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# FOIA MARKER

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|                                     |                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>Record Group/Collection:</b>     | Donated Historical Materials  |
| <b>Collection/Office of Origin:</b> | Bush, George H.W., Collection |
| <b>Series:</b>                      | Personal Papers               |
| <b>Subseries:</b>                   | China Files, Subject File     |

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|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| <b>OA/ID Number:</b>     | 25881     |
| <b>Folder ID Number:</b> | 25881-007 |

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**Folder Title:**  
Visitors - 1975 [3]

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|               |             |                 |               |                  |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| <b>Stack:</b> | <b>Row:</b> | <b>Section:</b> | <b>Shelf:</b> | <b>Position:</b> |
| <b>G</b>      | <b>6</b>    | <b>22</b>       | <b>2</b>      | <b>5</b>         |

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Mr. & Mrs Askanase

&

Mr. & Mrs Atherton

May 1-6

Department of State

Mrs Bush

TELEGRAM

ACTION:

AMB

INFO:

AMB

DC

POL

ECN

ADM

CCN

CCR

GSO

E&F

SY

CHRON-1

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

R 302300Z APR 75  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO USLO PEKING 721  
BT  
UNCLAS TOKYO 5742

FOR AMB BUSH FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OTRA

SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF HOLT ATHERTON

UNABLE TO GET VISA FOR MAY 1 BUT NOW HAVE VISA VALID MAY 3.  
HAVE CONFIRMED SEATS ON FIRST SUBSEQUENT FLIGHT, AIR FRANCE 179,  
DEPARTING TOKYO 1205 MAY 5 TO ARRIVE PEKING 1705. WILL DEPART  
PEKING MAY 11 AT 1240 ON AF 178.

BT

5742

HODGSON

HM....

✓ Ples se see that these are on books.

also Geo Bush Jr. arrive Peking 1705 PM AF 179 June 4th

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

CN 530

MAR 26, 1975

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

 INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM USLO PEKING

CLASSIFICATION  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

E.O. 11652:

N/A

7

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

OREP CVIS CH  
VISITORS TO PEKING

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC

PEKING 530

AMB

REF: STATE 066413

CHRON

FOR: ARMSTRONG FROM BUSH

1. Herewith invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Askanase of Houston, Texas: "Dear Reub: I hope that you and Hilda will be our personal house guests to do some sightseeing in Peking, May 1-6. Please convey this message to PRCLC when you apply for a visa. Sincerely, George Bush"
  2. Re. Tennant Bryan, I don't believe it would be feasible to request visiting other Chinese cities until Bryans are in Peking. We may have two other couples visiting with us during the first two weeks in May which could complicate things but I am sure we can work out satisfactory housing.
  3. I will contact Blake and Haugh.
- Thanks for everything.

BUSH

DRAFTED BY:  
AMB:GBush:jafDRAFTING DATE  
3/26/75

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
AMB:GBush

CLEARANCES:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Department of State

TELEGRAM

R 242158Z MAR 75  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USLO PEKING 5017  
BT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 066413

E.O. 11652: NA  
TAGS: OREP, CVIS, CH

SUBJECT: VISITORS TO PEKING

REF: (A) PEKING 476 (B) STATE 054090 (C) STATE 052542

FOR BUSH FROM ARMSTRONG

1971

1. PRCLO HAS INFORMED US THAT IT WILL ISSUE VISAS FOR SENATOR AND MRS. ROTH. I HAVE TOLD ROTH'S OFFICE.

2. NEITHER APRIL 1, TO 16 NOR MAY 1 TO 12 WORKS OUT FOR THE BLAKES. THEY REGRET THEY WILL NOT MAKE IT TO PEKING, AND THANK YOU FOR THE INVITATION.

3. THE ASKANASES ACCEPT WITH PLEASURE YOUR INVITATION TO VISIT PEKING FROM MAY 1 TO 6. PRCLO INFORMS US THAT A LETTER IS NECESSARY. SINCE ASKANASES PLAN TO DEPART US LATE THIS WEEK OR EARLY NEXT WEEK, SUGGEST YOU CABLE TEXT OF INVITATION THAT WE CAN PROVIDE TO PRCLO.

4. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN IN TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH TENNANT BRYAN, WHO ADVISES US THAT HE AND MRS. BRYAN AND MR. AND MRS. FITZGERALD BEMISS PLAN TO JOIN YOU IN HONG KONG, ARRIVING APRIL 19, AND, IF YOU OBTAIN PRC CLEARANCE, TRAVEL WITH YOU AND MRS. BUSH BACK TO PEKING VIA CANTON AND SHANGHAI. BRYANS HOPE TO STAY IN PRC UNTIL MAY 5, BUT UNDERSTAND YOUR VISITOR SCHEDULE IS HEAVY. THEY WOULD, 5 3431943, PROPOSE, IF IT COULD BE ARRANGED AFTER ARRIVAL IN PEKING, TO SPEND LAST FIVE DAYS IN PRC VISITING CITIES OUTSIDE PEKING, SUCH AS NANKING, SIAN, AND TIENSIN. THEY PLAN TO DEPART ON WEEKLY SWISSAIR FLIGHT TO ZURICH, AND WOULD PREFER TO MAKE RESERVATIONS BEFORE DEPARTING US. THEY THANK YOU FOR MAKING THIS VISIT POSSIBLE, AND WILL ADJUST THEIR SCHEDULE IF THEIR PROPOSAL IS NOT CONVENIENT.

5. JOHN HAUGH CALLED ME ABOUT VISITING YOU IN PEKING AND ASKED HOW HE SHOULD PROCEED WITH APPLYING FOR VISA. SINCE HE SAID NO DATE HAD BEEN AGREED, I SUGGESTED YOU AND HE SETTLE ON A DATE FIRST, THEN HE COULD CONTACT PRCLO, PREFERABLY WITH LETTER FROM YOU. KISSINGER

ACTION TAKEN

NOTED  
IF same

BY:

DATE:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CN 476

MAR 18, 1975

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

|                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                |                                                       |   |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---|
|                                                 | FROM<br>USLO PEKING                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | CLASSIFICATION<br>UNCLASSIFIED |                                                       |   |
| E.O. 11652:<br>TAGS:<br>SUBJECT:<br><br>ACTION: | N/A<br>OTRAV CH<br>VISIT TO PEKING BY MR. AND MRS. R.W. BLAKE AND MR. AND<br>MRS. R.W. ASKANASE<br><br>SECSTATE WASHDC<br><br>UNCLASSIFIED PEKING <u>476</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                |                                                       | 7 |
| AMB<br>CHRON                                    | FOR: EA/PRCM ONLY -- JAY TAYLOR -- FROM: GEORGE BUSH<br><br>Help. Visitor situation getting tense. Please call<br><del>Robert</del><br>Robert W. Blake, Lubbock, Texas, Telephone: 762-8044 and ask<br>him if convenient for them to be in Peking for a weeks visit<br>between April 1 and April 16, or between May 1 and May 12.<br>After calling Blake please call Reuben W. Askanase address<br>Niels Esperson Building, Houston, Texas inviting him to spend<br>five days with us April 11-16 or May 1-6 depending on what<br>Blake tells you. These are the only days that are convenient<br>for us for visits from Blakes or Askanase during April or<br>May. When they have accepted please advise PRCLC that they<br>have been invited as personal guests. Advise whether letter<br>necessary. Sorry to bother you with these details but mail<br>has been really fouled up. Thanks.<br><br>BUSH <i>CB</i> |                                |                                                       |   |
| DRAFTED BY:<br>AMB;GBush:jaf                    | DRAFTING DATE<br>3/18/75                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | TEL. EXT.                      | CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:<br>AMB;GBush |   |
| CLEARANCES:                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                |                                                       |   |

UNCLASSIFIED

AWF252 ACA626 FNC7089 RYD0087 INB069 2-009427E073

CNPK CO URNX 060

TDBN HOUSTON TX 60 14 0915A EST VIA RCA



HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH CHIEF UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE  
PEKING (CHINA)

REFERENCE YOUR LETTER STOP OUR ITINERARY PERMITS US TO VISIT YOU IN  
PEKING ON DAYS CONVENIENT TO YOU BETWEEN 20 APRIL TO 30 APRIL STOP  
PLEASE ADVISE CABLE BEST DATES FOR YOU AND ALSO ADVISE CHINESE  
LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON SO APPROPRIATE VISAS CAN BE OBTAINED  
OUR BEST

REUBEN W ASKANASE

COL 20 30

**REUBEN W. ASKANASE**

Suite 911 Niels Esperson Building  
Houston, Texas 77002

March 3, 1975

Honorable George Bush, Chief  
United States Liaison Office (Peking)  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear George:

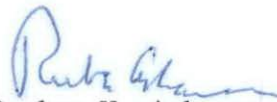
Hilda and I are getting just a bit anxious and excited  
about our trip to China.

I wrote you on January 16th and our mutual friend,  
Senator Milton Young, wrote you on February 5th about  
the possibility of your arranging a trip for us to  
Peking.

I realize how difficult this is but would appreciate  
hearing from you.

Hilda joins me in sending our best,

Sincerely,



Reuben W. Askanase

rwa/e

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

February 19, 1975

Mr. Reuben W. Askanase  
Suite 911  
Niels Esperson Building  
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Reub:

Please pardon my delay in answering your letter of January 16th but I just returned from the States.

Generally speaking we are of no help to people on getting them here to Peking unless they come as personal house guests. In your case, I would love to have you visit us as personal house guests. There is one big problem, however, during the month of May we are absolutely full up. We are having visitors almost every day during that period and our house, as you will see when you come to Peking, is not very large. If there is a chance that you could come and see us for a few days on your way to Canton, we could perhaps work it out. We are having some visitors in April but the plans have not been set as yet.

Please let me know if a visit before April 19th would be possible. By the time I hear from you I know that I will have heard from our other guests and I feel confident it can be worked out.

I don't think we'll be able to help with Shanghai, that requires the services of the China Travel Service, etc. It is easy to fly from Peking to Canton, I hope it all works out.

Warmest regards.

Very truly yours,

George Bush

**REUBEN W. ASKANASE**

Suite 911 Niels Esperson Building  
Houston, Texas 77002

January 16, 1975

Honorable George Bush  
Chief, United States Liaison Office (Peking)  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear George:

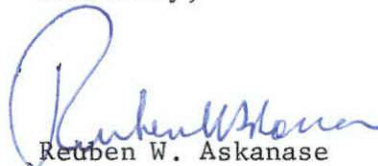
I have been told by Mr. Eugene A. Theroux that an invitation will be extended to me to visit the Chinese Export Commodities Fair to be held at Kwangchow (Canton) between April 15th and May 15th, 1975. My tentative plans, awaiting receipt of the official invitation, are to be at the Fair after the first rush from approximately April 19th to May 1st.)

I am told that it will be impossible to travel anywhere except the Fair unless we have a specific invitation and I would appreciate it if it would be possible for you to arrange for Hilda and myself to travel to Peking and Shanghai.

I have in front of me your letter in which I am sure you wrote in jest "come visit me". It looks like this might be a reality and if it would in no way be an imposition, Hilda and I would certainly appreciate it if you can make arrangements for us to see that part of the country as well as Shanghai.

Hilda joins me in sending our best,

Sincerely,



Reuben W. Askanase

rwa/e

cc: Mr. Eugene A. Theroux  
Baker & McKenzie  
815 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK., CHAIRMAN

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 5, 1975

JAMES R. CALLOWAY  
CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

Honorable George Bush, Chief  
United States Liaison Office, Peking  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear George:

Our mutual friend, Reuben W. Askanase of Houston, has sent me a copy of his January 16 letter addressed to you concerning his plans to visit the Chinese Export Commodities Fair at Canton April 19 through May 1.

I also visited with Reuben briefly and he indicated a very strong desire to visit Peking and Shanghai as well. He has written to you about this.

Anything you can do to help him would be greatly appreciated by me. He is a North Dakotan who, as you know, has done very well in the business world and is now retired in Houston. He is one of North Dakota State University's most esteemed alumnus.

George, one of my big ambitions is to visit China while you are there. I hope this will be possible.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,



MILTON R. YOUNG

MRY:sd

JF  
file  
handed  
2-18

Charge to the account of 713 225 6646

\$

|                                                                                                           |                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
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March 14 19 75

To Honorable George Bush, Chief

United States Liaison Office

*Via*

Peking, People's Republic of China

REFERENCE YOUR LETTER. OUR ITINERARY PERMITS US TO VISIT YOU IN PEKING ON DAYS CONVENIENT TO YOU BETWEEN 20 APRIL to 30 APRIL. PLEASE ADVISE CABLE BEST DATES FOR YOU AND ALSO ADVISE CHINESE LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON SO APPROPRIATE VISAS CAN BE OBTAINED. OUR BEST.

REUBEN W. ASKANASE

*via W.U. Cables*

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2 Branch Offices  
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THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS  
60 HUDSON STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

REUBEN W. ASKANASE

Suite 911 Niels Esperson Building  
Houston, Texas 77002

March 24, 1975

JF  
note

Honorable George Bush, Chief  
United States Liaison Office (Peking)  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear George:

Hilda and I were positively thrilled when Mr. Don Field, of the State Department, called and suggested two alternative dates. We chose the one of May 1st through the 6th. The only question I have is we do not want to impose on you and we do so appreciate your letting us visit you in Peking.

I have been in touch with Mr. Field and he is working out appropriate visas in other needed matters.

We look forward to seeing you and again, our thanks. Always  
our best,

Sincerely,

  
Reuben W. Askanase

Our plans are to come to Peking from the Fair in Canton. We have just received final invitations to the Fair.

rwa/e

JF

*From the desk of*

GEORGE BUSH

---

4-12

Athertons called. Planning to arrive May 1  
if they get visas.

March 25, 1975

Mr. & Mrs. Holt Atherton,  
315 Westover Road,  
San Antonio, Texas.

Dear Flo and Holt,

Barbara and I hope that you will be able to spend a few days as our houseguests between May 1 and May 15.

We understand you will be going to Hong Kong, so please come visit this beautiful city and do some sightseeing.

This letter will serve as my personal letter of invitation and should be attached to your visa application when you apply for a visa to PRCLC in Washington.

Sincerely,

George Bush  
Chief  
U.S. Liaison Office

March 25, 1975

Mr. & Mrs. Holt Atherton,  
20 4999 Kahala Drive,  
Honolulu, Hawaii.

Dear Flo and Holt,

Barbara and I hope that you will be able to spend a few days as our houseguests between May 1 and May 15.

We understand you will be going to Hong Kong, so please come visit this beautiful city and do some sightseeing.

This letter will serve as my personal letter of invitation and should be attached to your visa application when you apply for a visa to PRCLC in Washington.

Sincerely,

George Bush  
Chief  
U.S. Liaison Office

March 25, 1975

Dear Holt and Flo,

We are thrilled that you may be able to come see us in early May.

The attached letter of invitation should be presented to the People's Republic of China Liaison Office, 23000 Conn. Ave NW, Washington.

You should request entry either from Tokyo or Hong Kong depending on Holt's business.

The Elkins, Bormans, and Tony Bryans arrive May 12th so anytime between May 1 and May 12 is perfect with us. Lots of sights to be seen and good food to be eaten.

If time gets to be a problem Jay Taylor at PRGM in State can cable us, or you can send a regular telegram simply addressed to USLO Peking.

You came through loud and clear on the call. The echo only made it twice as good.

Love to you and big H.,

Mandarin in Hong Kong 4/27<sup>th</sup>  
Okura in Tokyo - after



ZCZC AWF004 ACA570 DFF4865 RYB0147 INB055 2-003866C110

CNPK CO URNX 051

SANFRANCISCO CA 51 20 1205PPDT VIA RCA

*ask Holdridge*

AMBASSADOR GEORGE BUSH

US LIAISON OFFICE

PEKING (CHINA)

ARRIVING TOKYO TODAY ENROUTE HONGKONG WILL CALL YOU

PRCLO WASHINGTON ADVISES VISAS POSSIBLE APRIL 27

✓CHINESE EMBASSY TOKYO FOR ARRIVAL PEKING MAY 1

DON FIELDS STATE DEPARTMENT SUGGEST YOU BE ADVISED

IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE FROM YOUR END LOVE AND THANKS

HOLT AND FLO

COL 27 1

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

April 30, 1975

Mr. Reuben Askanase,  
Suite 911  
Niels Esperson Building,  
Houston, Texas 77002.

Dear Reub:

Bill Rope brought me those beautiful American Bank Note engravings. Thank you ever so much for your kindness. The only thing better would have been for you to bring them yourself. Darn it, I wanted to show you around Peking in spring - so beautiful.

I hope your trip went well. Thanks again for the engravings.

If it is not too much of an imposition I would love to have a little more description on the engravings. Here are the numbers and names:

V-55275 Terrace of the 5 Bronze Pagodas  
~~V~~-66034 The Joss House by the Bridge  
V-43376 (C 1410 was crossed out)  
V-42925 Chinese Country View (C 1066 was  
crossed out)  
V-72300 Pagoda with Water Scene Foreground  
V-43080 Monument of Kun-Ming Lake (C 1715 was  
crossed out)

They are really beautiful and will be a treasured part of our library. Many thanks, Reub.

Sincerely,

George Bush

東方賓館  
TUNG FANG  
BINGUAN

4126/1975

Dear George -

I think I regret as much not being able to visit Peking as planned. We had certainly looked forward to it. Unfortunately, you picked up something unpleasant but not been miserable physically as well as but we at least have for home.

We are now you agree, it's long enough to be "under the weather" let's report on other at the same time -

Please attend our agents to Barbara and as always on best

Best wishes  
Hilda & Peter Graham



Department of State

TELEGRAM

Pending  
ACTION

ACTION:

AMB

INFO:

AMB

DC

POL

ECN

ADM

CCN

C&R

GSO

S&F

SY

CHRON-1

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Classification

R 302002Z APR 75  
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TO USLO PEKING 543  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3195

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN 1427

FOR AMBASSADOR BUSH FROM AMBASSADOR BENNETT

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP UN IZ  
SUBJ: TRAVEL PLANS OF ISMAT KITTANI

REF: USLO 818

1. KITTANI MUCH IMPRESSED WITH QUICKNESS OF YOUR RESPONSE AND VERY TOUCHED BY YOUR INVITATION. HE SAYS THAT PLANS FOR HIS VISIT ARE IN HANDS OF CHINESE (AS I TOLD HIM YOU OF COURSE RECOGNIZED), BUT HE WILL IN DISCUSSION WITH HUANG HUA MENTION POSSIBILITY OF ENTERTAINMENT BY YOU. IT IS POSSIBLE YOU WILL HEAR FROM CHINESE DIRECTLY.

2. HE REGRETS HIS WIFE UNABLE TO ACCOMPANY HIM.

3. WARM REGARDS.

SCALI

BT

1427

Room 1108

Peking Hotel

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015  
By SCS NARA, Date 4/12/2017

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818  
29 apr 75

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☒ CHARGE TO STATE

FROM  
USLO PEKING

CLASSIFICATION  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP, UN, IZ  
SUBJECT: TRAVEL PLANS OF ISMAT KITTANI

7

ACTION: USUN NEW YORK

REF: USUN 1385

DIST FOR AMBASSADOR BENNETT FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

AMB

DCH

POL

1. Please tell Kittani delighted he is coming to Peking.

2. I would like to have a small lunch or dinner for him on Friday, May 9.

3. His hosts will keep him busy but tell him to save as much time for the Bushes as he can. Please tell him he ought to bring his wife.

4. Warm regards.

BUSH *CB*

DRAFTED BY: AMB:GBush/hm

DRAFTING DATE  
4-29-75

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
AMB:GBush *MB*

CLEARANCES:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

*Pending*  
INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☒ CHARGE TO STATE

FROM  
USLO PEKING

CLASSIFICATION  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP, UN, IZ  
SUBJECT: TRAVEL PLANS OF ISMAT KITTANI

ACTION: USUN NEW YORK

REF: USUN 1385

DIST FOR AMBASSADOR BENNETT FROM AMBASSADOR BUSH

AMB

DCH

POL

1. Please tell Kittani delighted he is coming to Peking.

2. I would like to have a small lunch or dinner for him  
on Friday, May 9.

3. His hosts will keep him busy but tell him to save as  
much time for the Bushes as he can. Please tell him he  
ought to bring his wife.

