some of these are kept in the houses of individuals, some are kept in the brigade arsenal. The unit has regular contacts with the soldiers from the PLA. The Army provides training but does not have troops regularly stationed in the brigade. The brigade also sends basic militiamen to nearby army camps for, as one said, "we have to be fully prepared." The schedule for such training with the PLA varies, depending in large part on the brigade's work schedule. Roughly three times every year a group of 50 or 60 basic militia soldiers in one brigade we studied are ordered to undertake PLA training for two months. These train in anti-aircraft gunnery and the use of tanks, mortars, and automatic small arms. Women, roughly half of the militia force everywhere, also participate. The women drill with guns and go to camp with the men. A man we spoke to said he went to camp last year and the year before. His wife had gone with him once but usually she stayed to take care of their two children.

We learned in another brigade that roughly 30 percent of its populace were in the militia. We noted that only one in four has his or her own gun, and none is kept in the individual's house. Here training with the People's Liberation Army is on a less regular basis, though the PLA does come to help on the farm as well as assist in military training. Demobilized soldiers now living in the brigade form the core of the "basic militia" force training element, which seems to be a common practice.

We learned less about the "workers militia" (*kung-jen min-ping*) in the cities than the "peasant militia." The basic "kung-jen min-ping" also receive training from the PLA using live ammunition and grenades. Both men and women participate equally. The main activity of the workers militia is constant study. They study Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Each primary unit of militiamen contains about 20 workers. The one we discussed has 12 men and 8 women, not all from the same work place. Its members had not been to a PLA camp nor had any been in the Army. These were "ordinary" not "basic" militiamen. Some had applied for Army service but had been turned down.

We asked elsewhere about the militia in the cities and learned the following: "The militia are not assigned to the neighborhoods but to the factories." The militia recruits typically are drawn from industrial workers and are organized and trained principally in factories and

enterprises in all cities. There is a relationship between the militia, the uniformed police, and the city's People's Armed Forces Department. The militia is assigned to safeguard the national defense, to maintain social order, and to maintain the security of the society.

Justice in China.—In setting our priorities for studying Chinese society and aspects of social control, many of us gave the highest place to an understanding of how the demands for national unity affected the individual. We were also interested in deviance from the norm of unity and how the norm was being transmitted at the family level. We were able to investigate this in a morning spent in the Peking Intermediate Court. (Our conclusions on the divorce proceedings we witnessed in this court are given in the next section on human relations.) This was one of four court levels: the first level, the highest level, is the Supreme People's Court. Next comes the provincial higher court, then the district or intermediate court level, and finally the elementary court. The intermediate court we visited is the court of first appeal and, in some cases, can serve as the court of first instance. Each court has a chief judge, a deputy chief judge, several regular judges, and a recorder. The system does not provide for jury trials, but selected citizens in the courtroom are always assigned participating roles.

The procedures followed in criminal cases are generally the same as those in civil cases. There is an investigation of the case ("prosecution") by the police, then a follow-up inquiry ("verification") by the court, the trial, and the verdict. Only those accused of serious crimes, unlike the parties in civil or petty criminal cases, normally are kept in jail prior to trial and are escorted to the court by the police. Witnesses are not sworn, and normally no lawyers (who no longer exist as a separate profession) are engaged. In the trial the accused parties cannot remain mute. If one tries to do so the court attempts to persuade this person to speak. If he or she still refuses then the case is delayed and the person is asked to reconsider. "In the end he must answer."

Judges are chosen from among "those who have been tempered in the revolutionary struggle." Some are workers, peasants, and soldiers; some, but not all, are graduates of law schools. A deliberate attempt is made to have old, middle-aged, and young judges in the courts. "The most important thing is that they understand the policies of the State." This is particularly important since each case is judged on the basis of its relationship to its social impact and in respect to the attitude of the accused. Every level of court can sentence an accused to prison although in each case the effort is to obtain reform and return the person to society. There are prisons, and capital punishment is known to exist. The role of the people ("masses") present in the courtroom is not only to discuss the crime and criticize the criminal but to set the basis for the reformed convict to return to society. The judge must determine the seriousness of the case, and in the case of robbery, for example, the attitude of the accused and his willingness to reform are weighed more heavily than the amount of the theft or the number of times that the person has stolen. "Our policy is leniency toward those who admit their mistakes, harshness to those who do not. We consider all of these things in giving sentences."

We asked in one commune whether there had been any murders, rapes, assaults, or drug cases in the past year, and how many were in jail. The answer was more political than substantive: "In this

commune . . . if there is a crime we report it to the Wuhsi public security bureau. It sends people to investigate and prosecute. We don't have a jail or police station in the commune. There is no dope, just philosophical disputes. We had a swindler who stole more than 10,000 yuan [\$5,700] and tried to educate him. We were unable to re-educate him." Presumably this person is now in prison.

Religion.—In Yangchow we visited the Fa-ching Monastery. This Zen (Ch'na) Buddhist monastery, founded over 1200 years ago in the T'ang Dynasty, is maintained by subsidies from the State. We saw an exhibition room commemorating Chien Chang, who had gone to Japan in 743 at the invitation of the Japanese. He was responsible, we were told, for disseminating Chinese culture in Japan. There was a new memorial hall to Chien Chang, built in the manner of the T'ang but constructed only in 1973 at State expense. We spoke to two older monks of the seven in the monastery. There are some 200 believers in Yangchow, which has a total population of 200,000. The monks range in age from 40 to 76. They said they have good relations with the State, and the State provides them with money as well as guaranteeing their rights of religion.

There is no Christian church in Yangchow; the monastery, therefore, is the only practicing religious institution in that city. We learned that there exists only vestigial remains of Christianity in China. There is a regular, sparsely-attended Christian church service in Peking, and Prof. Tink Kuang-hsun, a Union Theological Seminary (New York) Graduate of 1948, teaches Christian theology to a few dozen students at Nanking University. The number of students is dwindling and even these are being trained to serve the State. Professor Ting is also a delegate to the National People's Congress as representative of Chinese Christians. Only a few cities other than Peking are known to have regular Christian church services, and these on a small scale. Christianity continues to be practiced in some homes but to practice this or any religion is incompatible with Communist Party membership.

