

Foreigners under Mao

Western Lives in China, 1949–1976

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Reuters' Adam Kellett-Long with translator 'Mr Tsiang'. Courtesy of Adam Kellett-Long.

David and Isobel Crook at Nanhaishan. Courtesy of Crook family.

George H. W. and Barbara Bush on the streets of Peking. George Bush Presidential Library and Museum.

The author with her Peking University roommate, Wang Ping. In author's collection.

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Chronology of Mao's China

(events mentioned in book)

Year	Internal developments	Foreign relations/Westerners
1949	Establishment of PRC	
1950	Campaign to Suppress Counter-revolutionaries begins	Britain, Switzerland, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland recognize PRC Sino-Soviet Treaty Start of Korean War
1951		
1952		
1953		Korean War Armistice
1954		Twenty-two Korean War POWs arrive in China
1955		
1956		Reuters and AFP correspondents arrive
1957	Hundred Flowers Campaign Anti-Rightist Movement begins	
1958	Great Leap Forward begins	
1959	Start of 'three hungry years'	<i>Globe and Mail</i> correspondent arrives Deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations
1960		
1961		
1962		Sino-Indian border war
1963	Socialist Education Campaign	Zhou Enlai visits African countries
1964		Recruitment of 'foreign experts' France recognizes PRC French exchange students arrive

Year	Internal developments	Foreign relations/Westerners
1965		
1966	Cultural Revolution begins	Foreign students leave China
1967		Red Guard demonstrations at Soviet and French embassies Leftist riots in Hong Kong Burning of British diplomatic mission
1968	Start of 'down to the countryside' movement	Imprisonment of several resident 'foreign comrades'
1969		
1970		Italy and Canada establish diplo- matic relations with PRC
1971	Disappearance of Lin Biao	Henry Kissinger visits PRC admitted to United Nations
1972		US President Richard Nixon visits Britain's relationship upgraded Germany, Australia and New Zealand establish diplomatic relations with PRC
1973		United States liaison office opens Several Western leaders visit Student exchanges under way
1974	Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius Campaign Campaign against Antonioni's <i>Chung-kuo</i>	
1975		
1976	Jan: Death of Zhou Enlai April: <i>Qingming</i> demonstrations Campaign against Deng Xiaoping and the 'right deviationist wind' July: Tangshan earthquake Sep: Death of Mao Zedong Oct: Arrest of 'Gang of Four'	

Introduction

Living under Mao

China under Mao Zedong has commonly been viewed as one of the world's most insulated nations, cut off from the West and largely inaccessible to Westerners. The closest parallel in the twenty-first century is probably North Korea, often described as being like 'another planet'. That small country, though, has only 25 million people as against China's 541 million when the Communists came to power. In Cold War discourse, particularly but not only in the United States, the bamboo curtain between 'Red China' and the West was often portrayed as being virtually impenetrable.¹

The reality was somewhat different. In addition to its visiting 'foreign friends' and invited delegations, Mao's China had a resident Western community—or more accurately a number of small and distinct communities, each with its own identity and internal dynamics. By the time a few American visitors began rediscovering China after a gap of more than twenty years, following the lifting of their government's ban on travel to 'Communist China' in 1971, several hundred British and European diplomats and their families had already experienced life in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The British and French news agencies, Reuters and Agence France-Presse (AFP), had been permitted to operate in Peking from the mid-1950s. Some politically committed Westerners (including Americans) had made their homes and brought up families in Mao's China, while 'foreign experts' and students had worked and studied there. Living under Mao was not for the faint-hearted but, despite the restrictions and problems, it provided everyday experience of a nation about which very little was known in the outside world.

This is not to suggest that the Western presence under Mao was comparable with, far less a continuation of, the presence in the pre-revolutionary era. It was tiny in comparison and lacked the two largest pre-1949 components, businesspeople and Christian missionaries, denounced by Mao as the major perpetrators of a century-long 'history of imperialist aggression' against China.² The Western presence, having reached its peak in the 1910s and 1920s, declined substantially following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and again during the Civil War. Even as the Communists' victory over Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists became increasingly likely during 1948 and early 1949, though, Western businesses (including the great 'hongs'

Jardine Matheson and Butterfield & Swire) and Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations decided to retain a presence in China in the effort to protect their interests.

Any hopes they had were soon dashed. Almost as soon as Westerners came under Communist control, they were subjected to a range of pressures, as discussed in my book *China Stands Up: Ending the Western Presence 1948–1950*. Businesses were not expropriated (China's new rulers were pragmatic as well as being strongly nationalistic and ideologically committed) but squeezed through heavy taxes and labour demands; Christian missions were also put under strong pressure. Life for Westerners in Shanghai and the smaller expatriate/settler communities became increasingly uncomfortable, prompting the departure of the majority of those who had stayed on. The pressures intensified following China's entry into the Korean War in October 1950, when some of the remaining Westerners (particularly but not only Catholic missionaries) were imprisoned and/or expelled as imperialist spies, while businesses finished up handing over their assets 'voluntarily' to the government. Within three to four years of the Communists' victory, little remained of more than a century of Western business and missionary activity in China, of the Western enclaves with their distinctive lifestyles and exclusive clubs, or even of 'bourgeois' Western culture which was denounced as antithetical to 'healthy' socialist culture.³

While it was eradicating what remained of the Western 'imperialist' presence, the new government was already implementing its own policy towards the admission of Westerners, and more generally of foreigners, to the PRC. In future, their presence would be strictly on China's terms and limited to people considered useful or necessary for the regime's own purposes, essentially in accordance with the principle of *yang wei Zhong yong* (using the foreign to serve China). Throughout the Mao era, entry to China was tightly controlled: whether for short-term visitors who were hosted as part of the PRC's programme of cultural diplomacy or, even more stringently, for sojourners and potential long-term residents.

This book is structured around the six main categories of Westerners who lived in China during the Mao era—most for a few years, some for the whole period. In practice, only two of the categories conformed to Zhou Enlai's statement, made on 1 January 1949, that the further entry of foreigners to China would be prohibited with the exception of those who were disposed to be 'friendly'.⁴ The first was a small group of 'foreign comrades' or 'international friends', often regarded in the West as traitors to the free world. Some lived in the PRC from the start of the new era while others arrived in the fifties or early sixties. A second, distinct group of twenty-two young men (all Americans apart from one Briton) arrived in early 1954. Recently released Korean War POWs, they chose China rather than repatriation to their home countries where they were denounced as 'turncoats'.

Two other groups, diplomats and foreign correspondents, were regarded as anything but friendly towards the new regime. Rather they were Cold War enemies. The presence of a small number of diplomatic personnel and their families was the outcome of China's establishment of relations with the handful of Western countries—Britain, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian nations—that recognized the new government.⁵ They were joined by the French in 1964 and representatives of most other Western governments from the early 1970s. The Chinese also allowed a handful of non-communist Western correspondents to work in the PRC from the mid-1950s, in return for being permitted to locate a few Xinhua (New China News Agency) correspondents in Europe.