4. Warm regards.

BUSH

DRAFTED BY: AMB:GBush/hm

DRAFTING DATE  
4-29-75

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
AMB:GBush

CLEARANCES:

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



# Department of State

## TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Classification

3114  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
R 281823Z APR 75  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO USLO PEKING 0542  
BT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN 1385

FOR AMBASSADOR BUSH FROM AMBASSADOR BENNETT

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, UN, IZ

SUBJ: TRAVEL PLANS OF ISMAT KITTANI

ISMAT KITTANI, WHOM YOU WILL REMEMBER FROM YOUR DAYS HERE AND WHO IS NOW EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, HAS BEEN CALLED HOME TO BAGHDAD FOR DUTY AND IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN THERE IN JULY. HE TELEPHONED ME THIS MORNING TO SAY HE HAS BEEN INVITED BY CHINESE FOR TEN DAY VISIT AND WILL BE IN CHINA MAY 6 TO 16. HE HAS APPARENTLY GIVEN CHINESE YOUR NAME AS ONE OF PEOPLE HE WOULD HOPE TO SEE WHILE THERE, AND HE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN PEKING. HE SENDS BEST REGARDS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE WILL NOT BE ACCOMPANIED BY HIS GLAMOROUS WIFE, BUT I AM SURE YOU WILL NOT LET THAT MITIGATE THE WARMTH OF YOUR RECEPTION. BEST REGARDS.

SCALI

Classification

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

*File*

BAKER & MCKENZIE

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

815 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

TELEPHONE (202) 298-8290

CABLE ABOGADO

TELEX 89-552 (WU)

248441 (RCA)

The Honorable George Bush  
Chief Liaison Office of the  
United States of America/Peking  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

|           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| AMSTERDAM | MEXICO CITY    |
| BRUSSELS  | MILAN          |
| CANBERRA  | NEW YORK       |
| CARACAS   | PARIS          |
| CHICAGO   | RIO DE JANEIRO |
| FRANKFURT | ROME           |
| GENEVA    | SAN FRANCISCO  |
| HONG KONG | SAO PAULO      |
| LONDON    | SYDNEY         |
| MADRID    | TOKYO          |
| MANILA    | TORONTO        |
| ZURICH    |                |

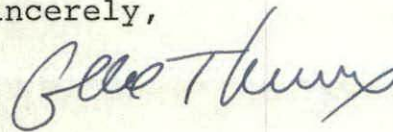
Dear Ambassador Bush:

I will be returning to China early in April representing the National Council for U.S.-China Trade at the Canton Fair, and I hope to be traveling onward to Peking, perhaps during the last week of April. It really would be a pleasure to see you again.

Just in case you haven't seen it, I am enclosing a copy of last December's article from the Washington Post about you and Mrs. Bush.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Eugene A. Theroux

EAT/bjb

encl.

# China: It's a Change of Pace

BUSH, From B1

ingful human contact with ordinary Chinese is extremely difficult.

China-watching, Peking style, offers the fascination of living amidst — and yet apart from — a vast nation marching to a strange and different tune. Once the sounds and sights become familiar and the situation explored superficially, curiosity often turns to frustration. As in a classical Chinese landscape painting, the mists are more in evidence than visible objects. For foreigners in China today the mists rarely if ever dissolve.

The U.S. Liaison Office and the Bush residence is in a walled compound beside similar compounds in a special embassy row sections of Peking's suburbs. A guard-post just outside is manned by People's Liberation Army soldiers in olive drab with red trim. For a while U.S. Marine guards were on duty in the liaison office as in every other American diplomatic post — but the Chinese took offense at this foreign military presence and to some nighttime tipling by the Marines and sent them packing.

The Bushes begin the day at 7 a.m. with the Voice of America shortwave news (a good world summary but not much about domestic U.S. politics) and a breakfast of yogurt, which is bought from a Chinese shop in small returnable jars. Bush walks a few steps across the compound to the Liaison Office headquarters building, where the staff at a morning meeting ponders incoming telegrams and the day's translated editorials from "People's Daily," the six-page official Communist Party organ.

At 11:40 a.m. the embassy language teacher, Mrs. Tang, arrives at the residence for an hour-long Chinese lesson which both Bushes share. Afterwards the Bushes — along with occasional guests — eat a multicourse Chinese luncheon at home as the main meal of the day.

Wednesday and Saturday afternoons as well as Sundays are time off, and the Bushes often go cycling on their newly acquired bikes —

a "Shanghai" and a "Flying Pigeon." Being extremely flat, Peking is well-suited to the bicycle, which is by far the most common means of transport in the city. The U.S. Liaison Office has a highly conspicuous official limousine, but the Bushes prefer the bicycles whenever possible. Several evenings recently they turned up on their bikes at diplomatic parties. "Everybody was astonished, particularly because it was so different from the dignified manner of (former liaison office chief) David Bruce," said a fellow partygoer. "I think the Chinese probably thought they were doing it for effect."

To make contacts and gather information from the diplomatic corps Bush has begun attending "National Day" receptions in Peking, which his predecessor skipped (evidently because he was not an ambassador and the U.S. mission is not an embassy due to the lack of formal diplomatic relations with China.) Both Bushes look for chances to make some contact, however slight, with the Chinese people — the osteopath George found to treat his back in a public bathhouse, the small markets Barbara discovered, the "Bible Society" church services every Sunday conducted in Chinese for a total attendance of about 10 diplomats and four elderly Chinese.

"Bush is an instant success around here," said a Canadian newsmen resident in Peking (no American news bureaus are yet allowed). "The real test will come, though, when the novelty wears off and his enthusiasm runs down."

The chief of the U. S. Liaison Office is conscious of the potential frustrations of isolation in the world's most populous country, and hoping to create opportunities of his own to crash through. His wife placed in their overseas shipment "enough needlepoint to stretch from here to Michigan, paints and oils, and every book I ever wanted to read." So far Barbara as well as George Bush has been too busy for that. The shipment hasn't come yet anyway.

## China: 'Change of Pace'

By Don Oberdorfer

PEKING—"Back in Washington or at the United Nations the telephone was ringing all the time. George would come home and say, excuse me, and pick up the phone. It's very different here. In his first five weeks I think he received two telephone calls, except for the ones from me. I try to call him once a day. I think he misses the phone as much as anything."

George Bush looked across the breakfast table with intensity and a hint of surprise as his wife, Barbara, described the adjustment process to life in the People's Republic of China. "I'm getting used to it," he added quickly.

After a busy extroverted life as congressman, United Nations ambas-

sador and Republican national chairman, Bush asked for and was granted the appointment by President Ford this fall as chief of the U.S. Liaison Office (America's unofficial embassy) in Peking. "A lot of people said, 'You don't know what you're getting into' but on the basis of a month I'm very very happy. Sure, the pace is very different but I wanted a change of pace. What the hell, I'm 50. It won't hurt anything," he said.

As the Bushes are well aware, a China assignment these days is a challenge to personal temperament and equilibrium as well as a diplomatic challenge of high order. Foreign residents, no matter what their rank or nationality, live extremely cloistered lives. Information is sparse and mean-

See BUSH, B3, Col. 7



George Bush and his wife Barbara—here in front of the U.S. Liaison Office—often bicycle through the streets of Peking.

Don Oberdorfer photo

DECEMBER 2, 1974

WASHINGTON POST

**DINNER**

**Sunday, April 27, 1975; 7:00 p.m. at the Sick Duck Restaurant**

**HOSTS:**           **Amb. and Mrs. George Bush**

**GUESTS:**       **Mr. and Mrs. FitzGerald Bemiss**  
                 **Mr. and Mrs. D. Tennant Bryan**  
                 **Mr. and Mrs. Peter Griffiths -- Reuters**  
                 **Mr. John Burns -- The Globe and Mail**  
                 **Mr. and Mrs. Gerard J. Levesque (Jane) -- USLO**  
                 **Miss Jennifer Fitzgerald**

*From the desk of*

JENNIFER FITZGERALD

---

Bemiss

+  
Tennant  
Bryan

+

Bush Hong Kong  
Consultations

*Pop - I hope this cable will produce a reply to me which will satisfy Intourist. If you get word please advise*  
FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156  
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*I understand Jay Taylor will be in  
Peking on 8 Apr.* March 27, 1975

Mr. John Taylor  
PRC Affairs  
Room 4318-A  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Jay:

Following our telephone conversation this morning, I called the Mongolia Mission at the U.N. A very affiable fellow said that he couldn't do anything about it but suggested I cable Ulan Bator. So, I sent the following cable:

Mongolia Tourist Office  
Ulan Bator  
People's Republic of Mongolia

Request transit visa for wife and self. Will be personal guests of Amb. Bush, Peking, 21 April-30 April. Desire rail passage Peking-Irkutsk 30 April. No stop in Mongolia. Leave Irkutsk for Moscow and London 2 May. Please cable reply collect 1248 Rothesay Road, Richmond, Va. 23221 (tel: 804-643-2753). Or to Amb. Bush through your Peking Embassy. Thanks.

FitzGerald Bemiss

We will see what, if anything, that produces. If by some miracle it produces permission, then I still have to scramble for the Russian visa and reservations on train and plane.

Having some doubt that all this will work, I have requested Air France reservations from Peking to Paris on 30 April.

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

Mr. John Taylor

-2-

March 27, 1975

I will report to you Monday afternoon if there is anything to report. If it is not too great an imposition, I would appreciate your taking this letter along to Peking with you. You might be able to put a drop of oil on the machinery.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

FitzGerald Bemiss

April 7, 1975

Mr. Fitzgerald Bemiss,  
P.O. Box 1156,  
Richmond, Virginia 23209.

Dear Jerry:

In answer to your recent questions, I believe we can get the Mongolian visa here in Peking with no difficulty whatsoever. I also think we can make the Peking-Irkutsk train reservations here. Keep your Air France reservations and then as soon as we get to Peking together we will request exactly what you want by way of train reservations.

As soon as we get to Hong Kong we will request the travel to Shanghai from Canton. I am not able to take care of this here in Peking. It must be requested in Hong Kong.

In other words, don't worry about ~~any~~ reservations from Canton on. We can work on all of these together.

Don't bring tennis balls. I have a jillion. Can't wait to see you.

Hastily, with best regards,

George Bush

### Request for Reservations

1. Please make reservations for Amb. and Mrs. Bush to fly to Canton on April 16th
2. Please make hotel reservations in Canton for the night of April 16th -- one double room
3. Please make reservations for Mr. and Mrs. Bush to go to Hong Kong on the morning train on April 17th.
4. Make reservations for Amb. and Mrs. Bush, Mr. and Mrs. FitzGerald Bemiss and Mr. and Mrs. G. Tennant Bryan from Hong Kong to Canton on April 21st
5. Make reservations for three double room in Canton for the night of April 21 for Bushes, Bemisses and Bryans
6. Request travel for three couples (Bushes, Bemisses, and Bryans) to fly to Shanghai from Canton -- will also need plane reservations -- April 22nd
7. Plane reservations for three couples (Bemisses, Bushes, and Bryans) to fly from Shanghai to Peking on April 24th.
8. Make reservations for three double rooms in Shanghai nights April 22 and April 23

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156  
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*JP*  
*old one*  
*no problem!!*

March 3, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

*Dear PHUB*

I am afraid I am swamping you with letters, but -

We haven't heard from PRC yet but know of no problems. I am proceeding with arrangements. As it now stands, I am setting off to Alaska several days early. Margaret, Mary, and Tennant will join me at Anchorage on April 11. We will spend the night there and get the plane which leaves on the afternoon of the 12th and gets to Tokyo at 5 PM Sunday, April 13. We plan to proceed to Peking on Iranian Air, arriving 11:25 PM on the 13th. This is about the best we could do given the changing and staggered schedules.

If it's not too much trouble, I would appreciate it if your office would send me a schedule or information on the train from Peking to Irkutsk. I am particularly interested in knowing what days it goes, how long it takes, and when it arrives in Irkutsk.

As you suggested, I talked to your friend Colonel Borman this morning. He has checked with Elkins and Bryan and they plan to arrive about May 10 via Singapore and Tokyo. He is making his application now and is writing you a letter about his plans.

*As you*

*Ferry*

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

April 1, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Popz

I have just returned this minute from Washington and gotten your note to Bemiss and Bryan. By the time you receive this letter you will undoubtedly have seen Jay Taylor, who knows all about our comings and goings and has a copy of the cable I sent the Mongolia Tourist Office on that rather wild and still totally uncertain project.

You asked about my visa. As I read the thing, we have to be out of China by May 5. According to Jay, all the places that one might want to enter and exit are listed on the visa. Actually, if we can't take the train through Mongolia on Wednesday, April 30, we plan to take CA 907 to Moscow. I haven't heard whether they can accommodate us in Moscow over May Day, so if that doesn't work, we have in mind taking AF 179 straight to Paris.

There is nothing special about April 30 if we can't go through Mongolia or to Moscow; it's simply that the Air France flight on that date looked like the best way of getting us off of your hands and on our way home.

Maybe something will work out on all this before we leave, but I am just guessing that we might be able to work it out in Peking.

We shall come bearing your Polaroid and a jug of butterscotch sauce, which Don left by the Metropolitan Club for me yesterday. I was glad to hear from Don that Marvin is enjoying his job. We had tried to get him at WFS last week to see if he would spend Easter with us.

Thyne

Q2

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CN 614 *Ce*

APR 4, 1975

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TOFROM  
USLO PEKINGCLASSIFICATION  
UNCLASSIFIEDE.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OTRA, PER, CH  
SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF MR. BUSH

ACTION: AMCONSUL HONG KONG

FOR: CROSS FROM: BUSH

AMB

REF: Hong Kong 3482 PEKING 614

CHRON

Re. para. #3 of REFTEL, Mr. and Mrs. Bemiss and Mr. and  
Mrs. Bryan do not arrive Hong Kong until 10:40 p.m. so  
should not be included in dinner x party.

Look forward to seeing you.

BUSH *GB*

DRAFTED BY:

AMB;JFitzgerald:jaf

DRAFTING DATE

4/4/75

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMB:GBush *WJ*

CLEARANCES:

*File*

March 27, 1975

Mr. John Taylor  
PRC Affairs  
Room 4318-A  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Jay:

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Mongolia Tourist Office  
Ulan Bator  
People's Republic of Mongolia

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FitzGerald Bemiss

We will see what, if anything, that produces. If by some miracle it produces permission, then I still have to scramble for the Russian visa and reservations on train and plane.

Having some doubt that all this will work, I have requested Air France reservations from Peking to Paris on 30 April.

Mr. John Taylor

-2-

March 27, 1975

I will report to you Monday afternoon if there is anything to report. If it is not too great an imposition, I would appreciate your taking this letter along to Peking with you. You might be able to put a drop of oil on the machinery.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

FitzGerald Bemiss

March 26

JE:  
more Benins

Dear Gerry,

answers to various queries:

~~Have~~ not read Single Pebble.

I am making reservations for you and Bryans at Hilton for April 18th arrival , leave April 21.

I am requesting travel for all three couples to Canton, then to Shanghai, then to Peking. I think we better fly given your time allotted.

Re: Mr. Ho- let's check out his fleet, ho ho ho.

Man's Fate- no I have not read it. Love to.

We have had no trouble getting the Mongolian visas here in Peking so don't worry about them..

I had a cable saying the Bryans wanted to stay til the 5th. The only problem is we may have two other couples appearing then, which clearly overloads our circuits in the house as you will see when you get here. But let's not bother Tennant with that now- a) one couple may not come b) we can probably work out housing at hotel or with my friend the N.Z. Ambassador...

Nothing to bring- life is treating us great.

Hastily,

*From the desk of*

**GEORGE BUSH**

---

# FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

March 18, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

*Dear Pop*

Thanks for your letter of March 10. By now I trust you have received our schedule. We are delighted with the extra bonus of Canton and Shanghai. The train sounds fine to us, but we will be happy to do anything that suits you and Bar.

Tennant Bryan has just received word that his application is approved and, as you directed, I called Jay Taylor and asked him to pass the word to you.

Today, through a travel agency approved by Intourist, we are applying for the Russian visa. There may be a bit of a problem here because I indicate that we would enter Russia on the train from Peking through Mongolia. I have received no acknowledgment of my letter of a month ago to the Mongolian Foreign Ministry. The question is whether the Russians will approve our entry without evidence that we have the Mongolian approval. I suppose the only thing to do is to fire off the application hoping for Russian approval, but be prepared to scramble for the approval when we get to Peking. I do hope we can get it squared away before we leave.

Thanks for making the hotel reservations for us at the Hilton in Hong Kong. While I am there I might try to call on Mr. Ho, whose son graduated from WFS last year. He is supposed to be a fabulously wealthy tobacconist and I would like to get him to do something for Woodberry. I understand he has two or three splendid boats for visiting friends to see the harbor. Shall I check this out?

Thanks for reminding me of The Good Earth, which I read last weekend. It's a great book, much like parts of the Old Testament. Have you read Andre Malreaux's Man's Fate? Here's

# 14  
10 52 AM  
Pc 9 12 AM next

# FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

Ambassador George Bush

-2-

March 18, 1975

another great one - but more particularly about the revolution. If you don't have it, I will bring it in paperback.

Let me know if there is anything particular we can bring you. I will certainly check with Marvin, your mother, and Nancy before leaving to get any last minute messages. We are getting all fired up about this great excursion!

Late bulletin -- it turns out that we can make a lot better connection in Tokyo if we leave Anchorage on the 17th rather than the 18th. By leaving on the 17th we have a good connection in Tokyo from NW 3 to NW 9, which will get us in Hong Kong at 10:40 PM on the 18th. If we leave Anchorage on the 18th we cannot make that connection and will have to lay over a night in Tokyo, which we don't want to do. So we will plan accordingly and would be grateful to you if you would ask the Hilton to expect us late on the night of Friday the 18th.

境

F.B.

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

March 12, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear CHUB

Margaret and I have our entry permits! -- good for any 14 days between April 4 and May 5, and good for entry at several places, including the present Hong Kong plan. I will have to take care of our exit plan but we will face that one later.

We couldn't be more pleased! Thank you for the advice on the Pearl Buck book, a great classic which we certainly will read. Have you read John Hersey's "Single Pebble"? I thought that was a tremendously moving story of life on the Yangtze.

I trust you received from Jay Taylor a message about our arrival in Hong Kong on April 19. Through good friends here in the leaf tobacco business we can probably get a lot of help on reservations, etc. in Hong Kong, but I am assuming until I hear from you to the contrary that you have got all that under control.

More later.

Sunny

\* They say The Mandarin is great



# Department of State

## TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| ACTION TAKEN |  |
| BY:          |  |
| DATE:        |  |

R 181819Z MAR 75  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USLO PEKING 4971  
BT  
UNCLAS STATE 060415

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP, CH

1805

SUBJECT: VISIT BY GERALD BEMIS AND TENANT BRYANT  
FOR BUSH FROM TAYLOR (EA/PRCM)

BEMIS AND BRYANT HAVE RECEIVED VISAS AND LOOK FORWARD TO  
APRIL 19 MEETING IN HONG KONG.

INGERSOLL

BT

0415

Classification

UNCLASSIFIED

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

February 17, 1975

*JP  
for  
all  
Cite*

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

*Dear Pop,*

Yesterday I went to see Marvin play in the Woodberry-Benedictine game. Alas, we lost, but to a good team that played well. I was very proud of Marvin. He played most of the game and looked to me like the best man out there. He plays aggressively but always with a good disposition. I sat with the Athletic Director, Red Caughron, who told me how much he liked Marvin and what a good job he is doing. I asked Marvin if he wanted to bring a gang by for supper but they were going out to their annual team banquet, which, of course, was a very important affair.

I know you are terribly saddened at the death of your friend and neighbor, Jerry Pettis. I knew him only slightly but admired him as a really first-rate man. How I hate to see the Congress lose a man of that caliber these days.

We spent most of the weekend with the American Tourist Manual for the PRC, which was very helpful on all sorts of rudimentary stuff. Our planning and speculating is, of course, without benefit of knowledge of what suits the PRC and what's convenient for you. But I did begin thinking about the possibilities of having the choice between leaving Peking by train for Irkutsk and then flying westward and home, versus taking the train to Shanghai, Canton, and Hong Kong - and thence eastward and home. Tomorrow I hope to go to see Jay Taylor in the State Department and then to the PRC office. Perhaps they will have something to say on this subject. Of course in any and all of this I will be guided by your advice.