VIII. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: WOMEN, THE FAMILY, AND EDUCATION

The Role of Women.—In modern China nowhere is the Great Leap Forward more evident than the new role of women in its society. The equality between men and women guaranteed by Chairman Mao has been translated into a consciousness of women's rights throughout the country; although the Chinese do not claim that full job equality has been achieved, this consciousness seems to have been implemented in the work force through job assignments and reinforced in the family by domestic labor sharing between husband and wife. Women appear to have been freed to make their individual contributions to their country. Within the context of communism, where individual freedom of choice does not exist in most areas, the woman's options appear to be equal to the man's.

An appropriate backdrop for understanding the woman's place in modern China is provided by a member of the women's federation at the Tan-shan Brigade near Tsingtao. Shantung when she says, "In the old days feudalism and imperialism oppressed women. Women in China suffered from them deeply and also from male chauvinism. They

were looked down upon by men and waged a protracted struggle over many years for the emancipation of women. Many times in the past our efforts failed, but finally, we succeeded at the time of liberation. Now we fully enjoy equal rights with men." This statement expressed the view frequently repeated by both men and women throughout our tour whenever the subject was broached.

In China equality is not mere rhetoric. It is embodied in one of the PRC's earliest laws, the Marriage Law of 1950, which equalized the rights and obligations of men and women in marriage and divorce. It expresses both the national principle and the national priority. The advocacy of one's equality and the abolition of male chauvinism, like all other ideological doctrines, have been the subject of extensive discussion and debate at all levels of Chinese society.

That this issue was clearly understood could best be illustrated by the ideas and arguments presented during a divorce proceeding which we witnessed in the Peking Intermediate Court. The court session was held in the factory where the husband was employed. The Elementary Court had rejected the wife's plea for a divorce, and since lawyers as a profession no longer play an active role in China, each party pleaded his or her own case. The basis for the wife's request for a divorce was that when she attended long evening sessions for political study in her factory, her husband objected to her absence, and beat and cursed her. She claimed that he was still under the influence of Confucius in his thinking, that he was a male chauvinist, and that he did not become involved or take part in similar studies or work in his factory. She contended that they were incompatible and requested a divorce.

The constant repetition of the charge of chauvinism by co-workers at the factory who were of similar backgrounds and educational levels as the parties to the divorce indicated a recognition of the woman's right to work and to observe and pursue issues of political study. All of the witnesses testified critically on the husband's role in the marriage's break-up. He confessed that he was responsible for this break-up and announced that he was determined to make a new start and showed signs of repentance for his poor treatment of his wife in the past. The witnesses moved to persuade the wife that the husband could correct his mistakes, and while they were critical of him, they ultimately recommend a reconciliation. For some time, the wife remained unconvinced but finally was persuaded by the confrontations of her colleagues and co-workers and the determination of the judge that the husband was acting on good faith and was willing to correct his mistakes. The wife then accepted the judgment of her colleagues.

Equality.—Sexual equality in the productive process of the country is most visible, again, at the grass roots level. Women are participating visibly in the agricultural output of communes and brigades, working side by side with men. The same situation exists in the factories. There was no claim of discrimination in salaries, rather equal pay was asserted to be received for equal work. In rural areas, barefoot doctors provide most uncomplicated medical assistance, and 70 per cent of these barefoot doctors in the communes we visited are women. The overwhelming majority in communes and child care centers associated with factories also are women. In the factories women work beside men and are paid equally.

Although equality of opportunity has been achieved to a remarkable degree, we noted that this did not preclude 85 per cent of the total work force in an embroidery mill from being female and the same percentage of workers in a fish hatchery being male. Obviously, the goal of equality of opportunity applies to the total society, not to "quotas" for single places.

Women mentioned the participation by a woman in the mountain climbing team which succeeded in reaching the summit of one of China's tallest peaks, citing this as an example of women's equality in China. We observed women doctors in the acupuncture clinics and regular hospital we visited, and noted a sense of equality between the sexes in these and other professional situations.

Equal rights carries with it equal responsibilities in China, and the role of women is particularly important in the commune. Under the leadership of the revolutionary committee of the commune and of the brigade, women's federations have also been organized. The purpose of the federation, which can exist on any level of society, is largely to disseminate political education among the women. Under the leadership of the revolutionary committee and within the policies and political guidelines of the Communist Party, the women's federation conducts political policy classes to increase the awareness of women of the commune on issues. In a commune at Wuhsi, the leader of the women's federation stressed the important role women played in class struggles. She stated that the federation had the responsibility of eliciting the women's views on production, as well as their demands and requests, and then transmitting this information to the revolutionary committee.

In one of the commune brigades, four of the nine members of the revolutionary committee are women. A great deal of attention is paid to the life of women in the brigade in order to help production teams, and consideration is given to all the needs of women—e.g., control of the day care center and its management and attention to the medical needs of women, including the assurance that they receive a check-up every year. In the production brigade, there is a woman director responsible for all women's affairs. There are thirty members of the women's organization in the commune of which nine are Party members. Of the thirty, one-third is comprised of each age segment: elderly, middle aged, and young. The youngest is 25 and the oldest is 60. The women's federation constitutes the sole formal organization or channel of communication between the women as workers in the factories or the communes and the revolutionary committee or the Communist Party.

Support Systems within the Family.—Since virtually all able-bodied women under the age of retirement—which is 55 for women (50 for those in manual pursuits) and 60 for men—are involved on a full-time basis in the productive processes, women's equality is translated into a sharing of household labor between husband and wife since both are generally full-time workers. In the three-generation household, a grandmother or grandfather provides extra assistance by helping with the child care or in the performance of other domestic responsibilities. It is quite common throughout China to see a grandparent holding the hand of a small child or strolling with a baby in a Chinese-

style carriage or paring vegetables in the courtyard as children play nearby.

The integration of the older generation is not merely the result of the physical proximity within the living quarters of the younger couple, but more so of the general lifestyle of the people. In homes without grandparents, pre-school-aged children generally remain at the nursery or child care center until they are taken home at 4:30. In those homes the child care duties also are shared by both husband and wife. The recognition of the demands on a wife's time when she is a full time worker was underscored during a visit to a new village on the outskirts of Shanghai where we were invited to see, among others, the quarters of a couple of whom the man was a retired worker and the woman was still employed as a teacher. They enjoyed a three-room apartment and shared a communal kitchen with three other families. It was stated that most household chores were performed by the husband since his wife worked full time. The traditional strengths of the family unit in Chinese society apparently continue to be a stabilizing and a more important force in the new China than most of our delegation had realized. Since the revolution, household responsibilities have been equalized, and the family provides an extra dimension of social support for the women's role in China.

