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A GENERAL STUDY OF THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

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Research Program on Problems of International Communication and Security

Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
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A GENERAL STUDY OF THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

I. Introduction

It is common knowledge that all media of public communication are under rigid control of the government and that they are utilized strictly as tools of propaganda and instruments of control. Under such circumstances, it would seem that people on mainland China could get almost no truthful information about the outside world, perhaps particularly the West.

However, interviews with many refugees from the mainland in Hong Kong, especially the intellectuals, suggest that while they might not be well-informed about developments in the free world, they were not completely in the dark. Some claimed that they received news about the West by listening to broadcasts from the free world, some reported that they kept themselves informed just by reading between the lines of Communist publications, and many others revealed that they had other sources of information.

But what possible channels of communication actually exist between the Western world and Communist China? More specifically, how much and what kind of foreign information is available in what form, to what kind of audience on mainland China and with what possible effects? These are the guiding questions for this exploratory study.

II. Press and Periodicals

A. Press

The number of newspapers published on mainland China has grown from 382 in 1950 to 1,455 in 1959. Only 28 of the 1,455 are national newspapers; the rest are provincial, municipal, regional and county newspapers. The circulation figure has also risen from three million copies per issue in 1950 to 20.9 million in 1959. Of the 1959 figure, 7.3 million copies were for national newspapers and 13.6 million were for local papers.[1] Significant expansion began in 1955. Following is a table of the number of newspapers published on mainland China from 1955 to 1959.[2]

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[1] Wang Mu, "Some Experiences in Newspaper Work Since the Great Leap Forward," (Kuan-yu ch'ao pao-chih kung-tso ti chi t'ien chin-yen), News Front (Hsin-wen chan-hsien), No. 18, September 24, 1959, p. 1.

[2] 1955 figure: People's Handbook 1956 (Peking Ta Kung Pao), p. 563; People's Handbook 1957 (Peking Ta Kung Pao), p. 576.

1956 figure: Mao Tun, "On Freedom of Press," News and Publishing, August 19, 1957. (Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1607, September 11, 1957, p. 27). Circulation is estimated according to Po I-po's report to the CCP on July 22, 1957, that newspaper circulation in 1956 increased by 34% over 1955. Enlightenment Daily, July 23, 1957.

1957 figure: Hong Kong Wen Wei Pao, October 1, 1959.

1958 figure: People's Handbook, 1959, p. 484.

1959 figure: Report by Shen Yen-ping, Minister of Culture, People's Daily 5, 1960. Also see Wang's article, Note 1.

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	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Number of newspapers All-inclusive	392	1,401	1,429	1,884	1,455
Newspapers at and above regional level	285	352	360	373	456
Total Annual Circulation (million copies)	1,954	2,618	2,422	4,899	n.a.

No yearly total circulation for 1959 has been announced, but the circulation of the 456 newspapers at and above the regional level alone reached 4,800 million copies in 1959, almost the same as the total circulation of the 1,884 newspapers in 1958. In spite of a decrease in the number of local newspapers published in 1959,[3] the Peking Ta Kung Pao reported on September 22, 1959, that circulation of newspapers and periodicals during the first half of 1959 was more than 80 percent higher than that of the same period of 1958. The significant increase in newspaper circulation in 1959 was attributable primarily to the nation-wide newspaper-reading campaign launched in that year.[4] Whether the people are interested or not, they must all participate in newspaper reading today. At present, each province, municipality and region has its own official newspapers.

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[3] People's Daily, April 5, 1960.

[4] People's Daily, February 2, 1960.

Since 1959, no information on the circulation of Chinese newspapers has been announced. However, bits and pieces of information about the merging of local newspapers, the difficulties in obtaining new subscriptions to newspapers, the setting up of newspaper-posting placards and the paper shortage, suggest that newspaper circulation on mainland China dropped in the past two years.

Only six leading national newspapers and a handful of local papers in the big cities on the mainland regularly carry international news. Provincial newspapers very seldom report foreign news, except on special occasions when they praise the achievements in the Socialist camp or attack the "imperialist" Western countries. Newspapers below the provincial level cater mainly to peasants. Because of the composition of their audience and their special function, they do not normally carry a large volume of foreign news.

The following six leading national newspapers have daily foreign news sections:

1. People's Daily (Jen-min jih-pao), organ of the Chinese Communist Party, has a daily circulation of more than one million copies.[5] It is currently published in six pages on Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday and four pages on the other days of the week. More than two pages of this daily are devoted to international news.

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[5] Kung Chao-kai, "Resolutely Follow the Path of Socialism," (ch'ien-chueh chou she-hui tsu-yi ti tao-lu), News Front, No. 18, September 24, 1959, p. 28.

2. The Impartial Press (Ta Kung Pao), with a circulation second only to that of the People's Daily, devotes more than one of its four pages to international reports and often carries commentary on economic conditions in Western countries.
3. Enlightenment Daily (Kuang-ming jih-pao), mouthpiece of the so-called democratic parties, specializes in cultural and educational affairs; one of its four pages is devoted to international news.
4. Worker's Daily (Kung-jen jih-pao), organ of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, published from Tuesday through Sunday, four pages on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and two pages on other days, gives one page to reportage of international events and workers' living conditions in foreign countries, socialist or capitalist.
5. Cultural Exchange Journal (Wen Hui Pao), a daily published in Shanghai especially for school teachers and intellectuals, puts out four pages daily with one page for foreign news.
6. China Youth Press (Chung-kuo ching-nien Pao), organ of the Chinese Communist Youth League, was a daily until 1962; it is currently published every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and occasionally puts out special issues. One of its four pages covers foreign news.

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[6] According to the latest available figures, the per issue circulation of the Impartial Daily is 300,000 copies; Cultural Exchange Journal, 180,000 copies; Worker's Daily, 150,000 copies. See People's Daily, April 26, 1956, and October 1, 1956.

Among these six leading national newspapers, the People's Daily gives more space to international reports and covers news of wider scope than the other five. Next come the Impartial Press and the Enlightenment Daily.

Since 1959, the People's Daily has shown more concern with world developments than before. Although it has reduced its number of pages since 1961 because of a paper shortage, it still maintains its two-page international news section.

One is able to get some clues to Peking's thinking on foreign affairs by examining the foreign news coverage of the People's Daily. For instance, the paper's coverage of the Soviet Union and other Communist Bloc countries, perhaps as a result of the Peking-Moscow rift, has been significantly reduced since 1960.

Following is a statistical table of coverage of various topics in the People's Daily international news sections in 1960.

Topics		No. of Items	Percentage
Soviet Russia		1,351	8.6
Other Communist Countries		3,248	20.8
International Front Activities		203	1.3
Anti-West in General*		143	0.9
U.S.A.		1,886	12.1
Activities in Latin America	207		
Activities in Southeast Asia	186		
Activities in other areas	618		
General anti-U.S. propaganda	875		
United Kingdom		60	0.4
France		80	0.5
Latin America		1,416	9.1
Japan		1,673	10.5
India		303	1.9
Pakistan		14	0.1
Middle East		416	2.7
Southeast Asia		1,893	12.1
Africa		1,407	9.0
Europe (excluding U.K. and France)		599	3.8
United Nations		69	0.4
Taiwan, South Korea and other areas		289	2.0
Communist China's Peaceful and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries		274	1.8
Neutral International News		311	2.0
	TOTAL	15,635	100.0

*This category includes news items condemning the Western countries as a group.

The above table shows that only about 30 percent of the paper's international news concerned the Socialist camp while 70 percent concerned non-Communist countries. Of the 70 percent on non-Communist countries, 25 percent of the items urged support for the "people's struggle" in African, Latin American and other countries, and about 40 percent condemned the Western world.

The U.S. has been the number one target of Chinese Communist propaganda since 1950. Anti-U.S. propaganda has outweighed the pro-Soviet theme in the People's Daily since 1959 and the United States has received the largest attention given to a single country. Attacks on the U.S. range from juvenile delinquency to foreign policy. Among the most frequently repeated charges:

1. U.S. obstruction to peace
2. U.S. imperialist rule in Latin America
3. U.S. imperialist rule in Southeast Asia
4. U.S. leaders as warmongers
5. U.S. war preparations and U.S. creation of international tensions
6. Unfavorable economic conditions and social disorders in the U.S.

In attacking the U.S., the People's Daily must necessarily utilize Western sources to provide its readers with "convincing" facts about the U.S. Such stories from Western sources are generally paraphrased and often editorialized. But in some cases, texts of official U.S. statements or articles in American magazines are translated and published in full or in part when the Chinese Communist press has found these materials useful as objects of attacks.

According to refugees interviewed in Hong Kong, plenty of disillusioned intellectuals and discontented people on mainland China are greatly concerned about developments in the free world, especially the U.S.-Soviet relationship, U.S. policy towards Communist China, and the developments on Taiwan. People hungry for such information read carefully those newspapers with wider coverage of international news, such as People's Daily and Ta Kung Pao. It is noteworthy that in some big cities such as Shanghai and Canton, local newspapers which carry news on the Western world always have a larger circulation than those which do not. To be sure, any mainland Chinese paper today carries only foreign news reports supplied by New China News Agency (NCNA). But with the help of quotations from such news agencies as AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters and USIA or such publications as The New York Times and U.S. News and World Report appearing in anti-West propaganda literature, between-the-line readers can often manage to piece together a reasonably accurate picture. U.S. policy towards Soviet Russia is often extracted from attacks on the U.S. for obstructing peace, as U.S. assistance to anti-Communist countries is inferred from accusations of U.S. imperialist rule in that area, and the military strength of the free world from the charges of war preparation and creating international tensions. Reports on the unfavorable economic situation and on living conditions in the Western world often provide the readers something with which to compare their own standard of living. As one refugee said, "By ignoring the heavy-handed propaganda in the news items, one could get a good deal of news from the quotations."

Since 1961, when Kennedy became president, anti-U.S. propaganda in the Chinese Communist press has been centered around the "war hysteria" of the new administration. "U.S. obstruction to peace" and "U.S. arms expansion and war preparations" have been the two most frequently publicized themes. Coverage of the U.S. emphasizes on its foreign policies and relations. President Kennedy's speeches and statements concerning U.S. foreign policy received great attention in the press. In 1962 alone, twenty presidential press conferences and many of his speeches on foreign affairs were quoted and attacked. Important foreign policy statements by high U.S. government officials such as Secretary of State Rusk and Defense Secretary McNamara were also similarly used. President Kennedy's announcement on March 2, 1963, of the decision to resume atmospheric nuclear weapons tests received prominent attention and was furiously attacked. During the week from March 3 to 10, the Chinese press was flooded with commentaries and quotations from foreign newspapers protesting the resumption of nuclear tests and with reports on demonstrations held in China and other parts of the world. Since then, every U.S. nuclear explosion test, underground in Nevada or high altitude above the Johnston Islands, has been covered by the People's Daily.

Probably the most fully covered U.S. news events in 1962 in the Chinese Communist press were those of President Kennedy's State of the Union Message in January and the Cuban crisis in October. Following is a chronology of reports on these two events in Chinese Communist national newspapers in Peking.

Coverage of the U.S. President's State of the Union Message

Jan. 14 - Peking papers report Kennedy's State of the Union Message to the Congress on the 11th. The 3,200-word NCNA release quotes Kennedy's statement and comments that the message advocates armament expansion and war preparation and U.S. enslavement of the whole world.

19 - People's Daily carries an editorial on the message, denouncing it as an insolent challenge to all the people of the world who cherish peace, independence and freedom. The paper gives half a page of space to a 6,200-word summary of the foreign policy section of the message. The editor's note says that the paper is carrying this summary in order to show how U.S. imperialism is using its counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics to push ahead with its policies of war and aggression.

20 - All Peking papers carry a 3,500-word report on Kennedy's budget message for the 1963 fiscal year submitted to Congress on the 18th, which, according to the Chinese Communist press, calls for intensified armament expansion and war preparation and further exploitation of the laboring people.

21 - Ta Kung Pao carries a commentary on Kennedy's budget message entitled "The War Maniac Kennedy's War Budget."

23 - People's Daily published a 1,800-word news item on Kennedy's report to the Congress on the 22nd on the U.S. economy. Ta Kung Pao carries a shorter item on it.

24 - A 3,200-word article in the Ta Kung Pao analyzes the U.S. budget and points out that Kennedy's budget message is nothing but propaganda to deceive the American people and blackmail other countries.

27 - People's Daily carries a commentary entitled "An Adventurist Plan and an Adventurist Budget" which points out that Kennedy's budget message and his economic report show that the U.S. Government in order to carry out its plan of enslavement of the world does not hesitate to step up armament expansion and war preparation by increasing the exploitation of the American people and by shifting its difficulties onto its allies.

28 - People's Daily carries an 1,800-word report on Kennedy's trade message submitted to Congress on the 25th.

31 - Ta Kung Pao comments on Kennedy's report on U.S. economy.

Feb. 3 - Ta Kung Pao again comments on Kennedy's budget message.

8 - People's Daily carries a commentary on Kennedy's trade message.

10 - Ta Kung Pao features a commentary attacking the "Trade Expansion Act of 1962" put forward by Kennedy in his message on trade.

13 - Ta Kung Pao again carries a commentary on the Trade Act and compares it with the Trade Act of 1934.

16 - Ta Kung Pao carries a commentary entitled "Kennedy cannot extricate the U.S. from its economic difficulties," analyzing the budget, economy and trade messages.

18 - People's Daily and Ta Kung Pao reprint a commentary from I.F. Stone's Weekly which said that the huge arms budget of the Kennedy Administration embodies a more adventurous policy than that of his predecessor.

28 - Ta Kung Pao comments on Kennedy's agriculture message submitted to Congress on January 31st.

June 24 - People's Daily publishes a commentary on Kennedy's "Trade Expansion Act of 1962".

28 - Kennedy's CBS television interview on June 24 about the "Trade Expansion Act of 1962" is covered by People's Daily.

Covering a U.S. President's State of the Union Message is not new in the Chinese Communist press, but never before had it been done so extensively. In order to give the readers the impression that President Kennedy is a representative of the U.S. capitalist group which profits by war or war preparation, the People's Daily and Ta Kung Pao played up the foreign policy and budget sections of the message. They quoted the text of the message so extensively that readers should have little difficulty in understanding the U.S. position. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 was commented upon several times as the Communist tried to analyze U.S. economic difficulties. The coverage of President Kennedy's message ended on February 28, but it appeared five months later in the People's Daily to serve as a reminder.

Coverage of the Cuban Crisis

Oct. 24 - Prominence is given to U.S. military blockade of Cuba. The press front pages President Kennedy's announcement of blockade on the 22nd. A statement of the Soviet government on the 23rd appealing to all governments and peoples to oppose U.S. acts on Cuba is carried in full.