Last week we went to a party with Aileen and Rus Train, who are plotting a trip through those parts and particularly to all those wonderful, strange places like Samarkand and

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

Ambassador George Bush  
Page 2 - February 17, 1975

Bukhara. We also saw Nancy's old chum, Lucy Moorhead. Incidentally, travel plans shifted on us at the last minute so we called Paola and stayed in your establishment. I do hope that was alright with you and Bar. Paola was very sweet and I think enjoyed some company.

Love to Bar

Gary

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

March 7, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

GHWB —

I am very glad to get your letter of February 25 and know your plans and ideas for April.

I had planned to be in Peking from April 13-23 - just the wrong time - but will have no great difficulty (with PRC's approval) of delaying the whole program a week and following more or less your plan "B"; that is, meeting you in Hong Kong on April 19, proceeding with you, and arriving Peking about the 22nd. If you can tolerate us that long, I would like to leave Peking on the train to Irkutsk on Wednesday the 30th.

I have some business in Alaska along the way so will probably fly from Anchorage to Tokyo to Hong Kong. Margaret will meet me in one of those places - whichever involves the least wear and tear on her.

Today I am trying to reach Jay Taylor and hope by now you have gotten the signal that we would like to meet you in Hong Kong on the 19th. Where will you stay in Hong Kong? If it is not too much trouble, I would be grateful if you would get a double room for us and for the Bryans. Incidentally, I have communicated all this to Tennant and it suits him. But I think he really feels that he is not going to get the permit.

We are getting all excited about this great excursion and the fun of being there with you and Bar.

Best

Latent schedule attached.

P.S. - Nice talk with Klapper this morning; he just called to chat.

MR. AND MRS. FITZGERALD BEMISS  
SCHEDULE - 7 MAR

April

|          |          |                           |                     |
|----------|----------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 14 Mon   | FB       | Richmond-NYC              | EA 586              |
| 15 Tues  |          | NYC-Fairbanks             | PA 801 - 1st Class  |
| 16 Wed   |          | Fairbanks-Anchorage       |                     |
| 17 Thurs |          | Anchorage                 |                     |
| 17 Thurs | MPB      | Richmond-Dulles-Anchorage | UA 743/NW 47        |
| 18 Fri   | FB & MPB | Anchorage-Tokyo           |                     |
| 19 Sat   |          | Tokyo-Hong Kong           |                     |
| 20 Sun   |          | Hong Kong                 |                     |
| 21 Mon   |          | Hong Kong-Canton          |                     |
| 22 Tues  |          | Canton-Peking             |                     |
| 22-29    |          | Peking                    |                     |
| 30 Wed   |          | Peking-Irkutsk            | Train 17            |
|          |          | LV 0740 Wed               | Ar 0828 Fri (May 2) |
|          |          | (2 soft beds)             |                     |

May

|       |  |                   |               |
|-------|--|-------------------|---------------|
| 2 Fri |  | Irkutsk-Moscow    | Flight SV 562 |
|       |  | Lv 1255           | Ar 1605       |
| 2-4   |  | Moscow            |               |
| 4 Sun |  | Moscow-London     | Flight SV 311 |
|       |  | Lv 1340           | Ar 1420       |
| 4-5-6 |  | London            |               |
| 7 Wed |  | London-Washington |               |

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

March 5, 1975

PERSONAL

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U.S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear CHWB

I have just received your letter of February 18. While I have kept in touch with Tennant about all the steps I have taken, I have in no way tied our applications and plans to his. Nor have I referred to the Bryans in any of my conversations with Mr. Ma.

Mr. Ma may associate us with each other both because our applications do coincide and, I believe, you referred to Tennant in the letter you wrote me, which I filed with my application.

I have been a little embarrassed about the thing, mainly because while I have the most cordial relations with Mary and Tennant, I really didn't mean to do what I ended up doing; that is, more or less causing them to be invited to be your guests. My rather naive original idea was to defray some part of the cost of the trip by writing an article on the trip for Tennant. But I am not a journalist and that wasn't and isn't the purpose of the trip. And I have made no arrangement of that sort. So, as I say, the net effect of my bright idea has been not at all what I intended it to be. At the same time, Tennant is a very considerate fellow and I know he would be very anxious not to cause his status to interfere with our trip.

Our purpose is very simple. Margaret and I want to come see you and Bar and whatever else we can see along the way.

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

Ambassador George Bush  
Page 2 - March 5, 1975

Mr. Ma has told me that he would call me when the permit is granted. I don't want to pester him, but if the Bryan application is causing any trouble, I would like to know about it because I am sure I could satisfy him about my relationship with you and the purpose of my trip, and do so without any feeling of disloyalty to our friend Tennant.

Right now I don't know what else to do but wait and see. But if you have any advice, I would certainly be eager to follow it. In the meantime, I might check with Jay Taylor just to make sure he understands the situation.

As can



P.S. - After writing this I called Jay Taylor + reviewed the matter with him. He poses no difficulties, pointing out that PRC can, as it often does, approve one + not the other. I'll be in Washington several days next week. He suggests I stop by his office + then check with Mr. Ma, just to give him opportunity to raise questions if there are any.

**ACTION**

DO  
POL  
ECON  
ADMIN  
CONS  
RAF  
OSD  
OAR  
TOU  
SY  
CHRON

Classification

**ACTION TAKEN**

BY: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

R 080206Z MAR 75  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USLO PEKING 4905  
BT  
UNCLAS STATE 052642

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: TRV OGEN CH

SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF FITZGERALD BEMISS

FOR BUSH FROM TAYLOR (EA/PRCM) 1543

FITZGERALD BEMISS HAS RECEIVED YOUR LETTER AND NOW PLANS  
TO MEET YOU IN HONG KONG APRILL 19 AS SUGGESTED.  
INGERSOLL

*wrote Bemiss - March 10*

**UNCLASSIFIED**

FitzGerald Bemiss

25 Feb

CHWB

These pictures, which you may not have with you, will give you long moments of happy reflection.

Trying to get to China is half the fun. We hope to arrive Peking from Tokyo at 12:30 pm on JAL Wed 16 April. Ma Ma has our passports & applications. I'm more & more overwhelmed by the vast range of things to see in & around Peking - and what a rare opportunity, to see them now and giving us.

My tennis is in one of its up periods. I'll bring shoes - can we hit a few?

Love to Ben

As ever

Jimmy

March 7

Dear Gerry,

I have your letter of Feb 25th (also a nice note from Tenna

It crossed with my letter to you on plans, but what

you outline, namely, arriving April 16th is just fine with

After our Peking visit we should arrange to go to Canton

perhaps via train to Shanghai etc... I have to go to Hong K

sometime and this will all fit. After you determine how

long you will be able to stay please contact Nan Ellis

telling her of your schedule.

The Borman, Elkins, Bryan (Houston) gang does not get

here til May 12th- so maybe we can get Nan Ellis in here

after you but before them. I can be flexible on my

arrangements for the Canton Fair. If you decide to exit at (

suggest to Nan Ellis that she meet us in Hong Kong and we

will say goodbye Bemiss hello Ellis, carrying her back to

Peking with us. Sorry to have this also complicated, but

is all sorting out. Devine, who will mail this at Alaska

is doing just fine here with Alix- delightful... good weather

many sights seen.

The pix of the weiners were just great....

Free advice- knowing your intellectual wife you have probably and properly read up on Mao's thought etc.; but I suggests a re-look at Pearl Buck's the Good Earth- it can be swallowed in four hours; and it will give you a good backdrop against which to view Post-Liberation China. They lack many of our freedoms, but they've comealong way on basics such as health care, food, housing etc. I must stop but just wanted you to know all's well.

We are sick about our great friend Pettis- and sick about the death of that beautiful Lisa Rimmer.

We are happy here in China and we want to share that happiness with you two.

Love to Margaret,

Feb. 25, 1975

Guest  
file

Dear Gerry and Margaret,

Bemis

By the time you get this I hope you have received your visas.

Latest thinking on the visit... I am now thinking that I should make an official appearance at the Spring Canton Fair. One good way to do it would be to leave Peking by train on the 14th or plane on the 15th of April for Canton.

If your schedule would work perhaps you could come here early in April, do Peking up right, and then go with us to Canton. See the fair and then exit China over the bridge into Hong Kong. You could go your merry way after a day or two of R & R with us in Hong Kong. I plan to go back to the fair in Canton on Monday April 21st.

Now if it is not possible to come in early May how about this. Meet us in Hong Kong April 19th- get caught up on the jet lag in HK for two days and then travel with us into the PRC leaving Hong Kong Monday AM April 21st. I will be giving a dinner for US business types in Canton the night of the 21st then we could travel to Peking on the 22nd either by plane or train. The schedule in Peking is clear until Borman et al arrive.... Just check it all out and let me know what you are thinking. I like the idea of H.Kong for you all cause it would give you a guaranteed look at the bridge and Canton. We might even proceed to Hong Kong or to Peking via Shanghai. Don't bother the PRC LO with all of this until we get firm in our plans. If you decide on coming to meet us in Hong Kong we'll need the visa to show Canton then Peking. If you come first to Peking we can request the travel permits from Peking for Shanghai and the Fair.

It would be fun to do it this way. I've never slept with Margaret on a train before, to say nothing of Mrs. Bryan.

As to money- it is hard to cash personal checks in PRC so I suggest travelers checks which can be rather easily cashed.

For sightseeing- my car will be available a lot of the time, but then cars can be rented here in Peking- not too high a rate. Taxis are tethered three blocks away at the International Club for short hops.

When we travel hotels are not too high priced- usually less than equivalent hotels in States although Canton at Fair time might be higher.

Tell les travelling girls not to worry about odds and ends- most things can be acquired in Peking.

Bring your camera, Bemiss- we need a classic great wall shot for posterity.

Give me a reading as soon as possible. Jay Taylor would gladly include a sentence in a cable-- International mail ( 26¢ postage) is less secure but is faster than pouch....If you use internat'l be sure to put

GB, USLO, Kuang Hua Lu 17, Peking, People's Rep. of China

Excitement mounts as April approaches.

Love to all Bemi.

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

Dear (H W B)

Separately I've mailed to you various letters about the trip written, I trust, in accordance with your advice & that of Jay Taylor (State Dept) with whom I talked last week. This is to tell you about my talk with Tennant. He understands exactly your, & the Dept's, concern. He has never made application for entry in any capacity. He is quite willing to come as your personal guest, in no sense as a newspaper man & with no intention of writing. I told him that I planned to write down my own personal observations & impressions - as most serious travelers do - and show them to you before I showed them to others. I hope all this is fully responsive to the points you made in our recent talk; if not please put me straight. My letter to the PRC was mailed on 7 Feb. I'll be in Washington on 12 Feb and in accordance with Jay Taylor's advice hope to stop by the PRC office to see if there are any problems. At some point we should apply for a Russian Visa. I assume we will lay over in Moscow only a day or 2, or perhaps not at all. Your good offices might or might not be needed for the Russian trip. Any advice? In the meantime will be doing our homework. I've started on a big book, which I'm sure you've seen, called China Today & I've read E. Clubb's 20th Century China. And I'll also consult Mr Taylor on useful reading.

Chambers called Friday after the Woodberry meeting - just leaving Dulles - so I didn't see him. I talked to Bryan

last night - I do hope things are going well with him.  
I really wasn't sure about this new role he has in  
9 & 14. But he was as glib & optimistic as he  
always is, no matter what happens. Lewis Walker  
wrote & offered us his new (or old) Kport house this summer,  
which was thoughtful of him. But between China &  
Iceland I think I'll have to forego that.

By the way - Tennant is holding up on his  
application until I get mine moving, as you  
suggested. I'll report progress.

Love to Dan

As we

Sam

10 Feb 25

February 20

Dear Gerry,

I have your two letters of Feb 10.

The way you are approaching this should result in a visa fairly soon, but do not panic if it takes a while. I am discussing with our people here whether to advise the Foreign Ministry as Jay Taylor suggested. Recently the Ministry send around a note saying not to notify them but to deal with PRGLO.

The Tennant Bryan thing sound fine and we really would love to have them join you here.

As to timing Frank Borman, Jim Elcins and Tony Bryan and wives are coming if they can get visas. I have suggested to them the last week in April or the first week in May.

I suggest you call Frank Borman, exec. v.p. Eastern Airlines at Miami to see if their planas have firmed up at all. The rest of April looks pretty clear here.

As for Russian visa, I don't believe you'll have any trouble with that. I suggest you tell them you will be my guests in Peking and simply make routine application. When people travel from here they simply get their visas for Mongolia and Russia here; so we could probably do it that way, but I still think it's better to wrap up the USSR visa in D.C.

Clothes- no. Tux. I have plenty of extra warm things if it should be unexpectedly cold. I have extra racket and tennis gear- bring sneakers. Sports coats are customary. Women? I don't know, Berniss, but the bautiful one will do what's right I know. We are so excited over the visit. I am all well totally on top of the world. Let me know what we can do fromthis end. Hurry on over.

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

February 10, 1975

PERSONAL

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

*Dear Pop,*

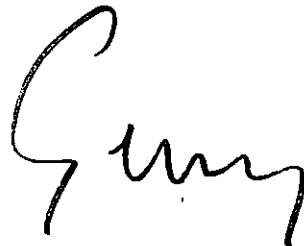
Thanks for taking us in. We loved seeing you and hope you had a good trip and are fully mended.

Friday afternoon I talked to Jay Taylor in the State Department and, in accordance with his advice, I have written the attached letter to Mr. Chi at the PRC Liaison Office.

Mr. Taylor suggested that you send a copy of your letter to the Foreign Minister so he would be aware of your invitation, so I enclose a copy for that purpose.

Mr. Taylor also suggested that I write directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia to request a transit visa. He said that I might be able to get that done in Peking, but since there was the possibility of delay I should put this in the mail now. Also enclosed is a copy of that letter.

As ever,



FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1186

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

February 7, 1975

Mr. Chi Li-te  
Peoples Republic of China  
Liaison Office  
2300 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Mr. Chi:

My friend, Ambassador Bush, has been so kind as to invite my wife and myself to be his guests in Peking in mid-April of this year. Attached hereto is a copy of his invitation.

I should be very grateful to you if you would send me the forms for application for a visa for my wife and myself for that visit. We have not made precise travel plans yet but, of course, will be glad to give you this information as we make plans, if you would like to have it.

With great appreciation, I am

Sincerely yours,

FitzGerald Bemiss



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 3, 1975

Mr. Fitzgerald Bemiss  
Box 1156  
Richmond, Virginia 23209

Dear Gerry:

This is an invitation to you and Margaret to be our house guests in Peking as long as you can be with us during the month of April.

When you apply for your visa to the PRC Liaison office in Washington, please explain to them that you will be our personal house guests and will be staying with us at the residence at USLO.

I am writing a similar letter to the Tennant Bryans hoping that they, too, will be able to travel with you and Margaret to the PRC.

You will love Peking -

Sincerely,

  
George Bush

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

February 10, 1975

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Peoples Republic of Mongolia  
Ulaan Baator  
Mongolia Republic

Dear Sirs:

My friend, Ambassador George Bush, has invited my wife and myself to be his personal house guests at the U. S. Liaison Office residence in mid-April. Accordingly, we have applied to the Peoples Republic of China Liaison Office in Washington for a visa.

Upon leaving Peking, we hope to take the railway train from Peking to Irkutsk, and thence home by airplane.

I have been advised to request of you an application for a transit visa for my wife and myself. If it is not practical to mail that to me, then perhaps it could be sent to Ambassador Bush in Peking and I could attend to the matter when I arrive.

I should be most grateful for this assistance and for the opportunity of making a trip through your magnificent country, pictures and descriptions of which I have admired so much.

Sincerely yours,

FitzGerald Bemiss

February 4, 1975

Mr. G. Tennant Bryan  
211 Ampthill Road  
Richmond, Virginia 2322555

Dear Tennant+:

Barbara and I want to invite you and Mrs. Bryan to come with Gerry and Margaret Bemiss to visit us in Peking during the month of April.

When you apply for a visa please show this letter to the proper authorities at the PRC Liaison Office in Washington.

We are counting on your staying with us in our residence at USLO.

It was good seeing you the other day.

Sincerely,

George Bush

**Media  
General**

**D. Tennant Bryan**  
Chairman of the Board

20 February 1975

Dear George:

First of all let me thank you on behalf of both Mary and me for your extreme generosity in allowing us to "piggy-back" on the invitation you and Barbara extended to Gerry and Margaret. Our eagerness to visit China at your invitation outweighed any sense of guilt that we should appropriately have felt.

Gerry and Margaret have now made application for their visas and have given us the green light, in accordance with plan, to apply for visas ourselves. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Chi which speaks for itself.

I hope and believe that we will not in any way prejudice Gerry's and Margaret's chances of obtaining visas and I assure you that we will write and do nothing that might in any way embarrass you in your delicate diplomatic mission.

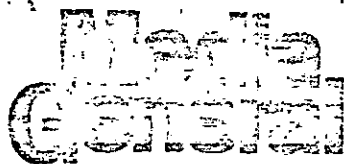
It was a joy to see and to hear you at the Alfalfa dinner. There are at least 600 good and true Alfalfans and guests who will vote for you above any other candidate for the Presidency of the United States - and this in spite of your frank disclosure of your proposed Cabinet.

With much appreciation and great admiration, I am

Sincerely,

*Tennant*

Ambassador George Bush  
Chief, U. S. Liaison Office  
Peking, People's Republic of China  
c/o Department of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520



**D. Tennant Bryan**  
Chairman of the Board

20 February 1975

Dear Mr. Chi:

As you will see from the enclosed copy of his letter, Ambassador George H. W. Bush, Chief of our country's Liaison Office with your country, has extended an invitation to Mrs. Bryan and me to visit him and Mrs. Bush in Peking during April.

Mrs. Bryan and I are extremely anxious to accept this invitation and to that end we request you to send us the necessary forms on which to apply for visas. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

We would hope to visit Ambassador and Mrs. Bush about the middle of April, though our plans are flexible and will depend to some degree on the convenience of Mr. and Mrs. FitzGerald Bemiss in whose company we should like to travel.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration of this request, and with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "D. Tennant Bryan".

Mr. Chi Li-te  
People's Republic of China  
Liaison Office  
2300 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20008



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 4, 1975

Mr. D. Tennant Bryan  
211 Amphill Road  
Richmond, Virginia 23226

Dear Tennant:

Barbara and I want to invite you and Mrs. Bryan to come with Gerry and Margaret Bemiss to visit us in Peking during the month of April.

When you apply for a visa please show this letter to the proper authorities at the PRC Liaison Office in Washington.

We are counting on your staying with us in our residence at USLO.

It was good seeing you the other day.

Sincerely,

  
George Bush

April 23, 1975

TENTATIVE TRAVEL ITINERARY FOR MR. AND MRS. G. TENNANT BRYAN

|            |          |        |      |
|------------|----------|--------|------|
| April 30th | Peking   | Train  | 1855 |
| May 1st    | Nanking  | 13     | 1201 |
| May 2nd    | Nanking  | Train  | 0840 |
|            | Soochow  | 45     | 1216 |
| May 3rd    | Soochow  |        |      |
| May 4th    | Soochow  | Train  | 1224 |
|            | Shanghai | 45     | 1351 |
| May 5th    | Shanghai |        |      |
| May 6th    | Shanghai | SR 317 | 1350 |
|            | Geneva   |        | 0510 |

\*There are additional trains available not shown on the Peking timetable that your guide can inform you about when you reach Soochow.

April 23, 1975

TENTATIVE TRAVEL ITINERARY FOR MR. AND MRS. FITZGERALD BEMISS

|            |          |        |      |
|------------|----------|--------|------|
| April 30th | Peking   | Train  | 1855 |
| May 1st    | Nanking  | 13     | 1201 |
| * May 2nd  | Nanking  | Train  | 0840 |
|            | Soochow  | 45     | 1216 |
| May 3rd    | Soochow  |        |      |
| May 4th    | Soochow  | Train  | 1224 |
|            | Shanghai | 45     | 1351 |
| May 5th    | Shanghai |        |      |
| May 6th    | Shanghai | CA 921 | 1025 |
|            | Tokyo    |        | 1355 |
| May 6th    | Tokyo    | NW 21  | 1715 |
|            | Honolulu |        | 2110 |

\*There are additional trains available not shown on the Peking timetable that your guide can inform you about when you reach Soochow.