By any standard women appeared to have made outstanding gains in the achievement of equality in China. The broad participation of women was revealed across the country. Many of the women whom we were privileged to meet hold important positions in the Chinese government. Women of great distinction whom we did not meet play extremely significant roles in society; however, the pinnacles of power in politics, at the highest levels of decision-making, are overwhelmingly held by men. Nonetheless, the record of achievement in China in this regard is outstanding among the nations of the world.

Family Planning.—Although the exact size of China's population is unknown, the most recent official estimate places it at nearly 800,000,000. Western estimates, however, tend to raise that figure, some up to 940,000,000. A Chinese Vice Premier reportedly told a visiting foreign delegation in 1972 that Chinese officials then in charge of the food supply estimated the population at over 800,000,000 whereas officials in charge of agricultural equipment and material supply estimated it at less than that figure.

Whatever the actual number, Chinese leaders—despite some official statements to the contrary made at international conferences in 1973 and 1974—express concern about population expansion and encourage ever more stringent birth control measures. Every place we visited displayed signs promoting late marriages, and we were frequently given figures to demonstrate the effectiveness of family planning campaigns. A 23-year-old man told us: "I am too young to marry," and added that the combined age of bride and groom should be at least 50. He mentioned that one effect of delayed marriages is that teenage dating is a romantic dead-end.

A municipal official in Shanghai gave us the most graphic account of the State's efforts toward zero population growth. He said that one of the city's most serious problems is that its populace is:

... ever increasing—it is now over 10 million. If we don't pay attention we will grow very quickly. In the past the birthrate was 3 to 4 per cent. This would

mean an annual increase of 300,000 to 400,000. From 1958 we paid serious attention to this problem. After the Cultural Revolution the workers carried out family planning. Pills and contraceptives are free. We also have good medical workers among the masses. They see that housewives take the pill every night. We do the same in the countryside. Last year the natural birth rate was 0.6 per cent (or 60,000). We were commended by the State Council for this outstanding achievement. But we must do more. There are still old ideas everywhere. People want boys first. There is the example of an old cadre [official] on the Revolutionary Committee whose wife gave birth to 7 girls. He still was not satisfied. We said: "Seven girls is not your fault," and told him, "You can go to the masses and explain why you should keep families small. You can also explain why girls are good."

Education.—A key factor in the divorce case we witnessed was the couple's obligations to the general society in raising their two children: "These children are the successors to the revolution, and the husband and wife have a responsibility for bringing them up." As one indication of the priority given children, women in the Shanghai day care center received 75 per cent higher pay than those in the neighboring production shop. The Municipal Vice Chairman in Shanghai worried most about the ideological upbringing of the youth. Only education could inoculate the young against "rightist" ideas. Again the 1975 report by the Senate's Majority Leader relates the essential facts on education:

The People's Republic places great stress on basic education. China's leaders are well aware that literacy is essential both to effective political communication and to economic growth. . . . Education in China is directed to practical application, not to learning for the sake of learning. . . . By all accounts, higher educational concepts are still unsettled.

One province we visited now has 11 million primary and middle school students out of a population of 50 million. Education in this province is now 10 years in the city and 7 years in the countryside. The goal is universal education at the city level. By contrast, the province's university student population is now 30,000 where it was only 10,000 in 1972; its peak was 38,000 before the universities were closed in 1966. The total university population in the PRC is now 400,000, a figure less than half the peak (955,000) reached in 1960 and less than one-half of 1 per cent of the current total population.

The decade-long debate about education is no longer referred to as "struggle, criticism, reformation." The watchword now is experimentation. Kiangsu Province, for example, has begun low-level agriculture colleges where students study agriculture, agricultural machinery, water construction, and fertilizers. The students are peasants and "those who will be helping to develop China's agriculture." The first enrollment in six such colleges came this year in the Province, and they now have 2,000 students. Kiangsu also has 30 agricultural middle schools with one-year courses. There were 3,000 students in these schools in 1975. In the four teachers' colleges in the province the emphasis is on ideology, subject matter, and then technique—a rather different approach than found in our own teacher training. One hundred and twenty workers' universities (*kung-jen ta hsüeh*) have also been set up and these now experiment with one-, two-, and three-year programs. "The educational revolution is a new thing; experimentation will go on and on and there will be new kinds of innovations," we were told.

The Vice Chancellor of Peking University, Chou P'ei-yüan, gave our delegation the most comprehensive view of higher education in

China. The purpose of this education, as he described it, is to train intellectuals to serve the "proletarian power." Universities no longer exist simply to pass on knowledge and conduct research. "Our universities are created to serve the politics of proletarian dictatorship and combine education and labor."

Students thus must develop in three ways: morally, educationally, and physically. "They must leave the university as common laborers with socialist consciousness." Such Chinese graduates are contrasted to those in the Soviet Union, which "is attempting to train intellectual aristocrats."

China already had many universities, but after the Cultural Revolution it tried to create new types of universities. Factories and communes set up universities, and colleges for the first time selected students principally from among factory workers and peasants. They sought to find candidates having a junior middle school level and "socialist consciousness." The universities shortened their training period and established short-term training courses that last anywhere from one week to a year. The one-week courses are for training in how to solve specific technical problems.

Peking University, established in 1898, has 20 departments with 75 disciplines. There are 2,600 faculty members and more than 5,000 students in 1974-75. The enrollment should go up to 8,000 next year and to 10,000 in two or three years time, we were told. The present student body includes 200 foreign students from over 20 countries. Students have had practical experience and have normally worked in a factory or a farm for two or three years. The average age of a freshman is 20. Some of those who apply are veteran workers or peasants. They are not limited by age although the older applicants are very few in number. The conditions for application and admission are quite simple: The applicants must 1) have a high social consciousness, 2) have a minimum academic level of a junior middle school graduate, 3) have a good health record, and 4) be chosen by co-workers in a commune, factory, or Army unit. Special preference is given to students from China's fifty-four different minority peoples.

The high teacher-to-student ratio in the PRC is explained by a deeply-felt reluctance to dismiss any older staff and by the fact that, in this experimental stage, there is an unusually large amount of work for the teachers. Moreover, the number of students is increasing. Part of the teachers' work is to help the communes and the factories set up their own universities.

The future composition of the faculty thus is not expected to change much, though a few veteran farmers and workers will serve as visiting professors. To get a new faculty member, the respective department applies to the university revolutionary committee. The traditional responsibilities of the faculty will be altered. The curriculum, for example, will be decided by various departments in consultation with the students, and the students also will help write exam questions and set university standards.