The two other groups of Westerners, 'foreign experts' and students, were more politically diverse, ranging from committed Maoists to apolitical Chinese culture enthusiasts. In the mid-1960s, the Chinese government recruited some individual foreign experts to teach foreign languages (primarily English and French) and to polish its foreign language publications after the breakdown of its relationship with the Soviet bloc and Western communist parties. The students, in the mid-1960s and again from the early to mid-1970s, were mostly participants in government exchange programmes when China wanted to send students abroad for advanced language training. A few earlier arrivals fitted the politically friendly category.

Foreign comrades, POW turncoats, a few diplomats, fewer correspondents and some foreign experts and students made up the new Western presence in China. These categories were not all-encompassing: a number of engineers worked periodically on PRC contracts with European companies, the odd businessman cooled his heels during prolonged negotiations, and a few remnants of the past lingered on in increasingly straitened circumstances.⁶ But the six groups featured in this book cover the vast majority of Westerners (from Britain, Western Europe, North America and Australasia) who lived under Mao. Unlike the earlier widely dispersed presence, the new one was centred very largely on Peking, once again China's capital, with only a few people living in Shanghai or other large provincial cities.

The Western residents were part of a broader foreign community—in Italian foreign expert Edoarda Masi's words 'we are all foreigners insofar as we are not Chinese'—that ranged from Soviet experts and a dwindling number of White Russians in the 1950s to students from 'friendly' developing countries and Latin American and Southeast Asian political exiles.⁷ But the Westerners also had a distinct identity that was linked to their home countries' relations with China. The 'history of imperialist aggression' became embodied in the 'century of national humiliation' discourse which influenced, and continues to influence, China's attitudes to the West, as demonstrated in Zheng Wang's *Never Forget National Humiliation* and William Callahan's *China: The Pessoptimist Nation*.⁸ In addition, Westerners were from countries that were currently

viewed as the Cold War enemy. The United States was denounced as the primary imperialist but other Western nations were also firmly located in the imperialist camp. While their diplomats were seen as the direct representatives of imperialism, even Westerners with proclaimed allegiances to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were vulnerable to suspicion during periods of heightened political fervour.

Whether one regards the Mao era as one of extreme authoritarian rule implemented largely through terror, as Frank Dikötter's *The Tragedy of Liberation* and Jung Chang and Jon Halliday's *Mao: The Unknown Story* have argued, or as a sustained effort to create a model socialist society as Western Maoists viewed it, they were years of 'politics in command' under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The population was constantly being mobilized to support and participate in the latest political 'campaign' or 'movement' (both translations of the Chinese word *yundong*). All aspects of society came under state control: the economy (with the decline and then disappearance of the private sector), the media, culture, and individuals' working, social and even personal lives. 'For us it would be an impossible sacrifice of liberty,' British ambassador John Addis wrote in his valedictory despatch in 1974.⁹

Politics did not penetrate as deeply into Westerners' lives as it did into those of Chinese people, but it still had a heavy impact. CCP media policy, directed at controlling all information published in and about the PRC, severely hampered the work of correspondents and influenced the materials that foreign experts polished for Chinese publications, while the foreign comrades themselves played an integral role in the state's propaganda work. The growing dominance of 'redness' over 'expertise'—politics over professionalism—in educational policy, particularly from the early 1960s, affected both Western teachers and students. The highly politicized environment itself divided the small Western community, whether reinforcing the ideological divide between foreign comrades and diplomats or creating dissension among foreign experts and students.

Western residents, whatever their political views and role in China, also shared the experience of being 'managed' by the state. Long-held attitudes towards foreigners as a distinctive category continued into the Mao era, though with a heavy overlay of communist ideology. Political scientist Anne-Marie Brady has described CCP policy on managing foreigners (from soon after the Party's establishment in 1921 right through to the twenty-first century) as an 'unusual blend of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist-Statist-Confucian foreign relations'.¹⁰ This applied not just to resident and visiting 'foreign friends', who were the focus of her book *Making the Foreign Serve China*, but to all the groups featured in the present study. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist aspects were at their most intense during the Mao era.

In managing Western residents, China's new government pursued a strategy of what might be called 'privileged segregation', which isolated and insulated them from the harsh realities of everyday life that ran counter to the publicized images of 'new China'. The privileges included access to special stores for products that were of higher quality and/or difficult, if not impossible, to buy in regular shops. Westerners employed by the government were paid higher salaries than their Chinese counterparts, as well as being provided with superior accommodation, dining and other facilities. When discussing these privileges, the Chinese prefer to use the word *youdai* ('preferential treatment' or 'special consideration'), which they formally distinguish from the earlier formal privileges (*tequan*) enjoyed by Westerners under the 'unequal treaties'.¹¹ The official rationale for treating Westerners in a distinctive manner was that they were not accustomed to China's very low living standards. There is no doubt that some, maybe most, would have found it difficult to lead an ordinary Chinese life, but the preferential treatment was usually enforced even if they tried to reject it.

The government also took specific measures to segregate Westerners, and more broadly foreigners, from everyday China. There were strict controls on where they lived, on their movement (in Peking limited to twenty kilometres from the centre of the city) and on travel. When they were permitted to travel at all, it was usually in the company of minders and limited to select locations. Contact with Chinese people was kept to a minimum, with official pressure exerted on the local population not to associate with foreigners. This applied particularly to those whose 'bourgeois ideology' and possible links with the imperialist enemy were seen as potential threats to the values being inculcated by the Communist Party.

For Westerners who spent only a few years in China, the experience depended to some extent on the political environment at the time. In the mid-1950s the hysterical anti-Western atmosphere of the Korean War and the Campaign to Suppress Counter-revolutionaries gave way to a short phase of relaxation, relatively speaking, when some of the Korean War POWs who had moved to China were allowed to marry Chinese women and the first non-communist resident correspondents were admitted to the PRC. From the late 1950s there was a general tightening up: first with the Anti-Rightist Movement, which included the denunciation of any remaining Western bourgeois influences, and then with the Great Leap Forward followed by the massive three-year famine when most Westerners were protected by their privileges, marginalizing them even more.

The launch of the Cultural Revolution in mid-1966 heralded the tensest phase of the Mao era for Western residents, as for many Chinese people, with the British diplomatic mission being torched by Red Guards and even some foreign comrades imprisoned as imperialist spies. Then, from the early 1970s, China's tentative reopening to

the West prompted a substantial increase in the numbers of Western diplomats and correspondents, as well as the revival of the foreign expert and student presence. At the same time, they were years of domestic political wrangling, with the periodic dominance of so-called radicals (including Mao's wife Jiang Qing) who denounced Western culture and created a tense atmosphere for foreigners.

The Western experience also varied across the different communities, essentially according to their political trustworthiness. For example, the foreign comrades were given somewhat greater leeway, whether in being allowed to visit places that were normally out of bounds or in their contacts with Chinese people. But they were also the most personally vulnerable of all Westerners during the Cultural Revolution when their ideological loyalty was questioned.

