

## Chapter17

### **William Hinton, Leibel Bergman, A New Communism, A New Party, Newer China Hands**

#### **A Rare Transition From Old Time Party Man to Modern Radical**

Leibel Bergman's Jewish, Yiddish speaking Lithuanian immigrant parents chose an unusual place to settle, the Upper Midwest's agricultural trading city of Grand Forks, North Dakota. Grand Forks was never known as a place for generating devoted Communist revolutionaries. It did not have a large immigrant population and was not involved in the industrial upheavals of the early Twentieth Century. Leibel's father's success in the dry-cleaning business and his above average income were unlikely generators of discontent. So were Leibel's education and early career. He was a prodigy, graduating from high school in 1930 at age sixteen with honors in mathematics. College graduation came four years later, again with mathematics honors. He was not one-dimensional, however. He loved writing poetry and showed a philosophical bent. He quickly found an excellent job with the state, becoming the chief statistician of its planning commission when he was just twenty-two.<sup>1</sup>

Then came an unexplained life-change. He joined the Party and the Peace Offensive, left his job, and began travelling in the East Coast and Mid-West as a labor and Party organizer, at times making a bit of extra income by working as a bookkeeper for a travelling auctioneering firm. That extra money did not help much. He reported an income of just \$7,600 in 1940, about half a poverty-level income of the Twenty First Century. Despite that, he convinced a young St. Paul, Minnesota woman to marry him just as he was drafted into the Army Airforce. Perhaps because of his Party membership he was not made an officer, serving as a technical warrant office in Texas, where his first child was born in 1944, and in the Pacific, including on Tinian Island, a major base for air attacks on Japan.

Leibel returned to St. Paul but did not put his mathematical expertise to use.<sup>2</sup> He joined the working class as a laborer while resuming his Party and union organizing work. He expressed his deep Communist convictions by publishing a collection of his poems. Most of his, *I Cannot See Their Faces and Keep Silent*, focused on social injustices. Unfortunate, within a few years he fell into serious trouble. In 1951, he was indicted for harboring a fugitive wanted for a loyalty oath problem. He did not serve time in jail, but the incident led him to seek a new and friendlier home.<sup>3</sup>

Using his Party contacts, he found one in San Francisco, where the Party secured him a job as a drop-forging helper at a small manufacturing company in the city's industrial area. He decided to settle his wife and three children in San Francisco's working-class Mission District as he was becoming a central figure in the local Party. He passed his beliefs onto his children by sending them to the California Labor School's youth department for classes while he became close to Party regulars such as Joe Figueredo and Vernon Brown (Braun). They regarded him as a theoretician but also as a maverick whose radicalism led to factional battles in his AFL Party section.<sup>4</sup> He stayed in the Party despite the revelations of Stalin's brutal policies, and he became important enough to be called before the famous 1960 San Francisco HUAC hearing. He was such a committed Party man he risked imprisonment by defying the committee. The FBI's watch on Leibel soon expanded to include phone taps and room microphones.<sup>5</sup>

### **Questioning the Party, Forming New Ones, Even Weathermen**

At the same time, Leibel questioned the Party's drift from communism, its lack of aggressive union work, and Soviet policies accommodating the West's capitalists. The Soviet's abandonment of China became a special irritant. His objections led to expulsion from the Party just after the HUAC hearing, and just as his wife was diagnosed with cancer, dying two years

later. Leibel soon joined with like-minded ex-Party members to create 1962's Progressive Labor Party (PLP). At its beginning it was committed to a return to a revolutionary stance, to aggressive union recruiting, to attracting the young, and to supporting China, not the Soviet Union. William Hinton soon joined although the PLP was returning Stalin to a position of honor.<sup>6</sup>

Leibel did more than help birth the PLP. In 1965, he had the funds and knowledge to circumvent the United States' restrictions on travel to China. He soon brought his sons to Beijing where all were employed at the Crooks' English language school. Lincoln, the older boy, was already involved in the New Left's activities, and the Free Speech Movement at the University of California. He was also active in the Students for a Democratic Society that was leading civil rights and college campus protests while helping his new wife Arlene edit the radical *The Movement* magazine. Lincoln's year in China led him further left and deepened his ideological communism as he saw Maoism in action and after he met significant expatriates such as Gerald Tannenbaum.