April 23, 1975

TENTATIVE TRAVEL ITINERARY FOR MR. AND MRS. FITZGERALD BEMISS

|                 |        |          |        |      |
|-----------------|--------|----------|--------|------|
| April 29th-30th | Peking | Wed      | Train  | 1855 |
| May 1st         | Thurs  | Nanking  | 13     | 1201 |
|                 |        |          |        |      |
| * May 2nd       | Fri    | Nanking  | Train  | 0840 |
|                 |        | Soochow  | 45     | 1216 |
| May 3rd         | Sat    | Soochow  |        |      |
| May 4th         | Sun    | Soochow  | Train  | 1224 |
|                 |        | Shanghai | 45     | 1351 |
| May 5th         | Mon    | Shanghai |        |      |
| May 6th         |        | Shanghai | CA 921 | 1025 |
|                 |        | Tokyo    |        | 1355 |
| May 6th         | Tues   | Tokyo    | NW 21  | 1715 |
|                 |        | Honolulu |        | 2110 |

\*There are additional trains available not shown on the Peking timetable that your guide can inform you about when you reach Soochow.

April 23, 1975

TENTATIVE TRAVEL ITINERARY FOR MR. AND MRS. <sup>D.</sup>~~X.~~ TENNANT BRYAN

|                                       |          |        |      |
|---------------------------------------|----------|--------|------|
| April 30th <sup>29<sup>th</sup></sup> | Peking   | Train  | 1855 |
| <del>May 1st</del> 30                 | Nanking  | 13     | 1201 |
| * May 2nd                             | Nanking  | Train  | 0840 |
|                                       | Soochow  | 45     | 1216 |
| May 3rd                               | Soochow  |        |      |
| May 4th                               | Soochow  | Train  | 1224 |
|                                       | Shanghai | 45     | 1351 |
| May 5th                               | Shanghai |        |      |
| May 6th                               | Shanghai | SR 317 | 1350 |
|                                       | Geneva   |        | 0510 |

\*There are additional trains available not shown on the Peking timetable that your guide can inform you about when you reach Soochow.



**D. Tennant Bryan**  
Chairman of the Board

18 March 1975

My dear George:

Today was a double "red" letter day for me in that word came from the PRC Liaison Office that our visa applications had been approved and Gerry Bemiss sent me a copy of your letter of the 10th. Actually, I was just on the point of responding despondently to yours of the 7th to say that I despaired of ever obtaining visa approval when all of a sudden the skies cleared and everything seemed to fall into place at one time.

As Gerry has doubtless written you, Margaret, Mary and I plan to follow him to Anchorage on Wednesday, the 16th - spend the night there and fly the next day to Hong Kong via Tokyo, reaching Hong Kong, presumably, at 10:40 pm on Friday, the 18th.

We are delighted to know that you and Barbara will probably be in Hong Kong then and that we can look forward to traveling with you to Peking via Canton and Shanghai. If, however, you find it either difficult or impossible to get permission for six people to go simultaneously from Canton to Shanghai and then on to Peking, Mary and I can probably make arrangements to fly directly from Tokyo to Peking. Naturally, we would much prefer to go with you, if possible.

Mary and I are planning to get together with Gerry and Margaret before this week is out and settle all the nitty-gritty details of how long you will have to put up with us in Peking, and whether we can proceed from Peking by air to western Europe (Zurich, Paris or London) instead of entraining with the Bemisses for Mongolia and the Soviet Union.

Can't tell you how much we are looking forward to the privilege of being with you!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Tennant".

The Honorable George H. W. Bush  
United States Liaison Office  
People's Republic of China

HM  
I'd  
Bemiss ①

China, Ha! Getting there is half the fun.

When our friend George Bush became U.S. Envoy to the People's Republic of China, he said, "Bemiss, you must come see us in Peking." I replied, "What about mid-April?" His answer, "Great!", started one of our more complex logistical enterprises, and also our own great cultural homework to prepare for the best possible use of a very brief look at a very large subject.

First about the logistics. Usually the toughest and most crucial hurdle is getting the PRC entry visa. About 7,000 Americans have managed to get to China since the Nixon visit in 1972, most of these being in carefully selected groups of interest to the Chinese Government - trade, medicine, farm, etc. Not all groups are that specialized. Recently 20 <sup>Alaskan</sup> school children made the trip, getting cordial attention and of course returning full of praise for friendly people and wholesome activities. But the American tourist who just wants to have a look at China (~~some 900,000 have~~ <sup>many thousands have</sup> applied) doesn't stand much of a chance of gaining entry. One reason is that there aren't the hotels, transportation, translators, etc. to handle quantities of tourists. ~~These~~ existing resources are needed for other purposes. The other, I gather, is that the Maoist society is still in early stages of development and the question of the nature and degree of contact with Westerners must wait for answers to other more pressing questions. ~~Tourist business is certainly not interesting to PRC for economic reasons.~~

For us the visa problem was relatively easy because our application was accompanied by an invitation from Ambassador Bush to be his personal guests. So our <sup>request</sup> application was granted as a courtesy to the Ambassador, and ~~certainly~~ not because our presence served any significant purpose of the PRC. <sup>on</sup> The PRC Liaison Office <sup>P3</sup> is in a large apartment building on Connecticut Avenue - for which, I understand, <sup>The Chinese</sup> they paid over \$5 million. They <sup>Chinese</sup> are extensively re-doing the interior - all with Chinese labor. It's said that their top man, Ambassador \_\_\_\_\_ (actual title is like Bush's, Liaison Officer), pitches in and does his turn with the

I later learned that on L.O. had not known about this group until after the trip left. One of many examples of the lack of communication of PRC community only when + how they please.

plastering and papering. But the caller like myself gets only as far as the small entrance lobby. In fact, you ring the bell and someone in a blue Mao suit (which everyone wears) peeks out and admits you only when you've stated your business. I was politely offered a seat to wait for the proper official - a short wait I had and enjoyed on several occasions. Once I read parts of an article on the third world, a release on the recent People's Congress, and a story about a young girl who goes forth to a commune and armed with the precepts of Chairman Mao settles a difference between a good older person who is a bit too revisionist and some good younger people who are a bit too revolutionary, thereby increasing productivity and harmony. On another occasion I listened to a conversation in Chinese between a young American archeologist and a Chinese official, holding both in awe for managing it so easily. On yet another visit, quite unexpectedly, I was handed the magic visas. After thanking the official who had been so helpful to me, I marched off in triumph only to realize that I couldn't figure what the visa said. The only solution was a trip to a Chinese speaking friend at the State Department who revealed that we could enter and leave China by any of the normal avenues and stay somewhat longer than we had planned.

I say that the visa is "usually" the toughest problem. For us the toughest problem was caused by our determination to leave Peking by the train which makes a three day, 1,667 mile passage through Outer Mongolia to the Russian city of Irkutsk on the western shore of Lake Baikal, and thence 3,200 miles by plane to Moscow. The train leaves Peking every Wednesday morning (a Chinese and a Russian crew on alternate weeks), goes through Ulan Bator, Mongolia's capitol, and joins the Trans Siberian train at Ulan Ude for the final 280 miles to Irkutsk. This is no easy matter to arrange from Richmond, Virginia. There is no Mongolian representative to this country and therefore no one to ask for the essential Transit Visa. Letters and cables to Ulan Bator are less effective than notes in a tree trunk for leprechauns. And the Soviets won't give you a visa without

certification from Intourist that you have secured transportation and hotel space, which you cannot secure without the Mongolian Transit Visa. A nasty little circle out of which one might never get. The effort did lead to happy hours with Airline Guide and Atlas devising Plans B, C, D, etc. in case there should be no breakthrough on Plan A. For example, on Mondays there is a Swissair flight to Bombay, and on Tuesdays a nice CA flight to Albania. But what we really wanted to do was ride the train across the plains trampled by the armies of Ghengis Khan, whence sprang his grandson Kublai, who in the 14th Century rules not only China but an empire reaching from the China Sea to the Danube.

As it turned out it was good we'd given a little thought to Plans B, C, & D. We'd need pieces of all of them in due course. But never let one think that it is any easy matter to shift from one plan to another on the P.R.L. A good bit more about that later.

page 1  
x Friends Mary & Tarnant Bryan had to stew a bit. That they too were ~~unwilling~~ <sup>were unwilling</sup> to go as Geo Bush's guest, Tarnant is a newspaper is in fact a newspaper man - a Western newspaper man - the most eager to get in - have been the most consistently turned down. Happily & somewhat surprisingly the Bryans got their visa allowing them, like ourselves, to wait for 14 days between Apr 4 & May 5.

(4)

As for the Great Cultural Homework - how does one prepare to gain in so short a time some comprehension of one of the world's oldest, largest, most inscrutable, complex and important puzzles? Well, of course, the look must be superficial; the homework will be the same but can be less so. Here are the books we read (in whole or substantial part and which I believe constitute a fairly good base):

- State Department - Notes on China
- China Today
- American Tourist Guide to PRC
- Catalogue to China Exhibit
- Good Earth - Pearl Buck
- Man's Fate - Andre Malreaux
- Marco Polo
- Notes on China - Barbara Tuchman
- Stillwell and The China Experience - Barbara Tuchman
- Dragon By The Tail - John Patton Davies
- 20th Century China - Edmund Clubb
- Historical Atlas of China
- China White Paper - General George C. Marshall
- Peking Review - miscellaneous issues

Since I have business in Alaska I set off ahead of Margaret & the Bryans, arriving 14 Apr in Fairbanks in what looked like a first class blizzard. Actually it's about break up time in Alaska. That's a moment to the 10<sup>th</sup> of a second, when a speck of silt on the ice in the Tanana River moves a certain precisely recorded distance. It usually occurs in the last week of April or 1<sup>st</sup> week of May, and the towns are a great dirty melting mess. The pipeline, to which my business is related, is a whole other story. But I'm always impressed with the tone of the Fairbanks airport - churning with bulldozer operators, geologists, oil co executives - in parkas & boots - Eskimos & Texans - drunk & sober - some making \$1500 per week, others quitting because the conditions are too harsh. It's a great & maybe one of the last frontier scenes.

I mention this because it <sup>made</sup> ~~was~~ an interesting recollection <sup>when a few days later</sup> we entered the Tikiing airport, this time churning with men & women in blue suits under a huge picture & slogan of Chairman Mao. These people too are involved in their own frontier enterprise.

The splendid Hong Kong skyline a Victorian British court buildings  
the Bank of England at sea, & a cricket field all  
all check by just in the heart of town.

Back in the lounge I met Tim and Mary, Margaret

and we then at 4pm we began our trip by driving  
in the plane for 5 1/2 hours before (they) arrive Hong  
Kong something. This course in I was on connection

to Hong Kong that evening (which as we covered the  
distance had to come Friday). This wasn't all bad

because it provided us a good night sleep in Tokyo  
and an excellent flight the next morning over Okinawa

and arrived Taiwan & met Hong Kong about 1:30pm.

The born colony of Hong Kong is surely an unique  
mixture - an active balance of entrepreneurship &

Capitalism, Mass Basic education, above poverty &  
wealthy ancient <sup>lot</sup> positions in view of

modern and China & not very far east of the others.  
(The British got the island in 1842 by the Treaty of

Nanking because the Chinese tried to interfere with their  
Opium Trade [let's not overstate it too]. Then they got

the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860. The adjoining New Territories  
They decided for a 99 year period which ends in 1997,

a not insignificant factor in the future of Hong Kong  
through Hong Kong & rest. Because PRC wants it

To. It is a major part of trade & commerce link with  
the outside world. (At least one way PRC could

average Hong Kong would be to turn the entire & shift of  
the 25% of the world supply.) The population is about 4.5  
million, among the demand in the world & with  
modern some sort of contact with the mainland and  
armaments are able to drift back home & visit

relatives or family crimes. I gather it would be a  
risky business for a wealthy Chinese. Our friend  
Russell Train & EPA would expire at the Hong Kong  
approach to environmental matters. If you've got  
enough money, you can build anything any  
where. There is no sewage treatment, everything goes  
right into the sea.

? ?  
As friends of the Bushes we were warmly welcomed  
into splendid quarters at The Helton & Mary + Margaret  
set off to meet Barbara & George at the house of CY Tung,  
whose shipping tonnage is said to surpass the (forebuilt)  
tonnage of Onassis & Nioch<sup>or</sup>, while transient I went  
then just drills to secure entry to Canton, Shanghai,  
& Peking - a task impossible for us but well managed  
by Dennis Hartin & Lucy Locke of the US Consulate.  
Incidentally, this consulate has a staff of about 150 people,  
~~the~~ <sup>equivalent to</sup> the 10<sup>th</sup> largest embassy. This indicates its importance  
as a China watching post as well a general economic & political  
post.

AP men Robert Lien, Bureau Chief, & Tim Bondrup, photo chief, visited Tennant. Bondrup was just out of Da Nang and certain that Saigon would fall to the Communists within 10 days. The feelings of <sup>many</sup> men like these <sup>about what has</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>happened to</sup> their friends, American & Vietnamese, are intense; not all are in step with Jane Fonda. Lien speaks Mandarin & 2 dialects & is a professional China watcher. There are over 3900 Chinese characters. One may read simple material with a knowledge of a few hundred. Mao has simplified the characters to promote literacy; Bob Lien told me that his name formerly required 13 strokes & now requires five.

It takes a while to realize Hong Kong position - not as a brassy banking & tourist center tied by big jets to Tokyo, Honolulu, & Los Angeles, but as a part of SE Asia & the world of Bangkok, Singapore, & Manila. In our brief stay we met immensely comfortable Chinese millionaires, reporters from the Vietnam battle front, a sad & delicate little princess from Hue, whose family has been killed\*, and the wife of a US official who is still in Saigon.

\* is marooned  
There  
ed may have been  
banned  
or have been  
killed

On Sunday we drove across the island to Repulse Bay & the home of Dr Kenneth Hui, attractive & intelligent <sup>American trained</sup> surgeon. His daughter Elaine had graduated from Cornell in Meteorology & taken a graduate degree from Harvard in environmental meteorology. We boarded his 54 ft Alaska trawler for a swimming-picnic excursion de grand lux at the southernmost tip of the island. Chuck Cross & Norman Getzinger, numbers 1 & 2 at the consulate were aboard. There is no sports fishing & little commercial fishing near Hong Kong, due

to overfishing + pollution, but there were two junks nearby, the families from which had gill-netted a quantity of small herring-like fish which they had flaked out on a great rock to dry + cure. Ten or 12 of a family may live entire lives in these crowded + harsh quarters in, it is said, noticeably greater harmony than the average land-based family. On the way home we went by Aberdeen, a floating city of junks + sampans. The name Hong Kong is derived from words meaning Fragrant Harbour. Aberdeen is surely that. All the waste from these thousands of families goes right overboard & is stagnated around these <sup>hull to</sup> ~~hull to~~ hull craft. A fragrance of significant proportions!

On Monday morning we left our splendid digs at the Hilton (which we <sup>would</sup> have occasion to <sup>mem</sup>orize worthfully) for the 10:30 train and a 1½ hour ride thru Kowloon and the New Territories to the Border at Lu Wu on the Shum Chan River. The way is thru the suburbs of a great city - past the University, small gardens tended to the last inch, the Fauling Golf Course, <sup>a trainload of very small pigs,</sup> ~~and a series of small market towns.~~ <sup>and taking a load of the</sup> ~~million pigs to market~~ towns. The latitude is several degrees south of Miami so the vegetation is nearly tropical.

At Lu Wu we were escorted to a waiting room for the first in a relentless series of passport examinations + form fillings, and then on foot across the famous bridge - a plain steel railroad bridge, covered with corrugated metal, not 30 yards long, across the still + filthy little river, guarded by proper but unimpressive PRC soldiers.

Always you are in the PRC and in a world so different -  
 one night at first my unmet - Not one is kind just a  
 record, a record of new impressions. It is suddenly an  
 the phenomenon of Chairman Mao on vast red background  
 and a group of about a dozen, 6 or 8 ago old, led  
 by one of their own wearing a red flag and singing  
 a patriotic song at full throat. They smile & wave  
 and are approach. I'll see them smiling as we go  
 North, the day. Already the official smile has - a  
 sharp contrast with the HK almost the same sharp  
 as he smiling. Over the P.A. system flows one of  
 the PRC songs, maybe the White Hand Girl in the Telling  
 of Tiger Mountain by Shengyong.  
 We are escorted to a VIP waiting room - huge &  
 bare, with overstuffed furniture and an assortment  
 of magazines about agriculture and triumphs and the relationship  
 of the proletariat. We have a good lunch of shrimp,  
 rice, vegetables, eggs, beans & of course, tea which soon  
 becomes a habit. Once cleared we leave the train  
 for Canton - clean & comfortable (more tea) - 1 hr 45 min  
 trip. Here you begin to see China, so old & so  
 new.

~~in the Panch River delta~~  
 There, as for every, is the Chinese peasant <sup>planting shoots of rice</sup> in the rice paddy with his water buffalo in the paddy of the Pearl River Delta - The old rice - thinking the idle buffalo. The farming is intense; the same land produces two crops of rice & one of wheat in a year. It is clear that production has been increased by irrigation & by cutting away idle hillsides to make more <sup>flat & fertile</sup> ground. The changeover is rare - man & woman & child tend the fields. They also chop a way holes, hauling dirt & rocks in baskets to build yet another terrace for more food. The ~~clusters~~ of mostly rice here but also vegetables & fruits. <sup>Water</sup> ~~irrigation~~ impoundments & canals have been a major accomplishment for flood control & irrigation. At the Canton Trade fair we saw a model of the <sup>Peoples Commune</sup> ~~Tachien Production Brigade~~ where, <sup>the working people of</sup> "before liberation were cruelly exploited by the Kuomintang reactionaries" annual grain production never exceeded 750 kg per hectare. "The poor & lower middle peasants put politics in command & put ideology above all else, give full spirit of relying on themselves & persevering in hard struggle, develop their communist style of loving the motherland & the collective, & relying on the strength of the collective economy, reshape mountains to build farmland, quarry rocks to terrace fields & drain the gulches & build the land to grow crops." Now the production has increased tenfold to 7,590 tons per hectare. A little heavy handed, thin, but I am convinced essentially true.

The rail station at Canton is another of these vast places. Its hard to imagine why they build on such a scale. Two li of China Travel Service met us (we couldn't make a move without him) & escorted us at the Tungfang Hotel, another vast & dull building <sup>and not quite</sup> ~~from the Exhibition Park~~ <sup>it is just a</sup> or it was fairly bustling with fair goers from all over the world. I gathered that the Chinese ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~struggling~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~disappointed~~ <sup>are</sup>

up to the Hong Kong Hotel. Our room had a 15 ft high ceiling, an elegant Chinese electric fan, mosquito netting around the bed, and a tag on the bathroom door indicating that the room had been disinfected. It had not however been deodorized. The hotel staff was largely students assigned to take advantage of foreign language experience.

The fair is held in a great Exhibition Hall opposite the hotel. It displayed ~~a considerable fair~~ <sup>Textiles, fur, baskets, ~~pottery~~ <sup>ceramics</sup>, sewing machines, foods, and a few items of heavy machinery.</sup>

Buyers come from around the world, but I understand the Chinese are disappointed at this year's sparse attendance — one of many ironies of the Chinese economy since a basic Chinese line is independence from the rest of the world.

But recession outside is nonetheless haunting inside. I <sup>asked</sup> ~~inquired~~ of an American economist about the degree & levels of state economic planning. Who decides they're going to produce sewing machines & how many. In economics in everything else the Chinese reveal as little as possible. They have not taken the Marxist approach of giving first priority to ~~control~~ <sup>control & development</sup> of heavy industry, as have the Russians. Quite the opposite — first priority in China has been agriculture to feed her people. Throughout the Fair are displays showing flood control, irrigation & terracing; one is called "Transforming the Mountains & Rivers in Chunan County in the Spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed mountains." Heavy propaganda, but dead serious business.

