



## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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#### BIBLIOGRAPHY ON COMMUNIST CHINA

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# THE CHINA PUZZLE

*An Introductory Sketch*



Here is a concise, historical report on the world's most populous nation. Published by the League of Women Voters, this new examination of Mainland China provides the basic material necessary for opening up a thoughtful discussion of U.S.-China relations. In the course of its 50 pages, *The China Puzzle*

- gives historical and geographical background
- looks at China's 700-plus million people
- scrutinizes factors leading to revolution in modern China
- examines Mainland China's internal problems and her relations with the world
- discusses U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China and U.S. commitment to the Republic of China on Taiwan
- identifies some of the major issues that divide the United States and Communist China
- contains a two-page map of the People's Republic of China and a chart of Chinese eras and dynasties

*The China Puzzle* costs 75 cents. Quantity rates are available on request. Order from the League of Women Voters of the United States (1200 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036) or from your local League.

# THE CHINA PUZZLE

## Table of Contents

- I LAND AND PEOPLE
- II CHINA'S ANCIENT HERITAGE
  - Religious Traditions
  - Political and Social Traditions
- III EXPOSURE TO THE WEST
  - View from the Middle Kingdom
  - Earliest Contacts with the West
  - Unequal Treaty System
  - Unsolved Social Pressures
  - Still Another Military Defeat
  - Growing Antagonism to Foreigners
- IV CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARIES: NATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST
  - The Stillbirth of China's First Republic
  - Rising Tides of Revolution and Nationalism
  - Chiang Kai-shek's Ascent to Power
  - Mao Tse-tung's Ascent to Power
  - The Final Showdown
- V CHINA UNDER COMMUNIST RULE
  - Strategies of Economic Development
  - System of Political Control
- VI EVOLUTION OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA
  - Early Impressions
  - Open Door Policy and Its Implementation
  - World War II
  - U.S. Relations with the Republic of China in Taiwan
- VII MAINLAND CHINA AND THE WORLD
  - China's Relations with Other Nations
  - The World's View of China
- VIII IDENTIFYING U.S. POLICY CHOICES
  - U.S. Recognition
  - Trade
  - Chinese Representation in the United Nations
  - Problems of Nuclear Control
  - In Conclusion



LWV of Minn., State Organization Service, U. of M.,  
October 1966 Minneapolis, Minn. 55455

NEIGHBORHOOD SEMINARS ON RED CHINA

How many persons would be interested in attending the seminars?

What day of the week would they prefer for the meetings?

Would they prefer daytime or evening meetings?

L V of \_\_\_\_\_

Please return to the state office by December 1.

M  
E  
M  
O

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT

[1966]  
**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA**

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455  
PHONE: 373-2959

DATE

Letter & form to -  
Dr. Jung-tek Chow, Professor of  
Sociology

Mr H. B. Addicott - Geography Dept  
Dr Hsin-yang Yeh - Assoc Prof.  
of Physics

Dr Anoush Ivan Khoshkish -  
Assoc. Prof. of Pol. Sci.

All at Moorhead State College

November 4, 1966

Mr. W. M. Lindgren  
Assistant Professor  
St. Cloud State College  
St. Cloud, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Lindgren,

The League of Women Voters in cooperation with the University's World Affairs Center is compiling a listing of sources of information about the People's Republic of China. This brochure will include films, pamphlets and speakers, very much like the enclosed publication on Japan.

We want to be able to list a certain number of persons who are competent to speak about Mainland China. We hope you will agree to have your name included.

We do not believe that you will be deluged with requests. You can always turn them down, and if you wish, you can make your fee such that it serves as a practical deterrent to groups which just want to fill a program. (We hope that in serving the League of Women Voters this will not be the case.)

If you would be willing to do this, will you please indicate on the enclosed form the subjects on which you would be willing to talk and the amount of your fee. We are enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience in replying.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President



League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
State Organization Service  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

\_\_\_\_\_ I am willing to be listed as a speaker in your compilation on  
Sources of Information about China.

X I am not willing to be listed.

My subjects or titles are:

My fee is \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

I would also recommend the following persons as speakers on China:

Name John C. W. Lin  
Title Instructor of Math  
Address University of Minn, Morris  
Morris, Minn

NOV 21 1966

CONCORDIA COLLEGE



MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

56560

President  
JOSEPH L. KNUTSON

18 November 1966

Mrs. William Whiting, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
State Organization Service  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Mrs. Whiting:

We have one expert on the Far East and especially on the People's Republic of China. He is Dr. Herman A. Larsen. He has spent some time in China as a missionary and in later years has been perfecting himself in the Chinese language besides studying a year on the problems of China at the University of Michigan.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Joseph L. Knutson". The ink is dark and the signature is fluid.

Joseph L. Knutson

Letters still to be written  
Homer  
Benjamin



Professors

John Turner

Roger Benjamin

both in Political Science

MACALESTER COLLEGE

SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101

Office of the President

November 22, 1966 NOV 24 1966

Mrs. William Whiting  
President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
State Organization Service  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Mrs. Whiting:

Although I received no communication from you about a pamphlet prior to your letter of November 9, 1966, I did send this letter to Dr. Dorothy Dodge, Associate Professor of Political Science at Macalester. Dr. Dodge was born in China and is very knowledgeable about the Far East.

In response to my inquiry as to whether or not she would be willing for her name to be listed in the pamphlet, she replied, "I would have no objection to having my name included on the list." You can write to her here at the College.

Very sincerely yours,



Harvey M. Rice  
President

HMR:so

cc Dr. Dorothy Dodge

June 23, 1966

The Honorable Eugene McCarthy  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator McCarthy,

As you know, the more than 5800 members of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota appreciate your support of sound and constructive foreign economic aid legislation. We are very concerned, however, about what has happened to the proposed program in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Since we in Minnesota have depended upon your promotion of the programs which the League believes are important to world development, we are anxious to provide the kind of state-wide support you will need to secure Senate approval for some of the items deleted from this year's program by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We feel fortunate to have available at this time the new League publication, "Foreign Aid at the Crossroads" (a copy is being mailed to you under separate cover). This pamphlet provides valuable background information on aid for our members and for the community at large.

We realize that each year the aid legislation must be considered in the light of the present situation. There are some basic policies, however, which the League members feel are important to the effective use of our assistance programs and which we feel should not be ignored in the light of present circumstances. One of these is the multi-year authorization which we all know would bring about more efficient management and planning on the part of the developing countries as well as those responsible for administering our part of the programs. Another concern, and we hope an area in which your influence will be strong, is related to proposed increases in interest rates of development loans. An AID study points out that an increase of just  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% in our current interest rates would require \$100 million more in aid to do the same job.