Workshops are established within the university, as well as links for on-the-job training with 65 factories off the campus. The production of the seven "factories" within the Department of Natural Sciences comes within the unified plan of the state. Part of the profit from

their production is used to support part of the university's budget. Students are in this way not confined to the classrooms but must work in factories to gain workshop experience right up to the time of their graduation. "In the past students were confined to the classroom and they thus separated theory and practice. They then could not start to work right away. Now, however, they can start to work immediately in a factory or research institute."

The Department of Liberal Arts does not have a factory, but sends its teachers and students to over 200 factories, shops, Army units, and communes. There they write studies criticizing Confucius and Lin Biao, and with respect to the study of the proletarian dictatorship. Last year they contacted 700,000 people and wrote 2,000 articles, 300 of which were published. The Department of Foreign Languages sends its students to the airport, to the docks, shipyards, and to foreign exhibitions to get practical experience. In order to get practical study in foreign languages, students in the department go to the Canton Trade Fair twice a year. They participate in the exhibitions of foreign countries and generally are able to get experience that combines theory and practice.

Every student also must study politics as well as work in production and on fundamental theory. In this way "we do continue to stress basic research." PRC educators attach particular importance to research that strengthens China's defense. "In a war people play the most important part, but weapons are also important. We use science and technology to develop our industry and agriculture, but the development of our defense is equally important and we are concentrating on it."

The appendices which follow include the delegation's departure communique (Appendix A), its itinerary (B), the recently adopted Constitution of the PRC(C), and the Shanghai Communique issued at the conclusion of President Nixon's historic visit to China in February, 1972(D).

APPENDIX A

DEPARTURE COMMUNIQUE

Shanghai, August 16, 1975. The seventeen members of the seventh United States Congressional delegation to visit the People's Republic of China left today for home after a thirteen-day visit at the official invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. Senator Charles H. Percy served as the Chairman of the delegation, and Senators Jacob K. Javits and Claiborne Pell as Co-Chairmen. The other members of Congress in the delegation are Senator Adlai E. Stevenson and Representatives Paul Findley, Margaret M. Heckler, and Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. Dr. John W. Lewis served as administrator.

The delegation met for four hours with Vice Premier of the State Council Teng Hsiao-ping. It held discussions with other leading officials at the national, provincial, municipal, and rural levels. Its discussions in each place were friendly, stimulating, and informative and covered important aspects of Sino-U.S. relations and other topics of mutual concern. During its travels the delegation members asked questions on the structure of China's government, its society, and its ideology.

In expressing its appreciation for the hospitality shown the delegation throughout China, the delegation particularly singled out for praise the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs led by Vice President Chou Chiu-yeh.

In Peking and other places the delegation had the opportunity to observe many facets of life in modern China and to see various historical sites. During its stay, it visited not only Peking, Shanghai, and Nanking, but also the cities and environs of Tsinan, Tsingtao, Yangchow and Wuhsi. Some of these places had not previously been opened to American delegations.

The delegation at these stops examined different types of agricultural communes, handicraft and light industries, and heavy industry. In each place its members talked with managers and workers, old and young, and developed an insight into the important women's role in the society. They visited the flood control, irrigation, power generation, and land renewal projects on the Yellow River and then were afforded the opportunity to compare this project with the vast Kiangtu water control project on the Huai River in East Central China.

The delegation noted in particular several points relevant to the normalization of United States-China relations. It foresees new opportunities in the development of trade, the expanded exchange of information and technology, the growth of travel and cultural exchange, and the furthering of mutual understanding between the two

societies. The delegation gave special attention to the problems concerning the maintenance of peace in the vast areas involved.

It reaffirmed with the Chinese that trade between the two nations, to be of lasting value to both, must be mutually beneficial. Since the opening of Sino-U.S. trade in 1972, a greater two-way balance has been achieved, though in the last months the scope of that trade has been reduced. The Congressional members of the delegation noted their intention to study further questions of trade and commerce and to determine, on the U.S. side, how to establish suitable areas in which the economic ties of the two countries can be strengthened, including outreach to rearrange the import-export balance.

The delegation noted further that technical interchange is of growing importance and saw possibilities for further mutual cooperation as for example in the technology of water control. As such cooperation develops, the members stated, areas now quite unexpected and unexplored between the two nations might develop.

Particular attention was paid to additional areas for technical exchange in the scientific fields of agriculture and aquaculture. The delegation stated that these should be expanded where possible and where mutually beneficial. Similarly, from its visits to hospitals, convalescent homes, and child care centers, it could see opportunities for mutual benefit from expanding technical interchange and research cooperation in the medical and health fields as for example, on the part of the U.S., in peer review and cancer research and, on the part of China, in acupuncture anesthesiology and rural medical practice.

As to travel and cultural exchanges, the delegation noted that the United States and China already enjoy an increasing exchange and that there is a vast interest in travel to the People's Republic of China in the United States. The members of the delegation look forward to future Congressional visits to China including those of Congresswomen. In respect to its position, the delegation emphasized the importance of expanding travel from China to the U.S. The delegation expressed the hope that it might reciprocate the hospitality shown to it and other Congressional delegations. The members look forward to the time when officials of the People's Republic of China, including those of the National People's Congress, will visit the United States and, when the time is propitious, to engage in bilateral discussions. They expressed the belief that it is important to expose both systems to first-hand observation and that the People's Republic of China can derive as much benefit from that process as had been derived from the delegation's view of China.

As to the maintenance of peace, the delegation considers the Shanghai Communiqué an excellent basis for improved relations. It hopes the visit of President Ford to China later this year will further cement this basis. Furthermore its members expressed the hope that in the spirit of the Shanghai Communiqué nothing will occur to breach the peace on the Korean Peninsula and that each side should devote its very best efforts to this end.

The delegation will make a written report to President Ford and to the Congress shortly after its return. It stated that copies of this report will also be made available to its hosts in China and to Ambassa-

dors Huang Chen and Han Hsu of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China in Washington and Ambassador Huang Hua, China's permanent representative to the UN. In this report, based upon its direct observations, the delegation proposes to endeavor to correct misconceptions held in the U.S. about the People's Republic of China, and it sincerely hopes similar efforts may be made on the Chinese side about misconceptions regarding the U.S. held in the People's Republic of China.