The allocation of resources for export reflects the simple necessity of foreign exchange capacity to pay for grains which still must be imported. Decisions of this sort are made at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (and above) which ~~and~~ assignments & allocations <sup>to</sup> geographical regions & trading corporations. Later, in Peking, we saw something quite new — some sheets in a shop window, with ballots for people to vote ~~on~~ whether they wanted them & which models they prefer. But I have yet to see a sheet on a Chinese girl. Apparently will the Chinese people, like the Russians ahead of them, once they are fed & relatively secure begin demanding more necessities? — ~~a pretty damp~~ This question, I understand, is one of grave concern to the leadership, which fears that <sup>this</sup> ~~Chinese~~ demand could very well get out of hand. I don't blame them. I feel I saw at least a few million Chinese & I never saw a hungry looking one. The teen age boys & girls are particularly good looking & energetic and, I'd guess, not likely to be forever content with ~~sister~~ baggy blue pants. A particular hazard is the practice — a very sensible one in some respects — of shipping large numbers of ~~junior~~ <sup>16 yr old</sup> graduates of junior middle school from the city to the country, requiring that they stay there for 2 yrs or permanently unless they are selected for higher & specialized education. Just a little experience with teenagers reveals the ~~stages~~ <sup>perils</sup> of this process. And these children unlike their parents remember the Long March no better than ours do the Great Depression.

The big character poster was the device which was used for free speech in the let a hundred flowers blossom... period, which got badly out of hand and the subsequent Great Cultural Revolution which brought back a severe dictatorship of the proletariat here. At this moment ~~major discussions are~~ <sup>major discussions are</sup> ~~held but in part 2~~ <sup>in part one</sup> ~~major discussions~~ + quite frank & explicit, which explain the meaning of "dictatorship of the proletariat" in relation to China's present state of development. One of these is by Chang-Chin-chiao, a leading intellectual member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP who expresses, of course, contempt for Russian revisionism but also concern over capitalist & class tendencies expressed ~~China~~ <sup>in</sup> the eight scale wage ~~system~~ <sup>scale</sup> and the commodity system & show that the revolution is unfinished. Chairman Mao, for what he has already accomplished, must be regarded as one of the world's great leaders; he has the intelligence, nerve, & power to continue the just enough revolution to keep capitalism from interfering with the march toward full "dictatorship of the proletariat". He reminds me of St Paul in the absolute authority of his pronouncements based on conviction & certainty of his goal. But he is a very old man & human nature is a very persistent force. Will his successors be able to carry on. New & radical as the effort looks, one has only to throw back across the Dynasties & Kingdoms of China past to feel that all this is not so new & radical, that this Dynasty will have its hour - and the Chinese farmer with his shackle will be putting out the sprouts of rice when the old one finds the seed (bottle).

Geo & Barbara Bush

15

One thing I was most curious about was how the Bushes live & operate in Peking.

The Liaison Office & residence are in connected modern two-story buildings. The residence is large & comfortable, furnished originally by the David Mues & made warm by many pictures of Bush family & friends. The house staff is excellent. It is employed & assigned by an agency of the PRC. The food is superb & of infinite variety. With the exception of a few staples like rice, shrimp, or noodles, we hardly had the same dish twice & almost never one the contents of which I could identify.

This establishment is next to the <sup>Temple of the Sun</sup> Park and a block or so away from the International Club & the Friendship Store. One not unimpressive fact of life in Peking is that <sup>at night</sup> before bed Barbara takes C. Fred, the rather special cooker, for a long walk. In how many other capitals could she do that? Incidentally I liked the park between 6 & 7 in the morning when it was fairly full of people young & old doing their ritualistic Tai chi chuan exercises or just standing alone in a grove of trees singing at full voice. At the same time a military band is practicing & recruits are going thru elementary drills.

Bush's job is of course the job of any ambassador: communicating <sup>on</sup> China matters to Washington, representing his country's views to Peking, generally promoting the aims of the Shanghai communique, assisting & entertaining congressional, business & professional, and personal visitors.

Down the  
main Bureau  
→

But here it is more than that. It is to build from

the ground up the Chinese regard for the USA.

Admittedly some prejudice in the media, I can hardly

imagine a couple better suited to this assignment.

In the first place, the Peking assignment in and of

those ever offers a good bit more comfortable and

visible because he felt it to be interestingly

important and challenging. Secondly, they are

prepared by experience. Jack has been a member of Congress,

ambassador to the UN & Chairman of the RNC. Neilan

of the last two jobs, at the time Jack told them, were

generally regarded as easy, pleasant, & politically

rewarding. But in fact, though his extraordinary

good will, integrity, & positive attitude, he has made

a wide range of friends among leaders abroad &

at home. The kind ingredient which I just must make

favorable & productive impression is that they truly

like the Chinese people & also great sensitivity to

their feelings and their way of life. Barbara bringing

to market & George to Taiwan have gotten down

publicly at home. This is no exception. No the

way they'd operate anywhere. And you can be quite

sure that their George & George and all this

personal contacts along history are not unknown

to Chinese officials.

George is the best Taiwan player in the foreign community

& probably in Peking. The Chinese go & his associates enjoy

him greatly & they have each other's confidence and will

technically  
notes  
"play" the  
game  
to play  
a game  
to play  
a game

great good house. After church (this another subject)  
I wish and I had a 5 set match against the  
Chinese and the Chinese Ambassador David  
Jawwei. I regret to admit that we lost but the  
two outstanding pros who stood by the net <sup>to them</sup> ~~there~~  
were delighted because they had announced <sup>to them</sup> ~~there~~  
in advance the score by which we were going  
to win.

The Church is dear to Mr. Jawwei

The Russian job is hard work. He goes to his office at 8:30, has his daily office meeting, reads memoranda of cables & mail, calls in on assistants then telephone, and attends to visiting commissioners, delegations, & travelers like ourselves. He leaves his office at 5:30, & yet for a reception & dinner then for dinner & a quiet evening at home. <sup>the Russians</sup> Their want to preserve feet of their; arrangements, in order to learn, all to that.

to attend our thing apply to the Govt and may in many  
not receive tickets. By the way we are entitled  
the China - Algeria Trade meet in the next  
Stadium. And while we were here to  
take the main road to the West about the  
Hing Toubou, we were not far to take any  
ride made on stop & wait along the way.  
But that instructions are part of the game &  
must be judged not by our own experience but  
in relation to how things were last year & how  
they might be next year in China. Very gradually  
I gather, rigid limitations are becoming a bit  
less rigid in some respects. And interestingly  
enough will find more flexibility in days.  
Shanghai from in 1949.

## Random observations -

<sup>estimated her</sup>  
~~Estimates of China's population range from 700 to 900 million~~ <sup>To be 850</sup>, most of whom live in the great cities & rich farm land of the river basins near the China sea. Shanghai I believe is the largest city in the world. One's strongest impression is of an endless, restless sea of people. Then there is their uniformity - all, it first appears, in a baggy blue coat with baggy blue or grey pants, the men with caps like Chairman Mao's, the girls with pig tails. There are ~~only~~ 2 notable exceptions: army <sup>men</sup> officers in green (officers with 4 pockets, enlisted men with 2), air force in green & blue, navy in blue. And the children - bearers of colors & smiles. I read somewhere that there are more children in China under 10 than the total population of USSR - and I can believe it. At one point there had been a move to break up the families, putting children where they could be indoctrinated without influence of traditional family structure. This didn't work - the children of course are rigidly indoctrinated in school & community but one of the most conspicuous aspects of China is affection for children. The parks & museums were teeming with parents & little children, enjoying their day off or holiday visit to the big city.

How uniform is thought & behavior in this uniform-looking place? The answer is quite uniform. The average person has virtually no access to thought or word not issued by the State. The cadres of brigade & block see that the line is held. From time to time there are rumors of uprisings in Fukien, <sup>Hong Kong</sup> Szechuan, or <sup>Zhejiang</sup>. There are more factional disputes than protests against the system. The Central Committee publishes the Reference News, circulation about 6 million, which brings to cadres all over China which sets forth the "new" and party line.

What is our government's purpose in China? Is Ambassador Bush accomplish anything? How do we operate there? I tried to get answers to these questions, and the ones I offer are put together on my own; They are certainly not those of Amb Bush & his office.

In simplest terms, China, particularly in relation to Russia, to Japan, & to our Pacific & Asian interests is of great and increasing importance. Clearly it makes sense for the US to develop some degree of communication & understanding with this great force. China, at the same time, sees <sup>the</sup> great usefulness of the USA in the all important matter of keeping Russia off balance. They were profoundly impressed by the Russian move in Czechoslovakia & feel that the best way of keeping that from happening to China's borderlands is continued US ability to require Russian attention.

In Peking we have a Liaison Office (of about 29 people) and a Liaison Officer rather than a fully accredited Embassy & Ambassador. It did not appear to me that this difference of status seriously limits our ability to perform the purposes of the Shanghai communique. I gather that all foreigners are restricted in their travel & in access to information about what's going on in China & her govt. As would be so in any country, some representations are more warmly received than others. But I certainly felt that Geo Bush & his country are taken seriously & regarded as important to the govt of PRC. In addition to strict control & traditional unsociability, we must pay a price for our

relationships with Taiwan, which is an excellent theme to the PRL.

My guess is that our fundamental relationship is not likely to take any great turn for the better <sup>in what</sup> in the near future. ~~But I do believe~~ I do ~~not~~ <sup>very</sup> foresee anything ~~there~~, in a word still very much part of power, for ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~deeper~~ <sup>in</sup> in SE Asia. But I get the feeling that within the obvious & not insignificant limitations, there ~~but~~ <sup>that</sup> steady progress is being made by an excellent Ambassador (his own officer if you will) and his outstanding capable professional staff.

To the Board

of the  
University of

California

On Mon 28 Apr - We had requested a visit to a Commune, but having heard nothing we were arming ourselves with 'guide books' & cameras to explore another part of the city. Out of the <sup>city</sup> ~~city~~ <sup>district</sup> we got word; be ready to leave in 10 min for a Commune.

We visited the Double Bridge People's Commune which lies several miles to the east of the city. In early morning we moved against the stream of commuter <sup>trains</sup> ~~trains~~ <sup>2 wheel flatbeds</sup> marked traffic. Horse drawn, mostly, often with massive loads drawn by 3 <sup>horses</sup> ~~horses~~, or flat bed Tricycles ~~peddled~~ <sup>drawn</sup> by one man. Or flatbeds Towed by a 2 wheel garden tractor. Always heavily laden & always with at least one person sleeping on top the load. Add to these burrloads of workers & heavy industry & military trucks & you have a substantial torrent. But not enough to daunt Mr. <sup>in PRC</sup>, the most determined & intrepid of drivers. ~~Both~~ His boldness and his air of authority made me wonder if he does not hold a position more important than chauffeur. <sup>What</sup> ~~However~~ the case, his <sup>steady eye at the wheel</sup> ~~was always~~ & patient manner.

Turning off the main road we drove between well tilled fields thru the Commune entrance - stone columns with a red arch bearing the usual political messages - to the central buildings. Our interpreter introduced us to the Vice Chairman of the Commune & we were ushered into the reception room for tea (all reception rooms seem to have exactly the same stuffed furniture & pictures of Mao, Marx, Lenin, & Engels).

The vice chairman told us about his commune.

The commune was established in 1958. It now has a population of 40,000 and the <sup>occupied</sup> ~~area is~~ 90 sq kilometers.

The Commune is subdivided in 3 levels <sup>into</sup> 6 production brigades, 62 production Teams, and 15 enterprises. Major crops are rice & wheat. It also produces vegetables & fruit. Its animal division consists of 3 dairy farms, 1 horse farm, 3 pig farms and a duck farm which produces the famous Peking delicacy which enjoyed the night before. The industry division includes an insecticide factory, flour mill, repair shop, & some fish ponds. The chairman pointed out that this was not naturally fertile land. Before liberation (the word always used to mean the 1949 defeat of the Kuomintang) the land yielded only 800 kg per hectare(?). It produced only corn & sorghum & was not self sufficient. In 1974 under Commune management production had increased 9-fold, to 7500 kg. Now it is more than self-sufficient. It produces 10,000 kg of milk daily and 50,000 kg of vegetables. It also produces ducks, fruit, meats for market.

There are 6 middle schools & 19 primary. Education is compulsory thru junior middle school & all have the opportunity for senior middle school, which I believe is completed at the age of 16.

There is a public health center in every production brigade & each Team has a clinic staffed by the "barefoot doctors". At the center there are 30 state trained doctors, and at the clinics 150 barefoot doctors. The state trained men have had a tour studying "Western medicine" in a major hospital. The barefoot "para medical" practices traditional Chinese medicine which appears to mean herbs & acupuncture for minor problems, the common cold being the most constant problem. If a person is too sick

for clinic or center he is sent into a major hospital in the city. Inoculations have virtually ended infectious diseases & spartan life makes an exceptionally healthy community. Every member pays 1 yuan per year and receives complete medical care.

The Vice Chairman said that while great progress had been made, the general standard of living was still not high. "Many problems remain." Most of the commune work is done by hand. Scientific farming is in its initial stages. But he feels with very great efforts there is great potential to be achieved thru mechanization. While that is no doubt true one wonders how all those lands will be occupied when displaced by farm machinery.

He ended his comments with a warm welcome to Amb. Bush & his friends & hoped that the visit would promote understanding & friendship between our 2 peoples.

Bush asked how production goals are set. Higher organs (Ministry of Agriculture) make up the basic plan, with priorities, quotas, etc. The commune reviews its part of the total, & can suggest revisions. In the process the interest of the state comes first, then the improvement of the community, & finally increased income to the individual, but each interest is considered in relation to the other.

<sup>What</sup> If the Commune needs outside help? ~~can~~ There is great emphasis on self-reliance. But in busy seasons the commune forces can be supplemented by city people. Agriculture is basis of China's economic development. Gov. department is supposed to

support it in men, machines, & technique & repairs. Other depts are supposed to take initiative. Spinning communes cooperate on some projects such as lakes & irrigation systems. The commune has 130 wells & wants a total of 300. Apparently there is pretty good ~~water~~ research on water resources.

Reforestation is a major effort - to hold ~~and~~ build soil from wind & rain off. We saw a tree nursery & extensive plantings everywhere we went.

What is the system of payment for work? Pay to individuals is distributed annually according to a point system for quality & quantity of work. The best performance gets 10 points for a days work. The worker estimates his own worth, generally on the low side. This is adjusted then mass discussion among fellow workers. The average annual distribution is 350 Yuan to each laborer (120 per capita). Income from small family plots is in addition. Living costs are low, prices are stable, & there are no taxes. Some families have fewer laborers & more mouths to feed; they receive extra support. But most families have some surplus & they, like our selves, put it in the bank, invest in the communal enterprise, or spend it on something like a bicycle or sewing machine.

We were taken on a tour of the pig & duck farms. Everyone seems to like little pigs & little ducks. Then to what I'd call the commissary store <sup>with</sup> a neat stock of ordinary necessities, to a family room, and to the

barefoot doctors clinic. The young mother invited us  
 into ~~her small 3 room~~ <sup>her small 3 room</sup> establishment, each room not much  
 larger than  $7 \times 12$ , all neat & clean white washed  
 walls with a picture of Chairman Mao, some furniture  
 photographs, & a sewing machine. The center room  
 has a small stove from which the heat is piped under  
 the bed in the adjoining room. Plumbing is in a  
 nearby community facility. She has a husband &  
 3 small children. Two university students from the  
 city are temporarily occupying the third room, so  
 I suppose mother, father, & 3 children share the other  
 small bedroom. She ~~wishes~~ <sup>likes</sup> to work in the fields but is  
 eager to work wherever she is most needed, which  
 is the attitude of almost everyone expressed. Elementary  
 school children did a little song & dance - very  
 cute & proficient, & of course the songs were fundamental  
 doctrine.

The commune, they say, has very little crime or  
 antisocial behavior; the community structure tight  
 and puritanical. The occasional bad actor is called  
 in for mass discussion, the pressure of which, must  
 have great force. He has the opportunity to criticize  
 himself and punishment if any is not <sup>meted according</sup> ~~a matter~~  
<sup>to rights,</sup> of codes, & blind justice but <sup>to attitude & resolve</sup> ~~of the~~  
 toward proper future service.

HM - JF - That you'd  
like to see that all  
went well for Beniss -  
Bryan's

南京飯店

NANKING HOTEL

GB

Dearest Bar,

Another first - May Day in Nanking. We have just  
emerged from a 2 1/2 hr. <sup>cultural</sup> performance - music & ballet in  
The park. At the 2 hr. mark, Mary Bryan was heard to remark  
That she'd been a real good traveller up to now. Our guide,  
Mr Tui (??) is excellent - he took George & Mrs. Bush & Mrs.  
Clement around at Christmastime and is full of praise  
for them all. He confided this morning that George had  
made a very good impression on the Chinese people, to which  
I responded that the American people had thought it very  
important to send to China the best we had. It was apparently  
the right line - 2 points for each side.

I did wish you could have seen us - particularly Tennant -  
sitting in the center of the section reserved for foreign <sup>friends</sup>  
(on campstools 10 inches high) surrounded by Albanians.

4M - 27 - That would  
 like to see that all  
 went well for business -



NANKING HOTEL

Dearest Tom,

Another first - May Day in Nanking. We have just  
 ended from a 2 1/2 hr. <sup>Cultural</sup> performance - music & ballet in  
 the park. At the 2 hr. mark, Ward Bishop was heard to remark  
 that this was a real good transfer up to now. Our guide,  
 Mr. Liu (??) is excellent - he took pride in the tour & was  
 charming around all Christians and is full of brains  
 for them all. He confessed this morning that people had  
 made a very good impression on the Chinese people, to which  
 I responded that the American people had thought it very  
 important to send to China the best we had. It was apparently  
 the right time - 2 points for each side.  
 I did wish you could have seen us - particularly Tennant -  
 sitting in the center of the section reserved for foreign  
 (our counterparts in other words) surrounded by Americans.

中國南京飯店  
 250 North China Road, Nanking, China

# 南京飯店

NANKING HOTEL

Tanzanians, The PLO and about 200 n. Vietnamese.  
At least 1/2 of the musical numbers were in celebration  
of The glorious victory of The South Vietnamese in liberating  
Their country. The dozen or so PLO's, led by a quite  
good looking man in an Arab's scarf, all looked like  
middle linebackers for The Green Bay Packers <sup>or heavyweight boxers with long careers!</sup> If I would  
not have thought most of them were students.

The train trip turned out to be great fun and perfectly  
comfortable. I get claustrophobic in lower berths, so that  
decision was made early and amicably, although Tennant  
first announced that he and Gerry would take the top. Once  
that was settled, the luggage was satisfactorily stowed and  
we settled down to a very pleasant trip. No one on the  
train spoke one word of English - Thank heaven the numbers  
are the same - but we were very good at charades and  
The dining car steward protected us from that amazon.

中国南京中山北路259号

259 North Chung Shan Road Nanking China

# 南京飯店

NANKING HOTEL

Tamara, the PLO and about 200 Vietnamese.

At least 10 of the wounded were in celebration of the glorious victory of the Vietnamese in liberating

their country. The down or so PLO's led by a quite

good looking man in an Arab's coat. All looked like middle linebackers for the Green Bay Packers. I would not have thought most of them were students.

The train trip turned out to be great fun and perfectly

comfortable. I got claustrophobic in lower berth, so that

decision was made early and wisely, although I thought

that announced that he and Jerry would take the top. Once

that was settled, the luggage was satisfactorily stored and

we settled down to a very pleasant trip. No one on the

train spoke one word of English - I think because the number

one the same - but we were very good at charades and

The dining car steward protected us from that assassin.

# 南京飯店

NANKING HOTEL

Gerry had great success at joining The morning exercise class he came upon in The corridor before breakfast - the whole crew led by an army officer. He joined <sup>Them</sup> and <sup>Then</sup> was allowed to photograph. I hope it comes out.

We can never Thank you for our week in Peking. You are The world's best hostess and champion tour guide. I wrote down everything we had done and couldn't believe how much we had packed in, all of it unforgettable, from Imperial ~~beauty~~ <sup>magnificence</sup> to The glimpses of what it must have been like to The amazing introduction to China Today, which is continuing here. I am sure you have had and will have many guests who come better educated and better prepared, but you will never have any more appreciative, more affectionate, or as proud of you and George as we are. Thank you for sharing it all with us. Love, love, love. Margaret

中国南京中山北路259号

259 North Chung Shan Road Nanking China

# 南京飯店

NANKING HOTEL

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with us. Love, love, love, Mary and

中國飯店地址：上海南京路

389 North China Road, Shanghai

FITZGERALD BEMISS

P. O. BOX 1156

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

File

17 May 75

§ HWB

Here are the concluding pages to be added to what you have (which I've cleared up even more) & to be pruned or axed with the rest. Assuming it passes the tests you must apply to it, is it in your opinion a fair, & fairly accurate account?