With the world situation changing so rapidly, setting a quota of the total number of countries to receive loans or technical assistance does not provide the flexibility needed to meet the changing demands of our day. All of the cutting, limitations by wording and narrowing of programs in the proposed legislation means that other countries cannot rely on our help to develop the ability to grow on their own and protect their independence while they do it.

We trust you will do all within your power to strengthen S. 2859 by helping to restore the items mentioned above. We will appreciate any suggestions you might have to further our efforts to seek support within Minnesota. All of our 68 local Leagues have been alerted to the problems ahead for the aid program in this session of Congress and are developing community action campaigns.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President



To Hannah D. and then to Mary Nash

# THE NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTER

Published by the League of Women Voters of New Hampshire

President: MRS. FRANCIS W. KING, 4 Kingsford Road, Hanover

Editor: MRS. MALCOLM McLANE, 5 Auburn St., Concord

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
State Organization Service  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Bulk Rate  
U.S. POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
Manchester, N. H.  
Permit No. 6139

Vol. XXXVIX

MAY 1966

55455

No. 4

## STATE COUNCIL

May 24-25

SHERATON-MEADOWBROOK  
PORTSMOUTH

### A MESSAGE FROM THE STATE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Francis W. King

Two representatives from each of the Local and Provisional Leagues in New Hampshire will meet in Council at the Sheraton-Meadowbrook in Portsmouth on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 24-25.

Around the Council fire (or, more hopefully, the heated swimming pool!) these Local League delegates will meet with the State Board to evaluate State Program, to determine the fiscal arrangements for carrying out the Program, to participate in round table discussions, to attend a debate between two State Legislators on New Hampshire's fiscal policies and to exchange ideas with representatives of twelve Local Leagues and three Provisional Leagues. All this in 27 and ½ hours.

One year ago the Convention, meeting in Keene, adopted the State Item, "Study of New Hampshire's Fiscal Policies with continued support of an equitable broad base tax at a state level." It is the time, at Council, to reevaluate the progress made in the first year of the state program and to provide some direction as to where to go from here.

The League is growing rapidly in both membership and in program and activities. With the growth of the League comes its own fiscal problems. Just like the State of New Hampshire, the State Board of the League of Women Voters is faced with problems of financial implementation of our League functions. In the final run, however, it is the delegates themselves who must discover the most satisfactory means of raising the revenue to carry on the League functions without depriving Local League members of some vital services.

Local League members have an important part to play in Council meeting even if you are not a delegate, observer or visitor. Let your delegate know how you feel about the progress of the New Hampshire League. What do you think of the increased Budget? Are we going in the right direction? All the item increases reflect rising costs; there are no new innovations. What are your

## TWO NEW LEAGUES "IT'S TWINS"

by Mrs. G. Russell Booth, Organization Chairman

The Provisional League of Women Voters of Pelham, and the Provisional League of Women Voters of the Milford Area were officially recognized by the State Board at their meeting on April 12th. Each league has about 40 members at last count. Their boards are organized for work and their members have done an "Analysis of the Community" which is required for recognition as Provisional Leagues. Both Leagues are now ready to start on their "Know Your Town" research, which is their "local item" for their Provisional period, and on the study of State Fiscal Policies.

The Pelham League (even before recognition!) did a candidates questionnaire sheet before the March elections and so quickly got a good (we hope) reputation in the community. They have had a meeting at which they used the "Do You Know the ABC's of Town Government" very successfully. They did a community investigation of Jury Service for women very thoroughly, and came up with one interesting side-light — one woman had been called for jury service without having registered! It happened that Mr. — received a call for jury service. She replied that there was no Mr. —, but rather that the name was a woman's. She was told they would accept her instead! Other Leagues note: The Pelham secretary was given time at a board meeting to explain her ambition to produce model minutes, in an effort to cut down chit-chat, and the president has acquired a gavel!

The Provisional League of the Milford Area includes the towns of Milford, Amherst, and Mt. Vernon. These three towns comprise a school district, so it is natural to include them in an "Area League." The Milford Area has several former league members so their organization has been quickly accomplished. They are very enthusiastically working on a map of the area, which was started as part of their Community Analysis, and will be included in their "Know Your Towns" publication. They hope to have this map ready before they have their first finance drive next fall. Because they do have experienced leaguers, they hope to cover "Human Resources" as well as the state and local items.

### GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

The second Governor's Conference on Education will take place May 17, 1966. The result of this Conference will be to send a report and recommendations to the Governor. This meeting logically follows up the regional conferences held last year.

The Governor has invited a limited group of the leaders of the seventeen co-sponsoring organizations of the regional conferences to participate. Mrs. Francis W. King, League President, will attend.

Mrs. King, as State Education Chairman for the League, organized the five regional conferences last spring that followed the huge first Governor's Conference on Education.

The original goal of the conferences was to educate New Hampshire people to the needs of education as an economic as well as human investment. They served to define some of the problems.

It is hoped that the smaller conference this year will facilitate, through greater interaction, more thorough review of the status of N. H. education and will provide some valuable recommendations.

### TV — CHANNEL 11

May 16 at 9:00 p. m.

Re-play of the

"Dialogue on China"

School of International Relations

\* \* \*

May 17 at 7:00 p. m.

"The Open Sewer"

A film on the Connecticut River

thoughts about how the League in New Hampshire can be more effective? By letting your delegate know your opinion you will have materially added to the success of Council.

Did you know that any Local League member may attend Council as a non-voting visitor? To do so ask your President for the necessary reservation application.

# AMERICAN POLICY ON CHINA EXAMINED AT WELL-ATTENDED LEAGUE CONFERENCE

By Mary Gray

(Excerpts from *Hanover Gazette* article by a former State Board Publicity Chairman turned professional!)

In the context of American government policy and within a comparatively short period of time, Red China has recently assumed the role once reserved for the Soviet Union — chief menace to the peace and security of the United States. How, why, whether fact or myth, and what can be done to halt deteriorating relations between the two countries were questions examined at the "Dialogue on China" in Hanover on Tuesday, March 29.

These proved questions of lively concern to many Americans, if the capacity crowd at the League of Women Voters of New Hampshire and Vermont School of International Relations in Hopkins Center on March 29 may be taken as any kind of measure. Over 1100 people attended the program on China in a day-long conference which presented opportunities to hear a roster of speakers versed in Chinese affairs and American government policy, to participate in workshops, and to see Felix Greene's film on modern China.

Ralph Nelson Clough, the lead-off speaker who interpreted the present U.S. stance in Southeast Asia, is a former Deputy Director of Chinese Affairs in the U.S. State Department. He contended that our policy has been shaped to counter "the aggressive pressure out of Communist areas of Asia upon nearby non-Communist governments," and that Communist objectives are twofold: to restore China to a position of power and influence and to bring about the Communist world revolution.