The members of the delegation throughout the visit noted frequent references to the friendship of the United States and the People's Republic of China. They considered these references a significant change from the two decades of alienation in U.S.-China relations. They expressed the hope that this new spirit of friendship—the spirit of the Shanghai Communiqué—would continue to deepen and to animate both peoples and both countries in the years ahead, and expressed their great appreciation for the generous reception given the delegation throughout its entire stay in the People's Republic of China.

APPENDIX B

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO CHINA

(August 1-16, 1975)

ITINERARY

AUGUST 1, 1975 (FRIDAY)

7:00 a.m.—Depart Andrews Air Force Base on Flight 913V; seen off by Ambassador HUANG Chen, Ambassador HAN Hsü, TS'EN Ta-yung, HSIEH Ch'i-mei, and SHEN Jo-yün of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China.

AUGUST 2, 1975 (SATURDAY)

12:25 p.m.—Arrive Haneda International Airport, Tokyo, Japan; met by Thomas Bleha, Greg Rubenstein, Robert Immerman, and William Breer of U.S. Embassy.

2:30-3:00—Meet Secretary General Yasuhiro NAKASONE of the Liberal Democratic Party.

5:00-6:00—Briefing at Ministry of Foreign Affairs by:

Fumihiko Togo, Vice Foreign Minister and Ambassador Designate to the United States.

Masuo Takashima, Asian Affairs Bureau Director-General.

Others present:

Hiroshi Fukuda, Deputy Director-General, American Affairs Division.

Hiroaki Fujii, Director, First North America Division.

Kimio Fujita, Director, China Division.

Makoto Watanabe, Private Secretary to the Vice-Minister.

7:00-9:00—Informal Buffet Dinner and Garden Party hosted by Vice Minister Togo.

Other Japanese present:

Naokichi Kitazawa, Representative, Liberal Democratic Party.

Takezo Shimoda, Supreme Court Judge; former Ambassador to the United States.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Mrs. Bunroku Yoshino, Deputy Minister.

Mrs. Toshio Yamazaki, Director-General, American Affairs Bureau.

Masuo Takashima and Mrs. Takashima, Director-General, Asian Affairs Bureau.

Norio Kuroda and Mrs. Kuroda, Director-General, Public Information Bureau.

Kiyoaki Kikuchi and Mrs. Kikuchi, Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau.

Moriyuki Motono and Mrs. Motono, Assistant Vice-Minister for Administration.

Hiroaki Fujii and Mrs. Fujii, Director, First North America Division.

Kimio Fujita and Mrs. Fujita, Director, China Division.

Makoto Watanabe and Mrs. Watanabe, Private Secretary to the Vice-Minister.

Night—Overnight at Okura Hotel.

AUGUST 3, 1975 (SUNDAY)

8:00 a.m.—Depart Yokoto Air Force Base.
 9:55—Arrive Shanghai International Airport and met by:
 Yuan Tung-lin, Responsible person of the Foreign Affairs Office, Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.
 K'ang Tai-sha(f), Deputy Secretary General, Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.
 Cheng Wan-chen, Translator, Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.
 Others were translators from the Shanghai Foreign Affairs Office: Tsa An-yu, Lo Wei-kuo, and Chang Ai-yü.
 4:00-6:00—Visit, Shanghai Industrial Exhibit.
 8:30—Depart by commercial flight (delayed by storm) for Peking.
 10:30—Arrive Peking and met by:
 Chou Ch'iu-yeh.
 T'Ang Wen-sheng(f).
 Fan Kuo-hsiang.
 Chao Chi-hua.
 Hua Chun-to.
 Ku Ke-ping(f).
 Ho Chü-feng(f) and Ambassador George Bush and Deputy Chief of Mission Harry Thayer. Principal Liaison Office contacts were Thomas Brooks and Lynn Pascoe.
 Night—Overnight at Peking Hotel throughout Peking stay.

AUGUST 4, 1975 (MONDAY)

8:45 a.m.—Senators Percy, Javits, and Pell and Dr. Lewis met with officials of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs to discuss schedule.
 9:50-12:00—Visit Peking University and met by:
 Chou P'ei-yüan, Vice-President, Peking University Revolutionary Committee.
 Chang Lung-hsiang, Responsible person, Educational Revolutionary Office; Professor of Biochemistry.
 Ni Meng-hsiung, Director, Foreign Affairs Office, Peking University.
 Feng Chung-yun(f), Professor of Chinese.
 Chao Ching, Professor of Economics.
 Chi Wan-ying(f), Professor of History.
 Wang Kao-shu, Professor of Law.
 Huang Tsung-liang, Professor of Politics.
 Liu I-ching, Professor of English, Foreign Languages Department.
 Lin Yung-hsun, Responsible person, General Office, Peking University.
 12:00-1:00—United States Liaison Office for lunch.
 2:30-4:00—Visit Peking Handicraft Factory.
 4:30-5:30—Visit Temple of Heaven.
 7:00-10:00—Banquet at Peking Hotel with these Chinese:
 Tseng Sheng, Standing Committee, National People's Congress.
 Chang Wen-yü, Standing Committee, National People's Congress.
 Wu Chang-kang, Staff member, Foreign Affairs Department, National People's Congress.
 Wang Hai-jung(f), Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 T'Ang Wan-sheng(f), Deputy Director, American and Oceanian Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 Ting Yuan-hung, Division Chief, American and Oceanic Affairs Department.
 Chao Chi-hua, Deputy Division Chief, American and Oceanian Affairs Department.
 Chao Chia, Staff member, American and Oceanian Affairs Department.
 Liu Hsiang-wen, Leading member, Foreign Affairs Office, Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.
 Chou Ch'iu-yeh, Vice President, Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).
 K'Ang Tai-sha(f), Deputy Secretary General, CPIFA.
 Fan Kuo-hsiang, Deputy Division Chief, CPIFA.
 Cheng Wan-chen, Staff member, CPIFA.
 Ho Chü-feng(f), Staff member, CPIFA.

Ku Ke-ping(f), Staff member, CPIFA.
 Tu Chi-wen, Staff member, CPIFA.
 Hua Chun-to, Staff member, CPIFA.
 Wu Chih-an, Staff member, CPIFA.
 Ch'Ä P'ei-chün(f), Staff member, CPIFA.
 Meng Chien-chia, Security Officer.