25 - President Kennedy proclaimed on the 23rd that the military blockade of Cuba would begin at 1400 GMT, October 24, the press reports. The emergency meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States in Washington on the 23rd to support U.S. action toward Cuba was covered. Top prominence is given to Peking's statement supporting Cuba.

26 - U.S. government stepping up of military preparation for the Cuban situation was reported by the Peking press. Statements issued by various Socialist countries were carried in People's Daily.

27 - Chinese press rounds up protests against the U.S. blockade of Cuba from the peoples of the Socialist countries, the Latin American and Asian-African countries and the rest of the world. The Cuban representative delivered a speech at the UN Security Council meeting of the 25th and the U.S. Defense Department announced on the same day U.S. stand on the blockade of Cuba, the press reports. Khrushchev's reply to U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, on the 25th to accept his proposal on the Cuban crisis is covered.

28 - All Peking papers frontpage the report on the October 27 press conference in Peking given by Cuban Charge d'Affaires ad interim protesting against U.S. acts against Cuba. President Kennedy's calling of the National Security Council Executive meeting on the 25th and Khrushchev's letter of the 26th to U Thant answering his letter of the 25th are reported.

29 - People's Daily and other Peking newspapers print the text of Khrushchev's message to President Kennedy on the 27th suggesting that the Soviet Union and the U.S. withdraw respectively their offensive weapons from Cuba and Turkey. Kennedy's reply and the White House statement on the 27th demanding the dismantling of offensive weapons in Cuba are also published in full in the People's Daily and in excerpts in other Peking newspapers. Quoting Tass release of the 28th, the press reports Soviet order to dismantle offensive weapons in Cuba.

30 - Top prominence is given to Premier Castro's statement upholding Cuban independence and sovereignty issued on the 28th in connection with President Kennedy's reply to Khrushchev over Cuban problem and Khrushchev's decision to withdraw installations of strategic defense arms from Cuba. The papers report, by quoting Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester's interview with correspondents on the 28th, Dean Rusk's meeting with envoys from Latin American countries on the 28th, USIA dispatch of the 28th and N.Y. Times of the 29th, that the U.S. is continuing its blockade of Cuba and reconnaissance over its territory. People's Daily and Ta Kung Pao print the full text of Khrushchev's message to President Kennedy on the 28th on the Soviet order to dismantle weapons in Cuba and Kennedy's reply of the same day welcoming Khrushchev's order. Worker's Daily prints Khrushchev's message in full and Kennedy's reply in excerpts.

31 - All Peking newspapers report that President Kennedy on the 29th ordered the U.S. fleet blockading Cuba to remain in position. A roundup of U.S. press reports on U.S. military movements as reported by AP, UPI, Reuters and Miami News is used to accuse the U.S. of scheming for a new armed invasion of Cuba. Full text of Kennedy's statement of the 28th welcoming Khrushchev's order to dismantle offensive weapons is carried by People's Daily as is Khrushchev's letter to U Thant on the 28th stating that Kuznetsov, the First Deputy Foreign Minister, will be in New York for talks with the U.S. and Cuba.

Nov. 1 - The People's Daily devotes its fourth and fifth pages exclusively to Cuba, rounding up world-wide support for the Cuban people. The Enlightenment Daily gives one page of space specially to Cuba. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Edwin Martin's statement in a radio broadcast on October 30 that while negotiation was the "preferred method" for solving the Cuban question, a U.S. "invasion of Cuba" was not excluded is reported by major Peking papers. The first meeting in Havana between Cuban leader and U Thant is reported by the People's Daily and the Worker's Daily.

2 - Space is given to the news that U.S. Acting Secretary General U Thant and his entourage left Havana for New York on the afternoon of October 31 and that on the morning of that day a second meeting was held between him and the Cuban government. The U.S. announced on the evening of October 31st that its naval blockade and aerial military surveillance over Cuba would be resumed at daybreak of the day after U Thant left Cuba, the press reports.

3 - All Peking papers give banner headlines to Premier Castro's television speech on the 1st announcing Cuba's determination to fight to the end to defend its sovereignty and revolution. The press reports that the U.S. is stepping up its moves against Cuba, including military maneuvres and efforts to intensify the over-all economic blockade of Cuba. The papers quote a New York report which says that on his way to Havana Mikoyan, the First Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on November 1 met U Thant and John McElroy, head of a U.S. three-man Coordinating Committee for the Cuban Question.

4 - All Peking papers give top prominence to China's support for Castro's TV speech on November 1. People's Daily devotes one and a half pages to the full text of this speech. The China Youth News puts out a special issue for Cuba. The papers quote a Washington report saying that Kennedy insisted on international inspection of Cuba in his TV speech on the 2nd, and a U.S. State Department spokesman demanded on the same day the withdrawal of Soviet bombers from Cuba.

5 - All Peking papers continue to give top prominence to the reports about the Chinese people's support for Cuba. Papers carry a Washington report saying that the U.S. demanded on-the-spot inspection of the dismantling of the Soviet missile bases on Cuban territory as U.S. policy, determined at the high level official meetings summoned twice on the 3rd by President Kennedy.

6 - A Washington report says that the White House on the 4th persisted in demanding an inspection of Cuba and will call another meeting of the Organization of American States, the Peking press reports. A New York report quotes U.N. Acting Secretary General U Thant as saying that the Red Cross would not be involved in on-the-ground inspection in Cuba and that the Soviet Union had agreed to submit its vessels proceeding to Cuba to Red Cross verification, Chinese newspapers report.

7 - Mikoyan-Castro talks in Havana on the 3rd, 4th and 5th are reported. Both Kennedy's summoning on the 5th of a National Security Council Executive meeting and U.S. military movements are reported. China Youth News puts out a special issue for Cuba.

8 - Papers report that more than five million Chinese people have marched in the streets and many millions more have attended mass rallies and meetings throughout China in the past few days to express their support for the Cuban people. Papers also carry

the news item that the U.S. government demanded on the 6th that Soviet bombers be removed from Cuba. Mikoyan-Castro talks on the 6th and Kuznetsov-Stevenson talks on the 5th are reported.

9 - A Tass report of the 7th, widely quoted in the papers, says that the Soviet Union has agreed to a visual check on missiles shipped out of Cuba. A Washington report says that the U.S. announced on the 7th that the Navy will count the missiles being shipped out of Cuba, and a New York report says that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have agreed on the inspection of cargoes aboard ships going to or leaving Cuba.

10 - Covering U.S.-Soviet talks on Cuba on the 8th, the papers quote press reports from New York and Washington saying that the U.S. government is still insisting on the withdrawal and on-site inspection of bombers and that Soviet vessels will cooperate with U.S. naval vessels during close alongside observation of missiles removed from Cuba. Other Washington reports say that the U.S. wants the Soviet Union to accept its terms on ending nuclear tests when the UN 18-nation Disarmament Committee meets next in Geneva, and that Kennedy has issued a statement calling for a ban on nuclear proliferation.

11 - The press covers the setting up by the U.S. Navy on the 9th of an Inter-American Quarantine Force for the blockade of Cuba. U.S. State Department press officer White reiterates on the 9th the U.S. demands for the removal of IL-28 jet bombers from Cuba. The U.S. announces on the 9th that five Soviet freighters outbound from Cuba were inspected by U.S. warships on the high seas on the afternoon of the 8th and morning of the 9th, and that responsible U.S. government officials have expressed satisfaction at this. U.S.-Soviet talks on Cuba question continue in New York on the 9th.

12 - The press reports that according to a Defense Department spokesman's statement on the 10th, U.S. warships have continued to intercept Soviet ships carrying dismantled guided missiles from Cuba. The People's Daily carries the report under the headlines, "U.S. warships continue to intercept missile-carrying Soviet ships, Soviet ships remove cover of missiles at U.S. request to let it make inspection and take photographs."

13 - Papers report news from Washington saying that R.C. Gilpatric, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense, in a TV interview with ABC on the 11th insisted on on-site inspection of Soviet vessels and withdrawal of Soviet bombers from Cuba.

14 - The press reports that President Kennedy summoned a meeting on the 12th to study the next step for U.S. action against Cuba and that the U.S. is still insisting on the removal of all offensive weapons. McNamara's speech on the 11th is covered.

15 - In their coverage of Soviet-U.S. talks on Cuba on the 13th, the papers report that the U.S. is insisting on the withdrawal of bombers.

16 - Vice-President Lyndon Johnson speaks in Chicago at the American Petroleum Research Institute on the 14th on the Cuba question, and State Department Press Officer Lincoln White indicates on the same day that the U.S. will interfere with Cuba's construction of fishing ports. The Stevenson-U Thant talk on Cuba is covered.

17 - The press reports that the U.S. and the Soviet Union continue their communications on withdrawal of Soviet bombers from Cuba and that Washington is still insisting on on-site inspection.

18 - A U.S. State Department spokesman made it clear on the 16th that U.S. aircraft would continue indefinitely to violate Cuban air space until the Cuban government accepts inspection, the papers report.

20 - Space is again given to expressions of firm support by the Cuban people for Premier Castro's letter to U Thant upholding national sovereignty and dignity. Kuznetsov-McCloy talks on the 18th are covered.

21 - The press reports that the U.S. government demands that the USSR withdraw IL-28 bombers before 23 GMT, November 20.

22 - The press prints the full text of President Kennedy's statement on Cuba at his news conference on the 20th. The press also reports McNamara's order on the 20th lifting the naval blockade and the Soviet government's order to cease "war ready position."

23 - Papers report that a U.S. Defense Department spokesman announced on the 21st that the U.S. will take photos of the Soviet vessels shipping out IL-28 bombers on the high seas.

25 - The press reports that President Kennedy called the 23rd an enlarged session of the National Security Council to discuss further moves against Cuba.

26 - The intended visit by President Kennedy to armed service units alerted in Georgia and Florida during the Cuban crisis is reported by the People's Daily.

27 - Mikoyan leaves Havana the press reports.

28 - The press reports President Kennedy's inspection on the 26th of the combat-ready military units and planes deployed in Georgia and Florida and U.S. insistence on its unilateral inspection of Cuban territory, stated by Press Officer White on the 26th. Mikoyan's leaving Havana and his arrival in New York are reported.

29 - The White House announced on the 27th that Mikoyan will hold talks with President Kennedy on the 29th and 30th on the Cuban question, the press reports.

30 - Mikoyan-Stevenson talks on the 29th are reported.

Dec. 1 - Mikoyan-Kennedy talks held on the 29th are reported.

2 - Mikoyan-Rusk talks in Washington on the 30th are reported.

3 - Mikoyan left the U.S. for Russian, the press reported.

6 - Assistant Secretary of Defense Sylvester announced on the 3rd that the USSR is withdrawing IL-28's from Cuba, and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov supplies Stevenson with information on the 4th on the operation, the press reports.

7 - Quoting the U.S. News & World Report December 10th issue, the press reports that according to a top-level Pentagon decision, the U.S. military deployment directed at Cuba would be continued. Quoting a Prensa Latin report, the press reports that a new U.S. anti-Cuban plan would be proposed at the Central American Foreign Ministers Conference to be held on December 10th.

8 - The press carries a U.S. Defense Department announcement on visual observations and photographing by U.S. naval aircraft of Soviet ships outbound from Cuba with IL-28 bombers, and a joint Soviet-U.S. draft declaration on the 5th expressing firm belief in the establishment of a world without war. President Kennedy's summoning a National Security Council meeting on the 6th is covered.

[illegible] - The press reports Secretary Rusk's press statement of the 10th emphasizing that there is no change in the U.S. policy toward Cuba.

14 - President Kennedy's press conference on the 12th at which he insisted on inspection in Cuba is reported.

(A table showing the coverage of the Cuban crisis in People's Daily is on page 20.)

The above chronology suggests that in general news on the U.S. is reported without much delay. Events that happen on the first day ordinarily will be reported in NCNA news releases the following day and published the third day in People's Daily and other national papers. The one-day gap is probably due to translation, selection and writing of comments on the news items received. It is noteworthy that never before in the Chinese Communist press had there been such detailed and undisguised reports on U.S.-Soviet relations as appeared during the Cuban crisis. (October 24-December 6.) Almost every day in the national newspapers space was given to this event. Most of the reports quoted stories from Western news agencies about U.S. attitudes toward the issue. Throughout that period, only 18 out of 209 items reporting U.S.-Soviet-Cuban relations quoted the Tass. It was obvious that, irritated by Soviet attitudes toward this question, the Chinese Communist press intended to present to the readers a picture that Soviet Russia backed out under the threat of U.S. imperialists." Communist China's irritation with the Soviet decision to dismantle missiles from Cuba was clearly unveiled in the editorials of Peking newspapers. Especially, the People's Daily editorial of November 5, entitled "The Fearless Cuban People Are the Most Powerful Strategic Weapon," accused Soviet Russia of playing "the Munich scheme against the Cuban people."

Coverage on Cuban Crisis in People's Daily from October 24 to December 8, 1962

Date		1 5 10 15 20 25	No. of Items
Oct.	24		7
	25		22
	26		12
	27		14
	28		19
	29		12
	30		9
	31		15
Nov.	1		12
	2		10
	3		10
	4		14
	5		20
	6		8
	7		6
	8		6
	9		7
	10		6
	11		8
	12		4
	13		5
	14		4
	15		5
	16		4
	17		5
	18		6
	19		1
	20		3
	21		5
	22		6
	23		5
	24		1
	25		3
	26		2
	27		3
	28		6
	29		1
	30		4
Dec.	1		1
	2		1
	3		
	4		
	5		
	6		2
	7		3
	8		3
		TOTAL	301

(The total of 301 items included 209 news items and 92 reports on China's support of Cuba.)

Source and distribution of information

Almost all national and international news items in all newspapers on mainland China are distributed by the New China News Agency, a news agency directly subordinate to the Central Government and under the supervision of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party.

The NCNA was set up on September 7, 1937. By August, 1957, it had 31 sub-bureaus in the various provinces and the capitals of autonomous regions, as well as in Peking, Tien-tsin, Shanghai and Anshan. These bureaus sent to the head office in Peking about 50,000 words a day. In addition, the agency had 23 foreign bureaus located in Pyongyang, Ulan Bator, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Rangoon, Yalta, New Delhi, Karachi, Kabul, Damascus, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Sofia, Bucharest, Tirana, Budapest, Belgrade, Geneva, Paris, London and Hong Kong. These bureaus sent to the head office a daily total of 10,000 words. The office received a total of 60,000 words a day from all domestic and foreign bureaus. Currently, NCNA has more than 30 foreign bureaus.[7] Both Europe and the Far East have been extensively covered and serviced by NCNA. Efforts were made in 1958-1959 to spread NCNA's coverage in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Offices were opened in Egypt and in 1958 NCNA quickly moved into Iraq, followed by offices opened in Yemen, Morocco, Ghana and Tunisia. In 1959 an office was set up in Havana as the main office in the Latin American area, with local newsmen acting as stringers for NCNA in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela.