As reference he cited Mao's dictum that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and the "grandiose conception" of Lin Piao's public statement of Communist Chinese objectives. This particular document later became a subject of discussion by other School speakers, Russell Johnson and Dr. Marilyn Young.

Anticipating many of the proposals to be made by later speakers, he suggested there is little in recent Chinese behaviour to encourage belief that it would be prepared to play a constructive role in the United Nations; neither is there any indication China is interested in trade or cultural exchange.

The Honorable Alvin Hamilton, Canadian privy councilor and member of parliament, categorically denied that China is unwilling to trade and stated: "China has said she will trade with the United States without recognition." He expressed the wish that "America had more confidence in their real strength," by which he meant the economic system. "The insidious efficiency that raises

the living standards of so many people so quickly is the greatest conquering force the World has known. . . . The appeal of the affluent society overwhelms all political dogmas."

Russell Johnson feared America had "a distorted and one-sided view of China." Mr. Johnson, peace education secretary for the American Friends Service Committee in New England, has just returned from four years in Southeast Asia, during which time he visited in 13 of the countries. He believes that Red China is "motivated more by nationalism and pride than by ideology."

Mr. Johnson, who traveled to Viet Nam in March last year, felt the conviction is growing in Asia that this is a "war of the white man against the Asian," and that we are losing ground through rising resentment against our presence.

Mr. Johnson believes our present policies are "hardening the rigidity of China" and that there will be no peace in Asia until China is in the United Nations.

Arthur S. Lall, as former Ambassador to the United Nations for India, has in the past been in the position of formally presenting the Indian resolution for the admission of Red China. He pointed out that unrepresented peoples in Asia exceed the combined totals of North and South American and African countries. "The People's Republic of China, though not sitting in the seat of power designed for China, has nevertheless become a very great influence in the United Nations." During the 20th General Assembly in 1965, 68 of 101 statements made were about China, and it has become the dominating subject of debate in that body.

Dr. Marilyn Young, wife of Assistant Professor Ernest Young of Dartmouth College, was the sole woman among the League's panel of guest speakers. Her afternoon workshop on "U.S.-China Policy Since 1945" drew an audience of 60, who presented her with many questions from the floor.

Many of her views coincided closely with those of Mr. Johnson. What Americans and Russians are facing, she believes, is a strong and united China, a fact which has not had to be faced during the last 200 years, and that China can now take the initiative. She feels that we should lend support to Russia's interpretation of America in the Sino-Russian dispute, whenever the opportunity is afforded.

Colonel Philip Krueger, who served in Pakistan and Korea, addressed himself to "U.S. Security; Alliance Policies; and Arrangements in Asia."

From a personal reading of history and news, but not officially representing the government, he saw the problem in terms

of security. Critics of the government, he felt, were not restricted by the burden of responsibility borne by the Executive into decision making. From the readings of Mao Tse-Tung and Lin Piao, "The words seem clear that they consider the U.S. the enemy."

## CONSENSUS QUESTIONS ON FISCAL POLICY

The state committee of the League on the study of fiscal policies has sent to local State Item Chairmen suggested questions for consensus to facilitate planning of unit discussions.

- I. Are present governmental revenues adequate? If not:
  - a) at what level(s) do we need increased revenue?  
(local, county, state?)
  - b) for what particular services?
- II. What important inequities do you see in the present tax structure?  
(Property, head, poll, stock in trade, income and dividends, selective sales taxes, other . . . .?)
- III. How would you suggest strengthening our sources of revenue?
  - a) transfer services to other levels of government? (which ones? where?)
  - b) transfer revenues to other levels of government? (which ones? where?)
  - c) increase existing revenues from taxes, fees, etc? (which? how?)
  - d) improve assessment practices? (how?)
  - e) new sources of revenue?
    - 1) flat rate income tax
    - 2) retail sales tax with or without exemptions
    - 3) combination of flat rate income and retail sales taxes
    - 4) do you recommend that 1 or 2 or 3 (above) be used to eliminate or decrease any present sources of revenue? (explain)

The committee has sent out much background information on N. H. taxes and plans to send out additional information on Welfare (settlement law, local, state and county "share," etc.), problems of assessment, details of possible combination of income and sales tax, and a summary of governmental revenues and expenditures showing share of local, county, state and federal involvement.

They do warn that when each League is considering the consensus questions they should keep in mind that we are all anxious to refresh and refine our thinking on new sources of revenue (III-e) and thus should avoid getting bogged down on I or II.



## SESSIONS

The Conference will begin with Registration between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m. on Monday, February 14. A Reception from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. will precede dinner at 6:00 p.m., which will be the occasion for the opening address of the Conference.

The sessions on Tuesday, February 15, will begin at 9:00 a.m. and continue until 9:30 p.m. with breaks for luncheon and dinner.

The meeting on Wednesday, February 16, will start at 9:00 a.m. and a noon luncheon will conclude the Conference.

## PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

### Fred E. Berger

Director, Department of Conferences and Institutes, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota

### Chun-Jo Liu

Associate Professor, East and South Asian Languages, University of Minnesota

### Mrs. Alice Moore

Program Coordinator, World Affairs Center, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota

### William C. Rogers

Director, World Affairs Center, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota

### Philip Siegelman

Associate Professor of Humanities, University of Minnesota

### Barbara Stuhler

Assistant Director, World Affairs Center, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota

### Romeyn Taylor

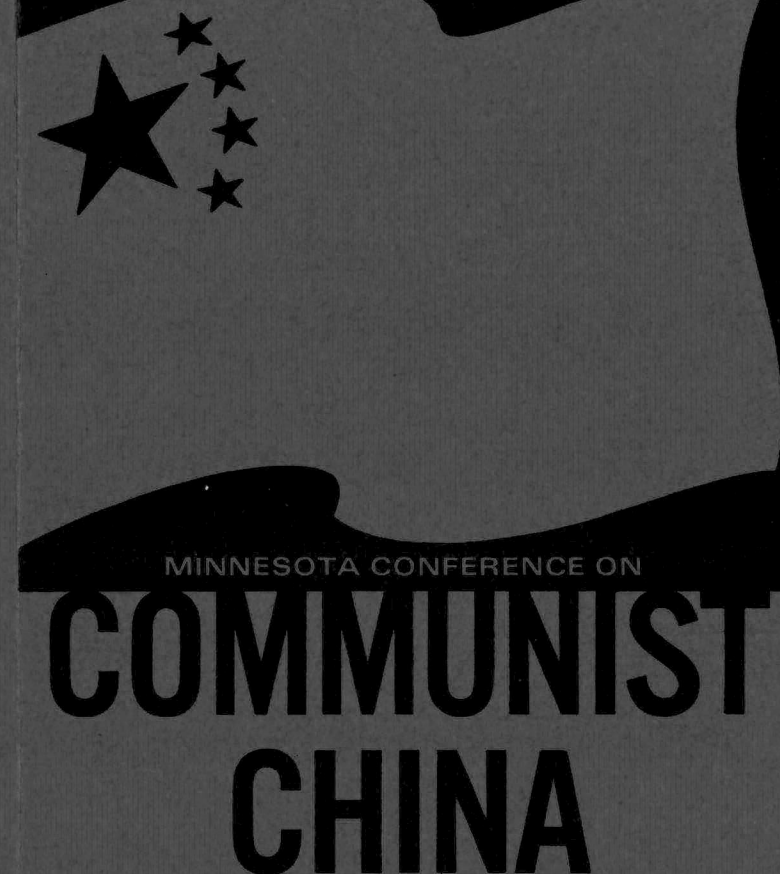
Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota

### John Turner

Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota

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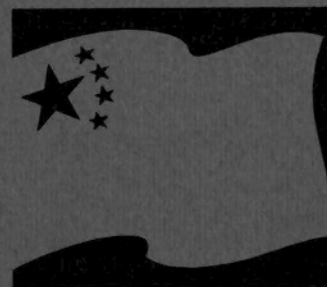
Department of Conferences and Institutes  
Nolte Center for Continuing Education  
General Extension Division  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55455



HOPKINS HOUSE • FEBRUARY 14-16, 1966

World Affairs Center • Department of Conferences  
and Institutes

GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



## ANNOUNCEMENT

### PURPOSE

The increasing importance of mainland China in world affairs requires knowledge and understanding. The Minnesota Conference on Communist China is designed to give Minnesotans an opportunity to learn from experts about the many facets of Chinese Communist life. It is hoped that the Conference will gain for the participants the information needed to clarify their understanding of the policy alternatives which face our nation.

### SPONSORS

The University of Minnesota, through its World Affairs Center and its Department of Conferences and Institutes of the General Extension Division, is sponsoring the Minnesota Conference on Communist China.

The Minnesota Conference is indebted for many of its speakers to the Chicago Conference being held the previous week. The China Conference in Chicago is sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago.

### TIME AND PLACE

The Conference will be held on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, February 14, 15, and 16, 1966, at the Hopkins House west of the Twin Cities on Highway 7, between Highways 100 and 494.

### REGISTRATION FEE

The registration fee which should accompany the registration blank is \$35.00. The fee includes all meals (except breakfast). Registration is personal and non-transferable, and registrants will be expected to attend the entire Conference. Registration is limited, and applications will be accepted in the order received.

### LODGING

A block of rooms has been reserved at the Hopkins House for participants wishing to stay at the motel throughout the Conference. The daily rate for single rooms is \$10.50 and for double rooms \$17.00, and you may make your reservations through the Department of Conferences and Institutes by filling out the appropriate places on the attached registration form.

For Further Information write or call Miss Barbara Stuhler, Assistant Director, World Affairs Center (373-3740), or Fred E. Berger, Director, Department of Conferences and Institutes (373-3151), University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

### SUBJECTS

Persons attending the Minnesota Conference on Communist China will have an opportunity to hear experts discuss such subjects as:

**Traditional Chinese Roots in Contemporary Chinese Foreign Policy**  
**The Changing Scene in Agriculture**  
**The Population Problem in China**  
**Peasant Attitudes Towards the Revolution**  
**Problems Faced by the Party**  
**Continuity and Change in the Chinese Revolution**  
**The Sino-Soviet Split**

### SPEAKERS

A number of experts, some of whom have recently travelled inside Communist China, will express their views and interpretations.

**Professor C. P. Fitzgerald**, Department of Far Eastern History, the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

**Roderick MacFarquhar**, Editor, *The China Quarterly*, London, England

**Mrs. Irene Taeuber**, Senior Research Demographer, Office of Population Research, Princeton University

**Jan Myrdal**, Author, *Report from a Chinese Village*, Sweden

**Brigadier-General Samuel B. Griffith II**, U.S. Marine Corps, ret., Research Fellow with the China Project of the Council of Foreign Relations

We also expect a representative from the U.S. Department of State to be present.

## REGISTRATION BLANK



## MINNESOTA CONFERENCE ON COMMUNIST CHINA FEBRUARY 14, 15, 16, 1966

☐ I enclose \$35.00 (check or money order payable to the University of Minnesota) in payment of the fee for the Minnesota Conference on Communist China, February 14, 15, and 16, 1966. I understand that if I cancel my registration at any time or if my application is not accepted, or if for any reason the Conference is not held, the full fee will be refunded.

☐ I wish to apply for a scholarship to cover the registration fee of \$35.00. (Preferences will be given to educators and clergymen.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ (Please Print) \_\_\_\_\_ (State) \_\_\_\_\_ (Zip Code)

Please make the following room reservations for me.

\_\_\_\_\_ Single room \$10.50 per day \_\_\_\_\_ Double room \$17.00 per day

I will share the double room with \_\_\_\_\_

I expect to arrive \_\_\_\_\_ and to leave \_\_\_\_\_  
(date and approximate time)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

(date and approximate time)

**MAIL TO:** the Director, Department of Conferences and Institutes, Nolle Center for Continuing Education, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 55455.



November 9, 1966

Oscar Anderson, President  
Augsburg College  
707 - 21st Avenue S.  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear President Anderson,

A few weeks ago I wrote to you about the pamphlet which the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, in cooperation with the University of Minnesota's World Affairs Center, is planning to publish. It will consist of a listing of sources of information about the People's Republic of China.

If there is anyone on your faculty or in your community whose name you feel should be included in our list of available speakers, please send his name and address to us, and we will write to him directly, asking permission to list his name in our pamphlet.

Since the copy of the pamphlet will go to the printer early in December, we would appreciate a prompt reply to this letter so that we may follow through on our project.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William Whiting  
President

LWV of Minn., SOS, U. of M., Minneapolis, Minn. 55455  
February 1967

#### KUOM PROGRAMS ON RED CHINA

KUOM's Public Affairs Forum will carry six programs on Red China. Four of these will be tapes of the talks presented at the League's Workshop on Red China on February 2nd. The programs will be presented on successive Mondays starting February 6th through March 13th at 1:30 p.m.

Tapes of the Workshop talks are available on loan from the state office.

March 7, 1967

Dr. William C. Rogers, Director  
World Affairs Center  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Rogers:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has always appreciated the excellent working relationship we have had with you and your staff of the World Affairs Center.

We feel especially fortunate to have been able to assist Barbara Stuhler and your staff in compiling the material for your publication "China: Sources of Information in Minnesota." It is always a challenging as well as fruitful experience for us to work with Barbara.