AUGUST 5, 1975 (TUESDAY)

8:00-11:00 a.m.—Trip to the Great Wall.
 12:00-3:00—Visit Ming Tombs.
 3:00-5:00—Visit Summer Palace.
 7:30-10:00—Attend International Swimming and Diving Competition.

AUGUST 6, 1975 (WEDNESDAY)

10:00-12:00 a.m.—Discussion with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Vice Premier of the State Council. Also present Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua.
 12:00-2:00—Lunch with Teng Hsiao-p'ing.
 2:50-4:00—Senator Pell, Congressman Findley, Congresswoman Heckler, and Dr. Lewis met Vice Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Hao Chung-shih. Also present Ma Ling.
 3:50-5:00—Senators Percy, Javits, and Stevenson, and Congressman McCloskey met Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chai Shu-fan.
 7:00-9:00—Dinner with Ambassador George Bush at the U.S. Liaison Office.
 9:00-10:15—Press Conference. Those present:
 Warren Duncan, Australian Broadcasting Commission.
 Margaret Jones, Sydney (Australia) Morning Herald.
 David Rogers, Reuters (Britain).
 David Bonavia, The Times (Britain).
 John Walker, Southern News Service (Canada).
 Ross Munro, Globe and Mail (Canada).
 Rene Flipo, Agence France Presse (France).
 Gerd Ruge, Die Welt (West Germany).
 Ada Principalli, ANSA (Italy).
 Goran Leijonhufvud (4 Scandinavian newspapers).

AUGUST 7, 1975 (THURSDAY)

8:00-12:00 a.m.—Attend Hsüan-wu District Intermediate Court Hearing of Divorce Appeals Case in Peking No. 3 Glass Factory.
 Met by: Li Yuan, Vice President of the Higher Court and Wang Shu-wei(f), Vice Chairman of Civil Court.
 Case of Wang Shu-lan(f) versus Chou Yu-ch'i.
 Case tried by:
 Judge Chia Chi-yun.
 Judge Chang Yung-chen(f).
 Judge Hsing I-min(f).
 Recorder Wang.
 3:00-5:00—Visit Forbidden City.
 7:00-10:00—Delegation return banquet at Peking Duck Restaurant (Same group as hosted delegation on August 4).

AUGUST 8, 1975 (FRIDAY)

8:00 a.m.—Depart Peking by Foreign Ministry plane for Tsinan; 8 members of traveling party are Chou Ch'iu-yeh, Chao Chi-hua, Fan Kuo-hsiang, Cheng Wan-chen, Ho Chü-feng, Ku Ke-ping, Tu Chi-wen, and Meng Chien-chia.
 9:00—Arrive Tsinan and met by Ting Tao, Director, Foreign Affairs Office, Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee.
 9:50-12:00—Tour of sights of city including: Pao-tu Fountain, Black Tiger Spring, and Ta-ming Lake.
 2:00-5:00—Visit Yellow River and Ch'i-li-p'u Production Brigade, Wu-chia-p'u People's Commune and met by:
 Li Kuei-lin, Chairman, Brigade Revolutionary Committee.
 Hsi Lien-jung, Vice Chairman, Brigade Revolutionary Committee.
 Kuo Yung-shun, Vice Chairman, Brigade Revolutionary Committee.

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6:30-9:30—Dinner with Su I-jan, Vice Chairman, Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Also present:

Li Chen, Deputy Secretary General, Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Li Yuan-jung, Vice Chairman, Tsinan Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Ting Tao, Director, Foreign Affairs Office, Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Chou Pao-jui, Head of Department, Foreign Affairs Office, Shantung, Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Wang Ch'i-yü, In charge, Foreign Affairs Office, Tsinan Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Night—Overnight at Southern Suburbs Guest House.

AUGUST 9, 1975 (SATURDAY)

6:45 a.m.—Depart by train from Tsinan for Tsingtao.

2:30—Arrive Tsingtao and met by:

Mou Chou, Director, Foreign Affairs Office, Tsingtao Municipal Revolutionary Committee (TMRC).

Chu Chien-chang, Responsible person, Foreign Affairs Office of TMRC.

Li Ching-chai, Chief, Protocol Department, Foreign Affairs Office of TMRC.

3:00-4:00—Briefing by Mou Chou in Tsingtao Auditorium.

4:30-5:30—Visit Lu Hsun Park, Tsingtao by the sea.

7:40-9:30—Saw performance of Little Red Soldiers.

Night—Overnight at seaside villas.

AUGUST 10, 1975 (SUNDAY)

8:00-12:00—Visit Tan-shan Brigade, Hsia-chuang People's Commune and met by:

Yang Wen-chi, Responsible person, Commune Revolutionary Committee.

Ch'en Ch'ung-kang, Chairman, Brigade Revolutionary Committee.

2:00-3:30—Visit Tsingtao Embroidery Mill and met by:

Li Ch'ueh-chih, Chairman, Standing Committee.

Kao Fang-k'ai, Vice Chairman, Standing Committee.

Sung Chih-mei (f), Director, No. 2 Workshop.

Chin Hui-yüan (f), Director, No. 1 Workshop.

4:00-5:30—Visit Tsingtao Beer Factory and met by:

Liu K'o-wen, Chairman, Tsingtao Beer Factory, Revolutionary Committee.

Chi Tao-hui (f), Responsible Person, Revolutionary Committee.

Liu Cheng-te, Engineer.

Yen Lan-fang (f), Engineer and Trade Union Representative.

7:40-9:15—Saw "Ascent of Mount Everest."

11:00—Depart by train from Tsingtao for Tsinan.

AUGUST 11, 1975 (MONDAY)

6:07 a.m.—Arrive Tsinan.

8:00—Depart by air for Nanking.

9:00—Arrive Nanking and met at airport by:

Wang Liang, Responsible Member, Foreign Affairs Office, Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Chang Ho-hsien, Staff, Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Han Wen-chao, Staff, Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

T'ao Yung-sung, Translator.

10:00-11:30—Visit Nanking Bridge.

Boat on Yangtze River commanded by PLA cadre Chang.

Met by: Chu T'ien-yüan, Director, Administrative Bureau, Nanking Bridge.

2:30-4:30—Visit: Slender Waisted Lake, Purple Mountain Observatory, met by:

Chao Hsien-tzu, Vice Chairman, Revolutionary Committee.

Kung Shu-mo, Director, Research Office.

Sung Chin-yü, Functionary.

Visit: Ming Tomb, and Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum.

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6:30-7:45—Reception and dinner by Yang Kuang-li, Vice Chairman, Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Others present:

Ting Kuang-hsün, Delegate, National People's Congress.