Although the intrusion of politics and being managed by the state were part and parcel of Westerners' everyday lives under Mao, this did not mean that they were simply passive objects of CCP policy. Substantial parts of this book look at how they responded to their situation. Some, particularly but not only diplomats, created a lifestyle that was largely independent of the world around them. Others, especially but not only students, made sustained efforts to break down the barriers imposed between them and everyday China. Even they, though, found themselves forced back on their own community which, like some of the other communities, was a breeding ground for political and sometimes personal dissension.

Living in China, even for a few years, was a very different experience from that of the three- or four-week 'foreign guest' who, as British youth theatre director Michael Croft described it, was swept up in 'red carpet days' of free cigarettes and civic receptions, solidarity and toasts to peace and friendship.¹² A Western resident's sense of group identity only tended to be confirmed by meeting a visitor or two. When a few Italians arrived at Shanghai Mansions in early 1976, foreign expert Edoarda Masi asked herself: 'Why is it I feel no impulse to strike up a conversation with these people?' In contrast, she was delighted to meet up with the Italian ambassador and his wife. 'But they and others from the embassy live here, like me and like the students,' she explained, whereas the visitors 'are passing through, they are not much more than tourists.'¹³

One of the aims of this book is to give a voice to those Westerners who lived in Mao's China, whether for a few years or for the whole era. They are heard through their memoirs, some of them published (the bibliography includes a list of first-hand accounts), and through letters, diaries and other personal papers, some in private collections and others in archives in Britain, Europe, North America and Australasia. The despatches of foreign correspondents are available in the newspapers of the day, while diplomats speak to us through Foreign Ministry records that have been declassified with the passage of time.

I also interviewed, either in person or via the internet, a broad selection of Westerners who lived in China during the Mao years. They ranged from other sojourners I met while studying in Peking during the year before Mao's death to a few people who had been in the PRC ever since the early years of the Communist era. For the 1950s, I was also able to draw on some interviews I conducted for my earlier book. Oral history, of course, has its limitations: memories are selective, particularly at a distance of five or more decades, and can be influenced by subsequent knowledge and experience. Even so, my interviewees provided a wealth of first-hand information, filled in gaps in the written record, and brought to life the challenging experience of living under Mao.

1

Into Mao's China

'We wanted to be participants, not observers,' 93-year-old Canadian Isabel Crook recalled in 2009. It was just over sixty years since she and her British husband, David, had arrived in Peking with the victorious Chinese Communists after spending eighteen months in areas under their control. Isabel was speaking to me in the modest flat at the Foreign Studies University where she and David had brought up their three sons. 'Our role was to be the West in China. Now I'm trying to sum it all up—but there isn't enough time.'¹

A few miles away at the Friendship Hotel, where he had moved temporarily while his courtyard house was being renovated, 94-year-old American Sidney Shapiro greeted me with a smile and a firm handshake: 'There aren't many of us old buggers left now.' Shapiro had come to Shanghai in 1947, worked as a lawyer, married a Chinese actress with links to the Communist underground, and opted to stay on when virtually all the other Americans left. A Chinese citizen since 1963, he had worked throughout the Mao era—and for some years beyond—as a translator and editor. He had just embarked on a new project on women during the revolution, he told me.²

The nonagenarians were two of the handful of Westerners who were still alive out of a few score who had committed themselves to 'new China,' and lived there for all or a large part of the Mao era. To the Chinese Communists, they were foreign comrades or international friends, as publicly supportive of the PRC as their governments were opposed to it. Along with some select visitors and a few short-term residents, they symbolized the proclaimed 'friendship between the Chinese people and other peoples throughout the world.' Their contributions to new China were featured in the media, they were fêted on important occasions, and when they died they were usually honoured with ceremonies at the Revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery at Babaoshan.

In the West, they were viewed at best as misguided 'commies,' at worst as Cold War traitors to their home countries and the 'free world.' Western diplomats and correspondents in China, who rarely if ever saw them, referred to them disparagingly as 'the renegades,' 'the misanthropes' or 'the malcontents.' Britain's first chargé d'affaires, Humphrey Trevelyan, called them 'the twilight brigade . . . They were pathetic. Who knows what private disturbance or maladjustment had caused them to tear up their

roots and plunge into the Chinese Communist world.³ In a similar vein, Anne-Marie Brady argued in *Making the Foreign Serve China* that they were 'as much linked by displacement from their own societies as they were by a strong ideological commitment to Chinese communism.'⁴

Who *were* these people, living in Mao's China and prepared to ally themselves with it politically in an era of Cold War hostility? Blanket generalizations do not adequately explain their motivations. Some, as communist internationalists, saw the PRC as a bright new hope for socialism and were keen to participate in building a revolutionary society. Others described their underlying motivation as 'humanitarianism': China had turned them to communism rather than the other way round. Having lived in China since the 1930s or even earlier, they were not the only people to conclude that the Communist Party seemed to offer the best way out of the country's poverty and corruption. Later arrivals included émigrés from Cold War McCarthyism. And for a few women, in particular, the decision to live under Mao was closely linked to their personal relationships.

There were some similarities between the PRC's long-term Western residents and those who went to the Soviet Union following the 1917 revolution. A number shared the idealistic motives: the desire to be part of a communist society in the making. Politically, too, both countries became places of exile during the McCarthy era. But the personal identification with China, its culture and people that prompted a few to stay on indefinitely did not really have a Soviet counterpart. And those moving to the PRC generally lacked the economic imperatives that, as Tim Tzouliadis graphically portrayed in his book *The Forsaken*, prompted thousands of Americans, as well as other Westerners, to go to the Soviet Union during the 1930s depression.⁵

In terms of its overall profile, the long-term resident community was mostly middle-class and professional, including doctors, lawyers, journalists, economists and teachers (though some individuals had working-class roots). Mainly but not solely Anglo-American, it had a much higher proportion of Americans than any of the other Western communities, apart from the small cohort of Korean War ex-POWs. There was a noticeable Jewish presence, reflecting the general Jewish involvement in leftist politics and, for some Europeans, displacement from their home countries by Nazism. 'We were all very different though,' Sidney Shapiro stressed. 'Take Sol Adler and Frank Coe—both American Jews. Sol was very involved with Jewish affairs, very Hebraic. But Frank was a very proper churchgoer in the American establishment.'

Characteristic of socialist groups, the long-term residents included a number of strong-minded women. Some were married, like former nuclear physicist Joan Hinton, anthropologist Isabel Crook (though her husband David was outwardly the more gregarious), and the 'formidable' Elsie Fairfax Cholmeley, who provoked comments for the way she towered over her husband Israel Epstein. Others were single, or in some cases divorced, and did not escape the chauvinism of their male

colleagues. 'Those tough old birds—the battle-axe ladies,' Sidney Shapiro responded when I mentioned American Betty Chandler and Austrian Ruth Weiss. 'Actually they were quite nice when they weren't on their personal bandwagons.'