§.B

HM  
File under  
Business

When our friend George Bush became U.S. Envoy to the People's Republic of China and invited us to visit him in Peking, we accepted without a moments hesitation. Mid-April suited both of us, so Margaret and I set out on the considerable task of gaining entry, arranging schedules, and cramming on writings on ancient and modern China.

The first and crucial hurdle is getting the PRC entry visa. About 7,000 Americans have managed to get to China since the Nixon visit in 1972, most of these in carefully selected groups of interest to the Chinese Government, agricultural, medical, or trade, for example. The American tourist who just wants to travel around China, many thousands of whom have applied, does not stand much of a chance. One reason is that China has not the hotels, transportation, and interpreter-guides to handle quantities of tourists. What they do have they prefer to apply to entertaining "foreign friends" for political rather than economic purposes. Another reason is that the Maoist society is still in early stages of development, and the question of the nature and degree of contact with Westerners, particularly Americans, must await answers to other more pressing questions.

~~For us the visa problem was relatively easy because our application was accompanied by an invitation from Ambassador Bush to be his guests.~~  
But ~~Our~~ request was granted as a courtesy to the Ambassador and not because our presence served a purpose of any significance to the PRC. Friends Tennant and Mary Bryan had to

stew a bit. Though they were invited just as we were, Tennant, as a Western newspaperman, is in a category most anxious for admission and most consistently turned down. Happily, the Bryans got their visa, with Tennant's assurance that he would go as a guest and not as a professional newspaperman.

Incidentally, the process of visa application is good preparatory education. The PRC Liaison Office in Washington is in a large apartment building on Connecticut Avenue. You ring the bell and someone in the basic blue cotton suit peeks out and admits you only when you've stated your business. I was politely offered a seat to wait for the proper official - a short wait I enjoyed on several occasions. I read articles on the Third World (Asia, Africa, and South America), on the recent People's Congress, and a story about the political activities of a young girl who applies the precepts of Chairman Mao to settle a difference between an old revisionist and a young revolutionary, thereby increasing productivity and harmony at the commune. On another occasion I listened to a conversation in Chinese between a young American archeologist and a Chinese official, holding both in awe for managing it so easily. On yet another visit, quite unexpectedly, I was handed the coveted visas and marched off in triumph, only to realize that I couldn't tell what it said. The only solution was a visit to a Chinese speaking friend in the State Department, who revealed that we could enter and leave China by any of the normal avenues and stay 14 days.

We began laying plans, as if plans had something to do with what we would end up doing, to fly into Peking from Tokyo and to

depart from Peking by train for a 3-day, 1,667 mile passage through Mongolia, across the plains trampled by the hoards of Ghengis Khan and of his grandson Kublai, to the Russian city of Irkutsk on the western shore of Lake Baikal, and thence 3,200 miles by plane to Moscow. This is no easy matter to arrange from Richmond, Virginia and, as it turned out, no easier in Washington or Peking. There is no Mongolian representative in this country to ask for a transit visa, and letters and cables to Ulan Bator are less effective than notes left in tree trunks for leprechauns. The Soviets will not grant a visa without Intourist certification of plane and hotel reservations, which you cannot secure without the Mongolian transit visa. We learned later that the most experienced travelers would allow six months of applying and waiting in Peking to break through this web. But we did not regret happy hours spent with Airline Guide and Atlas devising alternate Plans B, C, and D. We would need pieces of all of them in due course.

As important as all these logistics is as much homework as one can do on ancient and modern China. We gathered quite a collection of literature out of which I give these titles top priority:

China Today by Joan and Jerome Cohen - a well-described and illustrated mixture of a Chinese history and art survey and account of life in modern China.

The Good Earth by Pearl Buck - this classic provides a reference point for comparing the lot of the Chinese peasant of present and of recent past.

Notes from China by Barbara Tuchman - a short report on recent China travels by a fine reporter and historian.

20th Century China by Edmund Clubb - a full-length history by an experienced China watcher. Useful for perspective on ancient Chinese traditions and modern history.

I have business in Alaska, so I set off ahead of Margaret and the Bryans, arriving April 14 in Fairbanks in what looked like a first-class blizzard. Actually, it's about break-up time in Alaska. That's a moment to the tenth of a second, when a special rig set on the ice in the Tanana River moves a certain precisely recorded distance. It usually occurs in the last week of April or first week of May, and the towns are a great, dirty, melting mess. The Fairbanks airport is a fascinating place, churning with bulldozer operators, geologists, oil company executives - in parkas and boots - Eskimos and Texans - drunk and sober - some making \$1,500 per week, others quitting, defeated by the harshness of the place. It's a view of the last of our physical frontiers.

I mention this because it offered an interesting comparison when a few days later we entered the Peking airport, this one churning with men and women in faded blue suits, under a huge picture and slogan of Chairman Mao. Here the frontier is a revolutionary movement of epochal scale and consequence.

Tennant, Mary, and Margaret joined me in Anchorage and on Thursday, April 17, we began our trip by sitting in the grounded plane for 5½ hours, delayed by "mechanical difficulties," not unlike

ships in the days of sail waiting days on end in port for a fair breeze. This caused us to miss the connection to Hong Kong but provided a night's sleep in Tokyo and a more interesting daylight flight the next morning over Okinawa (which I last saw in 1945), around Taiwan, and into Hong Kong.

The Crown Colony of Hong Kong is surely a unique anachronism -- an active volcano of entrepreneurial capitalism, Miami Beach splendor, poverty and wealth of ancient oriental proportions, in view of mainland China and not far east of Haiphong. The gaudy Hong Kong Hilton, a victorian British court building, the Communist China bank, and a cricket field are all cheek-by-jowl in the heart of town. The British got the island in 1842 in compensation for <sup>the</sup> Chinese having sought to curtail British opium trade. Later they acquired the Kowloon peninsula, for as good a reason. The adjoining New Territories are occupied under 99-year lease ending in 1997, a not insignificant factor in Hong Kong's future.

The PRC could snuff out Hong Kong at any moment but does not choose to do so because the Colony serves as its major trade and financial link with the outside world. (At least one way for them to squeeze Hong Kong would be to turn the valve and shut off 25% of the water supply.) Many Chinese citizens maintain some contacts on the mainland and are able to drift back to visit relatives and family shrines. Officials of our EPA would expire at the Hong Kong approach to environmental matters. There is no sewage treatment; everything goes straight into the sea. If you have money enough, you can build

anything anywhere on the island, or make some new land in the sea and build there. But all land is Crown land, not owned in fee simple but leased for not more than 50 years.

It takes a while to comprehend Hong Kong's position, not as a brassy tourist and banking center tied by free-flowing jets to Tokyo, Honolulu, and Los Angeles, but as a part of Southeast Asia and the affairs of Bangkok, Singapore, and Manila. In our brief stay we met immensely comfortable Chinese millionaires, reporters from the Vietnam battlefield, a sad and delicate little princess from Hue whose family has probably been killed there, and the wife of a U.S. official who was "thought to be" in Saigon. We met Robert Liu, AP Bureau Chief, and Jim Bondrier, photo chief. Bondrier, just out of Saigon, stated that the capital would fall within ten days, an estimate which turned out to be too liberal. Our Consulate staff in Hong Kong is large enough to equal the size of our tenth largest Embassy, which indicates its importance for China and Southeast Asia watching, as well as to our extensive commercial interests there.

Tennant and I, with Consulate help, used a full afternoon to arrange final clearance for entry to Canton and travel to Shanghai and Peking, but were free Sunday to join the group as guests of a most hospitable Chinese surgeon for a swimming-picnic excursion de grande luxe at the southern tip of the island. There is no sports fishing and little commercial fishing near Hong Kong, due to overfishing and pollution, but there were two junks nearby, the families from which had gill-netted a quantity of small herring-like fish which

they had flaked out <sup>ashore</sup> on a great rock to dry and cure. Ten or twelve of a family may live entire lives in these crowded and harsh quarters <sup>generally in</sup> in, it is said, ~~noticeably~~ greater harmony than the average land-based family. We ~~returned to the hotel~~ <sup>passed</sup> via Aberdeen, a floating city of junks and sanpans. The name Hong Kong is derived from words meaning Fragrant Harbour. Aberdeen is surely that. All the waste from these thousands of families goes right overboard and is stagnated around these hull to hull craft. A fragrance of significant proportions!

On Monday morning we left our splendid digs at the Hilton (which we would have occasion to remember wistfully) for the 10:30 train and a 1½ hour ride through Kowloon and the New Territories to the boarder at Lo Wu on the Shum Chun River. The way is through the big city's suburban hodgepodge -- past the University, small gardens tended to the last inch, the Fanling Golf Course, a trainload of very smelly pigs, and a series of small market towns.

At Lo Wu we were escorted to a waiting room for the first in a relentless series of passport examinings and form-fillings, and then on foot across the famous bridge - a plain steel railroad bridge, covered with corrugated metal, not 30 yards long, across the still and filthy little river, guarded by proper but unsmiling PRC soldiers. Across, you are in the People's Republic of China and in a world so different - one might say, at first, <sup>so</sup> ~~at first,~~ unreal - that one is hard put to record and reconcile one's impressions. Here suddenly are the pronouncements of Chairman Mao on vast red backgrounds and a troop of school children, 6 or 8 years old, led by one of their own bearing

a red flag and singing a patriotic song at full blast. They smile and wave and we applaud. We'll see less smiling as we go North, our friends say. Already the officials smile less - a sharp contrast with the Hong Kong Chinese who seemed always to be smiling. Over the P.A. system blares one of the PRC operas, maybe The White Haired Girl or The Taking of Tiger Mountain by Strategy.

We are escorted to a VIP waiting room - huge and bare, with overstuffed furniture and an assortment of magazines about agricultural triumphs and dictatorship of the proletariat. We have a good lunch of shrimp, rice, vegetables, eggs, beer, and, of course, Chinese green tea, which soon becomes a <sup>pleasant</sup> habit. Once cleared, we board the train for a clean and comfortable (more tea) 1 hour, 45 minute trip to Canton. Here you begin to see China, so old and so new.

There, as forever, is the Chinese peasant planting rice shoots in the paddies of the Pearl River delta, with the old ones tending the idle buffalo. The farming is intense; the same land produces two crops of rice and one of wheat in a year. Production is laboriously increased by cutting away idle hillsides to make more flat ground and by irrigation. Mechanization is rare; man, woman, and child till the fields. They also chop away the hillsides, hauling dirt and rock in baskets to build yet another terrace for more crops - mostly rice and grain here, but also vegetables and fruits. Water impoundments and viaducts for flood control and irrigation are a major enterprise. At the Canton Fair we saw a model of the achievements of the Tachai Production Brigade where "the working people of Tachai before

liberation were cruelly exploited by the Koumintang reactionaries" and annual grain production never exceeded 668 pounds per acre.

"The poor and lower middle peasants put politics in command and put ideology above all else, give full spirit of relying on themselves and persevering in hard struggle, develop their communist of loving the motherland and the collective, and relying on the strength of the collective economy, reshape mountains to build farmland, quarry rock to terrace fields and dam the gulches and build the land to grow crops." Now, the production has increased over tenfold. A little heavy-handed, this, but I am convinced the results are accurately stated.

The rail station in Canton is another of those vast public places. It is hard to imagine why they are built on such a scale. Mr. Li of China Travel Service met us; his translating, arranging, and guiding was not only required by the Government but essential to our movements. This was true throughout our trip, as we moved from city to city and were relayed from one Travel Service agent to another. We were ensconced at the Tungfang Hotel. Our room had a 15' high ceiling, an elegant Chinese electric fan, mosquito netting around the bed, and an aged tag on the door indicating that the room has been disinfected. It had not, however, been deodorized. The hotel staff was largely foreign language students assigned to get experience communicating with Fair visitors from around the world.

Canton is a southern city and has the same mixture of relaxed attitude (and maybe laziness) and occasional social and political

volatility which is found in some other southern communities.

Monuments to Dr. Sun Yet Sen and Mao Tse<sup>1</sup>tung and their revolutionary exploits are prominent. While Bush did Trade Fair business, we had a tour of the Chenhai Museum, five stories of pagoda style built in 1380, <sup>We were guided by</sup> ~~under the guidance of~~ attractive and eager-to-please girls from the foreign language institute. In the process I began learning about photographing Chinese people, which one should not do without first asking permission, which of course spoils some first-rate prospects. I spotted three women sitting in the shade knitting - a good picture - and through Mr. Li requested their permission. Two assented but the third vetoed emphatically, so no picture. The solution<sup>s</sup>, of limited value, <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ either a longer lense from a distance, or to get a companion to pose not quite in front of the subject, <sup>Then</sup> ~~Make~~ a big do about the pose and ~~then~~ aim right past the decoy at the bird.

An important monument is the National Peasant Movement Institute, of which Mao Tse<sup>1</sup>tung was headmaster in 1926. The young guide conveyed the fervor and conviction with which the setting and relics of the Chairman's early revolutionary career are held. The quadrangles of the living and studying spaces reminded Tennant of the University of Virginia; their austerity reminded me more of VMI.

We drove to Shamien Island where the great villas of the 18th and 19th Century foreign colony were built. Walking along the Pearl River quai and beneath the big trees, one imagines the extensive comforts of that departed era. Now all this belongs to the Chinese people, and Mr. Li tells us with emotion that there used to be signs

posted to prohibit dogs and Chinese from the island. On these outings we got first impressions which were repeated and reinforced as we proceeded: the endless numbers of people, poor but well fed and busy, and almost all regarding us as great curiosities and far readier to smile or wave than we had been ~~lead~~ to expect. In every one I saw there seemed to be the same worship of Chairman Mao and commitment to the state. To questions about work or family, the arts or religion, the answer goes the same direction and distance - no wider, no further. To the question, do you like the work you are doing?, the answer is always, "Certainly, I like it, but I will be happy to go wherever the state thinks I can be most useful." This, of course, could not be entirely so and is not, as we learned later. The past is not measured by dynasties, but simply divided into two periods: before liberation and after liberation. "Liberation" was Mao's victory over Chiang Kai-shek in 1949.

The Fair is held in a large exhibition hall opposite our hotel. The displays include textiles, ceramics, baskets, and tobacco -- items obviously for export. Other items, I believe, were for show but kept for domestic use. These included bicycles, thermos bottles, flashlights, watches and a few pieces of heavy machinery. Throughout the Fair are political slogans and reclamation and farm exhibits like Tachai, to which I have referred; ~~and~~ <sup>is</sup> one <sub>A</sub> called "Transforming the Mountains and Rivers of Chunan County in the Spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the Mountains."

Buyers come from many parts of the world. We encountered speculation at the Fair that attendance might fall below previous

years attendance -- one of many ironies of the Chinese economy; while they profess <sup>(and do indeed practice)</sup> self-sufficiency, they ~~do~~ value exports, which are reduced by recession and inflation abroad.

I asked an American economist about the degree and levels of economic planning. Who, for example, decides that sewing machines, and a certain number of them, will be produced? First, Chairman Mao has established the basic order of priority: agriculture first, then light industry, and finally, heavy industry. This is contrary to Marxist doctrine which aims first at heavy industry. Resources are allocated for export to provide exchange for import necessities, the most prominent of which has been grain. But the biggest demand is for mechanizing agriculture and industry at home. Goods for home consumption are sparse but increasing -- a bicycle, a watch, a radio, a sewing machine being generally available. Policy decisions on these matters are made at the State Council or highest level, on the basis of political objectives and information and advice passed up from commune and factory, through trading corporations, provincial governments, and Ministries involved. Later, in Peking, we saw something new -- dresses in a shop window with ballots for people to vote for the models they prefer. But we saw not one Chinese girl wearing dress or skirt. Will the Chinese, like the Russians ahead of them, once they are fed and relatively secure, begin pressing for more niceties? This question, I understand, is of grave concern to the leadership, which fears the development of a strong demand. That is understandable. I think I saw at least a few million Chinese

and no trace of a hungry one. The teenage boys and girls are good looking, energetic, and fun loving -- not likely, I think, to settle for baggy blue suits. *The activity of the crowds in department stores & shops preTells this, I believe.*

The big character poster was the device which was used for free speech in the "let a hundred flowers blossom ... period" and which got badly out of hand. The great Cultural Revolution curbed it and brought back a severe <sup>"criticism of Confucius & Lin Piao"</sup> ~~dictatorship of the proletariat~~ line to combat individualism and ~~elitism~~ elitism. At this moment major discussions are in print on the meaning of "dictatorship of the proletariat" in relation to China's present state of development. One of these is by Chang-Chún-cháio, a leading intellectual member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP who expresses, of course, contempt for Russian revisionism but also concern over capitalist and class tendencies expressed in the eight wage scale and the commodity system. These demonstrate that the revolution is unfinished. He then rationalizes this, saying that it is normal and natural at this stage and will be replaced in the inevitable evolution toward dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao, for what he has already accomplished, must be regarded as one of the world's great leaders; he has the intelligence, nerve, and power to continue just enough revolution to keep capitalism from interfering with the march toward full "dictatorship of the proletariat." He might remind one of St. Paul in the absolute authority of his pronouncements based on certainty and clarity of his goal. But he is a very old man and human nature is a very persistent

force. Will his successors be able to carry on? New and radical as the effort looks, one has only to think back across the Dynasties of China's past to feel that all this is not so new and radical, that this Dynasty will have its hour - and the Chinese farmer and his children will <sup>still</sup> be putting out the rice sprigs while the old one tends the idle buffalo.

(Leaving Canton)

Any sort of arrangements - and particularly rearrangements-lead one into the world's most inscrutable and uncertain bureaucracy - a travel permit, a visit to a track meet, or mailing a package can take days and days. One learns to live with it simply because there's nothing else to do. Sooner or later things either work out, or they don't. But every now and then there is a foul-up of the sort which in the Navy used to be irreverently described as a Chinese fire drill.

Our first good one was at the Canton airport. Extensive negotiations through the Hong Kong Consulate and the Peking Liaison Office had resulted in arrangements for the six of us to leave Canton on the 4:35 PM plane for Shanghai, see an acrobatic performance, and proceed the next day to Peking. Mr. Li, interpreter-guide, had us to the airport at 4 and we proceeded to pile up our considerable luggage at the counter. Right away it was obvious that something was out of whack. Indeed it was; the 4:35 had departed at 4. In some parts of the world, shows of wrath and indignation do some good (now and then it works on EAL); in other parts it does no good, but it does no harm. In the PRC not only does it do no good; it is

certain to make matters a lot worse. In this instance I believe the visiting team scored by being tolerantly amused while Mr. Li, in obvious misery, <sup>and</sup> ~~in~~ his China Travel group berated an unyielding China Airways group. Luckily, a half hour later there was a non-stop flight to Peking - a big IL 62 on which six first-class seats suddenly happened to be free. Later that evening in the Peking Residence, after a bath and excellent dinner, we retained no grudges against CA.

Peking is over 2,000 years old and with a few interruptions has been the capital since Kubla<sup>h</sup> Khan chose it for his own in 1267. It now has a population of 7 million and aspires to be the ideological capital of the Third World. Imperial Peking was compared with Paris for charm and elegance. I had read about the old walled city, the Tartar addition and the Forbidden City within; about the grand avenues and exquisite establishments of courtiers and foreign representatives; about the gentle pink hue of the buildings which, to avoid topping the Emperor, could be no more than two stories high. Well - the liberation hasn't done much for all that. It's accomplishments are in other directions.

It is still a city of grand design. At the heart is the vast Tien <sup>An</sup> ~~An~~ Men Square, bounded on the south by the monumental gate to the Imperial City; on the north the Tartar gate; on the east the Great Hall of the People; and on the west by the National Museum. Through it, east to west, runs Chang An Boulevard, a good 20 lanes wide. The scale of these is overpowering. Bicycles, pedestrians, flocks of school children, farm carts, trucks, and busses pour in

every direction, horns blaring from dawn till late at night like an endless wedding party. The traffic gives way only to the big, black, curtained Red Flag official car. We saw a good many of these and other trappings because "the great and glorious leader" Kim ~~il~~ Sung of Korea was in town on a state visit. China will certainly make progress, but Heaven help it if progress includes Western quantities of private autos.