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[7] Bureaus in India and Czechoslovakia were closed down in 1960 and 1963 respectively.

Distribution of NCNA foreign bureaus and stringers;

Communist countries - Albania, Bulgaria, E. Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, N. Korea, N. Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, U.S.S.R.

Europe - Britain, France, Switzerland; stringers in Belgium, W. Germany.

Asia - Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Hong Kong, Ceylon, Laos.

Middle East - Iraq, Syria, U.A.R., Yemen; stringer in Cyprus.

Africa - Algeria, Congo, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia; stringers in Cameroons, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Upper Volta.

Latin America - Cuba; stringers in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The NCNA head office in Peking records the broadcasts over 40 stations of 30 foreign news services, totaling about 300,000 words (English) and 281 hours per day in radioteletype, Hellschreiber, and Morse code.

The agency's domestic broadcasts distribute news releases to newspapers at various levels and can be divided into three categories:

1. To national newspapers and domestic broadcasting stations, 62,000 words per day (33,000 words in 1949) in 100 to 120 news items, consisting of 32,000 words of domestic news and 30,000 words of foreign news.

2. To provincial and municipal papers, 35,000 words per day.

3. To small papers below the provincial level about 10,000 words per day, comprising 6,000 words for city papers and 3,500 words for rural papers sent through Hellschreiber and voicecast.[8]

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[8] Wang Chia-hua, "New China News Agency on the March," News and Publishing, August 25, 1957. For English translation, Survey of China Mainland Press, 1,614, p. 3.

The NCNA also prepares "reference materials" of information from abroad unfavorable to Communist China for the Central Government, the People's Daily, the agency's own staff and approved individuals. The Central Government incorporates some of the materials into "intra-office reference material" of various classifications for various grades of government officials and organs. The People's Daily, after receiving the reference material from NCNA, puts out a "For Your Information" sheet for Party cadres throughout the country and for editorial staffs of other national, provincial and municipal newspapers to keep them informed on world events.[9]

The NCNA head office has a staff of several hundred persons classified into thirty grades. It has three intra-office publications: a daily newsletter available to all the staff which contains mainly the activities of international communist movements and policy statements of the Chinese Communist Party; a daily reference sheet, "Reference Material," on news from foreign agencies accessible to the upper 15 grades (section chiefs); and a confidential pamphlet, "Top Secret," seen only by department heads.[10]

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[9] "Yang Cheng Wan Pao, A Newspaper in Communist China," Current Scene, Vol. II, No. 16, July 1, 1963, Hong Kong.

[10] This information is revealed by Chiang Kwei-lin, an ex-NCNA employee for 12 years who defected in Cairo in 1961, Current Events Reference Material, Nos. 177-178, July 10/20, 1961, p. 28. The CERM is a Chinese journal published by the Information Bureau Executive Yuan, Taipei, Taiwan.

The last category of the "reference materials," probably the most popular one, is different from the others, which is known as "reference information" (ch'an k'ao hsiao hsi). Subscriptions are available to approved individuals throughout the country at a rate of sixty cents JMP (U.S. $0.24) a month. The NCNA Peking head office mails to subscribers six issues of "reference information" a week. Qualified subscribers include Party and Youth League secretaries of all units, cadres of the upper 19 grades in administrative organs, all officers in the military units, engineers and section chiefs in industrial and mining departments, section chiefs in transportation and commerce departments, professors, lecturers and Party-member and Youth League-member instructors in institutions of higher education, principals and Party-member and Youth League-member teachers of primary and high schools, trainees at such major organizations as the Foreign Trades Institute, and the Foreign Affairs Institute and social science students in the People's University in Peking. University students may borrow the "reference information" from their class committees. It is difficult to estimate its total circulation, but judging from the qualification of subscribers, the number of readers must be quite large. However, individuals cannot subscribe to the "reference information" directly from the NCNA. They must do so through the unit or office they belong to.

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The "reference information" contains mainly news items from foreign news agencies such as AFP, UPI, AP, Reuters and official news agencies of India, Japan and Taiwan. Sometimes it also contains news releases by news agencies of bloc countries which are not published in the mainland newspapers. Most of these news items are one or two months behind. In addition to news items, there are commentaries from foreign newspapers and journals such as Time, Newsweek, New York Times and Daily Mirror. The contents of the "reference information" generally fall into the following categories:[11]

1. Unfavorable comments or attacks on Communist China from foreign countries.
2. Conflict within the Chinese Communist Party, such as the suicide of Kao Kang which was never published in the press.
3. Unfavorable news about Communist China such as the defection of You Ts'ong, the famous pianist, to the West in 1958.
4. News about Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao.
5. Conflict among the Communist countries.

The extent of use of NCNA news releases by newspapers on mainland China varies. From the 62,000 word news releases supplied by NCNA, People's Daily picked up 30,000 to 35,000 words daily, about 15,000 words

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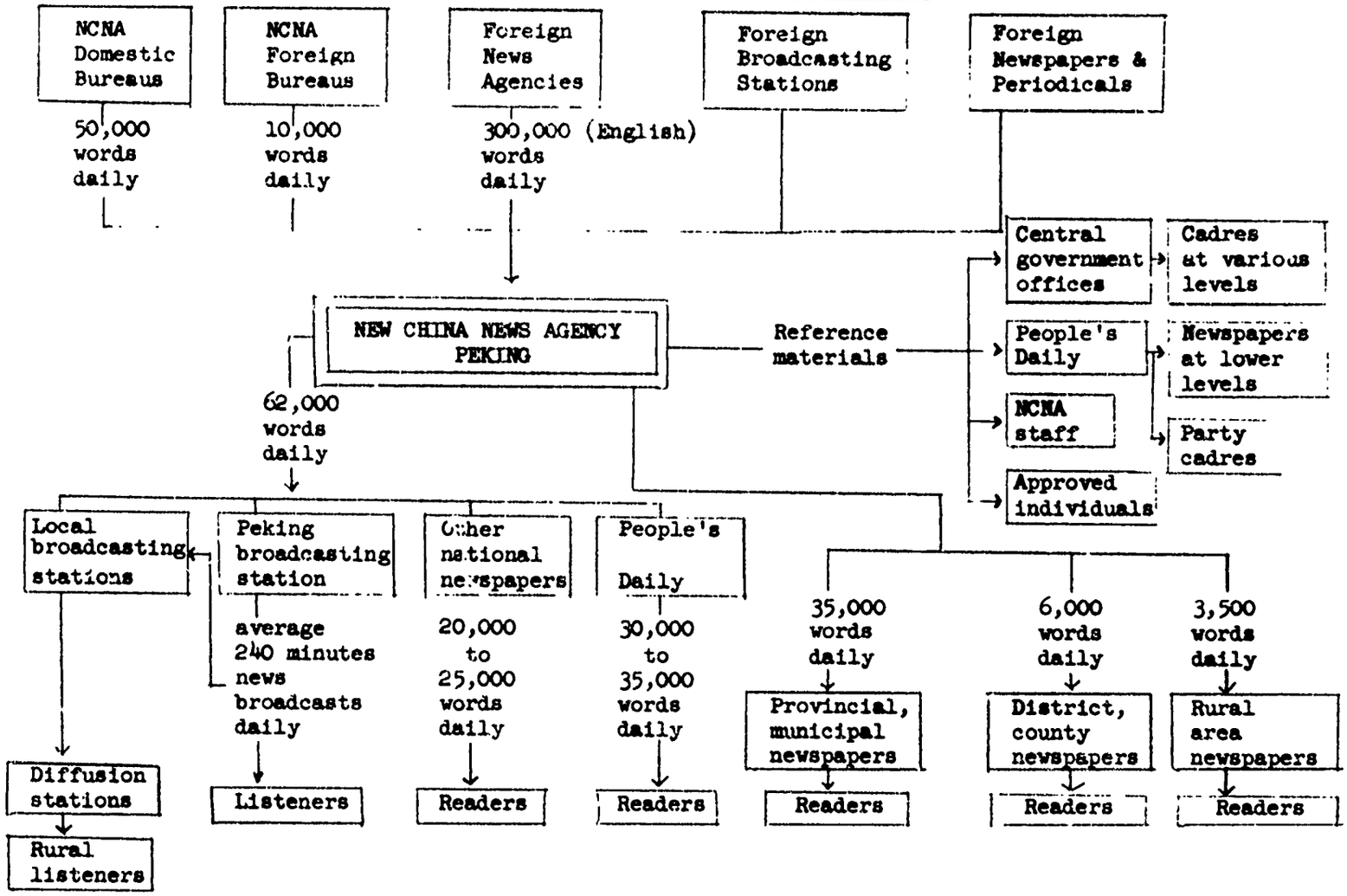
[11] Fang Tsao, "The 'Reference Information' of the Chinese Communists," Mainland Today (Chin jih ta lu), No. 199, January 1, 1964, Taipei, pp. 22-23.

SOURCES AND DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS BY NCNA



of national news and 15,000 words of foreign news.[12] Other national newspapers picked up about 20,000 to 25,000 words from the NCNA releases, 10,000 to 15,000 words of domestic news and 8,000 to 10,000 words of foreign news. Local newspapers pick up less NCNA news items. Provincial newspapers use about 10,000 words; rural newspapers, 1,500 words. Editors of the few local newspapers which regularly carry foreign news may edit the foreign news report supplied by NCNA freely with an eye to space available, to readers' interest, and to current policy.

Readership and Reader Interest

According to the latest statistics available, the daily circulation of newspapers in 1959 reached 20.7 million copies. But the number of newspaper readers would be far larger than the circulation figure. There is no way to estimate the size of actual readership because there are thousands of newspaper-reading groups in rural areas, factories and mines, in addition to countless newspaper bulletins or placards set up in factories, government offices organs, and schools and other public places. In Shanghai alone, there are more than 3,800 newspaper postings. The number of people who read the newspaper placards in Shanghai, which posts six national newspapers at each point every day, ranges from a few dozen to as many as 1,000.[13] Based on the reported literacy rate (60%)

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[12] Approximately 10,000 to 12,000 Chinese words for one newspaper page of 15" by 21".

[13] Enlightenment Daily, (Peking), June 4, 1962.

of the existing population (650 million) against the 20.7 million per issue circulation in 1959, there is approximately one newspaper available for 18 potential readers. However, the truthfulness of the reported literacy rate and the standard of the literates, especially in rural and mining areas, are questionable.

In June, 1951, the Shansi Daily, a provincial newspaper, according to a Party directive, conducted a readership survey. The findings shocked the editorial department. According to one factory workers' newspaper-reading group, the contents in Shansi Daily could be classified into three categories: 1) materials which were easy to understand; 2) materials which could be understood with explanation; 3) materials which could not be understood even with explanation. And the readers felt that many of the articles fell into the third category; they also thought that there were too few reports on their daily life. Then the editorial department immediately decided to carry out a "popularization program," which pointed out that the paper should be designed mainly for village cadres, factory cadres and worker-peasant masses, by emphasizing its coverage of the masses' daily life. Those items directed to the masses were to be written in such a style so that readers with four years of grade-school education could understand. In February, 1952, a second survey was made. The findings showed that only 10 out of 281 country-level cadres did not understand the contects of the paper, and most members of the workers' newspaper-reading groups could understand 2-40 percent of the newspaper every day, some even could understand as high as 70 percent.

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[14] "Ten Years of Shansi Daily," (Shan-si jih-pao shih-nien), News Front, No. 18, September 24, 1958, p. 8.

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Eighty percent of the Chinese population are peasants and a great majority of them are illiterates. For centuries they cared only about their farming; their major concern was to have enough to eat. The reasons given by the refugee peasants for their fleeing from mainland China boiled down to just "not enough to eat." They did not seem to be concerned at all with politics, much less international affairs. Anti-U.S. campaigns were not always meaningful to them since many of them did not even know what and where is the USA. They attended the meetings and mass rallies simply because they were told to do so. For these people international news apparently held little interest.

According to Chinese Communist statistics of 1959, 20 to 30 percent of the workers in factories, mines and enterprises were illiterates.[15] Very possibly, industrial workers in the major cities who are better educated than those in rural areas, might have somewhat greater interest in international news. This could be especially true of those who are disillusioned with the Communist regime and who are interested in the struggle between the two major political camps of the world.

Intellectuals have always been a problem to the Chinese Communists. Chou En-lai testified in 1956 that at least 60 percent of high-level intellectuals still did not believe in Communism.[16] Again, in 1958,

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[15] Lu Ting-yi, "Great Development in China's Cultural Revolution," Peking Review, No. 45, Nov. 10, 1959, p. 13.

[16] People's Daily, January 30, 1956.

after the Anti-Rightist Campaign, Chang Chih-yi, deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party, reported that only a minority of the "bourgeois intellectuals" have come to the working people's side in their political stands, while the majority of them still are passive, "harboring capitalist ideology."[17]

The discontent of Chinese intellectuals and youth was well demonstrated when the news of the Hungarian Revolution reached China. In many high schools and colleges throughout the country strikes were held which eventually led to the "Hundred Flower Campaign," designed by Mao Tse-tung himself as a gimmick to release temporarily the pent-up emotions of the intellectuals. The campaign finally got out of hand. Intellectuals criticized the Party. Thousands of students demonstrated and demanded freedom. Peasants staged riots for more food. All these resulted in another campaign, the nationwide anti-rightest purge in late 1957 which ended the "Hundred Flower Campaign." Intellectuals and students have become silent since, but their discontent grows. Many of them fled to Hong Kong and Macao, yet the great majority remain in China and wait for change. There is every reason to believe that most of these people, who are hungry for news from outside China, have become surreptitious readers of the Chinese Communist newspapers.

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[17] Enlightenment Daily, October 4, 1958.

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In early 1961, a communique of the Party's Central Committee stated that nearly 10 percent of the Chinese population did not support the Party line and Government policies; that about 10 percent of the Party and Government functionaries are "bad elements, i.e., landlord and bourgeois elements who have not yet been sufficiently remolded; that these elements have sneaked into the revolutionary ranks and various economic organizations, and that they have become increasingly influenced and corroded by the reactionary classes."[18] In late 1962, Radio Peking reported that there was no change in the percentage: "Ten percent of the population have all along opposed the Party and refused to accept the transformation."[19] Therefore it is not an overestimation to say that at least 10 percent of the population, or 65 million people, on mainland China are concerned about world events relevant to Communist China and the socialist camp in a special way.