As individuals, the long-termers can perhaps best be categorized according to the circumstances in which they began living under Mao. The most prestigious, not just in official Chinese eyes but sometimes in their own as well, were those who had ventured into territory held by the Communists before their eventual victory against Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. They found their way to Yan'an, the revolutionary capital in north-west China, or to other areas as they came under Communist control. There they enjoyed personal contact with the top Communists, perhaps eating some of Mao's favourite Hunanese dishes with China's future leader or playing cards with his faithful lieutenant Zhou Enlai. While not maintaining this close relationship after the establishment of the PRC, they would always be officially regarded as the oldest of China's 'old foreign friends': both the most favoured and the most publicized supporters of new China.

Lebanese-American George Hatem (often known by his Chinese name Ma Haide) arrived in China in 1933, soon after finishing his medical studies. He practised medicine in Shanghai and, disillusioned with the dire economic and social situation, joined a leftist study group. The group had close links with Song Qingling, the American-educated widow of Sun Yat-sen and a communist sympathizer who became the foreigners' main channel to the CCP. 'The Red Army in the northwest sent down a message that they wanted an honest foreign journalist and a doctor,' Hatem later wrote. 'They didn't ask for an honest doctor, so they took me.'⁶ In fact, he had already been thinking about trying to join the Communists, while at the same time



George Hatem with Mao Zedong at Yan'an in 1945. (Edgar Snow Collections KC: 19/27/00, 4, George Hatem Collection, UMKC University Archives)

resisting strong pressure from his family to return to the United States. In March 1936 Hatem travelled into CCP territory with the ‘honest foreign journalist’, Edgar Snow, who would introduce the Chinese Communists to the world—but not mention George Hatem’s presence—in his classic book *Red Star over China*.

Although future PRC diplomat and foreign minister Huang Hua thought the 25-year-old doctor was initially ‘committed to China’s cause through a humanitarian spirit and not a Marxist ideology’,⁷ within a year of his arrival Hatem joined the CCP. Rejected by one and then another young Chinese woman he attempted to court, in October 1939 he met a beautiful actress named Zhou Sufei, who had just arrived in Yan’an. The couple married in early spring. Almost exactly seventy years later I met Zhou, still elegant at the age of ninety, at a function commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the death of American journalist Agnes Smedley. Not everyone approved of her marriage to a foreigner, she admitted: ‘Things were initially quite difficult for us.’⁸ She had earlier told her husband’s biographer, Edgar A. Porter, about how upset she had been when her closest friends did not turn up for the wedding celebrations, though both Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were there.⁹

A few more Western medics, at least two of whom stayed on in China, also worked with the Communists. Both refugees from Nazism, German doctor Hans Müller and Austrian Richard Frey (who had had to give up his medical studies) found their way to Yan’an in 1939 and 1941 respectively. Neither they nor Hatem, though, achieved the fame of Canadian surgeon Norman Bethune, who arrived at Yan’an in January 1938 and died of blood poisoning less than two years later. Just six weeks after his untimely death, Bethune’s name was enshrined in CCP mythology following the publication of Mao Zedong’s famous article *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, which became required reading for school children and adults alike for much of the Mao era.

By the mid-1940s, being a foreigner at Yan’an was less of a novelty as the Communists attempted to garner international support for their cause. Representatives of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) delivered supplies, a medical team from the Friends Ambulance Unit worked at the International Peace Hospital, and a range of journalists and ‘progressives’ came to have a look at what the Chinese Communists were trying to achieve. There were even visits from American officials, including the US Army Observation Group, which was better known as the Dixie Mission. In March 1947, though, the Communists had to evacuate Yan’an in the face of the Nationalists’ assault. Only a few foreigners remained with them as they moved on the cities during 1948.

One, Sidney Rittenberg, was to become the most controversial of all the long-term Western residents. The American had been a member of the US Communist Party as a student, studied Chinese when he was drafted into the army, and arrived in China shortly after the Japanese surrender. In mid-1946, the 24-year-old made his

way to Communist-held Zhangjiakou (then known to foreigners as Kalgan) before moving on to Yan'an. There he was given a job at the CCP's nascent news agency, Xinhua, where he polished English translations. Within a month of his arrival he was also working closely with visiting American socialist correspondent Anna Louise Strong, whom he had known in the United States, and acted as her interpreter when she interviewed Mao Zedong. Rittenberg was permitted to join the CCP, despite blotting his copybook by having a one-night stand with a woman and then refusing to marry her when she made a public issue of it. He had already fallen in love with another young woman, Wei Lin, during his brief sojourn in Zhangjiakou, and the pair married after she transferred to Yan'an.

By the time of the Communists' victory, though, Rittenberg was in prison, having been arrested as an 'imperialist spy'. The American's detention in January 1949 was linked to Soviet suspicions of Anna Louise Strong who was detained in Moscow and, after six days at the dreaded Lubyanka Prison, expelled for allegedly 'spying against the interests of the Soviet state'.¹⁰ According to CCP politburo member Ren Bishi, Rittenberg had originally been recommended to the Chinese Communists by Strong.¹¹ The American would spend over six years in prison before being released in April 1955, shortly after Strong's own exoneration by the Soviet government. It was an early example of the fine line that existed between being regarded a 'friend of the Chinese people' and a representative of the imperialists, even a spy.

The American Hinton family had also begun its long association with the Communists in the early post-war years. William (Bill), an agricultural specialist, worked on an UNRRA-funded tractor programme in a communist area in southern Shanxi province. He then joined a land reform team and collected material for what would become *Fanshen*, the classic Western account of Chinese land reform. Bill's sister Joan joined and married her fiancé Erwin (Sid) Engst in Yan'an in early 1949. A dairy specialist and Bill's former college roommate, Engst had arrived in China in 1946, also initially as an adviser on an UNRRA project. Although Bill returned to the United States in 1953, his estranged wife Bertha stayed on in China with the couple's three-year-old daughter Carma.

David and Isabel Crook, both members of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), travelled to communist territory with the specific objective of studying land reform in a 'liberated village'. In November 1947 they arrived at Shilidian, which they wrote about as Ten Mile Inn, located in the CCP's north China base area. After finishing their research, they moved to the city of Shijiazhuang, also under communist control, where they planned to write up their findings. Instead they were asked to teach English at the Foreign Affairs Language School that had already been set up in the nearby village of Nanhaishan to train future diplomats. It was a shift of focus that would change the couple's lives.



David and Isobel Crook at Nanhaishan. The blackboard features the lyrics of the musical rendition of the *Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention* to be observed by the Communist armies. (Courtesy of Crook family)

The Crooks represented two of the main types of Westerners motivated to live in Mao's China: the communist internationalist and the radicalized China empathizer. David had grown up in a middle-class Jewish family in London and become involved in leftist politics at Columbia University in New York. Having joined the CPGB, he served in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, first in the combat troops and later spying on Trotskyists on the instructions of the Comintern. In 1938 he was sent to China to continue this work. Isabel, in contrast, was born in China and spent her early years there, the daughter of Canadian missionary educators. After completing bachelors and masters degrees at the University of Toronto and the London School of Economics, she returned to China in 1938 to do anthropological field research, becoming increasingly concerned about the country's economic and social plight. The couple met in Chengdu in 1941 and married in London a year later, but they were apart for most of the remaining war years. Although Isabel also became a dedicated communist, joining the CPGB while they were living in London, the couple's different backgrounds had a continuing influence on their lives. 'For David it was mainly the Party,' Isabel explained. 'I was always much more into China.'