Our members as well as the many other Minnesota citizens interested in the People's Republic of China will benefit from the information made available to them through this publication. We have sent copies to over 400 newspaper editors throughout the state and are also getting it into schools and libraries statewide. We want as wide distribution as possible, so we would appreciate any suggestions you might have for us.

Thank you all for this latest cooperative endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. William W. Whiting  
President

cc: Barbara Stuhler

2-13

Wendy Chionisler



DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR CONSENSUS MEETINGS ON  
U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

Bibliographical Note: The new Facts & Issues, Mainland China and Her Asian Neighbors, will be helpful in better understanding China's relations with her neighbors.

The three 1967 Facts & Issues on China - Mainland China: U. S. Policy Choices, Mainland China Under Communist Rule, and Chinese Representation at the United Nations should be very useful in providing background for consensus. For more general background, The China Puzzle may be helpful.

Recent brief updatings on the China situation are available in the September 1968 issue of Current History, and the September-October 1968 Intercom.

Techniques of Presentation: Resource chairmen may find it helpful to vary presentation by using different techniques. Particularly appropriate in covering the material for the first question might be a panel discussion. A debate would easily convey the information relevant to the second question. A question and interview session might be used for the third question.

This guide is intended only as a suggestion. There are probably more points listed here than the unit will have time to cover adequately, so feel free to be selective. Our feeling is that the overall time might best be largely devoted to these considerations which bear directly on the consensus questions.

I. WHAT SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVE OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA? (30 minutes)

The emphasis in this discussion and in the answer should be on broad policy goals. Possible choices might include isolation, containment, balance of power, disengagement, co-existence, spheres of influence, mutual development. These goals are not mutually exclusive. Others might also be cited.

A discussion of some of the following considerations - involving the nature of Chinese foreign policy and American foreign policy - is suggested before the actual consensus is taken:

- Is China acting primarily to defend her frontiers or is she fundamentally expansionist? What significance does past Chinese history have for present foreign policy?
- How is China likely to behave in the future in world politics? Will she become more or less expansionist or aggressive? Can we realistically expect her to "mellow?"



## Discussion Outline for China Consensus - continued

- What will the effect of China's growing nuclear capacity be on her foreign policy toward her neighbors and toward the U.S.?
- What does U.S. security - our "national interest" - require that we do in Asia? At what point can we say that a change in the balance of power in Asia threatens us?
- Can the United States agree on a legitimate role for China in Asia? Would the traditional Chinese "sphere of influence" be consistent with U.S. policy objectives?
- Is a strict containment policy toward Chinese expansion an appropriate one for the U.S.? Do we wish to build a "dike" around existing communist frontiers and prohibit any expansion by military force?
- What about the "domino theory?" Is it realistic to assume that if communist influence triumphs in one small Asian country neighboring countries will also succumb?
- What is the role of the overseas Chinese populations in Asian countries? Do they represent a threat to national regimes? Can they be manipulated by Peking?
- How do our commitments to other Asian countries affect our policy toward China? What policy toward China do these countries desire?
- Is it in our interest to keep China weak economically? Or would we benefit by the more cautious attitudes they might develop if they felt they had something to lose by disruption?
- How serious is the pressure of the growing Chinese population on her food supply? Is there a danger of her invading the Siberian plains or the Southeast Asian rice bowl area to feed her people?
- What are the implications of the Sino-Soviet split for American policy? Can we expect that it will be permanent?
- What place should moral considerations have in the choice of an appropriate foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China?
- What, if any, are the limits to U.S. foreign policy in Asia? To what extent can we influence Asian Developments?

## II. DOES YOUR LEAGUE SUPPORT CHANGES IN SPECIFIC U.S. POLICIES? IF SO, IN WHAT DIRECTIONS? (45 minutes. This question is divided into four parts.)

- Patty
- 1) Does your unit support changes in U.S. recognition policy toward the People's Republic of China? Specify. (15 minutes)

Summarize present U.S. recognition policy and discuss - or debate - the arguments for continuing and for changing this policy.

Discussion Outline for China Consensus - continued

Arguments for continuing to recognize the Nationalist government on Taiwan as the government of China:

- There is no reason to believe that Peking desires diplomatic relations with the United States at this time. If we were to extend recognition we would only be rebuffed.
- We are presently conducting informal negotiations with the PRC at Warsaw. Formal diplomatic relations are unnecessary.
- Our extension of formal diplomatic recognition would only convince the leaders of the People's Republic that we are weak and will not honor our commitments to defend other Asian neighbors.
- Countries which have formally recognized the People's Republic have not been well treated. Britain still has only a charge d'affaires, not an ambassador.
- We are morally and legally obligated to Taiwan which we recognize. Both Chinese governments have repeatedly stated they would not agree to be a "two China's" policy, so a decision to recognize Peking would mean an abandonment of the Nationalist government.

Arguments for recognizing the People's Republic of China:

- Diplomatic recognition is ordinarily granted on the basis of actual control of a nation. There is no question that the People's Republic does control the Chinese mainland and that the Nationalist government does not.
- If we argue that we recognize only friendly, democratic governments, we should cease recognition of the Soviet Union, members of the Soviet bloc, many nations in Latin America and, most recently, Greece.
- Our present insistence on continued recognition of the Nationalists has caused other nations to view us as highly irrational, unrealistic and rigid in our foreign policy.
- Our failure to grant recognition has not weakened the Chinese People's Republic at all; it has only increased their hostility to the U.S.
- Recognition by the U.S. might well strengthen the hand of moderate elements in Peking.
- We cannot expect Peking to begin to act like a law-abiding member of the international community unless we begin to treat her like one.

- 2) Does your unit support a change in the United States opposition to the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations? Specify. (15 minutes)

Betty

## Discussion Outline for China Consensus - continued

Summarize the situation regarding the seating of Peking - and Taiwan - in the United Nations. Then discuss the arguments for and against present U.S. policy.

Arguments for continuing to exclude the People's Republic of China from the United Nations:

- U.N. membership is restricted to "peaceloving" states. China both verbally and through her actions does not meet this criterion.
- The People's Republic has proposed entirely unacceptable conditions to her membership in the U.N. This indicates she no longer wishes to belong to the organization.
- If the People's Republic were admitted she would be in a position to paralyze U.N. effectiveness through use of the veto in the Security Council. She could also greatly hamper the work of the specialized agencies.
- China's unwillingness to participate in disarmament negotiations is not a function of her lack of U.N. membership. If she wished, she could participate fully.
- Admission to the People's Republic to the Chinese seat would mean the banishment of Taiwan.