B. Periodicals

The total number of periodicals in Communist China increased from 356 in 1952 to 859 in 1959, and their circulation rose from 204 million copies in 1952 to 500 million copies in 1959. In 1958, the year of the Great Leap Forward, circulation of periodicals reached a peak of 537 million copies. In 1959, circulation was forced beyond saturation point.

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[18] NCNA, Peking, January 20, 1961.

[19] Radio Peking lecture "Stand, Viewpoint and Method," in Mandarin, September 16, 1962, Current Scene, Vol. II, No. 19, September 1, 1963, Hong Kong.

More periodicals were produced than could be absorbed by the market. The market would appear to be conditioned mainly by the rate of the literacy, and the interest of people and, necessarily, the political necessity for reading. Educational development in Communist China has slowed down considerably in recent years, and unless a significant change in interest or literacy occurs, circulation is not likely to go up without political pressure.

The matter of a saturation point has been noted by important Party leaders in several provinces. In an article published in People's Daily on January 11, 1960, Tao Chu, First Secretary in Kwangtung, said that the means of news communication are quantitatively sufficient. The question, he said, is one of quality. Similar opinions were given by Chang Ping-hua and Kao Feng, First Party Secretaries of Hunan and Chinghai in the People's Daily on January 11 and 12, 1960 respectively.

Number of Periodicals Published in Mainland China
(1952-1959)

Year	Number	Circulation
1952	356	204,000,000
1953	277	172,000,000
1954	304	205,000,000
1955	341	288,000,000
1956	465	351,000,000
1957	600	315,000,000
1958	818	537,000,000
1959	859	500,000,000

Sources: People's Daily, July 2, 1957
Ibid., April 25, 1959
Ibid., April 5, 1960
Shanghai Wen Hui Pao, September 30, 1957
Hong Kong Wen Hui Pao, October 1, 1959

Like the newspapers, the Chinese periodicals are designed for specific groups of readers. In 1959 there were 480 periodicals available for subscription through post offices.[20] They fell into the following categories:

Theoretical	29
Political and Current Events	7
Women, Worker, Youth	4
Social Science	30
Natural Science	80
Technology	120
Economic, Finance	57
Medical, Health	45
Cultural, Education	33
Literature, Art	42
Pictorials	25
Nationalities	3
Others (index, etc.)	5
	480

A glance at the above list shows a large number of science and technology publications. But such periodicals do not deal exclusively with scientific or technological questions. One can often find in these magazines pieces on current Party line or government policies. Moreover, an article reporting certain technological achievements in Communist China normally includes words eulogizing the great leadership of Mao Tse-tung or the Party. This is, of course, true of periodicals in almost all fields.

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[20] People's Handbook, 1959, pp. 504-505.

Of the more than 800 periodicals published on the mainland, only three specialize in international affairs -- World Culture, International Problem Studies and Translations on International Problems. They are published by the World Culture Publishing House, the only publishing house on mainland China specializing in international affairs. Two other publications deal with, though do not specialize in, international events. They are Current Events Handbook and New China Semi-monthly.

The International Problems Studies (kuo-chi wen-ti yen-chiu), a monthly, carries analyses and commentaries on national political and economic situation problems. It is designed for intellectuals and students of international relations. Typical articles in this magazine: "Some Characteristics of the Economy of Capitalist World in 1959," "Contradictions Among Imperialist Countries in West Europe Getting Deeper," "The Economic Development of India after its Independence," "The Present Workers' Struggle in the Capitalist World," "The Basic Road of Colonial and Semi-Colonial National Struggle Movements," and "The U.S. Imperialists Will Never Change Their Nature."

Translations on International Problems (kuo-chi wen-ti yih-chung), a fortnightly, publishes translations of articles on international problems from periodicals or newspapers published by Communist countries and by Communist parties in Western countries. It also carries articles on the economic and political situation in Western countries translated from Political Affairs, Economic Note, the National Guardian, Daily Worker of the U.S., the Labour Monthly, World News, and Marxism Today of Great Britain; and New Democracy and International Handbook of France. This magazine is used widely in political study groups.

World Culture (shih-chih chih-shih), a fortnightly, aims to reach a wider range of readers. It has a circulation of over 100,000 copies. It deals mainly with "achievements" in socialist countries, the national struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America, conflicts among the Western countries, and of course, attacks on the U.S. As a matter of fact, anti-U.S. articles in this magazine in 1961 accounted for 85 of the total of 326 items published.

Following is a list of topics in this magazine in 1961; one may perhaps get a general idea of the coverage of this journal.

Contents in World Culture
Issues No. 1-24, 1961

Important Speeches and Statements		2
International situation review		7
Fortnightly forum		71
On U.S.	27	
China's foreign relations		7
Articles on:		
Communist Countries		27
Asian Countries		35
African Countries		26
Latin American Countries		15
European Countries		18
USA		26
Foreign commentaries		12
Extracts from foreign reports		7
Cultural life, scientific knowledge		13
Men in the news		20
Random notes		29
Questions and answers		11
		326

It is interesting to note that World Culture frequently translates excerpts from articles in U.S. newspapers or magazines for its "Foreign Commentaries" and "Foreign Reports" sections. In 1961, 10 out of 12

"Foreign Commentaries" items and four out of seven Extracts from "Foreign Reports" were translations from The New York Times, U.S. News and World Report, Look, Saturday Evening Post, New York Herald Tribune and the Overseas American. They included column articles by James Reston and Walter Lippmann, speeches by Roger Hillsman and Walt Rostow, and an article by Henry Kissinger.[21] These articles were used to dramatize its "aggressive nature" and the "peace front" in the U.S. The contents of the articles range from discussions of U.S. foreign policy to the inside stories about the RAND Corporation, the State Department and the Pentagon.[22]

In its "Men in the News" column in 1961, 11 out of 20 items were biographies of the following U.S. officials: Chester Bowles, Dean Rusk, Adlai Stevenson, Averill Harriman, George Kennan, Sargent Shriver Jr., Edwin Reishchauer, John Galbraith, Maxwell Taylor, John McCone and James Van Fleet. Each "Man in the News" item contains about 800 to 1,000 Chinese characters, or about half a page of space. In 1962, this magazine published special biographies of U.S. commentators Walter Lippmann, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and James Reston.[23] Each of them was given an unusual two-page space.

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[21] Hillsman's speech at International Problem Research Institute, San Diego, August 10, 1961, World Culture, No. 24, pp. 14-16.

Walt Rostow's speech at Purdue University on March 15, 1962, Ibid., No. 11, June 10, 1962, pp. 7-8.

Henry Kissinger's "The Necessity for Choice," excerpts of the first chapter, Ibid., No. 2. January 25, 1962, pp. 11-15.

[22] Ibid., No. 10, pp. 22-23; No. 14, pp. 11-12; No. 15, pp. 12-13, 1962.

[23] Ibid., No. 9, pp. 16-19; No. 10, pp. 20-21; No. 12, pp. 21-23, 1962.

The Current Events Handbook (shih-shih shou-tse), a pocketsized fortnightly, is the most popular current event digest. Published by the Popular Readings Publishing House in Peking on the 6th and 21st day of each month, this fortnightly has a total circulation of 860,000. Various editions are printed in Peking, Shenyang, Shanghai, Chungking, Sian and Canton. One third of its contents concern international affairs and all articles are written in simple language.

The New China Semi-monthly (hsin-hua pan-yueh-k'an) is actually a summary of editorials and news articles which have appeared in major mainland newspapers during the two-week period. Its international section merely reprints articles in the People's Daily and other newspapers.

Readership and Interest

Subscriptions to periodicals on mainland China, like those to newspapers, have been handled by the post offices since 1950 when the Postal and Tele-communications Ministry established a nation-wide newspaper-periodical distribution network.[24] By the end of 1957, it was reported that postal agencies had been set up in almost every town (hsiang). In 1959 it was reported that postal agencies had been set up in all people's communes. The number of newspaper and periodical distribution units of the post offices was increased accordingly. Personnel strength of the network comprised 300,000 people.[25]

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[24] People's Handbook, 1953, p. 356.

[25] Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao, March 17, 1958.

Newspaper and Periodical Distribution Agencies:[26]

	1957	1959
Total postal agencies in China	54,000	64,000
Postal agencies in rural areas	44,000	53,000
Press distribution units of the post offices	120,000	130,000

The New China Bookstore's 3,450 branches, sub-branches and book stalls[27] also serve as agents for the post offices and for the publishing houses. Public libraries, mass organizations, and mobile libraries throughout the nation also handle subscriptions to periodicals.

Except for such important political journals as the Party's Red Flag, etc. which is required reading for all compulsory political studies, Chinese magazines generally serve different groups of readers. The international affairs journals generally have been used, along with newspapers and other political journals, as study materials for the "current events study" courses in schools. Party cadres who have direct contact with the masses in propaganda work or as political study instructors use them as reference materials in analyzing international events. Since these periodicals are usually printed ten days before the date of publication, the articles generally serve as background material rather than news.

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[26] People's Handbook, 1960, Peking, p. 50 Press distribution units are the sub-agencies of postal agencies in small villages.

[27] Shu Hsin-cheng, "Current Problem of Publishing," SCMP, No. 1587, August 9, 1957, p. 21.

III. Radio Broadcasts

Immediately after they occupied the mainland, the Chinese Communists took over all radio stations left by the Chinese Nationalist Government and began to form a nation-wide radio network. By 1953 all the privately-owned stations on the mainland were merged into local people's stations. Expansion of the radio network started in 1950, but there was no marked progress until 1957. In 1958, the year of the Great Leap Forward, the number of radio stations in China jumped from 58 in 1957 to 97. By 1960, there were 146 radio stations on the mainland.[28]

	1950	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Number of stations	49	54	58	97	122	146

A radio-diffusion network was set up in 1950. This is probably the Party's most effective propaganda medium, especially for the vast numbers of people in the remote regions. In 1955 Peking began to push the radio-diffusion network to rural areas. By 1959, there were 12,428 diffusion exchange stations with 4,570,000 loudspeakers installed throughout the country. Of the more than 12,000 diffusion stations, 10,739 were installed

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[28] Sources: 1950 figures from Lu Yen, "People's Broadcasting in New China" (Hsin chung-kuo jen-min ti kuang-po shih yeh), Radio Monthly (Wu-hsien-tien), No. 1, 1956, pp. 6-8.

1957 figure from Radio Monthly, January, 1959, p. 2.
1958 figure from Radio Monthly, January, 1959, back cover.
1959 figure from Radio Monthly, February, 1960, p. 2.
1960 figure from Hong Kong Hsin Wan Pao, July 30 to August 14, 1961.

in communes and 1,689 in hsiens.[29] According to latest information, hsien diffusion stations generally broadcast three to four hours a day to rural areas. Besides carrying programs of Radio Peking and provincial stations, hsien stations have their own programs. Collective units like production brigades and teams in the rural areas can all be reached by the wired broadcasts.[30]

Diffusion Network in China, 1950-1959[31]

Year	Diffusion Stations	Loudspeakers
1950	51	2,200
1951	183	6,100
1952	327	16,200
1953	541	31,800
1954	577	47,500
1955	835	90,000
1956	1,490	515,700
1957	1,700	993,200
1958	6,772	2,987,500
1959	12,428	4,570,000

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[29] Radio Monthly, December, 1959. China is divided into provinces. Each province comprises 60 to 100 counties (hsiens). Counties are subdivided into townships (hsiangs), and townships into villages. A county ranges from less than 10,000 to more than 1,000,000 people, but generally between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. Most of the towns have 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The commune generally consists of one or more towns. There are about four to five thousand housenolds within a commune.

[30] China News Service, Peking, August 5, 1963.

[31] Sources: 1950-58 figures from The Great Ten Years, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1960, p. 208.
1959 figure from Radio Monthly, December, 1959.

News Broadcasts by People's Stations

News broadcasts constitute an important part of Chinese Communist radio programs. The Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking, known as Radio Peking, currently broadcasts three sets of programs with a combined total of 34 hours, 30 minutes daily for its home service. News broadcasts on the average occupy seven hours a day, or 20 percent of the total domestic broadcasting. Following is the latest available time schedule of Radio Peking's newscasts:[32]

First program: 05:20 - 00:20

05:30 - 05:45	News
06:30 - 07:00	News and Peking Press Review
07:30 - 07:45	International news (except Sunday)
08:00 - 08:05	Brief news
10:00 - 10:15	News
12:30 - 12:45	News
14:30 - 15:00	Relay of Radio Moscow Chinese program "In the Socialist Countries" (every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday)
16:00 - 16:05	Brief news
18:00 - 18:15	News
20:10 - 20:25	International news
22:00 - 22:15	News
23:00 - 23:15	International news
00:00 - 00:20	News

Second program: 05:50 - 10:30, 11:55 - 14:00, 16:35 - 00:30

06:00 - 06:15	News
07:00 - 07:30	News and Peking Press Review
08:00 - 10:30	News for recording
13:00 - 13:15	International news (except Sunday)
23:00 - 00:30	News for recording

Third program: 17:40 - 23:00

19:25 - 19:30	Brief news

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[32] Compiled from the Broadcasting Program of the Central People's Broadcasting Station (Chung-yan jen-min kuang-po tien-tai kuang-po chieh-mu-pao), No. 393, August 13, 1963.

There are four 15-minute international newscasts from Monday through Saturday, and two on Sunday, compared with only one 15-minute international newscast in 1952. Each 15-minute newscast ordinarily contains six to eight news items supplied by the NCNA. Radio Peking's newscasts are rebroadcast by local radio stations and diffusion stations all over the country. The local stations' own news programs are confined to strictly local events. In most cases broadcasts by Radio Peking bring news to the people before the newspapers do. It is news of selected content.

Radio listening, like newspaper reading, is also a political obligation for people on the mainland. They must participate in what the Communists call "collective listening." Workers in factories and mines, peasants on farms, and people of low cultural standards in cities are organized to form radio listening groups. Trained monitors are placed throughout the country to make certain that the daily messages from Peking find their way to the masses. They also see to it that certain messages that require the serious attention of the audience are discussed and understood in political study groups.[33]

Foreign Stations and Their Listeners

Some radio owners in mainland China may be able to receive Chinese programs beamed to them by foreign stations, namely the Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of Free China (VOFC) and Radio Moscow. The Chinese Communists have taken steps

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[33] Frederick T.C. Yu, "Communications and Politics in Communist China," Communications and Political Development, edited by Lucian Pye, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 278-279.