Chi Yung-ch'ing, Standing Committee, Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

Fang Fei (f), Director, Education Bureau.

8:00-9:30—Saw performance by Nanking Acrobatic Troupe.

Night—Overnight at Nanking Hotel.

AUGUST 12, 1975 (TUESDAY)

8:30-10:00—Drive to Yangchow.

10:00-10:30—Visit Moon Park Pavillion in northwestern part of city. Man in charge: Wei Chin-sun.

11:00-12:30—Visit the Fa-ching Monastery and met by:

Neng Ch'in, President, Buddhist Society of China and member, Presidium of the National People's Congress. Regular name is Chao P'u-ch'u.

Yin Po, Monk.

2:00-5:00—Toured the Kiangsu Hydro-Junction and met by:

Li I-wei, Director, Administrative Bureau.

K'ung Fan-ch'i, Administrative Engineer.

Visited pumping station, sluice gates, locks.

9:00—Returned to Nanking; saw Nanking Bridge at night.

Night—Overnight at Nanking Hotel.

AUGUST 13, 1975 (WEDNESDAY)

8:00 a.m.—Depart by train from Nanking for Wuhsi.

11:40—Arrive Wuhsi and met by:

Yüan Chien-ming, Director, Wuhsi Municipal Foreign Affairs Bureau.

Chu Chi-lin, Deputy Director, Wuhsi Municipal Foreign Affairs Bureau.

Feng Hui-chün, Responsible Person, Protocol Office, Wuhsi Municipal Foreign Affairs Bureau.

2:30-4:30—Visit Lake Taihu and then the Wuhsi Lake Taihu Sanitarium met by:

Chang Kuo-hsing, Responsible Person, Revolutionary Committee.

Fan Ling-chen (f), Director, Office.

Shih Ming-tung, Director, Internal Medicine.

Ch'en Chien-i, Chinese Herbal Doctor.

Hu K'ai-chung, Deputy Director, Office.

7:00-9:00—Saw performance of folksingers.

Night—Overnight at Wuhsi Taihu Guest House.

AUGUST 14, 1975 (THURSDAY)

9:00-12:00 a.m.—Visit Ho-lo Production Brigade, Ho-lo Commune, on edge of Wuhsi, met by:

Liu Wei-p'ing, Responsible person, Commune Revolutionary Committee.

Mu Hui-ying (f), Deputy Director, Commune Women's Federation.

Ting Mao-sheng, Barefoot doctor.

Wang Shu-chen (f), Director, Brigade Women's Federation.

2:00-4:00—Visit Hui-shan Figurine Factory.

Night—Overnight at Wuhsi Taihu Guest House.

AUGUST 15, 1975 (FRIDAY)

5:55 a.m.—Depart by train from Wuhsi for Shanghai

8:00—Arrive Shanghai

9:30-12:00—Visit Ts'ao-yang Workers' New Village, met by:

Chou Mu-ying, Vice Chairman, Village Revolutionary Committee.

Chang Hsi-hua, Vice Chairman, Village Revolutionary Committee.

Accompanied by:

Ch'eng Kuo-p'ing, Delegate, National People's Congress.

Hsüeh Yün-ti (f), Delegate, International Women's Congress.

Yüan Tung-lin, Responsible person, Foreign Affairs Office, Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

2:00-4:00—Some went to hospital; others to the Children's Palace.

7:00-10:30—Farewell banquet hosted by Hsü Ching-hsien, Vice Chairman, Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Others present from Revolutionary Committee:

Yüan Tung-lin, Responsible person, Foreign Affairs Office.

Ch'eng Kuo-p'ing, Delegate, National People's Congress; Economic planner.

Hsüeh Yün-ti(f), Delegate, International Women's Congress.

Chang An-yu, Responsible person, Protocol Division Foreign Affairs Office.

Night—Overnight at Chin-chiang Hotel.

AUGUST 16, 1976 (SATURDAY)

8:00 a.m.—Depart Shanghai on Air Force Flight 940V.

11:45—Arrive Yakoto Air Force Base.

1:50 a.m.—Arrive Elmendorf Air Force Base.

2:55 p.m.—Arrive Andrews Air Force Base.

APPENDIX C

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Adopted on January 17, 1975, by the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its First Session)

PREAMBLE

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a victory gained only after the Chinese people had waged a heroic struggle for over a century and, finally, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by a people's revolutionary war.

For the last twenty years and more, the people of all nationalities in our country, continuing their triumphant advance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved great victories both in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and have consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse tung Thought.

We should consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and develop the revolutionary united front. We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them. We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by

going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people.

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and choose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a powerful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!

CHAPTER 1.—GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

ARTICLE 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body.

The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

Deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are elected through democratic consultation. The electoral units and electors have the power to supervise the deputies they elect and to replace them at any time according to provisions of law.

ARTICLE 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

All the nationalities are equal. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages.

ARTICLE 5

In the People's Republic of China, there are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production at the present stage: Socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people.

The state may allow non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighbourhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural people's communes. At the same time, these individual labourers should be guided on to the road of socialist collectivization step by step.

ARTICLE 6

The state sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy.

All mineral resources and waters as well as the forests, undeveloped land and other resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize urban and rural land as well as other means of production under conditions prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 7

The rural people's commune is an organization which integrates government administration and economic management.

The economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the production team at the basic level, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit.

Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household side-line production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs.

ARTICLE 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state shall ensure the consolidation and development of the socialist economy and prohibit any person from undermining the socialist economy and the public interest in any way whatsoever.

ARTICLE 9

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The state protects the citizens' right of ownership to their income from work, their savings, their houses, and other means of livelihood.

ARTICLE 10

The state applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material and cultural life step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

ARTICLE 11

State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour.

Every organ of state must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

ARTICLE 12

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour.

ARTICLE 13

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ARTICLE 14

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the

opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

ARTICLE 15

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China; they are the armed forces of the people of all nationalities.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is at all times a fighting force, and simultaneously a working force and a production force.

The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

CHAPTER 2.—THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

Section I. The National People's Congress

ARTICLE 16

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government, and the People's Liberation Army. When necessary, a certain number of patriotic personages may be specially invited to take part as deputies.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Its term of office may be extended under special circumstances.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

ARTICLE 17

The functions and powers of the National People's Congress are: to amend the Constitution, make laws, appoint and remove the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts, and exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

ARTICLE 18

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the Permanent organ of the National People's Congress. Its functions and powers are: to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress,

interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, ratify and denounce treaties concluded with foreign states, and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and other members, all of whom are elected and subject to recall by the National People's Congress.