Arguments for admitting the People's Republic to the United Nations:

- It is ridiculous to leave unrepresented one-fifth of the world's population, particularly at a time when an increasing number of "micro" states are being granted U.N. membership.
- Taiwan is no longer entitled to a permanent seat in the Security Council. She is not now in control of the Chinese mainland and there is no reason to think she ever will be.
- The obstinancy of the U.S. on this subject has involved the devotion of a great deal of time and energy to keeping other nations in line on this question which might better have been spent in other ways. China will be admitted eventually; it would benefit us to change before we are publicly outvoted.
- It is probable that if Peking were admitted to the U.N. she would adjust to more civilized patterns of behavior to gain influence with other states.
- Even if the People's Republic refused U.N. membership, the U.S. would benefit since the burden of exclusion would then be on Peking itself.
- It would not be necessary to exclude Taiwan from the U.N. An arrangement to represent both Taiwan and mainland China could be worked out.



Discussion Outline for China Consensus - continued

- Helene 3) Does your unit support a change in the United States trade embargo with the People's Republic of China? Specify. (10 minutes)

Summarize present U.S. policy and present some arguments on each side.

Arguments for maintaining a trade embargo with mainland China:

- There is no reason to think China wants to trade with the U.S. She did not respond to our overture regarding grain shipments.
- It is not in our interest to strengthen the Chinese economy.
- We do not wish to create a group of businessmen whose self-interest dictates closer U.S.-Chinese relations.
- For China trade is not a mere businesslike activity, but a tool to manipulate other countries. If she chose to trade with us it would mean she thought she could weaken or influence us in some way.
- If we traded with China we would risk the same thing that happened with Japan in World War II when she made weapons for use against us with our scrap iron.

Arguments for encouraging trade with mainland China:

- Other nations benefit from trade with China. Since our balance of payments position is not a strong one, and since China is able to buy everything she needs elsewhere, why should American business lose out?
- Trade with China would be a beginning to restoration of normal relations with the mainland.
- Our ban on indirect trade with China puts American business at a disadvantage in dealing with European firms.

- Helene 4) Does your unit support a change in the present U.S. policy toward cultural exchange and travel? Specify. (5 minutes)

Summarize U.S. policy in this area noting that it has moved somewhat toward "normalization" of relations with the People's Republic. Then discuss points for and against more communication.

Arguments for great caution in expanding exchange and travel:

- China guides its visitors only to carefully selected places, although it may give its visitors the illusion of freedom of choice. This may result in Americans letting down their guard toward the real dangers of the Communist regime.
- Few Chinese would visit here - judging from Chinese experience with other countries - so that there would be almost no opportunity for mutual influence and communication.



## Discussion Outline for China Consensus - continued

- Chinese failure to accept American offers for travel suggest she does not want cultural exchange or travel with this country.

### Arguments for expanding cultural exchange and travel:

- More communication could only enhance mutual understanding. At present the ignorance of both countries about each other is so great it may lead to serious miscalculations of what the other is likely to do.
- Visits by American newsmen would improve the media's coverage of China and provide stories that were more acceptable to the American people since they were filtered through American values.
- Polls indicate the American public would strongly support greater communication of this type.

### III. SHOULD THE UNITED STATES TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN RELAXING TENSIONS? PLEASE EXPLAIN. (15 minutes)

You might discuss the following possible objections to U.S. initiative at present:

- We should wait until we can bargain for a change in policy - extract some concession from Peking for our willingness to change.
- The situation in Vietnam now means that initiatives on our part would appear as serious weakness to the People's Republic.
- We should wait until the excesses of the Cultural Revolution have abated and our initiatives would be more likely to be accepted.

The following are some of the points which might be made to support U.S. initiative:

- The argument that there will be any "good" time to change our policy is probably fallacious. If we agree that the present policy is mistaken we should discontinue it...better to have only twenty years of a bad policy rather than thirty.
- It is now clear to the world that China is relatively weak from the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. A change by the United States now would be interpreted as an action from strength.
- In part the Cultural Revolution represents an attempt to reduce the influence of the moderates in the mainland Chinese government. A more flexible U.S. policy now would encourage moderate elements.

(1968)

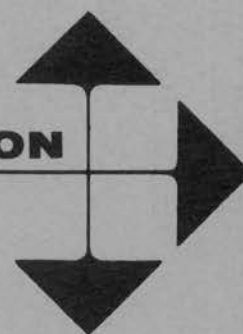


# **UNITED STATES – CHINESE COMMUNIST RELATIONS**

by

**ALFRED JENKINS**

**WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER  
GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA**



## PREFACE

On Monday, May 6, 1968 Alfred Jenkins addressed the 22nd Annual Awards Banquet of the Minneapolis Star World Affairs Program. Mr. Jenkins who joined the Foreign Service in 1946, has been the White House's "China Watcher" since 1966. His initial foreign service assignments were as Vice Consul in various Chinese cities until relations between mainland China and the United States were broken off.

Since that time, his assignments at home and abroad have been many and varied but, for the most part, they have related to his knowledge of Asian affairs.

We publish Mr. Jenkins' address in the belief that his past firsthand experience and his present position merit a wide audience for his remarks.

William C. Rogers, Director

Barbara Stuhler, Associate Director  
World Affairs Center  
General Extension Division  
University of Minnesota

July 1968

## UNITED STATES - CHINESE COMMUNIST RELATIONS

By Alfred Jenkins

In China today we are witnessing the continuation of one of the most portentous revolutions in history. The outcome cannot yet be foreseen, but there can be no doubt that the course which one-quarter of humanity ultimately takes will be of immense importance to the rest of us.

The past 18 years of Communist rule have been only the latest phase in China's struggle to come into the modern world. For more than three thousand years the Chinese developed their remarkable culture largely untouched by outside influence. The Middle Kingdom, as it called itself, always managed to absorb its invaders, who adopted the higher Chinese civilization. It was natural that the Chinese came to look upon themselves as the center of the world: as the unique, highest expression of civilized mankind. The great Emperor Ch'ien Lung must have looked upon our American Revolution, which occurred near the end of his reign, as a trivial squabble between unworthy barbarians somewhere on the outer fringes of his vast empire.

In the middle of the last century, however, the comfort of China's womb-like isolation was ended by the West. For the first time in her long history a culture higher than the Chinese -- at least in technology -- accompanied the incursions, and the erosion of the two thousand year-old Confucian social order began.

In the Twentieth Century the increasingly conscious destruction of that ancient social order by the Chinese themselves has brought about recurring crises of national authority. The pressure on the land by a



vaulting population increase, and the ferment caused by the introduction of ideas from what we may now call the world culture -- that originally of the West -- have combined to make the very governing of the country a great problem and the transition to modernity painful and halting. While there appears to be much disagreement in China as to the new road to be taken, Mao's Cultural Revolution upheaval has produced the most frenzied attacks yet launched against the old ideas, customs and ways of doing things.