Best Available Copy

to prevent people from listening to the Western stations, except for Radio Moscow's Chinese programs. It has been confirmed by many refugees from the mainland that while no official order prohibits listening to foreign broadcasts, one is penalized severely if he is found doing so and especially if he passes the information on to others. The Chinese Communists apparently do not prohibit possession of shortwave radio receivers; they simply prevent people from listening to Western broadcasts by jamming them. There are always those who, hungry for information, will seek out this lone source of uncensored news of the free world.

Although in late 1950, after the outbreak of the Korean War, local authorities did call upon residents not to listen to VOA broadcasts, this was ignored by many radio owners. In big cities such as Shanghai and Canton, where most of the radio sets on mainland China are located, people often listened to VOA and BBC broadcasts. In some cases there was even group listening, i.e., friends gathering at the radio owner's home to listen to foreign broadcasts. Such group listening was seldom reported after 1955, the year of the Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries Campaign. Individual listening has been reportedly continuing on mainland China, but it is impossible to estimate the number.

Since a radio set is a prerequisite to listening to foreign broadcasts, one should at least have some familiarity with the availability of radio sets in China.

Radio was a novelty to people during the Nationalist days in China. Only well-to-do families could afford radio sets, which at that time were mainly for recreation purposes. Since the Chinese Communists came into power in 1949, the situation has changed considerably. Now many radio sets are being acquired for collective listening by mass organizations, mines, schools, government offices, cooperative farms, armed forces and communes. The number of radio sets owned by peasants has also increased during the past two years because of the increase in peasants' incomes resulting from the concessions made by the authorities to allow them to have private plots to engage in sideline occupations during their spare time and to sell their products at the free markets.

In 1950, Mei Yi, then deputy director of the Bureau of Broadcasting Administration, stated that there were 1,000,000 to 1,100,000 radio sets in use. Half of these sets were 3 or 4 valve Japanese-made medium wave receivers.[34] Due to lack of facilities and trained technicians, Communist China did not begin to produce all radio parts until 1953,[35] and the industry remained at the infant stage until 1957. Then electronic tubes and radio parts were manufactured in factories in Peking, Nanking, Harbin, Chengtu and Sian with the assistance of Eastern European countries. Communist China announced its

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[34] Mei Yi, "People's Broadcasting in China" (Wo-kuo jen-min kuang-po shih-yeh kai-k'uang), People's Daily, April 25, 1960.

[35] NCNA, February 9, 1961.

radio production figure of 28,461 sets for the first time in 1954.[36] By 1957, Peking was able to claim a yearly production of 370,000 sets. Annual production was further increased to 1.2 million sets in 1958, 1.5 million in 1959 and over 1.5 million in 1960.[37] No information on production is available after 1960. An NCNA English release of November 8, 1961 reported, however, that more than 160 brands of radios were being produced in the country and that all provinces and autonomous regions except Tibet had factories manufacturing radios. Since there was no report of expansion in the radio industry, it is probable that the total annual output of radio sets in the past two years is not much greater than that of the previous year.

It is reasonably safe to guess that up to the present no more than 9 million radio sets exist in mainland China, assuming production in 1961 and 1962 remained unchanged.

Number of Radio Sets up to 1963

Up to 1950	1,100,000
1951 to 1956 estimated average annual production 30,000 sets	180,000
1957 reported production	370,000
1958 reported production	1,200,000
1959 reported production	1,500,000
1960 reported production	1,500,000
1961 estimated production	1,500,000
1962 estimated production	1,500,000
Estimated total	8,850,000

[36] USIS, Hong Kong, Dispatch 79, February 23, 1960.

[37] NCNA, English, November 8, 1961.

The estimated figure of 8,850,000 radio sets in China does not mean that all the radio sets are in repair and use. There is no official announcement on the number of radio sets that are in use. In 1959, Chou Hsin-wu, deputy director of the Bureau of Broadcasting Administration stated that there were about 7,000,000 receiving "instruments" of various types, not including crystal sets, in use.[38] He did not specify whether the 7 million sets were exclusively radio sets or included loudspeakers. But judging from the number of 1.1 million radio sets in 1950 and the estimated total to 1959 which was 3,250,000 sets, the 7 million "receiving instruments" could not possibly indicate the total number of radio sets then in use.

However, based on scraps of information available, a table of radio sets in use up to 1960 is compiled.

	1950	1956	1957	1959	1960
Number of radio sets in use[39] (unit: million sets)	1.1	1.5	2	3.5	4

The number of radio sets in use probably increased in 1961 and 1962, judging by a cut in the price of radios (ranging from 13 to 35 percent) made by Communist Chinese commercial authorities at the end

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[38] News Front (Hsin-wen chan-hsien), No. 18, September 24, 1959, p. 5.

[39] 1950 See Mei's article, Note 34.
1956 Chou Hsin-wu, "The New Role of the Mandarin Language Broadcasts," Radio Lovers, No. 7, January, 1956, pp. 8-9; or Franklin W. Houn, To Change a Nation, Glencoe, Free Press, 1961, p. 160.
1957. 1960 USIS, Hong Kong, Dispatch 73, March 27, 1961 (unclassified).
1959 Radio Monthly, December, 1959.

of 1960.[40] But an increase above seven million is not likely. At present a four-tube set costs about 50 Chinese yuan, (U.S. $20). This price is still beyond the reach of many people as the average wage of office workers is 80 to 100 Chinese yuan a month.

Radio sets in China were concentrated in large cities. In 1950 the distribution of the 1.1 million sets was approximately 400,000 in East China, 300,000 in Manchuria, 200,000 in North China and 100,000 in other regions.[41] Although no information is available on current distribution, the situation must have changed due to the increase in the number of radio sets in use and of radio stations in the nation.

Efforts are being made to popularize radio sets in rural areas where electricity is still absent. Communist China has recently produced eight models of semi-conductor radios and placed them on the market in Wuhan, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking and Chinchou. According to the People's Daily of September 9, 1963, the mass production of these semi-conductor sets will provide "a good instrument for carrying out socialist education and cultural recreation in rural areas."

It is difficult to determine how many radio sets on mainland China can receive broadcasts by VOA, BBC and VOFC, and how many people tune to these stations.

VOA and VOFC all have powerful transmitters which can reach the farthest corner of the mainland; their broadcasts can be picked up by ordinary sets. And the Chinese Communists have not been completely

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[40] NCNA, February 9, 1961.

[41] See Mei's article, Note 34.

successful in jamming the broadcasts. Based on available information, it is possible, however, to know what kind of people listen to such broadcasts. Refugees from the mainland report the following types of foreign broadcast listeners:

1. Government and Party cadres

   a. Whose job is to monitor foreign broadcasts. This group includes radio monitoring units of various government and Party offices such as intelligence, propaganda, defense, foreign affairs, New China News Agency and People's Daily. Monitors are generally party members or Youth League members (with high educational standards). Monitoring is carried out round the clock. Some local newspapers also monitor foreign broadcasts for reference purposes. Monitoring is always carried out in the presence of more than one person, and one of them must be a Party member or a League member.

   b. Who are allowed to listen to foreign broadcasts. Senior party cadres such as secretaries of Party committees at various levels or propaganda directors are allowed to listen to foreign broadcasts supposedly to keep themselves informed and to deal with possible "rumors" or counter-propaganda.

   c. Who control sets for collective listening. Radio sets owned by units such as diffusion stations, schools, mines, communes, armed forces clubs and cultural teams, factories, and mass organizations for collective listening are controlled by assigned persons, namely, monitors in diffusion stations or cultural officers in armed forces units. These people, though not allowed

officially to listen to foreign broadcasts, can do so secretly. But they can only turn to foreign stations for a few minutes during their working time lest they be discovered or arouse suspicion. Although an understanding among co-workers who want to listen together is possible, it would be very rare. But those who are able to stay with a radio set or who somehow have radio sets at their disposal can listen to foreign radio stations during the night when they are alone.

d. Who own sets. Many cadres often listen privately to foreign broadcasts, especially VOA and VOFC. Generally speaking, cadres are better off financially than the average person. Many of them own radio sets. Those who are single and stay in dormitories can only listen to foreign broadcasts when they are alone. They listen mostly during the daytime. Military cadres who live in barracks probably cannot turn on radios after 9 p.m., when the lights go off. It was reported that the penalty for armed forces members listening to VOA or VOFC is especially severe.

2. Other people

a. Who own radio sets. The radio set is no longer a novelty on the mainland. Private radio owners now come from almost all walks of life, although regular foreign broadcast listeners are still confined to certain categories with limited numbers. The majority of them are young students, college graduates and educated

people.[42] This is because most of the young and the educated people are concerned about developments outside of China, and because foreign broadcasts are their only sources of uncensored and prompt news. It is also significant to note that most of the listeners were single. This may be explained by the fact that under Communist rule, mutual trust among family members has been undermined. There were many cases under the Anti-Rightest Campaign and the Suppression of the Counter-Revolutionaries Campaign in which children, encouraged by the Communists, reported to the authorities on their parents. Listening to foreign broadcasts would be a dangerous practice in a family with youngsters around. Since radio sets are still concentrated in cities and market towns where electricity is available, listeners are mostly city and town dwellers. The time of listening is generally between 6 p.m. and midnight. Interest is almost entirely focused on news and commentaries because listeners would not risk their safety to listen to foreign radio stations for music, drama or literature.

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[42] Professional classification of people bears no great significance in categorizing listeners as it could no longer represent what it usually does. In Communist China, a highly-educated business executive of the past can be a manual laborer of today, a lawyer of Kuomintang days could be a shoe-salesman, and a factory executive of today may be a Party member with only a few years of schooling. Therefore, classification according to education background is more significant.

b. Who do not own radio sets. People who do not own radio sets may listen to foreign broadcasts on sets owned by relatives or close friends. There were not too many such cases in the interviews because, first of all, it is difficult to find someone trustworthy enough to share listening. Even if there is, this cannot be done very often as frequent visits to a friend or relative tend to arouse suspicion. The time of such listening is between six and nine in the evening.

There is no doubt that foreign broadcasts to mainland China have an audience, though one limited in size. It is entirely possible that because of special privilege and facilities, more cadres listen to foreign broadcasts than do ordinary people. With the increase in the number of radios in use, foreign broadcast listening will very likely grow. The majority of these listeners will continue to be city and market-town dwellers, educated, young, single, male, and their interest will still be newscasts and commentaries.

IV. Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries

Among Peking's international propaganda activities, "People's diplomacy" is probably the most effective one. Since its founding in 1949, the Chinese Communist Government has devoted considerable effort and expense to cultural exchange activities -- visits, international meetings, film festivals, exhibitions, friendship associations, publications, etc. A special office, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs Liaison with Foreign Countries, directly under the control of the Central Government, was set up in 1954. In 1958, the Bureau was re-organized and became the Commission of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. It was given more authority, a larger staff and more funds. In order to facilitate contact with countries that have not recognized Communist China, the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, supposedly a people's organization, was set up in 1954.

In 1963, Communist China claimed that it had established cultural contacts with more than 160 countries and regions in the world. Visits have been exchanged with about 110 of these. China friendship associations and cultural societies have been set up in more than 40 countries. Cultural agreements and scientific publication distribution agreements have been signed with more than 50 foreign governments or civic organizations.[43]

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[43] China News Service, Peking, September 10, 1963.

There are people's organizations which are mainly responsible for international exchange. Among them are the Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs, The China Peace Committee, The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of China, the Chinese Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, and various friendship associations. International liaison is also an important function of such national organizations as the Red Cross Society of China, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the All-China Journalists Association, the Union of Chinese Writers, the All-China Youth Federation, the National Women's Federation of the Chinese People's Republic, the All-China Athletic Federation, the Political Science and Law Association of China, the Chinese Buddhist Association, etc. These keep close contact with their counterparts in other countries and participate in exchange activities.

Aimed mainly at people in non-Communist countries, these extensive cultural exchange activities are primarily designed for one-way propaganda to publicize Communist China and to promote friendly relations. Although all activities are carried out under skillful organization and control, it is inevitable that sometimes an undesired two-way communication channel may open up with the non-Communist world which brings information about the free world to Communist China.

A. Visits

Thousands of all-expenses-paid foreign guests have been invited to visit Communist China.

According to official statements, more than 4,760 foreigners from 63 countries visited China in 1955 and 5,833 Chinese visited 33 countries.[44] In 1956, a total of 5,200 foreigners from 75 countries visited China and some 5,400 Chinese visited 49 countries.[45] They included trade unionists, scientists, political leaders, youth delegates, artists, writers, art troupes, etc.

Since 1957 no official statistical information on the exchange of visits has been released. On September 17, 1959, NCNA reported that "goodwill guests from 122 countries and regions in the world have visited New China in the past ten years." By following Chinese Communist news reports on exchange activities, a table was compiled on the number of foreign delegations which visited China and the number of Chinese delegations which went abroad during 1959, 1960 and 1961. (See page 54.)

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[44] People's China, March, 1956, No. 6, pp. 16-17.

[45] People's Handbook, 1957, p. 361.

Area Priority in Communist China's Exchange Program[46]
During 1959, 1960 and 1961

Area	Delegations to China					
	Number			Percentage		
	1959	1960	1961	1959	1960	1961
Com. Bloc	253	202	117	39.4	28.0	27.8
Africa	41	116	49	6.4	16.1	11.6
Far East	82	119	129	12.8	16.5	30.6
N. East & S. Asia	62	49	18	9.7	6.8	4.3
Europe	80	54	33	12.5	7.5	7.8
L. America	107	168	68	16.6	23.3	16.2
Others	17	13	7	2.6	1.8	1.7
Total	642	721	421	100.0	100.0	100.0

Area	Chinese Delegations Abroad					
	Number			Percentage		
	1959	1960	1961	1959	1960	1961
Com. Bloc.	185	108	92	72.3	47.2	43.8
Africa	6	29	31	2.3	12.7	14.8
Far East	6	30	30	2.3	13.1	14.2
N. East & S. Asia	23	21	10	9.0	9.2	4.8
Europe	26	20	21	10.2	8.7	10.0
L. America	10	20	25	3.9	8.7	11.9
Others	--	1	1	--	0.4	0.5
Total	256	229	210	100.0	100.0	100.0

[46] Source: Communist China's Cultural Exchange in 1961, USIS, Hong Kong, April 24, 1962 (unclassified).