Along with some of the other foreign comrades, the Crooks arrived in Peking with the victorious Communists after the Nationalists surrendered the city, following a six-week siege, at the end of January 1949. Isabel, pregnant with her first child, watched the victory parade on 3 February with George Hatem.

We climbed up onto the Qianmen gate. There were a lot of us up there, including Lin Biao, commander of the troops that liberated Beijing, but it didn't seem in the least strange that a few foreigners mingled among high-ranking officials. We were all wearing the standard-issue military uniforms. When some resident foreigners in the Legation Quarter saw us, they stared in astonishment!¹²

Another small group of long-term residents in Mao's China had been living under the Nationalists when the Communists came to power. Invited to work for the new government, they stayed on after virtually all of their fellow nationals left China, either as a result of the Communists' early pressures or during the Korean War when a number of Westerners were imprisoned as imperialist spies.¹³ Most were already known to the CCP because of their involvement in leftist circles in Shanghai in the 1930s—the Song Qingling connection—or through contact with Madame Song or Party representatives in Chongqing, the Nationalists' temporary capital, during the Sino-Japanese War. A few had also visited Yan'an and worked with the CCP underground in Nationalist China. Even so, Westerners who had arrived with the victors did not see them as having equivalent political credentials. 'They were different from us. *We were communists,*' Isabel Crook responded when I mentioned some of their names.

Best-known of the group was New Zealander Rewi Alley, a former soldier and farmer who had arrived in China in 1927 at the age of 29. Employed as the Shanghai Municipal Council's chief factory inspector, he was horrified by the workers' conditions and became part of the leftist group that included Ruth Weiss and briefly George Hatem. During the Sino-Japanese War, Alley helped establish the industrial cooperatives movement in west China and worked clandestinely with the Communists, spending several months at Yan'an in 1939. At the time of their victory, he was running a boys' vocational school, one of several he had set up, in Gansu province. After more than twenty years' immersion in China's economic and social problems—and with a keen interest in the country's future—what could New Zealand offer the 51-year-old? Although Alley's biographers disagree on the level of his political commitment versus his simple desire to stay in 'the country that had become his home,' as Anne-Marie Brady expressed it, they do not dispute the fact that he was intent on remaining in China.¹⁴

American Robert (Bob) Winter was also keen to stay on. A peripatetic teacher of English and French literature, he was 35 when he arrived in China in 1923, subsequently teaching at Peking's Qinghua University and becoming a well-known figure in the city's foreign community. (He appeared as 'Bill Luton' in John Blofeld's entrancing book *City of Lingering Splendour*.) During the post-war period, Winter also became well-known for his leftist sympathies, secretly helping students who were underground Communists. Described as a confirmed bachelor—it was rumoured that he had left Chicago in a hurry because of a 'homosexual indiscretion'—Winter

lacked the family responsibilities that contributed to the departure of Western university colleagues who were also sympathetic to the CCP.¹⁵ In 1979, when I asked the 92-year-old why he had not left China, he replied: ‘I did visit the US in 1943 but I thought it was a racist and permissive society. I’d become used to living here and I was optimistic about the new government.’¹⁶ To Isabel Crook, Winter was the elderly American who ‘just floated along on top of everything that happened. I’ve never known anyone who floated so high.’

Unlike Alley and Winter, American lawyer and former GI Sidney Shapiro was a relative newcomer to China when the Communists came to power. Thirty-one when he arrived in Shanghai in 1947, Shapiro had studied Chinese in the US Army and later at Yale. A few months after his marriage to Communist underground activist Feng Zi (whom he called Phoenix in English) in mid-1948, the couple attempted to travel to CCP territory but, after a series of mishaps, finished up awaiting the Communists in Peking and then adapting themselves to life in new China. Why had he not gone back to the United States like virtually all of his fellow nationals? ‘A number of things made us decide against leaving,’ he told me.

I’d been a young idealist who didn’t want to be involved in things like mortgage foreclosures—I’d travelled 10,000 miles to get away from that sort of life. Now there was McCarthyism as well. And what would Phoenix do in the United States? It would have been the death of her as a professional. So from both our points of view we thought we’d better stay.



Gladys Yang and Yang Xianyi on their wedding day in Chongqing. (Courtesy of Yang family)

Other Westerners who remained in China included a number of women who had married Chinese men studying in the West (mainly the United States, France and Britain) during the 1930s or 1940s. Now back in China, they concurred with their husbands’ wishes to stay on and help the new nation rather than seek refuge abroad. Some, like Grace Liu in Tianjin and Shirley Wood in Kaifeng, became enthusiastic

advocates for new China. Gladys Yang (née Tayler) was somewhat different from the others, having grown up in China as a member of a British missionary educator's family. While studying Chinese at Oxford in the late 1930s, she fell in love with a student named Yang Xianyi who had eclectic interests ranging from traditional Chinese culture to European philosophy. In 1940, 21-year-old Gladys returned to China with Xianyi and, despite opposition from both families, they got married. In the post-war period, Xianyi became active in leftist politics in Nanjing, joining an underground anti-Nationalist political party. By the time the couple moved to Peking in 1952, they had three children.

Deciding to stay on in 'Communist China' was a big decision: moving there from the Western world an even more dramatic act. It is difficult now to comprehend the intensity of the ideological divide in the Cold War era, particularly during the McCarthyist hysteria of the 1950s. Anyone abandoning the 'free world' for 'red China' (or for the Soviet Union) was labelled a defector. It was a world in which 'working for the other side' was seen as treachery and where even being suspected of having communist sympathies could lead to the loss of one's job, particularly but not only in the United States.

From the Chinese side, anyone seriously thinking of making the life-changing move to the PRC first had to demonstrate that he or she was politically friendly to the Communist regime. This usually meant having contact with the new government, sometimes through Song Qingling who continued her role as a channel for foreigners. Madame Song, unlike her sister Song Meiling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek), stayed on in China and was to play an active if largely symbolic role in the new order as the revered widow of the leader of the 1911 Revolution.