Impressive as the city is, it can no longer be called elegant. The old city walls have been removed. High buildings rising in blocks are anything but exquisite. The masses have moved into once splendid houses. Pre-liberation architecture, with the exception of designated historic landmarks, gives way here, as elsewhere, to new apartments and stores. Historic buildings and sites are preserved by national, provincial, or local government if they are either useful to the people or to illustrate the genius of the people in feudal or imperialist times. The Summer Palace, for instance, serves as a fine, busy park, so great pains are taken to preserve and restore it. On the other hand, the legation quarter, like <sup>Shamian</sup>~~Shamian~~ Island in Canton, has been converted to general housing to dispose of reminders of foreign humiliation. Foreign embassies ~~are~~ are now in two separate parts of the city and in deliberate proximity to Chinese apartments and parks.

Peking's dust is notable, the most dramatic doses coming with high winds from the Gobi Desert, and daily ~~doses~~ doses coming from the surface of an absolutely grassless city. The combination equipped us to put some truly impressive rings around the Residence bathtubs.

One may regret the replacement of elegance and style by general drabness and uniformity, but it is hard to quarrel with the People's Republic for making available to the average Chinese family the vast marvels of the Forbidden City. If one hesitates to appreciate this, let him read about the miseries of the Chinese peasant just two generations ago. Pearl Buck's <sup>The</sup>/Good Earth is a good place to begin.

(George and Barbara Bush)

One thing I was most curious about was how the Bushes live and operate in Peking.

The Liaison Office and Residence are in connected modern two-story buildings. The Residence is large and comfortable, furnished originally by the David Bruces and made warm by many pictures of Bush family and friends. The house staff is excellent. It is furnished by the PRC's Domestic Service Bureau. The food is superb and of infinite variety. With the exception of a few staples like rice, shrimp, or noodles, we hardly had the same dish twice and almost never one the contents of which I could identify.

This establishment is next to the Temple of the Sun Park and a block or so away from the International Club and the Friendship Store. One not unimpressive fact of life in Peking is that at night before bed Barbara takes C. Fred, the rather special Cocker, for a long walk. In how many other capitals could she do that? Incidentally, the active time in the park is between 6 and 7 in the morning when it is fairly full of people, young and old, doing their ritualistic Tai Chi Chuan exercises or just standing alone in a grove of trees singing at full

voice. At the same time, a military band is practicing and recruits are going through elementary drills.

Bush's job is of course the job of any Ambassador: communicating on China matters to Washington, representing his country's views to Peking, generally promoting the aims of the Shanghai communiqué, assisting and entertaining congressional, business and professional, and personal visitors. But here it is more than that. It is to build from the ground up the Chinese regard for the USA.

Admitting some prejudice in the matter, I can hardly imagine a couple better suited to this assignment. In the first place, the Peking assignment is one <sup>Bush</sup>~~he~~ chose over others' a good bit more comfortable and visible because he felt it to be outstandingly important and challenging. Secondly, they are prepared by experience. Bush has been a member of Congress, Ambassador to the United Nations, and Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Neither of those last two jobs, at the times Bush held them, were generally regarded as easy, pleasant, or politically rewarding. But in both, through his extraordinary good will, integrity, and positive outlook, he has made a wide range of friends among leaders abroad and at home. The third ingredient, which I feel must make favorable and productive impression, is that they truly like the Chinese people and show great sensitivity to their feelings and their way of life. Barbara's bicycling to market and George's to tennis have gotten some publicity at home. This is no affectation. It's the way they would operate anywhere. And you can be quite sure that their goings and comings and all their personal

contacts along the way are not unknown to Chinese officialdom.

George is the best tennis player in the foreign community, and probably in Peking. The Chinese <sup>players assigned to play with foreign visitors</sup> ~~pro and his assistants~~ enjoy him greatly and they tease each other constantly and with great good humor. After church (that's another subject) Bush and I had a 5 set match against <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ Chinese <sup>player</sup> ~~pro~~ and ~~the~~ Ghanan Ambassador, ~~David~~ Akwei. I regret to admit that we lost, but the two <sup>other Chinese players</sup> ~~assistant pros~~ who stood by the net throughout were delighted because Bush had announced to them in advance the score by which we were going to win.

The church is dear to the Bushes. It is a Protestant service, read in Chinese, held in what used to be the reading room of a Bible Study Organization. There is an altar, a lectern, a ~~xxxx~~ piano, and about 30 straight chairs. You pick up a bible and a mimeographed copy of the service (includes hymns) as you enter. The leader of the service is a white haired Chinese of great dignity. The responses and hymns are said and sung in whatever language you happen to speak, a wonderfully ecumenical bedlam. Freedom of worship is permitted under the new constitution, but there is no longer "any need for" a clergy, as that would constitute an elite.

The Bushes job is hard work. He goes to his office at 8:30, has his daily staff meeting, reads mountains of cables and mail, calls on or receives other diplomats, and attends to visiting congressmen, delegations, and travelers. He returns in mid-day for a Chinese language lesson and lunch and to share mail from family and friends with Barbara; then back to the office till 5:30, if he

doesn't leave a bit early for tennis or a reception. There must be precious few quiet evenings at home; house guests like ourselves, in endless flow, see to that.

Like any foreigners, the Bushes are restricted in movement, contact, and access to information. Two minor examples: they do not know what cultural or athletic events are taking place in Peking. If they want to attend one, they apply to the government and may or may not receive tickets. <sup>We applied for + received tickets to</sup> ~~By this means we~~ attended the China-Algeria track meet in the vast ~~Workers~~ <sup>Wakena</sup> Stadium. <sup>(X)</sup> And while we were free

(X) The report of the event varied a bit in tone from that of our own sports pages: "In a warm and friendly atmosphere, the athletes of the two countries did their warm-up exercises together before the contest. In the competition proper, they encouraged one another to gain good results. After the contest, they chatted cordially and summed up their experience together. The friendly attitude won the athletes warm applause from the spectators." This is a gracious way of saying "We smeared them."

accomplishing anything? How do we operate there? I tried to get answers to these questions, and the ones I offer I've put together on my own; they are certainly not those of Ambassador Bush and his office.

In simplest terms, China, particularly in relation to Russia, to Japan, and to our Pacific and Asian interests is of great and

increasing importance. Clearly it makes sense for the U.S. to develop some degree of communication and understanding with this great force. China, at the same time, sees the great usefulness of the USA in the all important matter of keeping Russia off balance. They were profoundly impressed by the Russian move in Czechoslovakia and feel that the best way of keeping that from happening to China's borderlands is continued U.S. capability to require Russia's attention.

In Peking we have a Liaison Office (of about 29 people) and a Liaison Officer rather than a fully accredited Embassy and Ambassador. It did not appear to me that this difference of status seriously limits our ability to pursue the purposes of the Shanghai communiqué. I gather that all foreigners are restricted in their travel and in access to information about what's going on in China and her government. As would be so in any country, some representatives are more warmly received than others. But I certainly felt that George Bush and his country are taken seriously and regarded as important to the government of PRC.

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China estimates her population to be 850 million, most of whom live in the great citys and rich farmland of the river basins near the China Sea. One's strongest impression is of an endless, restless sea of people. Then there is their uniformity -- all, it first appears, in a baggy blue coat with baggy blue or grey pants, the men with caps like Chairman Mao's, the girls with pigtails. There are few notable exceptions in dress: army men in green (officers with 4 pockets, enlisted men with 2), air force in green and blue, navy

in blue. Traffic police stand out in dazzlingly white jackets and caps. And the children; they are the best bearers of colors and smiles - as a lot the cutest children on earth. Old women in the old style might wear a black blouse with high neck and buttons up the side and hobble badly on tiny feet crippled from childhood binding. I read somewhere that there are more children in China under 10 than the total population of USSR -- and I can believe it. At one point there had been a move to break up the family, putting children where they could be indoctrinated without influence of traditional family structure. This didn't work -- the children of course are rigidly indoctrinated in school and community, but one of the most conspicuous aspects of China is affection for children. The parks and museums

were <sup>Teeming</sup> ~~turning~~ with parents and little children, enjoying their day off or holiday visit to the big city. *The Chinese obviously depend on touch. Parents carry & cuddle infants; young girls walk & talk arm in arm, and boys hang on each other. And quite contrary to what I expected, almost*

How uniform is thought and behavior in this uniform-looking place? The answer is quite uniform. The average person has virtually no access to thought or word not issued by the State. The cadres of brigade and block see that the line is held. From time to time there are rumors of uprisings in the provinces. These are more factional disputes than protests against the system. The Central Committee publishes the Reference News, circulation about six million, which brings to cadres all over China, which sets forth the "news" and party lines.

(Double Bridge People's Commune)

We had requested a visit to a Commune, but having heard nothing, we were arming ourselves with guidebooks and cameras to explore

*Instinctively, I reached out & clapped the leader on the shoulder. This gesture brought forth smiles & laughs and a round of vigorous hand shaking -- and we all went on our way.*

*one of the Howard Chinese I exchanged glasses with. I ran head-on into a group of officials in a narrow passage-way at the Summer Palace!*

another part of Peking when, out of the dusty blue, came the word: be ready to leave in 10 minutes for a Commune.

We visited the Double Bridge People's Commune which lies several miles to the east of the city. In early morning we moved against the stream of commuter farm-to-market traffic -- mostly bicycles and horse-drawn, two-wheel flatbeds, often with massive loads, drawn by three horses. Or flatbeds tricycles pedaled by one man. Or flatbeds towed by a two-wheel garden tractor. Always heavy laden and always with at least one person sleeping on top the load. Add to these busloads of workers and heavy industry and military trucks and you have a substantial torrent. But not enough to daunt Mr. Goa, the most determined and intrepid of drivers. His boldness and air of authority made me wonder if he does not hold a position in PRC more important than chauffeur. Whatever the case, he's surely an attractive and patient man.

Turning off the main road, we drove between well tended fields through the Commune entrance - stone columns with a red arch bearing the usual political messages - to the central buildings. Our interpreter introduced us to the Vice Chairman of the Commune and we were ushered into the reception room for tea (all reception rooms seem to have exactly the same stuffed furniture and pictures of Mao, Marx, Lenin, and Engles). The Vice Chairman told us about his Commune.

The Commune was established in 1958. It now has a population of 40,000 and occupies an area of 22,230 acres. The Commune is subdivided in three levels into 6 production brigades, 62 production teams, and 15 enterprises. Major crops are rice and wheat. It also

produces vegetables and fruit. Its animal division consists of three dairy farms, one horse farm, three pig farms and a duck farm, which produces the famous Peking delicacy we'd enjoyed the night before. The industry division includes an insecticide factory, flour mill, repair shop, and some fish ponds. The Vice Chairman pointed out that this was not naturally fertile land. Before liberation the land yielded only 700 pounds of grain per acre. It produced only corn and sorghum and was not self-sufficient. In 1974, under Commune management, production had increased 9-fold. Now it is more than self-sufficient. It produces 22,200 pounds of milk and over 100,000 pounds of vegetables. It also produces ducks, fruits, and meats for market.

There are six middle schools and nineteen primary. Education is compulsory through junior middle school and all have the opportunity for senior middle school, which I believe is completed at the age of 17.

There is a public health center in every production brigade and each team has a clinic staffed by "barefoot doctors." At the centers there are 30 state trained doctors, and at the clinics 150 barefoot doctors. The state trained doctor has had a tour studying "Western medicine" in a major hospital. The barefoot doctor practices traditional Chinese medicine which means herbs and acupuncture for minor problems, the common cold being the most frequent. If a person is too sick for clinic or center, he is sent to a major hospital in the city. Innoculations have virtually ended infectious diseases, and spartan life makes an exceptionally healthy community. Every member pays 1 yuan (57.4¢) per year and receives complete medical care.

The Vice Chairman said that while great progress had been made, the general standard of living is still not high. "Many problems remain." Most of the Commune work is done by hand and scientific farming is in its initial stages. But he feels with very great efforts there is great potential to be achieved through mechanization. While that is no doubt true, one wonders how all those hands will be occupied when displaced by farm machinery.

He ended his comments with a warm welcome to Ambassador Bush and his friends and hoped that the visit would promote understanding and friendship between our two peoples.

Bush asked how production goals are set. Higher organs (Ministry of Agriculture) make up the basic plan, with priorities, quotas, etc. The Commune reviews its part of the total and can suggest revisions. In the process the interest of the state comes first, then the improvement of the community, and finally increased income to the individual, but each interest is considered in relation to the other.

What if the Commune needs outside help? There is great emphasis on self-reliance. But in busy seasons the Commune forces can be supplemented by city people. Agriculture is the basis of China's economic development. Every department is supposed to support it in men, machines, and technique and repairs. Other departments are supposed to take initiative. Adjoining Communes cooperate on some projects, such as lakes and irrigation systems. The Commune has 130 wells and wants a total of 300. Apparently there is good research on water resources.

Forestation is a major effort -- to hold and build soil from wind and runoff. We saw a tree nursery and extensive plantings everywhere we went.

What is the system of payment for work? Pay to individuals is distributed annually according to a point system for quality and quantity of work. The best performance gets 10 points for a day's work. The worker estimates his own worth, generally on the low side. This is adjusted through mass discussion among fellow workers. The average annual distribution is 350 yuan to each laborer (120 per capita). Income from small family plots is in addition. Living costs are low, prices are stable, and there are no taxes. Some families have fewer laborers and more mouths to feed; they receive extra support. But most families have some surplus and they, like ourselves, put it in the bank, invest it in the communal enterprise, or spend it on something like a bicycle or sewing machine.

We were taken on a tour of the pig and duck farms. Everyone seems to like little pigs and little ducks. Then to the commissary store neatly stocked with ordinary necessities, to a family's apartment, and to the barefoot doctors' clinic. The young mother invited us into her small three room establishment, each room not much larger than 7' x 12', with neat and clean white-washed walls, a picture of Chairman Mao, some family photographs, and a sewing machine. The center room has a small stove from which the heat is piped under the bed in the adjoining room for warmth in winter. Plumbing is in a nearby community facility. She has a husband and

three small children. Two university students from the city are temporarily occupying the third room. So I suppose mother, father, and three children share the other small bedroom. She likes to work in the fields but is eager to work wherever she is most needed, which is the attitude ~~of~~ almost everyone expresses. Elementary school children did a little song and dance -- very cute and proficient, and of course the songs were fundamental doctrine.

The Commune, they say, has very little crime or antisocial behavior; the community structure/<sup>is</sup> tight and puritanical. The occasional bad actor is called in for mass discussion, the pressure of which must have great force. He has the opportunity to criticize himself, and punishment, if any, is not meted according to rights, codes, and blind justice but to attitude and resolve toward proper future service.

Drill #2 revolved around a rug. The Peking Friendship Store offers foreigners rather good and inexpensive handicrafts and reproductions (a 93 piece set of China for about \$60, for example). In addition, there are a few antique stores which have pre-liberation porcelains, carpets, and books. They appeared to be a means of getting foreign currency for the leavings of the past which are of less than museum quality. In one of these I bought a nice rug which, with other acquisitions, we hauled back to the Residence to ship home. Later, following generally <sup>respected</sup> ~~accepted~~ advice, we took our modest loot to the Transportation Office to be packed off. This process begins

with a long set in the usual overstuffed chairs filling out forms and having passports examined. Here we discovered the need for another step; all our forms would have to be taken to the customs office at the railway station and then brought back for completion. Fortunately, we had Mr. Goa, office driver, not just for the long ~~hands~~ <sup>haul</sup> back and forth, but for the confrontations with the officialdom of customs, a batch of whom shuffled through our purchase receipts, giving the most pains and time-taking attention to the one for my rug. After a great deal of conversation, which liberally translated meant that the rug was in trouble, we were sent back across the city to the Transportation Office and informed that by regulation effective April 1, no articles from a second-hand store can be exported! Here again the temptation to wrath and indignation; here again the plain fact that it will avail you naught. So I shouldered my rug and marched home to present it to my hostess to embellish the Residence and, if possible and convenient, to be hauled back to the USA with Bush stuff when they complete their tour; if not, then to be a gift from me to the U.S. Government. Again, there was a happy issue from this affliction; Margaret, Mary, and Tennant had to pay more than the cost of their first-hand purchases to have them shipped by slow freight.

I shall mention only a few impressions of the great sights we saw in and near Peking. The Great Wall, Ming Tombs, Summer Palace, and Forbidden City are well and fully described by many distinguished and talented writers. Standing on the Great Wall, after one has taken his pictures and recovered a bit from the impact of simply being there,

he must find a place for a moment alone to listen only to the wind and try to imagine what forces it took to build the Wall and to picture the rude hoards from the north that it held back, allowing the development of a civilization which by the 1st Century A.D. produced paper and astronomical instruments. We were lucky that the gate to the restored Ming Tomb, selected for picnic lunch, was locked, compelling us to wander further to another site, silent and in <sup>ruin</sup> ~~rain~~, which reminded us of the drawings that Piranesi made in <sup>Rome.</sup> ~~mid 18th Century~~ of decaying ~~Roman~~ ruins. Stone and tile fragments are strewn about the ~~empty~~ courtyard. Trees and grass grow from rotting roof timbers. Though the site is protected by the Government, the structures will soon be beyond restoration. Under the mound behind the Temple lies, yet undisturbed, goodness knows what treasures. The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) - (Elizabethan England and the Italian Renaissance were in flower at <sup>about the same</sup> ~~this~~ time) - occurred as a Chinese Renaissance between dominations of foreign Mongul and Manchu. The tombs, the approaching avenue flanked by great stone animals, priests, and warriors, and the hills and valleys in which they are set comprise an awesome and lovely place. And everywhere about are men, women, and children working -- one team removing a hill basket by basketful of dirt to level the hill and build another plot for planting. The variety of levels puzzled me at first. Why always changing? Then you see that the fields are all linked by irrigation ditches. The water serves one field and then another at lower level and so on. Rice fields are flooded; others are watered from two baskets at each end of a bamboo shoulder bar or, on small plots, by using long handled scoops to take water directly from the ditch to the plants.

Drill #3 involved embarkation at the train for Nanking, assisted by Barbara Bush and George's assistant, Jennifer Fitzgerald, and encumbered by five large and six small bags, passports, travel passes, tickets, a three-word pool of Chinese words. We were led through the *railway* station to an office for examination of documents of foreigners and thence to track level and our first-class car. Our luggage and ourselves filled not only our compartment but the entire corridor, so six Americans opened discussions with twelve Chinese railway functionaries on possibilities of another compartment - with no one having any idea of what the other was talking about. The arm waving and confusion of tongues were applied to the cost of an additional compartment, with no result other than to overheat the four travelers. When all had had enough, the conductor - an oriental Valkyrie - pronounced with a few firm gestures that there were no additional compartments. The train departed on the appointed minute and there was nothing else to do but stow our gear, snuggle in, and make the best of it, all which turned out to be surprisingly easy to do. The compartment was actually quite elegant - a big storage area over the corridor, a potted plant in bloom, a huge thermos and mugs for tea, and a loud speaker. <sup>We came prepared with</sup> ~~Bush had given us~~ one valuable bit of information: under the table there is a small knob for turning off the speaker with its endless supply of patriotic opera. The dinner, which was quite good, marked the beginning of a series of amusing and rewarding efforts at ordering from a Chinese menu, conveying our choices to the waiter who spoke no more English than we did Chinese, and then eating the results with chopsticks. We tried everything but sea slugs and liked

most of it. Eight courses, plus rice and soup, make a proper dinner. We struggled to hold it to three.

The problem of the four of us bunking down together for a good night's sleep was far less difficult than feared. The next morning's trip through Yangtze basin, after calisthenics in the corridor with passengers and crew, let us see <sup>new</sup> flatter and richer farmland, but the endless labor of terracing, tilling, and irrigating is the same. One sees an occasional Buddhist pagoda and frequent small burial mounds. The constitution provides freedom of religion and I was told that a few "old-fashioned" people still practice their religion privately, but it's not something for a good Leninist, and the old religions have virtually no followers among the young. The dead are cremated and the ashes, without ceremony, are put in the ground or added to others in these small conical mounds.