The exchange of visits between Communist China and non-Communist countries can be further divided into groups according to the composition of the delegations.[47]

Communist China's Exchange Program with Non-Communist Countries During 1959, 1960 and 1961

Nature of Delegation	No. of Delegations to Communist China			No. of Delegations from Communist China		
	1959	1960	1961	1959	1960	1961
Cultural and art	48	58	28	14	26	10
Scientific, education & public health	19	38	30	8	9	13
Workers, women, youth	97	233	68	13	25	22
Peace & Friendship	38	46	24	3	10	22
Social Organizations	1	--	--	--	--	1
Economic & Trade	28	17	23	9	8	19
Religious	6	1	--	5	6	4
Press & Broadcasting	14	32	10	5	8	5
Physical Culture	9	7	28	7	7	4
Parliamentary & Civic	126	95	93	7	22	18
Tourist groups & others	3	2	--	--	--	--
Total	389	519	304	71	121	118

Composition of teams and priorities in visits vary from year to year according to political developments, internal and international. The table of area priority in Communist China's exchange program shows a decrease in both outgoing and incoming flows with Bloc countries during the three years under review, probably a reflection of the widening of the Sino-Soviet split. The reduction in the number of delegations received and sent abroad in 1961 was probably due to the economic strain suffered by Communist China in that year, as such exchange activity no doubt involves great expenses -- in receiving visitors, in feeding and

[47] Source: Compiled from USIS Report, op. cit.

lodging them, providing them with transport, guides and interpreters, entertaining and indoctrinating them. Communist China's efforts to establish closer economic and trade ties with non-Communist countries, after the sudden Soviet withdrawal of experts and economic aid to China in July, 1960,[48] will likely result in an increase in the visits of economic and trade delegations to and from non-Communist countries.

The number of delegations shown in the tables, in fact, can be very misleading. A "delegation" may range from only one person to as many as 400 members. Each year about 1,000 foreign visitors participate in the May Day celebrations and 2,000 take part in the National Day (October 1). It is estimated that about 5,000 foreign visitors are received each year by Communist China.[49]

Visitors to China, as guests of the Government or people's organizations, are granted visas through the International Tourists Service. Many of those from non-Communist countries are prominent scholars, trade unionists, cultural, youth or student delegates, journalists or businessmen. They are by no means all sympathizers, pro-Communists or leftists. Some even make critical reports after their visits.

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[48] "The Origin and Development of the Difference Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves," People's Daily, September 6, 1963.

[49] Herbert Passin, "China's Cultural Diplomacy," (New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 1, note 2. This number apparently excludes foreign businessmen visiting Canton Fair every year.

But very few foreign visitors to Communist China can have any private or unscrutinized contacts with the people.[50] These visitors see what the government wants them to see. Tightly scheduled itineraries and guided tours are arranged for every visitor by the China International Tourists Service, a government travel bureau, which works closely with the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the mass organizations concerned. Most visitors are sympathetic to the regime. But even if they were not, few of them know the Chinese language well enough to communicate with the people. Visitors are supplied with interpreter-guides and often find that they cannot talk to Chinese people without the presence of their interpreters. Sometimes even Chinese college professors, who were educated in the U.S. or England, apologize to visitors for forgetting their English, and conversations have to be carried out through the interpreters. Therefore the visitors have little real contact with the people.[51] The only contact a visitor has is the interpreter-guide from the Travel Service. Information that a visitor brings into Communist China can probably go only as far as the interpreter.

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[50] See Herbert Passin, op. cit.; Klaus Mehnert, Peking and Moscow (N.Y.: Putnam, 1963), and Robert Loh, Escape from Red China (N.Y.: Coward-McCann, 1962).

[51] French journalist Robert Guillan said, "There are 600 million Chinese, but in two months I was never left alone to speak with one of them without a witness and if I was, it was a put-up job. Like every journalist and visitor to China, I went nowhere without an interpreter by my side, a useful companion but at the same time a constant supervisor... every effort is made to protect him from direct contacts with the people as far as possible...." Blue Ants, (London: Secker & Warborg, 1957), pp. 35-38.

It is possible, however, that at non-political international conferences held in Communist China, participants from non-Communist countries inadvertently pass on some information about the free world to their Chinese counterparts. For years, Communist China has been hosting international conferences to boost her international prestige and to publicize her achievements. Recently, the Preparatory Meeting for the 1964 Science Symposium held in Peking in September, 1963, was attended by scholars from 22 countries, only three of which were Communist countries. A three-week tour of China was arranged by the host, the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association. In October, Buddhists from 11 Asian nations participated in an Asian Buddhists Conference in Peking. While these occasions enhance the prestige of Communist China, they also open gaps to let information on the non-Communist world filter into the country. According to some foreign scholars, when they went to China as guests of the government or of some people's organizations they could make little contact, but when they were invited by universities or academic groups they could enter into more normal relations with their Chinese colleagues. Members of trade missions having talks with Chinese Communist foreign trade companies in China have also observed that they enjoyed comparatively more freedom than when they went to China as official guests.

When Chinese delegates visit foreign countries, especially non-Communist countries, they tend to compare what they see as to what they had learned from Communist propaganda at home. Although most delegates

are carefully chosen for political reliability and are kept under the close surveillance of Party members, their activities in a non-Communist country can not be completely controlled. This is especially true of scientists, participating in scholarly conferences, members of cultural delegations attending international meetings in non-Communist countries or artists performing abroad. The topics of conversations at such meetings and at social gatherings are beyond Communist control.

According to official statistics, in the two-year period from 1956 to 1957 Communist China organized visits and study tours to more than 20 countries by 290 scientists of all branches and departments, and took part in 78 academic conferences.[52] During the period from 1949 to 1959, Communist China sent out 59 art groups (opera, acrobatic and cultural groups) consisting of more than 4,500 members to 49 countries to give performances and take part in nearly 500 international cultural conferences.[53] What these Chinese visitors see and hear abroad may be kept to themselves or may eventually be passed on to someone after they return home. The net impact of this rivulet of first hand foreign exposure is hard to assess.

B. Friendship Associations

Also playing an important role in the exchange program are the bilateral friendship associations in Communist China. There are 24 such organizations in China; 13 of them promote friendship with non-Communist countries. Their main function appears to be liaison with

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[52] NCNA, September 3, 1958.

[53] Enlightenment Daily, September 24, 1959.

foreign countries for cultural exchange activities, bypassing direct diplomatic contact. They are, of course, designed to serve Peking's propaganda functions. Their activities include invitations, exhibitions, mass meetings, exchange of publications, and rallies at appropriate occasions.

Friendship associations emerge according to political needs. The main aim of setting up these associations is to win friendship within marginally unfriendly countries. There was only one friendship association with Communist countries (USSR) until 1958 -- the year when the Sino-Soviet ideological conflict became wider. Friendship associations with 10 other Communist countries (excluding Yugoslavia) were set up at the same time in October, 1958, apparently a move to gain sympathy from people in the bloc countries. A Sino-Latin American Friendship Association was set up immediately after Castro came to power in Cuba in early 1960. The Cuban crisis in late 1962 provided an opportunity for the Chinese Communists to strengthen their alliance with Cuba. A Sino-Cuban Friendship Association was set up in December, 1962. Following the signing of a Sino-Afghan boundary agreement in August, 1963, a Sino-Afghan Friendship Association was formed. Although Japan has been the most frequently contacted country in Communist China's exchange program, only recently was a Sino-Japanese Friendship Association set up. It was organized in October, 1963, on the eve of the opening in Peking of the Japanese industrial exhibition.

Friendship associations in China are sponsored by various national mass organizations. Presidents and council members of these associations were selected from sponsors who are not necessarily Party members but are generally internationally known figures.

SINO-FOREIGN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATIONS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Sino-Soviet Friendship Association

Sino-Indian Friendship Association

Sino-Burmese Friendship Association

Sino-Nepalese Friendship Association

Sino-Pakistani Friendship Association

Sino-UAR Friendship Association

Sino-Albanian Friendship Association

Sino-Iraqui Friendship Association

Sino-Bulgarian Friendship Association

Sino-Hungarian Friendship Association

Sino-G.D.R. Friendship Association

Sino-Vietnamese Friendship Association (North Vietnam)

Sino-Korean Friendship Association (North Korea)

Sino-Mongolian Friendship Association

Sino-Polish Friendship Association

Sino-Rumanian Friendship Assocation

Sino-Czechoslovak Friendship Association

Sino-Latin American Friendship Association

Sino-African People's Friendship Association

Sino-Ceylonese Friendship Association

Sino-Cambodian Friendship Association

Sino-Cuban Friendship Association

China-Afghanistan Friendship Association

Sino-Japanese Friendship Association

In non-Communist countries, including those without diplomatic relations with Communist China, friendship-with-China organizations were set up to gain support from individual foreigners interested in Chinese culture. The initial appeal of such friendship organizations avoids politics but stresses ideals of brotherhood and peace. By this means, contact is established with foreign countries without recourse to normal diplomatic channels. To date, a tabulation of such organizations mentioned in the Chinese Communist press reveals organizations in 45 countries, 34 of them non-Communist countries. They are listed below according to areas:

Asia

Burma-China Friendship Association
Cambodia-China Friendship Association
Ceylon-China Friendship Association
India-China Friendship Association
Indonesia-China Friendship Association
Japan-China Friendship Association
Nepal-China Society
Pakistan-China Friendship Association

Middle East

Iraq-China Friendship Association
The Committee for Israel-China Relations
UAR-China Friendship Association

Europe

Belgium-China Society
British-Chinese Society
Danish-Chinese Cultural Society
Finnish-Chinese Society
France-China Friendship Association
German-Chinese Society (West Germany)
Norway-China Society
Swedish-Chinese Society

Latin America

Argentine-China Friendship Association
Bolivia-China Cultural Association
Brazil-China Cultural Association
Chile-China Cultural Institute
Colombia-China Friendship Association
Costa Rica-China Friendship Committee
Cuba-China Friendship Association
Ecuador-China Youth Association
Mexico-China Friendship Association
Peru-China Friendship Association
Uruguay-China Friendship Association
The Friends of China Society in Venezuela

Africa

Congo-China Friendship Association

America & Australasia

Canadian-Chinese Friendship Society
Australia-China Society
New Zealand-China Friendship Association

C. Exchange of Students

Communist China's student exchange program can be divided into two main parts, one for attracting students from backward countries and the other for sending students to technically advanced bloc countries for training. No information is available on the number of students involved in these exchanges.

The majority of the foreign students come from neighboring Communist countries, such as North Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia. A fair number of students come from the Soviet Union and a few from East European countries for special studies, mainly Sinology. The largest number of students from a non-Communist country came at one time from India. In 1955 the Sino-Indian Cultural Exchange Agreement provided for ten students to be exchanged each way for two years of study. Under

this program, between 20 and 30 Indian students have studied in China. The situation has changed since the Sino-Indian border dispute in 1959. India only sent four students to China in 1959-1960.[54]

In 1957, it was reported that more than 1,500 students from 21 countries were studying in Chinese institutes of higher learning and vocational high schools. The countries include Italy, Iceland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, India, Indonesia and the Soviet Union. Among the 1,500 students, 113 were Soviet.[55] Another report in January, 1958, stated that about 1,600 students from 20 countries were studying in 100 Chinese schools in 28 cities and that more than half of these students were from North Vietnam.[56]

In recent years, Peking has shifted its policy to recruiting students from underdeveloped countries. Special attention was given to African students. An NCNA report of April 6, 1961, stated that a Union of African Students in China, which included students from seven African countries, was set up in Peking. The People's Daily of January 5, 1964, reported students from nearly 40 countries studying in Peking, but no specification of countries was given.

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[54] Herbert Passin, op. cit., pp. 26 and 32.

[55] NCNA Peking, September 28, 1957: Peking Review, February 16, 1959.

[56] Wen Hui Pao, Hong Kong, January 19, 1958.

Foreign students in China are discouraged from having real contact with Chinese students.[57] In the University of Peking, they live in separate quarters and have their own dining halls. Their main contact with Chinese students is through their student guides or through formal social activities. Even some East Europeans complain of their isolation from the Chinese.[58] Although the longer one stays in China, the greater is the probability of casual contact and conversations with Chinese, foreign students from non-Communist countries can hardly be an effective channel of communication, as they themselves are almost completely cut off from news of the free world.

On the other hand, Chinese students abroad are more free in associations with their fellow foreign students. Before 1960, more than 2,000 Chinese students were sent abroad every year for advanced studies, about 85 percent of them going to the Soviet Union.[59] From 1951 to 1958, a total of 14,000 Chinese students went to the Soviet Union for studies, of whom 8,500 had returned to China by 1959.[60] A small number of Chinese students went to Eastern European countries and only a handful to non-Communist countries such as England, West Germany and India.[61]

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[57] Emmanuel John Hevi, An African Student in China (N.Y.: Praeger, 1963), p. 199.

[58] Passin, op. cit., p. 122.

[59] On August 6, 1956, the Minister of Higher Education gave a farewell party to 2,619 students going abroad for advanced study, 85 percent of them to the USSR, People's Daily, August 7, 1956.

[60] People's Daily, October 4, 1959.

[61] For the academic year 1957-58, there were 22 Communist Chinese students in West Germany and Eight in England. Passin, op. cit., p. 6.

As a result of the Sino-Soviet ideological split, the number of Chinese students sent to the Soviet Union has dropped sharply.[62] But the number of Chinese students remaining in the Soviet Union and East European countries is still considerably large. Whether they are in Communist or non-Communist countries, there is no doubt that Chinese students enjoy greater freedom of communication with fellow students than foreign students do in mainland China. They are free from constant surveillance and the language barrier. Thus, during their stay in foreign countries, they are in a much better position to obtain information of the free world than they were in China. Such information may eventually be brought back to their homeland by mail or by themselves.

It is probable that Communist China will turn gradually more and more to the technically-advanced non-Communist countries for technical knowledge and practical training, either by sending students to study or by inviting specialists to teach. Recent events show improvements in Peking's relations with Britain and Japan.

D. Foreign Exhibitions

Foreign exhibitions in mainland China in the past years were held predominantly by bloc countries.

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Exhibitions held by bloc countries	26	24	32	29	8
Exhibitions held by non-Communist countries	10	2	4	5	3

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62 Forty-two Chinese students were detained together with other Chinese passengers for 50 hours at the Soviet Station at Haushki on September 7 on their arrival from Communist China. They were accused of bringing anti-Soviet pamphlets and forced to leave the Soviet Union. NCNA, Peking, September 13, 1963.

Non-Communist countries which have sponsored exhibitions in mainland China included Britain, Burma, Indonesia, Japan, Denmark, Switzerland, Laos, Iraq, Algeria, Peru and Cuba. These exhibitions were generally of paintings or photographs. The only significant ones before 1962 were three Japanese industrial exhibitions held in Peking and Shanghai in 1956, in Canton and Wuhan in 1957 and again in Shanghai in 1958; they were made up chiefly of consumer goods and attracted thousands of visitors.