Section II. The State Council

ARTICLE 19

The State Council is the Central People's Government. The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premiers, the ministers, and the ministers heading commissions.

ARTICLE 20

The functions and powers of the State Council are: to formulate administrative measures and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees; exercise unified leadership over the work of ministries and commissions and local organs of state at various levels throughout the country; draft and implement the national economic plan and the state budget; direct state administrative affairs; and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III. The Local People's Congresses and the Local REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AT VARIOUS LEVELS

ARTICLE 21

The local people's congresses at various levels are the local organs of state power.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of prefectures, cities and counties are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of rural people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 22

The local revolutionary committees at various levels are the permanent organs of the local people's congresses and at the same time the local people's governments at various levels.

Local revolutionary committees are composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members, who are elected and subject to recall by the people's congress at the corresponding level. Their election or recall shall be submitted for examination and approval to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to the people's congress at the corresponding level and to the organ of state at the next higher level.

ARTICLE 23

The local people's congresses at various levels and the local revolutionary committees elected by them ensure the execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their respective areas; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; maintain revolutionary order; and safeguard the rights of citizens.

Section IV. The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

ARTICLE 24

The autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas; their organs of self-government are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in Chapter Two, Section III of the Constitution, may exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

The higher organs of state fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Section V. The Judicial Organs and the Procuratorial Organs

ARTICLE 25

The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses and their permanent organs at the corresponding levels. The presidents of the people's courts are appointed and subject to removal by the permanent organs of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of procuratorial organs are exercised by the organs of public security at various levels.

The mass line must be applied in procuratorial ways and in trying cases. In major counter-revolutionary criminal cases the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism.

CHAPTER 3.—THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 26

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist

system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China.

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression. It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service according to law.

ARTICLE 27

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.

Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.

The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese.

ARTICLE 28

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

ARTICLE 29

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific activities.

CHAPTER 4.—THE NATIONAL FLAG, THE NATIONAL EMBLEM AND THE CAPITAL

ARTICLE 30

The national flag has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem: Tien An Men in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital is Peking.

APPENDIX D

JOINT U.S.-PRC COMMUNIQUE

(Issued at Shanghai, February 28, 1972)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou Enlai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tsetung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Pengfei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the

attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and

Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

Progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

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

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

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE
☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO STATE

E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT: ACTION:	FROM USLO PEKING	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	
	N/A CH, OGEN Message for Ross Perot, Dallas, Texas SECSTATE WASHDC PEKING _____ FOR EA/PRCM 1. Please call Ross Perot at EDS in Dallas, or 7171 Forest Lane, Dallas, with following message: QTE Your cable received. Unfortunately I cannot help Bill Gayden get to Peking. USLO does not have to approve his coming in order for him to get a visa but visas are extremely hard to come by and 30 days notice has proved to be mandatory. Sorry. George Bush. UNQTE. BUSH		

DRAFTED BY: AMB: GBush/hm	DRAFTING DATE 6-11-75	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMB - Mr. Bush
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CLEARANCES:

UNCLASSIFIED
CLASSIFICATION

June 11, 1975

Mr. Ross Perot,
Dallas, Texas 75230.
7171 Forest Lane.

Dear Ross:

I hope you got my cable about Bill Gayden, which the State Department telephoned. I am sorry I wasn't able to help out on this matter. The only time we can ever be helpful is if we apply on a personal house guest basis, and even then 30 days advance notice is required. One of the frustrating things about this job is that we aren't able to have any appreciable influence on who gets a visa to come to the PRC.

Barbara just got back from the States and she surprised Marvin at his highschool graduation. Starting tomorrow, four of our five kids will be out here, and you can imagine how happy we are about that.

I read a lot about the Anne Armstrong dinner you gave. It sounded fantastic.

Love to Margo. I'm really sorry I couldn't help on your request, because I would've liked to.

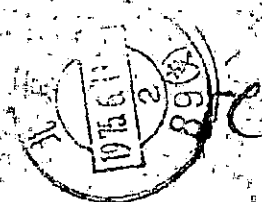
Sincerely,

George Bush

AWF31 ACA226 NFB5209 RYC0504 IND245 2-041722E161

CNPK CO URNX 102

TDBN DALLAS TX 102/94 10 0454P EST VIA RCA



HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH
UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
PEKING (CHINA)

ONE OF MY SENIOR BUSINESS ASSOCIATES, BILL GAYDEN, WOULD LIKE TO
COME THROUGH PEKING ON IRANIAN AIRWAYS FLIGHT 800, ARRIVING JUNE 22
AND DEPARTING AIR FRANCE FLIGHT 178, JUNE 24. BILL IS ENROUTE FROM
TEHRAN TO TOKYO AND WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEND A
COUPLE DAYS IN PEKING. I AM TOLD THE US LIAISON OFFICE MUST APPROVE
THIS BEFORE THE CHINESE LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON WILL ISSUE A
VISA. ANY ASSISTANCE WOULD BE APPRECIATED. SINCERELY

ROSS PEROT 7171 FOREST LANE DALLAS TEXAS 75230

COL 800, 22 178, 24. 7171 75230

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

TEXAS BOARD OF ARCHITECTURAL EXAMINERS
202 Richmond Building, 1411 West Avenue
Austin, Texas 78701

Date September 17, 1975

The Honorable George Bush
Chief U.S. Liason Office
Peking,
Peoples Republic of China
% Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Re: STEVEN PETERS

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The above applicant has applied to this Board for registration as an architect and has submitted your name for reference. We would appreciate having a brief statement from you regarding your knowledge of applicant's character, integrity and any other pertinent information you might care to submit to this Board. Please utilize the space at the bottom of this letter for your reply.

Yours very truly

TEXAS BOARD OF ARCHITECTURAL EXAMINERS

Johnine Smith

Length of time known by you 10 years or more

Statement on character and professional relationships:

My wife and I have known Steven Peters for ten years or more.

He is an outstanding young man of the highest character. Everything

I know about him is good, so please put me down as a strong endorser

for Steven Peters re his character and professional relationships.

Steven Peters

c/o Bryan Dillon

6011 Pine Forest

Houston, Texas 70

Signed

Ray Bush

Date

October 3, 1975