For all the deterrents, a few Westerners did move to the PRC. A handful, like Israel Epstein (known as Eppy) and his wife Elsie Fairfax Cholmeley, had previously lived in China but left before or during the Sino-Japanese War. Epstein had grown up in Tianjin with his Russian émigré parents and was educated in English. He became a journalist after leaving school, spent part of the war in Chongqing, worked in Hong Kong for Song Qingling's China Defence League, and in 1944 visited Yan'an. British-born Elsie, the daughter of a Yorkshire squire, had worked with leftist associations in Hong Kong and then Chongqing, where the couple married. Since 1945 they had lived in the United States, where Epstein's involvement with groups opposing American support for Chiang Kai-shek put him under FBI surveillance. After making overtures to the new Chinese government in late 1950 about returning to China, he received an invitation from Madame Song to help edit *China Reconstructs*, an English-language magazine that was being set up under her auspices.¹⁷

Anna Louise Strong was the best known of the female returnees. The American socialist author and journalist had travelled widely in China in the late 1920s and

also in Communist-held areas in the mid-forties, becoming well-known for her 1946 interview with Mao when he proclaimed that 'all reactionaries are paper tigers'. Strong, already over 60, had wanted to stay on with the Communists when they had to evacuate Yan'an in March 1947 and was disappointed when Mao said she must leave because of the dangers. She went to the Soviet Union, where she had spent much of her working life, and then to the United States following her expulsion in 1949. Strong was keen to return to China and, with an invitation from the government, finally did so in 1958 at the age of 72.

Most newcomers, though, went to China through arrangements made by their national communist party. Briton Michael Shapiro, economics graduate and member of the Stepney Council, arrived in 1950, along with fellow-communist Alan Winnington, who had already spent some time with the Chinese Communists in 1948–49. Four years later, orthopaedic surgeon and long-time Marxist Joshua Horn arrived in China with his wife Miriam, 10-year-old son David and 6-year-old daughter Jessica. 'I do not wish to give the impression that our coming to China was in any way based on humanitarianism,' Horn wrote in his book *Away with All Pests*. 'It was a question of how, in a particular situation, one could make one's best political contribution.'¹⁸ What the committed communist did not mention was that he had been diagnosed with multiple sclerosis, though it was in remission. Over fifty years later Jessica reflected: 'Some of his fellow doctors told him there was no MS in China and that maybe the climate there might be good for his health.'¹⁹

For a few individual communists, China offered an alternative vision of a socialist future when their enthusiasm for the Soviet Union started waning with the exposé of Stalin's crimes and the invasion of Hungary in 1956. 'An earlier god had failed,' as David Cauter expressed it in his book *The Fellow-Travelers*.²⁰ One of the best known political émigrés, at least in her own country, was Canadian Dorise Nielsen, who had been the first Communist Party member of the Canadian parliament. Like Joshua Horn, Nielsen did not make the move purely for political reasons. Arriving in Peking in 1957, she assumed a new identity as Judy Godefroy, ostensibly the wife of Constant Godefroy, an engineer with whom she had embarked on a relationship and whose wife refused to divorce him.²¹

Not all of the Westerners who went to the PRC through their communist party stayed for more than a few years. Party members were sometimes sent for a fixed term (in the French case usually three years) specifically to help the government with its foreign propaganda network.²² The British party, though, encouraged members (including couples Nan Green and Ted Brake, and Patience Darton and Eric Edney) to stay for as long as possible because, as it readily admitted, it had trouble finding people to go there.²³ Sending communists to China wound down during the 1960s when individual Western parties (New Zealand was an exception) eventually came down on the Soviet side in the dramatic rift between the PRC and the Soviet Union.

The PRC also became a political refuge from the McCarthyist witch-hunts in the United States. For some, like left-wing neurophysiologist William (Bill) Hodes, China was a temporary sanctuary. A few spent the rest of their lives there, the most prominent of whom were two American economists, Frank Coe and British-born Solomon (Sol) Adler. Coe had been a senior US Treasury official before becoming secretary of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while Adler had served as the Treasury representative in Chongqing for much of the period 1941–47. Both were investigated, named by the FBI as part of the alleged ‘Silvermaster ring’ that had gathered government information for the Soviet Union, and forced to resign their positions. The defectors, as they were widely known, arrived in Peking in 1958 and 1962 respectively, accompanied by their wives and, in Frank Coe’s case, daughter Kate. Adler’s wife and fellow economist, Dorothy, died tragically only a few months after their arrival; less than a year later he married Pat Davies, who was teaching English in Peking as a foreign expert.

This selection of people covers most of those who appear in the next two chapters, but it does not include every Western ‘comrade’ who lived in Mao’s China for the long term.²⁴ Nor was there always a clear line between those who finished up becoming long-termers, who are the main focus of this part of the book, and those who spent a few years there—whether some of the people sent by Western communist parties or political radicals among the individually recruited foreign experts who are the subject of Part V. And of the long-term residents, not all initially planned to live in Mao’s China indefinitely. ‘We thought we’d be here for eighteen months, not the rest of our lives,’ Isabel Crook told me, while Joan Hinton recalled: ‘We never intended to stay in China so long, but were too caught up to leave.’²⁵

The longer the foreign comrades lived under Mao, though, the less inclined many were to return to their former countries, whether because they became ‘too caught up’ or because of the employment and other problems of re-establishing themselves and their families. Americans, in particular, faced a hostile reception if they went home. When William Hinton returned to the United States in 1953, his passport and notes on land reform (the basis of his book *Fanshen*) were confiscated, and he was harassed by the FBI and unable to get a job. John Powell, who had edited the ‘progressive’ *China Weekly* (later *Monthly Review*) in Shanghai, was indicted for sedition when he also returned in 1953, while his wife Sylvia and associate editor Julian Schuman were accused of conspiracy—charges that were not finally dismissed until the early 1960s. Even when the hysteria of McCarthyism subsided, returning ‘home’ was likely to lead to the loss of an American passport. For many, the decision to live under Mao turned out to be a decision for life.

Notes

Introduction: Living under Mao

1. For stylistic reasons, I normally use quotation marks only the first time I cite Western expressions such as 'Red China', 'free world' and 'turncoats', as well as PRC terms including 'foreign comrades', 'foreign experts', 'new China', 'imperialist', 'bourgeois' and 'masses'.
2. Mao, 'On New Democracy', January 1940, *Selected Works*, II, 354.
3. On the pre-revolutionary lives of expatriates and settlers, see Bickers, *Britain in China* and Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*.
4. Memorandum of Conversation between Anastas Mikoyan and Zhou Enlai, 1 January 1949. *Cold War International History Project*, Bulletin No. 16, 138.
5. Although Britain, the Netherlands and Norway recognized the PRC in 1950, the Chinese did not accept the establishment of diplomatic relations until 1954.
6. The Chartered Bank and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank were forced to maintain representation in Shanghai throughout the Mao era because it suited the Chinese government.
7. Masi, *China Winter*, 324.
8. Robert Bickers and Julia Lovell also discuss the 'national humiliation' discourse in *The Scramble for China* and *The Opium War* respectively.
9. Addis, Valedictory Despatch, 14 June 1974, in FCO21/1228, TNA. The main Foreign Office series used in the text are FO371 and FCO21. The files are all located in TNA.
10. Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 9.
11. This point was made to me when I presented a seminar at the Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
12. Croft, *Red Carpet to China*, 278.
13. Masi, *China Winter*, 138.