The Sino-Soviet split has forced Communist China to turn to non-Communist countries for economic assistance. A large scale Joint British Industrial Exhibition held in Peking between July 29 and August 10, 1963, was the first of its kind to be mounted in China by any British companies since 1949. It was jointly sponsored by the Sino-British Trade Council of Britain and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade. Some 10,000 persons visited the exhibition and it was reported that over 100,000 had applied to come. Visitors who came from all over China were factories representatives, members of foreign trade corporations, scientific institutes, universities and institutes of technology.[63]

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[63] Stewart Ross, "British Exhibition in Peking," Far Eastern Economic Review, August 22, 1963, p. 549. Stewart Ross is the First Secretary (Commercial) of the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires, Peking.

A Japanese industrial exhibition (Japan's largest overseas) was held in Peking from October 5-27, 1963. The exhibition, directed by former Japanese Premier, Tanzan Tshibashi, was officially opened by Mayor Peng Cheng of Peking and the opening ceremony was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and 4,000 guests. It featured 1,200 items, mainly capital goods, provided by 600 Japanese firms and industrial plants. The exhibition moved to Shanghai in December.

It is reported that meetings and discussions of technical questions were held at these two exhibitions between the representatives from Britain and Japan and Chinese visitors. Exhibitions of this sort are probably the most effective channel for presenting to the Chinese people first-hand information on economic and industrial developments in non-Communist countries.

E. Foreign Publications

Communist China has put considerable effort and expenditure into satisfying the need for both foreign scientific literature for its scientific and technological development, and political and economic publications and periodicals for reference and study. The two main channels through which Communist China obtains foreign publications are exchange programs and acquisitions.

During the period of 1949-59, the Peking Library sent abroad 870,000 copies of books in exchange for 450,000 copies of foreign books. In 1959 alone, the Library had exchanges with 101 countries and received 87,000 copies of foreign books. The Academy of Sciences Library also takes an active part in the exchange activities. It was reported in

1959 that this Library was engaged in book exchange activities with 678 scientific institutes in 51 countries, and in 1960 with 1,290 institutes in 56 countries.[64]

In addition to book exchanges, major acquisitions have been made of publications from non-Communist countries, especially scientific literature. In 1956 and 1957, according to Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Academy of Sciences, China spent over U.S. $9 million to purchase scientific literature from non-Communist countries.[65]

The Library of the Academy of Sciences, during the first Five-Year Plan period (1952-1957), added 2.5 million volumes of books and 1.7 million periodicals in its various branches and institutes, with current literature and back issues from abroad, including the U.S. In 1960 it claimed to have over 6 million book titles.[66] In 1959, the Peking Library owned over 3,000 titles of foreign periodicals and planned to increase the number of titles to 5,000 by the end of that year. The Peking Scientific and Technological Information Research Institute reported in 1959 that it owned over 6,000 titles of scientific and technological periodicals from foreign countries.[67] The Shanghai

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[64] "Statistical Sketch of Chinese Communist Press and Publishing," USIS Hong Kong, May 6, 1960 (unclassified); Scientia Sinica, Peking, Vol. VIII, No. 11, November, 1960, p. 1215.

[65] Import of scientific literatures from non-Communist countries in 1956 worth 1,800,000 pound sterling (U.S. $5,040,000), in 1957, 1,500,000 pound sterling (U.S. $4,200,000). People's Daily, July 6, 1957.

[66] Scientia Sinica, Peking, op. cit., People's Handbook, 1958, p. 598.

[67] USIS Hong Kong, op. cit.

Library, second largest library in the country, announced its 1959 procurement plan of 13,000 foreign books, 5,000 being Russian books, and 1,3[illegible] titles of foreign periodicals.[68] No overall information on the import of publications from non-Communist countries is available. It was reported that in 1957 the import volume of publications from non-Communist countries was six times that of 1953 and the foreign exchange spent in the procurement of foreign publications was eight times that of 1953.

The China Committee for Compilation and Translation of Foreign Scientific and Technical Documents in July, 1963, called its second meeting in Peking at which a "plan for translation and reporting of foreign scientific and technical documents in 1964" as well as a "ten-year plan for translation and reporting of foreign scientific and technical documents" were discussed. No details of these plans were given, but the Enlightenment Daily of July 28, 1963, reported that at the meeting it was pointed out that due to the increasingly urgent need for foreign scientific and technical information, "all positive factors must be mobilized, planning must be unified, over-all arrangements must be made, and the latest foreign scientific and technical documents must be promptly organized and reported on."

The editorials of the People's Daily of June 26, 1963, called for the strengthening of scientific and technological publication work by introducing foreign scientific achievements and work experiences in order to meet China's practical demands. It is quite likely that Communist China will step up its procurement of foreign publications from non-Communist countries.

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[68] Shanghai Wen Hui Pao, March 8, 1959.

A certain number of foreign periodicals and newspapers can be subscribed to on mainland China. People's Daily of April 13, 1959, reported that more than 1,000 titles of foreign newspapers and periodicals, especially Russian publications, were available for subscriptions through the Peking Post Office. An advertisement in Shanghai Wen Hui Pao of May 22, 1959, announced that subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals published by the Socialist countries and non-Communist countries which are not handled by the Peking Post Office were available at the Peking Foreign Language Book Store. It is not known what newspapers and periodicals from the Western countries were available and who are qualified to subscribe, but it is doubtful if any individual would subscribe to these. Most subscribers are probably academic institutions or publishing houses. A student in the Foreign Language Institute in Peking who fled from mainland China revealed that Western publications such as Time, Look, and Reader's Digest were placed in the Institute's reading room. Some Western newspapers were also available as reading materials for students majoring in English and journalism in universities.[69]

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[69] During his tour of mainland China, Michael Croft visited Futan University in Shanghai and found English newspapers such as The Daily Worker, The Times, The Manchester Guardian of Britain, the Daily Worker of America placed in each of the reading rooms. Robert Evans, "Report from China," (N.Y.: Bantam), September, 1962, p. 97.

F. Foreign Films

In pre-Communist days, the movie market in China was dominated by American films. After the Communists took over, American films were banned and replaced by Soviet films. Films produced by the Soviet Union and other bloc countries were widely shown in mainland China. A small number of films produced by non-Communist countries have also been exhibited in mainland China.

Foreign films have proven to be very popular, mainly because of the poor quality and the heavy propaganda content of the Chinese films.[70] Soviet films alone have drawn a great number of audiences on mainland China.

Year	Total Movie Audiences	Soviet Films Audiences	%
1950	146,380,000	48,287,169	33%
1951	354,860,000	64,957,825	18%
1949-57	6,824,800,000	1,479,289,000	22%

Sources: Total audiences from Popular Movie, No. 18, September, 1959, p. 27. Soviet films and audiences 1950 and 1951 from People's Daily, November ,, 1952; 1949-57 from Popular Movie, October 26, 1957, pp. 22-23.

Films produced by non-Communist countries shown on the mainland were first reported in 1955 when an "Indian Film Week" was held in the major cities in China. The next year, a "Japan Film Week" was held. These two film weeks attracted larger audiences than Communist China films. In 1957 there were held an Egyptian Film Festival, an Italian Film Festival, and an Asian Film Festival in which 15 nations participated: Lebanon, Burma,

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[70] "Why Are There So Few Good Chinese Films?", NCNA Shanghai, December 12, 1956.

India, Japan, Indonesia, North Korea, Pakistan, USSR, Thailand, North Vietnam, Ceylon, Syria, Cambodia, Singapore and Mongolia.[71] In 1957, about 100 foreign films were shown on mainland China, but only two films from a non-Communist country were brought to the public. They were "Richard the Third," and "Thief of Baghdad," both British pictures. Two film festivals of non-Communist countries were held on mainland China in 1959, the Iraqi and the Mexican. Since 1960 there has been no film festival of a non-Communist country.

Foreign films shown on mainland China have Chinese dubbed in. Over 800 foreign films have been dubbed since 1950. Most of them are feature films showing contemporary life in other countries. In addition, there are historical films, children's educational showings, and films of world famous classical novels, documentaries, plays, operas. Great attention has been paid in the past three years to dubbing films from Asia, Africa and Latin America. "Progressive films" from the U.S., Britain, France, Italy and West Germany are screened in China. Some of the foreign productions are shown in their original languages in response to the interest of students of foreign languages. Two film studios specialize in dubbing: the Changchun Studio in Northeast China, established in 1949, and the Shanghai Studio, set up in 1960. To do an adequate job in dubbing, the staff members must necessarily do research to broaden their knowledge of the art, history, life and customs of the countries concerned.[72]

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[71] Popular Movie, No. 16, August 1957.

[72] NCNA, Peking, September 22, 1962.

In 1962, 86 foreign films were shown in Peking, 28 of them produced by non-Communist countries. The following table is a breakdown of the origin of the 86 films.

Producers	Number of Films
Communist countries	58
USSR	33
East Germany	5
North Korea	5
Czechoslovakia	4
Rumania	3
Poland	2
North Vietnam	2
Albania	2
Hungary	1
Hungary-Czechoslovakia	1
Non-Communist countries	28
Japan	1
Burma	1
Hong Kong	1
UAR	1
Britain	4
France	3
Finland	1
Greece	1
Switzerland	1
Norway	1
Spain	1
Italy	1
West Germany	1
Mexico	3
Argentina	2
Cuba	2
Bolivia	1
Chile	1
USA	1
Total	86

Source: Compiled from Peking Review, Nos. 1-52, 1962.

Communist China shows films from non-Communist countries with the intent of obtaining reciprocal treatment from these countries for Chinese films. Some African and Middle Eastern countries have signed film exchange agreements with Peking, but the most significant ones probably are [illegible] on TV newsreels with Japan in 1962 and with the Commonwealth International Newsreel Company of Britain in October, 1963.

Films from non-Communist countries shown on mainland China are generally what the Communists consider "progressive," reflecting the dark side of the society or being entirely non-political. British films shown on mainland China in 1962 were "Richard the Third," "Red Shoes," "A Night to Remember," and "The Ghost Goes West." The only U.S. film shown in China was the "Salt of the Earth," a story based on a strike by U.S. zinc miners. It is questionable whether such films can be of any great effect as a channel of information between the Western world and Communist China. But films of current background and newsreels might show Chinese people the daily life and the standard of living in non-Communist countries.

V. Foreign Trade

Foreign trade has long been one of Communist China's political weapons. But in recent years Peking has gradually used its foreign trade with the non-Communist world not exclusively as a means of promoting political aims but as a means of meeting economic needs. Purchases of grain from Australia and Canada and a renewed interest in capital goods in the West have altered the proportions of China's trading with bloc and non-bloc countries. A few years ago the Communist countries were estimated to have some 80 percent of Communist China's trade; in 1962 this was thought to have fallen below 50 percent.

At present, Communist China trades with over 80 non-Communist nations and regions, 17 of which have signed governmental trade agreements.[73] The proportion of its trade with non-Communist countries has grown steadily during the past years while its trade with bloc countries, especially with the Soviet Union, has declined. The following table shows Communist China's foreign trade during the past three years.

Communist China's Foreign Trade

(US $ million)

	Import			Export		
	1962	1961	1960	1962	1961	1960
Bloc countries:						
Total	264.6	442.6	954.5	560.6	608.4	984.5
USSR	230.0	367.4	817.0	510.0	551.6	848.4
Non-Communist Countries						
Total	548.1	741.2	687.3	624.8	641.0	744.6

[73] Ceylon, Burma, India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Afghanistan, U.A.R., Iraq, Morocco, Yemen, Turis, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Sudar and Pakistan.

	Import			Export		
	1962	1961	1960	1962	1961	1960
Selected Partners:						
Australia	97.0	161.5	23.5	11.0	6.9	10.6
Canada	137.0	120.9	9.0	4.3	3.2	5.8
France	43.3	36.4	52.8	16.9	15.9	22.7
Hong Kong	14.9	1.4	21.0	212.3	180.0	207.5
Italy	19.0	29.7	39.7	14.1	12.3	24.1
Japan	38.5	16.6	2.7	46.0	20.9	20.7
U.K.	24.1	36.5	89.8	64.8	86.4	69.7
West Germany	31.1	30.5	95.4	39.3	39.7	69.4

Source: Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, September 26, 1963, p. 302. Compiled from official trade statistics of listed countries.

The growth of trade with the non-Communist countries means necessarily an increase in contacts with these countries. The negotiation and conclusion of transactions are usually carried out by delegations of the Chinese Communist Ministry of Foreign Trade (with those countries recognizing Communist China) and by representatives of Chinese national foreign trade corporations (with countries not recognizing Communist China). In addition to trade talks, Communist China has been holding an export commodities fair in Canton each spring and autumn since 1957, at which foreign businessmen are invited not only to place but also to receive orders of goods. Organized under the joint sponsorship of China's national foreign trade corporations, it has attracted a total of around 28,000 businessmen representing 18,000 firms in 57 countries and regions.[74]

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[74] China Reconstructs, Vol. XII, No. 6, April, 1963, p. 13.

Agricultural failure forced Communist China to purchase grain from the Western world to meet its domestic needs. The purchase of grains was first started in 1960 with Australia. In 1961 more Western countries were engaged in wheat deals with Communist China, namely, Canada, France, South Africa and West Germany. Communist China's purchase of six Viscount airliners from Britain in 1961 is another indication of the shift in its over-all foreign economic policy.

It should be noted that none of the above transactions, in grains or airliners, has been mentioned by the Chinese press on mainland China. As a matter of fact, trade with Western countries has very seldom been reported in the Communist press. This is, of course, because the Chinese Communists do not want its people to know of any transactions which would betray its propaganda of economic achievements.

Either by visiting Western countries or by receiving trade missions from abroad, the staff members of the foreign trade department have come to know more than any other persons about China's domestic economic situation and that of the Western countries.

VI. Diplomatic Envoys

Communist China has established diplomatic relations with 42 countries, including non-Communist countries. In Peking, there are 38 diplomatic envoys, 26 of them from the non-Communist world. Some of these non-Communist countries maintain consulates in Shanghai, Kunming and Lhasa. Foreign diplomats from the West have little more than official contacts with the government. Each year the Foreign Ministry gives a post to diplomatic envoys and their families for a tour of the country, but at other times the language barrier alone would limit travel almost completely. Contact between the Chinese people and foreign diplomats can hardly be of any significance.