Most Americans seem to believe that we have been a friend to China throughout our relations, until Mao made it clear he did not want our friendship. There is much truth to this belief, at least in our intent. Yet with a careful reading of history I think we must agree with A. T. Steele in his excellent book, "The American People and China" when he says:

"On balance, our relationship with China during the nineteenth century did us no great credit as a people. Although we were vocally idealistic and not active in the scramble for spheres of influence, our behavior otherwise differed little from that of the British or the French or the Russians ... It was usual ... to regard the Chinese as an inferior people who could not hope to achieve real stature in the world until they had abandoned their heathen habits and embraced the ways of Christian civilization ... Few Americans had anything but the most formal contact with the more sophisticated elements of Chinese society. Few had any knowledge of the vast and wonderful world of Chinese art and philosophy.

For this situation the rulers of China were in part, at least, responsible. They kept foreigners at arms length. Their disdain and arrogance matched our own."

True, the missionary era was characterized by admirable dedication both at home and in the field. But it is also true that that effort was viewed by the average Chinese, at best as an impertinence, and at worst as a menace to the Chinese way of life. Indeed the modernizing influence of the more secular institutions -- hospitals, clinics, schools and colleges -- which the missionary effort spawned was the chief reason it was so violently resisted -- a violence culminating in the bloody Boxer Uprising.

At the turn of the century the extent of our trade and other interests in China caused us to adopt the Open Door policy. This helped save China from European rapacity, and at the same time fostered in us an affectionate and protective feeling for China which was presumptuous, even if well-intentioned. The Nationalist revolution intensified American sympathy for China. For a number of years, first under Sun Yat-sen and then under Chiang Kai-shek, progress was made in strengthening China both economically and in social reorganization. But the long Japanese war sapped the strength and enthusiasm of that revolution, while the Chinese Communist revolution, promising land reform and national dignity after China's hundred years of ignominy, gained in strength, confidence, and fanaticism.

Much in the Chinese Communists' wartime program was attractive. Their so-called "New Democracy" gained the allegiance of peasants in the agrarian pockets which they held between the Japanese-held cities

and railroads, and their Yen-an Headquarters had an atmosphere of reasonableness, informality, dedication and fraternity which was widely reported in this country. I remember the anxiety with which I used to argue in Peking and Tientsin with Chinese friends about the nature of Mao's quite different plans for the future. Few had really studied Mao's writings. At the time of the communist take-over several close Chinese friends of mine -- a prominent lawyer, a writer, and several professors and students -- came to me and said in effect, "We believe that you are an incurable Sino-phile, and we appreciate it. We want you, and if possible, your government, to relax. We are supporting the communists as the only existing vehicle for a fresh start for our country, but we patriotic, non-communist Chinese are in the majority. When the communists take over we will control them, not they, us."

And so the Communists took over most of the world's most populous nation. In each city which they entered in their rapid sweep southward the newspapers immediately came out with vitriolically anti-American editorials. Upon reading such an editorial I remember calling in the senior member of the domestic staff in our house and explaining that Americans might be in for a rough time in China, and I did not want the servants to be endangered by working for us. I said that Mrs. Jenkins had washed dishes before, and I had mowed lawns, and we would get along. He said with some emotion that they would not leave us in any circumstances, but he did not think we would be harmed. The communists would not agree with our government's policies, but they would treat us fairly. The fact that we liked and respected the Chinese people, and had friends in every stratum of the society would in turn be respected by the new regime.

Some early signs had indeed been promising. The communist soldiers canvassing Tientsin after the battle had found my wife in the basement of our house (I was at the office and there had just been a machine gun battle in front of our house). The soldiers were friendly, were pleased that my wife spoke Chinese, and insisted that we had nothing to fear, now that the People's Liberation Army had taken over. My first official encounters, too, were reassuring -- even pleasant. On the morning after the brief but fierce battle we at the Consulate General were called to talk with the first wave of officialdom. These officers were clean-cut, personable, intelligent, seemingly reasonable men. They insisted that all would be well so long as our relations were equal and reciprocal. Consonant with that theme, none of the Chinese would speak English -- even those who were graduates of Ohio Wesleyan or Columbia. They explained that when Chinese were in America they had to speak English, and from then on, Americans in China would speak Chinese. The days were over when a foreign businessman could live -- and prosper mightily -- in China for forty years and scarcely be able to say "good morning" in Chinese. I approved of that rule, and said so. After all, there are more people on this planet who speak Chinese as their native language than there are who speak English. Furthermore, this meant that as the only one fluent in Chinese on our staff I would have to conduct most of our dealings, which intrigued me. For the next eight months, I found those dealings correct and fair. The authorities would not answer our written communications, since in the absence of diplomatic recognition they looked upon the American Consulate General as a sort of optical



illusion. But they usually took satisfactory action on our requests. Actually, there is ample precedent for recognizing consular relations in the absence of diplomatic ones. We do not know whether the new regime did not want consular relations or whether they thought this impossible in international usage, short of diplomatic relations.

There was an atmosphere of exhilaration and hope after the communists came in. The trains started running on time. The holes in the streets were filled. The public electric clocks were repaired. The traffic cops started actually directing traffic, instead of sort of desultorily confirming it. The communists were on their good behavior for the most part, until they had taken over the entire mainland. But, the anti-American editorials continued, and later, harassment of our diplomatic and consular officials, including indignities toward our Ambassador, increased markedly. We finally had to withdraw all officials in early 1950.

Mao soon announced his policy of "lean to one side" in favor of the Soviet Union, and the two communist giants began their period of close collusion.

You may be interested in my first unofficial encounter with a Chinese Communist. On the morning after the battle I was sitting at my desk when a very young and very cocky Chinese Communist buck private wandered in and asked where he was. He put his rifle in the corner, sat down and put his feet on my desk. When I told him he was in the American Consulate General, he winced, then asked how far it was to Nanking, the then capital. The answer seemed to weary him, but he said, "That's our next stop." Then, "How far to Shanghai?"

That's our next stop. How far to Hong Kong -- our next stop? How far from Hong Kong to Taiwan?" I told him, but said there were 100 miles of water separating the island from the mainland. His answer was "Mei-yu kuan-hsi. Mao Chu-hsi yu fa-tze." (It doesn't matter. Chairman Mao will have a way.") He then asked, "How far from Taiwan to the United States? That's our last stop." He assured me that I was soon to be liberated from my Wall Street oppressors!

Now I do not suggest that the actual plans of the leadership were quite so ambitious -- at least in their timetable. But this episode does illustrate the confidence, dedication and the sense of infallibility noted at all levels at that time.