Chapter 1 Into Mao's China

1. Crook, Interview, 29 May 2009. I am referencing only the first time an interview or communication with a particular person is quoted in a chapter.
2. Shapiro, Interview, 30 May 2009.
3. Trevelyan, *Worlds Apart*, 30.
4. Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, 102.
5. Tzouliadis, *The Forsaken*, 2–15.
6. Ma Haide, 'Fifty Years of Medicine', 18.
7. Cited in Porter, *The People's Doctor*, 100.

8. Speech by Zhou Sufei, Soong Ching-ling Foundation, Beijing, 21 May 2010.
9. Porter, *The People's Doctor*, 140.
10. Strong and Keyssar, *Right in Her Soul*, 249.
11. *Cold War International History Project*, Bulletin No. 16, 153.
12. Crook, 'Victory Days', 18.
13. Lum, *Peking 1950–1953*, 50–51, 70–74. Dikötter cites some examples in *The Tragedy of Liberation*, 103–27.
14. Brady, *Friend of China*, 168; Chapple, *Rewi Alley of China*, 183–84.
15. For example, Ralph and Nancy Lapwood, Interview, 20 July 1979.
16. Winter, Interview, 20 March 1979; see also Finkelstein and Hooper, '57 Years Inside China'.
17. Epstein, *My China Eye*, 237.
18. Horn, *Away with All Pests*, 26.
19. Horn, Interview, 16 July 2009.
20. Caute, *The Fellow-Travellers*, 369.
21. Nielsen's move to China is discussed in Johnson, *A Great Restlessness*, 23–37.
22. The Australian Communist Party also sent cadres to the PRC for ideological training. They were kept largely isolated from the rest of the Western community.
23. Pollitt to Crook, 28 June 1955, CP/IND/POLL/4/5. CPGP Archives.
24. Others who became well-known in the long-term resident community included returnee Talitha Gerlach, former GI Gerald Tannebaum who stayed on in Shanghai, Frenchwoman Denise Lebreton and Americans Marcella Vance Yeh and Ione Kramer who accompanied their Chinese husbands to the PRC, and veteran British communist journalist Rose Smith who arrived in 1962.
25. Andrea Koppel, 'Leftist Americans in China Grieve Shift to Capitalism', *CNN*, 1 October 1996.

Chapter 2 Identities and roles

1. Adler, Interview, 25 May 2009.
2. Dimond, *Inside China Today*, 53.
3. Strong to Coe, no date, Anna Louise Strong Papers.
4. Dimond, *Inside China Today*, 48.
5. Strong to Coe, no date, Anna Louise Strong Papers.
6. The official exchange rate ranged from 3.4 yuan to US\$1 in the 1950s to 2.46 yuan to US\$1 in 1970.
7. Chen, *Sounds of the River*, 112.
8. Yang to Bill and Delia Jenner (hereafter Jenners), 9 August 1967, GYL.
9. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 11.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Marcuse, *The Peking Papers*, 24.
12. *Round Eyes in the Middle Kingdom*, Icarus Films.
13. See Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive*; also Passin, *China's Cultural Diplomacy*.
14. Xi, *Zhongguo duiwai xuanchuan shi yanjiu*, 55–58. *Xuanchuan*, which does not have the pejorative connotations that the word 'propaganda' has in the West, is now sometimes translated as 'public relations'.
15. *The Times*, 8 March 1955.

16. Lazarick, 'China's Smiling Face to the World', MA dissertation.
17. *China Reconstructs*, September 1953.
18. *China Reconstructs*, October 1966.
19. After the Peace Committee was disbanded in 1966, they came under the auspices of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC).
20. Green, *A Chronicle of Small Beer*, 168.
21. de Beauvoir, *The Long March*, 26.
22. Strong and Keysser, *Right in Her Soul*, 319.
23. Strong, *Letters from China*, No. 5, 12 January 1963.
24. Porter, *The People's Doctor*, 256.
25. Horn, *Away with All Pests*, 183.
26. Green, *A Chronicle of Small Beer*, 180.
27. Shapiro, Interview, 20 May 2009.
28. Yang to Jenners, 30 March 1967, 8 January 1968, GYL.
29. Rittenberg and Bennett, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 253.
30. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 10.
31. Isabel Crook, Interview, 29 May 2009.
32. For example, *American Political Science Review*, 61, 2, 1967: 541.
33. Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 209.
34. Marcuse, *The Peking Papers*, 118.
35. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 10.
36. Cooper and Liu, *Grace*, 188–215.
37. Ruth Earnshaw Lo, *In the Eye of the Typhoon*, 232.
38. Yang to Jenners, 1 October 1966, GYL.
39. For example, Maud Russell, *Letters from Friends in China*.
40. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 12.
41. Chou, *Silage Choppers*, 438–40.
42. Tzouliadis, *The Forsaken*, 48–49, 63.
43. Epstein, *My China Eye*, 28.
44. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 11.
45. Winter, Interview, 20 March 1979.
46. Rittenberg, Communication, 15 January 2010.
47. Brady, *Friend of China*, 78.
48. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 11.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Winter, Interview, 20 March 1979; also Piso, *La Via della Cina*, 44.
51. Porter, *The People's Doctor*, 218.
52. Crook, Interview, 25 May 2009.
53. Horn, Interview, 16 July 2009.
54. Ying, *Black Country to Red China*, 178.
55. Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 183.
56. Yang Zhi, Communication, 8 November 2013.
57. Yang Ying, Communication, 11 November 2013.
58. Li, *They Walked Together*, 73.
59. *Ibid.*, 75.

Chapter 3 Interactions

1. Crook, Interview, 29 May 2009.
2. Shapiro, Interview, 20 May 2009.
3. On the activities of British communists in Mao's China, see Buchanan, *East Wind*, chapters 4–6 *passim*.
4. Green to Pollitt, 19 December 1955, CP/IND/POLL/4/55. CPGB Archives.
5. Green, *A Chronicle of Small Beer*, 184.
6. Milton and Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside*, 101–2.
7. Shapiro, *My China*, 181–82.
8. *Ibid.*, 209.
9. *Ibid.*, 276.
10. Yang to Jenners, 20 February 1966, GYL.
11. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1966.
12. Crook, Interview, 29 May 2009.
13. Shapiro to Gallacher, 31 July 1963, CP/IND/GALL/01/06, CPGB Archives.
14. Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 192.
15. Green, *A Chronicle of Small Beer*, 211–12.
16. Rittenberg and Bennett, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 324; Epstein, *My China Eye*, 288.
17. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 12.
18. Yang to Jenners, 17 June 1966, GYL.
19. Chou, *Silage Choppers*, 340.
20. Chinese version of *dazibao* in www.cnhan.com/gb/content/2003-4/14/content_151462.html, translation in Peking to FCO, 9 February 1967, FCO21/8.
21. Nielsen, 'Notes on the Bethune-Yenan Regiment, October 1968', MG27, Series III C30, vol. 2. Dorise Nielsen Papers.
22. Yang to Jenners, 23 September 1966. GYL.
23. Chou, *Silage Choppers*, 348–49.
24. Full text in Peking to FCO, 9 February 1967, FCO21/8.
25. *Ibid.*
26. See also Rittenberg and Bennett, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, and Epstein, *My China Eye*. For a political analysis, see Brady, 'Red and Expert', 110–37.
27. Epstein, *My China Eye*, 290.
28. Nielsen, 'Notes on the Bethune-Yenan Regiment'.
29. Milton and Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside*, 231.
30. Rittenberg and Bennett, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 383.
31. Milton and Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside*, 302.
32. *Ibid.*, 235.
33. Yang, *White Tiger*, 235.
34. Epstein, *My China Eye*, 302–3.
35. Cooper and Liu, *Grace*, 316.
36. William Liu, Communication, 20 August 2009.
37. Cooper and Liu, *Grace*, 322.
38. Winter, Interview, 9 March 1979.
39. Chou, *Silage Choppers*, 372–73.
40. Jessica Horn, Interview, 16 July 2009.
41. Epstein, *My China Eye*, 311–12.