Leibel found a new wife in China, marrying Vicki Garvin. Vicki was an African American Communist who left the Party in 1957 because of what she considered its abandonment of Stalinism. She then traveled to Africa where she became friends with other leading American Blacks such as Maya Angelou and Shirley DuBois. In 1964, she accepted China's offer and moved to Shanghai, then Beijing, becoming part of the government's push to gain the alliance of African nations. Like Leibel and his sons, she witnessed and approved the Cultural Revolution. Vicki returned to America by 1970 to resume her work for the left while acting as a loving stepmother for Leibel's children.<sup>7</sup>

Leibel had left China earlier and was in America by early 1968 informing his friends he had agreed to aid China, including gaining the support of America's youth. The FBI believed he received Chinese funds to help him do so. But Leibel faced political battles before he could succeed in linking his China efforts to America's radical youth movements, as well as to older liberal organizations. His first task was to build a rival to his old party, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The PLP had remained small and made few inroads in the union movement but, most irritating to Leibel and William Hinton, it had changed its philosophy since its founding. Once a strong advocate for China and Maoism while following a pragmatic approach to influencing American society and labor it had drifted into a doctrinaire and narrow traditional Marxism. It refused to approve any but purely class-based organizations, declaring the Black movement in the United States and the revolutionary struggles in Asia "nationalistic" blocks to a true class-based revolution. Although there were Black riots in 110 major American cities during the 1960s, sometimes with entire neighborhoods torched, the PLP's leaders discounted the Black movement as a possible contributor to revolution. The PLP was so extreme it condemned China because it believed it had begun departing from Marxism.

The PLP came to view the student radicals of the 1960s as undisciplined bourgeois and tried to take-over the largest of their organizations, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).<sup>8</sup>The PLP's goals were to shift the SDS to its version of Marxism and use the students to radicalize American unions. The PLP mistakenly thought it had a chance of success because some young SDS leaders were moving from supporting sporadic rather peaceful protests such as college sit-ins to pushing the organization to become an aggressive revolutionary force. Those more radical SDS leaders called their efforts the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). When Leibel

contacted them they had not developed a coherent plan for a path to revolution, or what a post-revolution society would be.

Like the SDS' the RYM's membership was heavily white, college educated, and middle-class. While its leaders believed they could link with the Blacks and minorities they had not determined what their immediate or future relationships would be with the laboring class and the union movement. As well, although RYM leaders such as Bernadine Dohrn and William Ayers had dabbled with Marxism and Maoism they were unsure about those doctrines' relationships to 1960's America. But the RYM's leaders were certain they had an enemy within the SDS, the PLP's youth group. By 1969, although it had less than four hundred members, the PLP was fighting the RYM for control of the SDS. The PLP sought to force the SDS away from alliances with "nationalistic" and bourgeoisie movements, such as America's Peace and Freedom Party that joined Blacks and anti-war protestors together for political campaigns. The PLP wanted a purely class-based movement.

### **The Revolutionary Union**

Through his son Lincoln, Leibel learned of the struggle between the PLP and RYM and sensed an opportunity for his China cause, the union movement, and his commitment to a class, not race-based, revolution. The students' move back to Marxism that he encouraged became known as the New Communism. Although twice their age, the young radicals accepted Leibel, who called on William Hinton for advice. In 1968 he and Lincoln helped Steve Hamilton, Robert Avakian, and other young San Francisco Bay Area activists to join several youth-based radical groups into one organization, the Revolutionary Union (RU).<sup>9</sup> Although some RU members had done union organizing and strike work, Avakian and his allies had stronger ties to the militant Black Panther Party the PLP condemned. Avakian's group also had links to middle class anti-

war movements and college-revolt leaders such as those who attempted to take-over San Francisco State College. While accepting a need to coordinate with such groups, Leibel guided the RU to more of a Marxist/Maoist orientation and organizational form as he taught its members how to “colonize” local unions. The RU’s leaders soon adopted a hierarchal structure, demanded its members’ total loyalty, held secret meetings protected by armed guards, and spent hours debating such things as “contradictions”--- and they bought arms. Unfortunately, the RU had an FBI informer among its first members who also aided the agency’s COINTELPRO program that attempted to undermine radical groups by, among other tactics, spreading false rumors about organization leaders.<sup>10</sup> T