Chinese diplomats in non-Communist countries, on the contrary, are much more active. Communist China maintains 26 embassies, one legation office, two offices of Charge d'Affaires and eight consulates in non-Communist countries. (See table on next page.) The staffs of Chinese envoys in non-Communist countries in most cases consist of councilors, attachés, secretaries, security officers, intelligence officers and clerks. The ambassadors, of course, are occupied with official contacts with the Government and with ceremonial functions. Actively engaging in contacts with local people are the commercial and cultural attachés who also arrange cultural exchange programs. Communist China stations military attachés in only 13 non-Communist countries (Burma, Denmark, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Sweden, Switzerland, U.A.R., Afghanistan, Algeria, Pakistan, Nepal and Laos).

Chinese Communist Diplomatic Envoys to Non-Communist Countries:

Country	Embassy	Consulate
Afghanistan	Kabul	
Algeria	Algiers	
Burma	Rangoon	Mandalay, Lahore
Cambodia	Phnom Penh	
Ceylon	Colombo	
Denmark	Copenhagen	
Finland	Helsinki	
Ghana	Accra	
Guinea	Conakry	
Indonesia	Djakarta	Djakarta, Bandjarmasin, Makassar, Medan
India	New Delhi	
Iraq	Baghdad	
Laos	Vientiane	Phong Saly
Mali	Bamako	
Morocco	Rabat	
Nepal	Katmandu	
Netherlands	Hague (Office of the Charge d'Affaires)	
Norway	Oslo	
Pakistan	Karachi	
Somali	Magadiscio	
Syria	Damascus	
Sudan	Khartoum	
Sweden	Stockholm	
Switzerland	Bern	Geneva
Tanganyika	Dar es Salaam	
Uganda	Entebbe	
U.A.R.	Cairo	
United Kingdom	London (Office of the Charge d'Affaires)	
Yemen	Taiz (Legation Office)	

(All of the above-listed countries have embassies or offices of Charges d'Affaires in Peking except Somali, Sudan, Tanganyika and Uganda. In addition there are consulates of Burma in Kunming; Nepal in Lahsa; Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Indonesia in Shanghai; and India in Lahsa and Shanghai.)

In addition to military attaches, there are intelligence officers devoted to collecting information on the Western world. In the Communist Chinese Embassy in Stockholm, more than 10 of its some 50-member staff are busily collecting and translating information obtained from publications or other sources.[75] The staffs of the embassies in non-Communist countries are probably quite well-informed on developments in the Western world. They have the opportunity to read Western press and publications, contact Western government officials and people and see the true life in the Western world.

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[75] This was revealed by Chao Pu, security officer of the Chinese Embassy in Stockholm, who defected in 1961. Mainland Today (Chin-jih ta-lu), No. 178 February 25, 1963, Taipei, p. 3.

VII. Overseas Chinese

About 13,000,000 Chinese are scattered around the world outside Communist China and Formosa. An estimated 10,000,000 are concentrated in the strategic area of Southeast Asia. Many of these Chinese, although long-time residents in various countries, continue to regard themselves as Chinese and have not been assimilated into the native communities of their countries of domicile.

Winning the support of these overseas Chinese is important to the Chinese Communists for both political and economic reasons. Politically, a pro-Communist orientation on the part of the overseas Chinese -- especially in Southeast Asia -- can be of great importance to Communist expansionist designs.

Overseas Chinese dominate economic life in many areas of Southeast Asia and enlisting their sympathies can pave the way for Communist economic penetration into those areas. Furthermore, their remittances to relatives in China constitute a substantial source of foreign exchange. According to Peking, within China there are over 10 million dependents of overseas Chinese, mostly in Kwangtung and Fukien.[76] Peking even has acknowledged that the relatives of overseas Chinese are a special group in China, and it has modified some of its nationwide policies in various ways to give them special treatment. Virtually all returned overseas Chinese and relatives of those residing abroad have been organized into Returned Overseas Chinese Associations under a national headquarters in Peking.

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[76] Ho Hsiang-ning, "Rising Patriotism of Overseas Chinese," Current Background, No. 467, July 15, 1957.

After 1960, nearly 100,000 overseas Chinese returned from Indonesia as a result of the Indonesian Government's restrictions on employment of aliens and its requirement of special work permits for alien employes. In spite of its economic difficulties, Communist China assumed the burden of sending ships to Indonesia to bring back those overseas Chinese and resettling them in mainland China. By the end of 1960, 94,000 overseas Chinese were shipped back and more than 95 percent of them were resettled in Kwangtung, Yunnan and other places.[77]

Communist China has made great efforts to attract overseas Chinese students to mainland China to study. In 1957, according to Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, there were roughly 40,000 overseas Chinese students studying on the mainland. The latest information available reported that there were over 50,000 overseas Chinese students in the nation.[78] A large portion of this number are overseas Chinese returned from Indonesia for resettlement.

But a large number of these students are not fully accepted by the local students. There is a problem of integration. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Journal revealed that there was political prejudice against overseas students and that many cadres did not clearly understand the political and historical background of these students.[79] They

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[77] NCNA, February 8, 1961.

[78] People's Daily, August 26, 1962.

[79] Overseas Chinese Affairs Journal (Chiao wu pao), No. 4, 1957.

too readily assumed that overseas students were unreliable. Furthermore, the privileges given to the overseas students and the remittances from their families abroad enabling them to have a better life have created sharp differences between the overseas and the local students. The non-acceptance of overseas students by local students may largely account for the decreased flow of overseas students to Communist China in the last few years.

Hong Kong is the primary channel for contacts of all sorts between overseas Chinese and their home districts on the mainland. About 3.5 million Chinese live there, more than 2.5 million of whom moved there after the Chinese Communists took over the mainland. This British colony not only became the transit port for Communist China's foreign trade but also for letters, remittances and food parcels from the overseas Chinese to their relatives or friends. Millions of letters and food parcels are handled by the Hong Kong Post Office every year for shipment to mainland China. Although Chinese Communists do not censor every letter from abroad, no overseas Chinese would write anything that might endanger the safety of the recipients. The ordinary subject matter of their letters consists of reports on their present situation and daily channel of communication between Communist China and the free world, except for descriptions of the living situation abroad.

However, a considerable number of overseas Chinese in Hong Kong visit their hometowns on mainland China once or twice a year. According to the Kowloon-Canton Railway authorities, more than 1,050,000 people

traveled between mainland China and Hong Kong in 1958.[80] In 1962 the total number of passengers to and from the frontier station of Lu Wu reached 772,556 and the overwhelming majority of these traveled between Hong Kong and China.[81] Since the Hong Kong Immigration Office only allows 50 Chinese each day to enter Hong Kong from the Kwangtung border, it can be estimated that about 400,000 Chinese residents in Hong Kong visited mainland China every year. This number included some duplications, as many of them visited more than once a year. Visitors generally choose the Chinese New Year or festivals to travel, as they can take advantage of these to bring more foods or consumer goods into China for the Chinese customs on the border usually relax restrictions to a limited degree on these occasions.

A large number of these travelers are females going to Kwangtung Province from Hong Kong to visit their relatives, and a small number goes to Shanghai.

People on mainland China, if they are visited by relatives or friends from Hong Kong, will be called on by security police and asked what they had been talking about. The policeman will seldom get the truth. With such a large number of visitors from Hong Kong, the possibility of transmitting information from Communist China by word-of-mouth is definitely considerable. The topics of conversations between visitors and the local people might range from market prices of foods to international developments, depending on the individual's interest and background. As long as the Chinese Communists permit Hong Kong residents to visit mainland China freely, travelers can be a medium for carrying information to mainland China.

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[80] Hong Kong Annual Book (Hsiang-kang nien-chien), Wah Kiu Yat Pao, Hong Kong, 1959, Section [illegible], p. 101.

[81] 1962 Hong Kong Annual Report, Hong Kong Government Information Service, 1962, p. 252.

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VIII. Conclusion

It is obvious that the Bamboo Curtain has not completely blocked the flow of information from the free world into Communist China. People on the mainland are able to obtain such information from both direct and indirect sources.

The direct sources include mainland foreign broadcasts and publications, cultural exchange activities, government delegations and diplomatic envoys to foreign countries, official contacts with foreigners, and visiting relatives and friends from abroad. The indirect sources are the foreign news section of newspapers and periodicals, the international news programs by Radio Peking and information passed on by those who got it from direct sources.

The best-informed people in Communist China are, of course, the Party and government officials, journalists and a limited number of people who can get information from foreign broadcasts and publications, "reference materials," and visiting relatives and friends. The Party and government officials, in particular, have the privilege of reading "reference materials" and intra-office publications of their respective units and of turning to broadcasts by foreign stations without apprehensions.

For uncensored and "hot" news, obviously, foreign broadcasts are the best source that people in mainland China can get. Various professional groups have also their special channels of information. For

instance, Chinese scientists often meet their foreign colleagues, trade officials negotiate with foreign businessmen, and students or religious leaders have similar opportunities to engage in cultural exchange programs

Those who depend for their information on Communist published materials naturally run into some difficulty in getting a complete picture from the paraphrased quotations of Western news reports Nevertheless, if one follows the events closely and ignores the propaganda in the news items, he can be far better informed of the outside world than the Communists would like him to be.

Since so many people on mainland China are able to acquire information from direct or indirect sources, it is entirely possible that some will pass on the information to their relatives or friends. In fact, even the Chinese Communist press admits that such word-of-mouth communication exists among the people and appears to be primarily concerned with the problem of "rumor spreading." Nan Fang Jin-pao (Southern Daily), for instance, reported that the security authority in Canton arrested three "rumor-mongers" in May, 1962, for acting as agents of Taiwan government, by listening to the VOA and VOPK and by spreading the news to others. According to the newspaper, the "rumor spreading" was carried out in the following way.

One evening, with pretended hospitality, Szut'u Ch'uen invited a few clansmen to his home for refreshment and to "enjoy music." As soon as they entered the room, he shut the door. They were soon engaged in an animated talk amid a steady stream of decadent music from the radio. Suddenly the music stopped. There came the call

sign of reactionary Taiwan broadcasting station. "Ah, Taiwan " exclaimed Szut'i Ch'uen in feigned surprise He cast a quick glance over the faces of his guests and before they could speak, he continued "It doesn't matter. Let's hear what news Taiwan has to broadcast " He immediately turned the radio down to a low pitch and hurried his wife to serve refreshments. Thereafter, his home became a place where two or three of his clansmen and friends regularly met for "music" and refreshments in the evenings. ..

...[illegible] restaurant they invited some clansmen and friends to sip tea and have heart-to-heart conversations. They were often seen whispering rumors to one another. Sometimes, they purposely spoke in under tones so that the nearby tea-drinkers could hear them They always began each rumor with the words "I've heard" so as to emphasize their "objective" position. If any tea-drinker sitting at a neighboring table showed some interest by joining in conversation, they would treat him as a "bosom friend of ten years' standing" and would keep on telling him one rumor after another. But if someone was in doubt and queried them, they would at once change the tenor of their conversation to say. "That is right. I don't believe it either. It may be untrue!" This glib speech of steering the boat to sail with the wind had succeeded in doping the sensibly numb and ideologically lethargic and even in getting them to relay the rumors as "news" to their relatives and friends and thus to serve the enemy's secret agent as voluntary "broadcasters."[82]

The newspaper also admitted that such rumors had produced certain effects among some people. It pointed out

When we say rumors produce no effect at all on the people, we say so in general terms. As there are always progressive and backward ones among the broad mass of people, rumors will still produce some effect, temporarily at least on a number of backward elements.... Rumors are more detestable once they are spread by the class enemy and in turn propagated by a number of people with low class consicousness and not very high revolutionary vigilance ... Moreover, a number of people [illegible] their [illegible] not very high revolutionary vigilance, and different politics to distinguish friends from foes, have often been taken in by rumors to the extent of unwittingly becoming [illegible] spreading these rumors during the [illegible] hour or tea time.[83]

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82 Ho Cui-liang, "Story of the Smashing of a Rumor-monger's Haunt," Nan Fang Jih-pao, July 4, 1962.

83 Kuan Chen-tung, "The Truth About Rumors," Nan Fang Jih-pao. July 4, 1962.

These reports gave a detailed description of how these "Taiwan rumor-spreading agents" operated on mainland China. But more significantly they confirmed the following facts which now exist on mainland China:

1. People are interested and even believe in news from foreign sources

2. Group listening to foreign broadcasts exists.

3. News from foreign sources are discussed in public places, such as restaurants and tea houses.

4. Information is passed on and repeated by others.

There must be also a good deal of word-of-mouth communication supplied by overseas Chinese in Hong Kong, although most of them only visit to Kwangtung province. Nevertheless, everyone of the nearly half a million visitors from Hong Kong each year is an information carrier. The information probably ranges from life in Hong Kong to international affairs. Even if these visitors do very little talking, the food and consumer goods brought back by them suggest to some extent the kind of life or abundance on the other side of the border.

It is difficult to estimate how far the information carried by visitors will travel, but the effect it has produced is apparently considerable. Many refugees were asked why they came to Hong Kong since they had never been to the place before. Their answers sometimes revealed that they came because they had heard either from visitors or from some other people who knew such visitors about living situations in Hong Kong. Indeed, these visits may have much to do with the great

exodus of some 70,000 men, women and children to Hong Kong in May, 1962, and the continuous flow of refugees from mainland China to this small island everyday.

The Sino-Soviet split has forced Communist China to search for a new source of supply. During the past two years, Communist China has steadily shifted away from trading with the bloc countries and shown more and more interest in the capital goods of the non-Communist countries. At the time this paper was written, it was reported that, in the later half of 1963 and early 1964, Peking purchased or contracted eight plants from Western countries, two each from Japan and Italy, one each from Britain, Holland and France. Technicians will be sent by suppliers to help the installation of plants.[84] In 1964, Britain, France and Sweden all planned to hold trade exhibitions on mainland China. Four exhibitions, three British and one French, have been scheduled to open between April and November, 1964. Businessmen from Britain, France, Japan and other non-Communist countries busily visited mainland China.[85] In addition to the increasing trade contacts with non-Communist countries, Communist China established diplomatic relations with six countries between December, 1963 and February, 1964 -- Zanzibar, Kenya, Burundi, Tunisia, France and Congo (Brazzaville). On December 24, 1963, the China Foreign Language Book Store was set up in

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[84] Colina MacDougall, "Eight Plants for Peking," Far Eastern Economic Review, No. 56, January 23, 1964, Hong Kong, pp. 155-158.

[85] Far Eastern Economic Review, No. 57, January 30, 1964, Hong Kong, p. 201.

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Peking, which will deal mainly with the importation of periodicals and publications from foreign countries.[86] Apparently, the main purpose of this new book store is to step up Communist China's procurement of foreign publications from non-Communist countries. All these suggest an increase in contacts between Communist China and the outside world.

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[86] China News Service, Peking, December 24, 1963.

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