The train crosses the river and enters the city on the Nanking Yangtze River Bridge, an object of great pride pictured on embroidery, calendar, and poster across the land. The visitor should, and practically must, visit the Bridge - not so much for the Bridge itself as for what it means to the Chinese. It was built in the 1960's; before, every freight or passenger rail car, every truck, cart, and man had to cross the wide and powerful river by primitive ferry. This conquest of the river is good cause for pride, but more than that, it is an outstanding example of Chairman Mao's call for "self-reliance" and hard work" in that it was designed and built entirely by the Chinese. It was pointed out that the "perfidious, revisionist Russian Government" had contracted to assist with advice and steel,

but had torn up the contract and tried to sabotage the construction. The Anshang workers developed and delivered the steel within two years. Four thousand full-time workers were supported by many more thousands of volunteer students, workers, and soldiers. I dwell on the Bridge because what we heard here we heard many times over: China is a poor but developing country - only 26 years old one interpreter told us - destitute in 1949 after centuries of foreign exploitation and imperialist tyranny, it is rebuilding under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the dictatorship of the proletariat - it is a slow process but success is certain. In this presentation, and in every other, the propaganda was heavy-handed. It was not something recited just for us; it is fundamental <sup>doctrine</sup> ~~faith~~ and a matter of deep and zealous faith. More and more it seemed to me that Chairman Mao is for the Chinese a mixture of Moses, St. Paul, and George Washington. The visitor may not like a system which puts state first and individual last; but he is bound to respect its seriousness, its accomplishments, and its determination. The "self-reliance and hard work" and the propriety and discipline of the society would be a rude shock to many vocal leftists who criticize our own society.

In Nanking we were met by Mr. Tsei Yen of China Travel Service, a gentle and intelligent man who got us in two Shanghais (like maybe a 1950 Plymouth in appearance but quite modern in performance) to the Nanking Hotel. Its grounds are attractively planted and ample enough for me to have a frizbee throwing session with the staff. This hotel and others we used is operated by China Travel Service for overseas visitors. They are quite good, with a mixture of elegance and deferred

maintenance. At each point we seemed to be the only Americans. Other guests were Albanians, Africans, overseas Chinese, and a few Canadians, all in special groups. Nanking is a relief after Peking. Though it has <sup>2.4</sup>~~2.4~~ million people, it appears relaxed and intimate. A green arch of severely pruned Plane trees (Sycamore) cover and shade the streets; azaleas and other spring flowers were in bloom and the nearby Purple Mountains look not unlike the wooded foothills of the Blue Ridge at this time of year. We went to the Nanking Observatory, on top of the highest of these hills, and saw the magnificent Ming bronze reproductions of instruments invented by the Chinese nearly 2,000 years ago - the celestial sphere and the armillary sphere. The modern 60 centimeter telescope for tracking satellites is a modest affair, but here again, it was built through hard work and self-reliance by the Nanking workers. Just down the hill you see the remains of the tomb of the first of the Ming emperors, which to our regret was not a first magnitude star for Mr. Tsei.

We hit it off ~~well~~ with Mr. Tsei and persuaded him to take us to a good local restaurant. Foreigners are always segregated to a special antiseptic sideroom, while the Chinese churn about in the main rooms which are large, dim, and noisy. We were complimented to be asked across the line to exchange greetings with an ebullient wedding party, shaking hands and clapping for each other. Tennant, Mr. Tsei, and Margaret (who was trained in Korcula and upper Hanover County) handled the 120 proof sorghum brandy with graceful ease. Mary and I went through various subterfuges to avoid having to toss it down.

May Day in Nanking People's Park was, mildly described, an unusual experience. Mr. Tsei had tickets for us to the open air stage show. To our embarrassment, the two Shanghais blared and shoved through the masses along the no-vehicle park lanes right to the stage. We were ushered to special seats for visiting friends - the Third World and us. The most intriguing contingent, several rows in front of us and much photographed, was the PLO gang - a good looking version of Arafat (if you can imagine that) with Arafat scarf and the five toughest looking characters I've ever seen. The show was a long sit on tiny camp stools through long exerpts from the Peking Opera, which includes a number of troops in several major cities. The theater, it was explained to us, before liberation belonged to the upper classes and the people were rigidly excluded; now it belongs to the people and therefore must serve the people. Madame Mao sees to this. Each selection from the Peking Opera bears some sprightly title like "We are determined to study the theory of Proletarian Dictatorship" and "On presenting a brocade to Chairman Mao." The melodramatic pieces are about peasants struggles against landlords or Liberation Army heros freeing peasants from bandits. The singers and instrumentalists are obviously competent. One might think that relentless repetition of the message and the medium would become a bit tedious to them and that an audience so fun-loving might get a bit restless. But two thoughts on this come to my mind. First, they, with great devotion, are practicing their religion; they are singing, again and again, their gospel songs. And second, from an entertainment standpoint, the Peking Opera is not much more boring than much of our own TV.

There is, in fact, occasional relief. That evening we attended an acrobatic show which included almost no propaganda. It had us gasping and cheering throughout at feats of acrobatics, juggling, and dancing which were beyond belief. The best seats in the house cost less than 25¢. It is clearly the peoples theater. Later in Shanghai, the Peking Opera had us on the ropes praying for the bell; we were saved by the last act, the amazing traditional Chinese acrobatic exercises with swords, spears, flags, and clanging cymbals. Early the next morning we saw children on the sidewalks practicing these acts.

The May Day attendance in the Nanking park must have been in the hundreds of thousands. As was the case everywhere, we drew large crowds, close around us staring in blank amazement at every detail of our large, pink, strangely dressed selves. At the Zoo we joked about out-drawing the pandas 4 to 1. When Mary and Margaret were making a purchase at a department store counter hundreds of people would pack tight around them. Oddly enough, they are extremely shy about having their picture taken - so if the press is too much, just quietly take aim with your camera. Many times I saw people I wanted to photograph; if I asked permission, they would shake their head or turn and disappear. Mr. Tsei arranged a "special treat for American friends" - a boat ride on the Park's extensive lake system. It was clearly a big thing for him too because he had gotten his wife and little daughter and some colleagues along, and we all enjoyed the holiday outing in proper holiday spirit. Still alive after all this, we went to the Sun Yat Sen Mausoleum, built large scale on the Purple

Mountainside. We were received in the unvarying reception room for tea and candy by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kiangsu<sup>U</sup> Province, Mr. Chu Han Ching; he was smart and friendly and looked a bit like Ronald Reagan. My compatriots were not unjustifiably content to gaze up the 398 steps to the Mausoleum, but out of respect for Mr. Tsei's reverence for this place I climbed to the top with him, a gesture which I believe he appreciated. I should point out that the warm and ample treatment we received was not for us as particular persons or as prosperous tourists. Most "foreign friends" are Third Worlders and obviously don't carry the full cost of their visit. Touring foreign friends are provided for not to benefit the economy as elsewhere, but "to promote friendship and understanding between peoples."

Mr. Tsei packed us into a compartment for a four hour morning's trip to Soochow, which a Western guidebook calls the Venice of China. It is indeed a city of canals which lace the city to the Imperial Canal and Soochow Creek, the former, built in the 7th Century, reaching the great distance to Peking and the Yellow River and the latter the short distance to Shanghai and the sea. But our Soochow interpreter, Mr. Shen , whose words we became the moment we arrived, objected to the comparison to Venice: "It is a sinking city and it is a dying city." Actually, there are a few points on which the Venetians might not like the comparison, but I left that for the Venetians.

Soochow has only 540,000 population and accordingly even more relaxed and intimate than Nanking. People seem to live half in their

houses and half on sidewalk and street. The living rooms of rows of white-washed houses include the sidewalks. Children do their Shan Pi Ching rubber band dance which is a fascinating improvement on rope skipping; women do their wash and hang it on bamboo poles suspended between low sycamore branches; and after work men pull chairs and a little table out for a relaxed glass of tea. Through it all ambles or hustles the traffic on foot, bicycle, cart, and truck. The canals do not get the flushing of good and bad tides as do those of Venice; the water is nearly still and heavy laden with refuse - but not sewage. That is gathered, ~~as is our garbage,~~ and loaded aboard barges which take it back to the farm for fertilizer. Only a few of the barges have a gasoline engine; most are pushed with long bamboo poles, skulled with a great oar, sailed with the wind or towed against the wind by man and woman in harness leaning against the huge weight as have their ancestors for countless generations. At the confluence of the Imperial Canal and Soochow Creek, standing on the ancient Ming Bridge - a new bridge nearby now carries all traffic except those who tow - we saw a man and woman on a barge from a nearby commune tonging (as we do for oysters) for river silt. This will be taken to the commune and mixed with purple vetch in <sup>pits</sup> ~~pots~~ for compost.

The Soochow Hotel, banked in flowering shrubs and trees, was even <sup>nicer</sup> ~~newer~~ than the Nanking. Margaret and Mr. Shen got along famously on the basis of a mutual interest in plants. Margaret made a careful list of plants which grow in both Soochow and Richmond,

using Latin botanical names which are the meeting ground for ~~Chinese~~  
and ~~American~~ <sup>around the world</sup> plant lovers. It's probably just as well we couldn't  
see the kitchen, but I would surely like to have seen how they stored  
and prepared food for perhaps 50 menu selections. Totally befuddled  
by the menu, we resorted to taking our waiter to other tables and  
pointing at things which looked good. It didn't always work; one  
morning Tennant got 9 eggs: 3 scrambled, 3 fried, and 3 boiled.

Soochow is noted for embroidery, silk, and furniture so we  
visited the factory of each industry, having tea and briefing with  
the Revolutionary Committee, then a tour of the plant, and afterwards  
tea and discussion. In each case the Committee members and workers  
were gracious and ready to answer all questions about their products,  
processes, planning, markets, etc. The embroidery operation was a  
strange sort of thing to me: It involved more than 200 people, mostly  
older, doing the most delicate and intricate stitches with the finest  
silk threads. Some work, like a two-sided screen of translucent  
goldfish, was very beautiful. Most, however, were in the same vein  
as the Peking Opera and are produced to hang in all sorts of large  
public rooms where the intricacy of the process is lost. The output  
is too limited for the market place. So we supposed the justification  
of the effort is preservation of a handicraft tradition. The silk  
and furniture are important export items which we'd seen on display  
at the Canton Fair. Much of the labor is manual and mechanization  
in its early stages. But everyone seems to be working full blast and  
in good humor. Throughout the factories are large political slogans  
and posters and each section has a board listing all workers with

stars indicating extra performance. A favorite decoration is a large black and white reproduction of lines from Chairman Mao's poetry written in his own hand. No one I asked was able to read them. Two of the silk mill committee members whom we had met we saw that evening in a film on Soochow. The older one made an impassioned speech to younger fellow workers criticizing Confucius and and telling that she, as an infant, before Liberation, had been sold because her parents could not afford to keep her, and as a child had slaved long hours under dreadful conditions. ~~In my opinion,~~ These efforts to keep alive the emotional commitment by passing along these experiences to the younger and more comfortable generation, <sup>no doubt</sup> is <sub>1</sub> vital to maintaining the course and speed of this intense society.

The Ming and Ching gardens are highly sophisticated and show the leisurely elegance which surrounded the rich and powerful. Mr. Shen noted that one garden had been built by a Ching Minister of Foreign Commerce with bribes he had taken from foreigners for special advantages. Another was forfeited to pay gambling debts. The gardens are actually a series of reception, living, and leisure buildings connected by paths, bridges, and covered walkways through a wonderfully contrived landscape of little pools, hills, and all manner of planted spaces framed for best effect by open windows of just the right size and shape. The principal, and unique, material of the gardens is rock, eroded into strange shapes, excavated from nearby lakes. These gardens are now parks protected and maintained by City or Provincial Government, but I'm afraid the level of maintenance is not up to the pressures of the enormous flow of traffic.

Tiger Hill leaning Pagoda ...

Our final train trip was in a prim first-class chair car for the 1½ hour trip from Soochow to Shanghai, the biggest city in the world. The large buildings, including one hotel on the Bund along the Whangpo waterfront are european left-overs. These and the great houses in other parts of the city indicate the extent and power of the long domination of Shanghai by foreign commercial interests. We made a bad tactical error in not feeling out our interpreter a bit before telling him that Margaret's grandmother, now 103, had been born in Shanghai to missionary parents. We thought this would interest him and show him our particular interest in his city. Not so; a zealous fellow, he disliked the missionaries, all of whom he pronounced were imperialist spies and stooges. Margaret fumed while I tried to point out that maybe some of the missionaries were not all that bad. But he would not bend an inch and we all felt the first and only attitude of resentment of the entire trip, and we got less of a look at Shanghai than we had hoped for.\* We did nevertheless have the

\* Having read some of the old missionary's letters I was amused at the thought that he and our guide were not totally unlike in style and exclusive zeal

extremely valuable experience of a long visit to a school, the institution which to greater extent than farm or factory will make or break the new China. We were, as usual, welcomed by the Revolutionary Committee, which in this case consisted of principal and assistant principal, the chairman of the Workers Mao Tse Tung Propaganda Team, two faculty members, and several students, two of whom were members of the Red Guard. While we had tea the principal told us about his school. It is a middle school with 3,300 pupils of ages 13-17 and one of 300 in Shanghai of more or less the same size. Affiliated with the school, there is a school farm outside the city on which all students and teachers work two months per year. There is also a small factory in the school for assembly of electrical fixtures and building transistors and TV sets. The following courses are taught: politics, Chinese language, math, foreign language, hygiene, revolutionary art and literature, geography. There is a large physical training program for pupils and teachers - drills and calisthenics, basketball, ping-pong, and even a controlled parachute jump (which was out of order). The most important studies are Marxist, Leninist, Maoist thought and mass criticism of <sup>him</sup> ~~Leif~~ Shao Chi and Ling Piao. Supporting these is the compulsory rotation to farm and factory to relate the theoretical to the practical - for worker to learn from student and student to learn from worker. At the completion of middle school every student goes to farm or factory for a minimum of two years and goes to college only when selected by farm or factory committee on the basis of attitude and aptitude. Teachers must also do these tours of "reeducation by peasants and workers." A practice

as hazardous as it is vital is that of shipping large numbers of 17 year old graduates of junior middle school from the city to the country, requiring that they stay there for two years or longer, until they are selected for higher and specialized education. Just a little experience with teenagers shows the perils of this process. And these children, unlike their parents, remember the Long March no better than ours do the Great Depression. This, I guess, is the real reason for all those "criticism" groups, so that those who do remember can make those memories into the new mythology, which will then become gospel.

After this presentation we watched the mass calisthenics, sat in on a number of classes (including English taught by rote), visited the work shops, and watched an extremely good student program of music and dancing.

The English teacher went through several "repeat in English twice after me" exercises with the children parroting loudly in unison. I thought it appropriate to let them hear one of us speak, so with the teacher's permission, using simple words slowly, I thanked and complimented them, telling them how much we liked China and inviting them to come to see us in America. I saw no trace of understanding, so I felt they had, at this stage, been taught only to repeat certain words and phrases.

Music and drama is obviously a vital outlet for talented students. The faces of the performers were joyful. We sat on the front row and our smiles and expressions of approval drew their immediate warm and

touching response. One lad masqueraded as a Tartan<sup>r</sup> chieftain with his harem. Wearing turban, handlebar mustachio, and flowing robe he danced and sang with great style and relish. Clearly a very bright, talented, and imaginative youngster. What is his future in that severely channeled society?

The buildings and grounds were bare and clean, with no trace of a frill. All drills, basketball, and other exercises took place on the asphalted yard. From a stand at one end we watched 2,000 students and faculty march to positions and do calisthenics by command of the director and in time with recorded military music. Later I took two defeats, to the great merriment of the children. I rushed to the aid of the weaker of the tug-of-war teams, which only hastened its defeat. Then I was trounced at ping pong by a little girl over whom I was sure I could prevail.

Then we returned to the reception room for discussion with the committee. What about discipline? Disciplinary problems are met with the combined attention of teachers, parents, and peers. The miscreant is showed the error of his ways, the reasons why he is in school are carefully explained, and, I am sure, strong and effective community pressure is focused on him. If the student doesn't shape up, you can bet he is packed off to a suitable job at the bottom rung of the farm commune. Are students allowed to smoke and do they? No - it is simply not permitted and not done. (Adults smoke busily and increasingly, preferring their milder cigarettes over ours) What about the slow learner? He is kept in regular classes and

helped and encouraged to do his best. In a ship and plane model class we saw two obviously retarded boys simply sanding a block, getting occasional direction and encouragement from the teacher. What does the Red Guard do? These are students selected by the committee of students and faculty on the basis of their exemplification of Marxist-Leninist principles and the thoughts of Chairman Mao. They exercise leadership among students (more or less Student Councilors) and have the right to criticize faculty members for any of their shortcomings. I wondered but did not ask how much bullying students and faculty get from ambitious or over-zealous Red Guards and the not-too-charitable looking Chairman of the Workers Mao Tse Tung Propaganda Team.

We were lucky to conclude our trip with this visit because the school is a fair summary of the society we'd been seeing in fragments, and it displays much of what, in my opinion, is good, bad, indifferent, and puzzling about modern China. As for the school itself, it in many ways is excellent. The parents and certainly the grandparents of most of these children of workers were illiterate, diseased, and in miserable poverty. These children are getting a good start in the three R's, regular physical exercise and clinical attention, some opportunity to develop speech talents, and very good vocational training. In our view, obviously a limited one, the students were healthy, happy, diligent, and proud of themselves and the great social and political movement about which they are relentlessly taught. All this I found most impressive, and I must say I envied much of it for our own school systems.

There, of course, is another side to it from the point of view of one raised on Mr. Jefferson's principles of reason and free inquiry. The intensity, rigidity, and monotony of the all embracing mind and thought control is appalling. The principles of a new faith are being taught - not just taught, but implanted, and any other ideas which might distract or compete are totally excluded.

*(more to follow)*

While this might offend our Western liberal democratic sensibilities, we must consider that these are not part of the Chinese tradition. The PRC's approach to education is not inconsistent with two of China's long established belief systems: the traditional hierarchical, ordered society and the totalitarian penetration of government and control of the individual by the state. (Michael Oksenberg, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series #203, explains these and the three other equal and competing belief systems: revolutionary, technological, and bureaucratic.)

Will it work? Several answers occur to me. First, at this early stage, it certainly appears to be working -- judging by expansions of literacy, vocational training, and the degree of conviction and pride in the young people we saw. Second, it must work if the new system is to endure; this obviously requires that new principles be well learned and old ones uprooted. My third answer remains a question: can this system of education achieve both an élite-free dictatorship of the proletariat and leadership well enough educated in government, management, and science to take the place in the world to which China aspires?

If we did not see and enjoy as much of Shanghai as we had of other cities, it was partly due to fatigue of travel and apprehension about the reliability of departure plans. These were unwarranted excuses, for we had traveled comfortably and without illness and each change of plan had been for the better. In fact, we departed right on schedule -- the Bryans with the sun for Geneva and ourselves, against it, to Tokyo and Hawaii. One can argue which route involves the worst jet lag.

Wearing as is the long voyage home, it is a time for sorting thoughts on what we had seen of ancient China, of modern China, and of the constant mixture of the two. Strangely, for every observation we made, we had an opposing one. Chinese society is dead-serious and straight-laced; at the same time, it is smiling and affectionate. The ethic of hard work and self-sufficiency is pervasive; and the people enjoy games, theater, parks, and just plain leisure as keenly and happily as any could. There is a drabness of dress and modern buildings -- and also bursts of color and gaiety from the children, the stage, political posters, and plazas and gardens. China aspires to a classless society and a display of "bourgeois tendencies" can cost one his career; but it is far from classless, with those who work harder and produce more making more and living better. The PRC is against capitalism, but it values foreign trade and its shops are jammed with people buying, with hard-earned money, items for convenience and comfort. The people are kind and gentle. Not once did we experience scowls or rudeness or voices raised in anger or impatience. (It was a relief just once, when Mr. Guo, the Bush's driver, spoke a little plain Chinese to a competitive truck driver.) But one must not forget the harshness of recurring revolution; kindness and gentleness were not the main attributes of the Red Guard in The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Finally, there is the overwhelming fact and force of new post-liberation Maoist China -- free of hunger, exploitation, disease, and flood, building toward its millennial vision of pure communism. At the same time, there remains, largely unchanged, the ancient

underlying systems of belief and practice: the peasant and his buffalo in the rice paddies, the herdsman on the plains, the worker in the factory, their families -- all accepting an ordered society, supremacy of the state, extensive bureaucracy, and the transcending role of Chairman Mao.

Regardless of the ultimate duration and impact of this great new force, aspects of which we must respect and all of which, in our own interest, we must try to understand, I end by thinking of Voltaire's observation on the French Revolution: The more things change, the more they are the same.