42. Li Hui, *They Walked Together*, 44.
43. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 12.
44. Comment by Zhou Enlai at reception held on 8 March 1973, cited in Milton and Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside*, 371–72.
45. Crook, *Hampstead Heath*, chapter 13.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, chapter 11.
49. Dikötter, *The Tragedy of Liberation*; Chang and Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*.

Chapter 4 Choosing China

1. For an oral history of the Korean War POWs, see Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners of a Forgotten War*.
2. *Daily Worker*, 26 June 1955.
3. Information based on Pasley, *22 Stayed*.
4. *New York Times*, 28 January 1954; *Scholastic*, 12 May 1954.
5. Pasley, *22 Stayed*, 207.
6. Cunningham, *No Mercy, No Leniency*, 8.
7. Adams, *An American Dream*, 56.
8. Wills, *Turncoat*, 55.
9. Condron, Interview Imperial War Museum, Reel 6.
10. Hawkins, *The Mike Wallace Interview*, 23 June 1957.
11. Condron, Interview Imperial War Museum, Reel 6.
12. Adams, *An American Dream*, 66.
13. Kinkead, *Why They Collaborated*, 17.
14. Cunningham, *No Mercy, No Leniency*, 160.
15. Adams, *An American Dream*, 63; *New York Times*, 11 July 1955.
16. Cunningham, *No Mercy, No Leniency*, 160.
17. Statement in film *They Chose China*.
18. Adams, *An American Dream*, 66.
19. *Daily Express*, 15 October 1962.
20. Wills, *Turncoat*, 62.
21. NCNA, Kaesong, 24 September, 1953, in SCMP 657, 25 September 1953.
22. Wills, *Turncoat*, 75.
23. *Ibid.*, 74.
24. *Ibid.*, 79.
25. Adams, *An American Dream*, 73.
26. Wills, *Turncoat*, 78, 81.
27. *Ibid.*, 75.
28. *Ibid.*, 82.
29. Cameron, *Mandarin Red*, 322.
30. *Ibid.*, 323.
31. Domenach, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward*.
32. Wills, *Turncoat*, 123.
33. Ministry of Public Security to Shandong Provincial Public Security Bureau, 18 March 1959, 111–00289–01, MFA.

34. *Daily Express*, 19 October 1962.
35. *Daily Express*, 17 October 1962; *Look*, 22 February 1966, 90.
36. Wills, *Turncoat*, 93.
37. *Ibid.*, 102.
38. Leijon, Interview, 27 March 2008.
39. Wills, *Turncoat*, 85.
40. Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 196.
41. Adams, *An American Dream*, 101.
42. *Ibid.*, 99.
43. Adams, *An American Dream*, 18.
44. *Ibid.*, 104.
45. British Consulate-General, Shanghai, to British Embassy [sic] Peking, 13, 24 June, 15 October 1958. FO371/133455.
46. Wills, *Turncoat*, 142.
47. *Ibid.*, 106.
48. *Daily Express*, 16 October 1962.
49. *Ibid.*, 87.
50. Peking to FO, 28 August 1959, FO 371/115161.
51. Condron, Interview Imperial War Museum, reel 8.
52. *Daily Express*, 16 October 1962.
53. Winnington, *Breakfast with Mao*, 183.
54. Payne, *Eyewitness*, 287–88. Rose Xiong was the daughter of reformist politician Xiong Xiling [Hsiung Hsi-ling] who had served briefly as premier in the government of China's first president, Yuan Shikai.

Chapter 5 Disenchantment

1. Adams, video footage in *They Chose China*.
2. Wills, *Turncoat*, 72–73.
3. *Washington Post*, 19 June 1955.
4. NCNA, Peking, 18 June 1955, enc. in FO371/115182.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Daily Worker*, 20 June 1955.
7. NCNA, Peking, 1 July 1955, enc. In FO371/115162.
8. Luo Ruiqing to Zhou Enlai, 2 September 1955, 111–00063–06, MFA.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *New York Times*, 9 November 1955.
12. FO to Peking, 13 January 1961, ADM/27482, TNA.
13. Red Cross Workgroup to Ministry of Public Security, Red Cross, and Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, 10 July 1963, 111–00488–01, MFA.
14. Wills, *Turncoat*, 143.
15. Red Cross Workgroup to Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, 24 July 1963, 111–00488–01, MFA.
16. Yang to Jenners, 10 September 1967, GYL.
17. Wills, *Turncoat*, 154–55.
18. Adams, *An American Dream*, 105.

19. Ibid., 108.
20. Yang to Jenners, 7 April 1966, GYL.
21. Adams, *An American Dream*, 108.
22. Ibid.
23. *New York Times*, 11 July 1955; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 July 1955; *Newsweek* 18 July 1955.
24. Wills, *Turncoat*, 2.
25. *Look*, 8 February 1966, 77–80, 82–83; 22 February 1966, 84–88, 92–94.
26. Wills, *Turncoat*, 1.
27. Ibid., 166.
28. *Look*, 8 February 1966, 73.
29. Adams, *An American Dream*, 110.
30. Description on Amazon website.
31. *Daily Express*, 12 October 1962.
32. Adams, *An American Dream*, 128.
33. Condrón, Interview Imperial War Museum, Reel 9.
34. *Time*, 2 June 1961.
35. Adams, *An American Dream*, 138.
36. Ibid.
37. Leijon, Interview, 27 March 2008.
38. Condrón to Burchett, 6 February 1969, Wilfred Burchett Papers.
39. Yang to Jenners, 5 June 1967, GYL.
40. Yang to Jenners, 7 January 1968, GYL.
41. Cited in Carlson, *Remembered Prisoners*, 200.
42. Veneris, Interview with Chinese television in *They Chose China*.
43. Ibid.
44. Personal communication from friend of Adams in Jinan, 26 October 2012.
45. Sendzikas, 'Review: *They Chose China*', 82–83.
46. Intner, 'They Chose China', 1 November 2006.
47. 'In case you missed it: They chose China', *The China Beat*, 16 January 2008.

Chapter 6 'The world within'

1. Borthwick, 'Isolation and Integration', 37.
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35. Chen to Addis, 20 July 1959.
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