It is obvious that the United States was weighing the pros and cons of attempting to recognize the Chinese People's Republic in its early days. I say "attempting" because Chinese actions made it questionable whether they would return the compliment. In any event, Chinese entry into the Korean War soon made the issue academic. And the American people, long practiced in the arts of self-congratulation, uncharacteristically entered upon an orgy of self-flagellation at the loss of China.

We cannot be sure, but there is every indication that we could not have successfully recognized the Chinese Communists. Mao probably would have gladly accepted our offer as further evidence of the international legitimacy of his regime, but there is nothing to lead us to believe that this would have resulted in meaningful relations. Even the British have not been successful in getting an Ambassador accredited to Peking.

Actually, we who have not extended recognition have had more official contact with the Chinese Communists than any non-communist government which has recognized Peking. We have met with them at three international conferences, one at Panmunjom and two at Geneva. But our chief diplomatic contact has been at the Ambassadorial talks which have been held 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  times since 1955, first in Geneva and then in Warsaw. These have been called "the longest established permanent floating diplomatic game in modern history." As a matter of fact in the summer of 1954 I negotiated with a member of the Chinese delegation to the Conference on Indo-China, in the attempt to secure the release of Americans detained in Communist China. A number were released at that time. At the Ambassadorial talks the following year, an agreement for the repatriation of Americans in China and Chinese in the United States was reached. In fact, this is the only agreement which has been reached in the 12- $\frac{1}{2}$  years of the talks, and the Chinese have not yet fully carried out their part of the agreement.

This does not mean that the talks have not been useful. At least twice during crises involving the Nationalist-held off-shore islands, the talks have almost certainly helped avert more serious military conflict. And the two sides have gone on to discuss many subjects at issue between them. The Chinese have been most anxious to discuss our alleged occupation of Taiwan, a claim which is patently ridiculous, whereas we have attempted to get agreement on a mutual renunciation of force in the area. In recent years, failing to agree on the central issues, we have made many proposals designed simply to increase contact between our two peoples, in the hopes of at least

increasing understanding. None of these has been acceptable to the Chinese. Nevertheless, both sides seem to agree so far that this mutual pulse-feeling exercise has value.

Before I conclude, let me just list briefly a few observations on negotiating with the Chinese Communists.

First, Mao evidently considers the function of hatred as of prime utility -- class hatred at home and hatred of the alleged enemy abroad. He considers these usages of hate as necessary to fuel his revolution -- to create and preserve its fervor. Maoism has often been called a secular religion. It has its deified leader, its canonized writings, its strong sense of mission and infallibility, its seemingly worshipful devotees, and certainly its urge to proselyte. Maoism has seemingly also needed a devil, and we were elected. The Soviet Union has been running us strong competition of late, but Mao appears determined not to release us from that supposedly useful role. This makes negotiation difficult.

Second, it is difficult to negotiate with a faith, and that is basically what Maoism is. The sense of rectitude is absolute, and it is difficult to reach any middle ground of agreement with absolutes. Logic, as we know it, is given short shrift. Chinese Communism does have a certain logic of its own, which is discernible. Neither the Chinese in general nor the Chinese Communists are really inscrutable, unless one refuses to scrutinize. But the sort of Aristotelian, syllogistic logic which is the basis of Western thought is not characteristic of either traditional Chinese thought or of modern Maoism.

Third, agreements nevertheless can be reached, if both sides strongly want agreement -- for very practical reasons. Agreements are



most unlikely to be reached on the basis of where lies truth or merit. And outside current happenings -- such as propaganda or military success or failure -- are likely to have strong bearing on the course of negotiations. The communists view negotiations as but one phase of the struggle against the very existence of non-communist institutions. Their writings say so, and their actions accord.

Fourth, although sensitive to matters of face themselves, the Chinese Communists are masters of invective and insult, often using rudeness in hopes of making the other side lose its temper. They will go to great lengths to have the last word on a subject, and often speak as though they are more anxious to make loyalty points back home than they are to negotiate seriously at the conference table. This has been especially true during the Cultural Revolution.

Fifth, the Chinese Communists can show almost infinite patience, unless some circumstance outside the negotiations causes them to be hurting badly. The Chinese as Chinese have a patience which Westerners are hard put to match. But we fail to match it at our peril. As communists, they have an added increment of patience. Since history is allegedly on their side by definition, they can wait, and they believe they can depend upon our impatience to give them the advantage. It is important to keep one's "cool."

These points could be endlessly embellished, but I believe them to be the central considerations in negotiating with the Chinese. (Incidentally, I believe them to have some carry-over value in our coming negotiations with Hanoi. Above all, we need to keep our patience and our cool, and attend to events outside the conference room.)

These considerations largely explain the stalemate in our negotiations with the Chinese Communists. President Johnson and other leading U.S. officials have made it clear that the United States looks forward to the time when the mainland Chinese may join cooperatively with other peoples in attacking the real enemies of us all: prejudice, poverty, misunderstanding, ignorance and disease. When the mainland leadership ceases to attempt to impose its will and its ideology on others and seeks means of productive cooperation, we will not be unresponsive.

Meanwhile, the revolution in China which began with the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty is still in search of an answer -- a truly Chinese, workable answer. The much-needed articulation of China with the rest of the world remains unsolved, and seemingly unsolvable so long as the only terms offered are Sinocentric, Maoist terms which practically none of the rest of the world wants to entertain. But the revolution is obviously continuing, and we must hope for and work toward the day when the immensely talented people on the Chinese mainland may take their rightful place in the diverse but cooperative world we seek to build.

# CHINA WORKSHOP

## The U.S.-CHINA-SOVIET TRIANGLE: PERILS AND POSSIBILITIES

Sponsored by

The League of Women Voters of Minneapolis  
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The League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Tuesday, May 12, 1970  
AUGSBURG COLLEGE CENTER

\$3 Registration Fee Includes Luncheon  
(Reservation Deadline: May 3 - Reservations Limited)

9:00 - 9:30	Registration and Coffee
9:30 - 10:20	Norma Noonan, Associate Professor of Political Science, Augsburg College "The Soviet View of the Sino-Soviet Rift"
10:20 - 11:10	John Turner, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota "The Chinese View of the Sino-Soviet Rift"
11:10 - 12:20	League Question Panel and Group Discussion Moderator: Barbara Stuhler, Associate Director, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota
12:30 - 1:20	Lunch
1:20 - 2:30	Terence Hopmann, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota "The United States and the Sino-Soviet Split" Problems and Options in Dealing with Polycentric Communism
2:30	Adjourn

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For Reservations return to: League of Women Voters of Minneapolis  
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Please reserve \_\_\_\_\_ places. I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ (\$3.00 each)

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We do not mail tickets. Check at Workshop for your name tag.