The FBI had cause to worry about the RU. The Stanford University professor Bruce Franklin, one of RU’s members from the Palo Alto-Menlo Park group, told a San Francisco newspaper reporter in 1969 he believed the RU would soon become a true revolutionary force using terrorism as a tool. Franklin was militant. so much so, he became the only tenured professor ever fired by Stanford University. He had triggered a student take-over of its computer center that required 100 riot police. Then, his Vencermous splinter group that abandoned the RU as not militant enough went further: Its members killed one and wounded another prison guard as they freed a convicted criminal who had joined the group.<sup>11</sup>

Before then, Leibel had encouraged the RU to join his battle within the SDS. At his urging the RU sent representatives to the SDS’s conventions. They helped the older RYM leaders prevent the PLP from a take-over at 1960’s SDS meetings and from cutting any ties to the Black movements. The RYM-RU alliance did not win, but it did not yield. The group withdrew its members leaving the PLP-controlled SDS a hollow shell. The RYM members was so determined to block any PLP activity they physically seized the SDS’ Chicago office.

Typical of left-wing history, the RYM had its own conflicts. It split apart within hours of the convention battle. One faction led by Bernadine Ohrnstein Dohrn, a young lawyer, National Lawyers Guild organizer, and civil rights activist, demanded the RYM become an extremist organization devoted to Black causes as well as to an immediate revolution. The other faction favored merging within the RU. Some, like Bergman's son and his wife, were able to ally with both the RU and Dohrn. Dohrn, her future husband William Ayres, and their friend Kathy Boudin, suggested the name Weatherman for their small organization.<sup>12</sup>

Within a few months the Weatherman went underground (with a new name, WUO) and pledged to further the revolution through the kind of violence anarchists had used. The WUO claimed responsibility for twenty-five bombings within a few years, leading Bernadine Dohrn to be placed on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List.<sup>13</sup> The WUO also gave moral support to the Black Panther Party as it and its spin-offs, such as the Black Liberation Army, moved closer to becoming para-military organizations.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Old, Old Man of the New Communism, van Lydegraf**

The Weathermen soon found their own version of a Leibel Bergman. Clayton van Lydegraf was another of the very few old-time 1930s Party men who made the transition to the New Communism. Clayton had been a working-man and a Party official based in Seattle, Washington then joined the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). Like Bergman, he became dissatisfied with the PLP and flirted with the Revolutionary Union. Unlike Bergman, Clayton chose to support the underground Weathermen (WUO) giving advice while living as its young members did. Along with Lincoln and Arlene Bergman, he became central to the creation of 1974's Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. Prairie Fire attempted to reenergize the New Communist movement and provided support to the WUO members who remained underground. Clayton also participated in

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some of the WUO's terrorist activities. At age fifty-five he was part of the WUO group that planned and conducted the prison escape of Timothy Leary, the LSD drug guru of the hippie generation. When he was sixty-two Clayton was imprisoned along with several of the few remaining active WUO members for planning the assassination of a California State Senator.<sup>15</sup>

### **The RU and Hinton --**

In contrast, Bergman and Hinton's post-SDS Revolutionary Union (RU) had decided against using violence, and although it was the only large (perhaps 1,000 members) radical-left, pro-China Maoist group in the country, it took a long-term approach to revolution, hoping for a rebirth of a radical labor movement while tolerating such "nationalist" groups as the Black Panthers. The RU began building its membership, attracting people from such organizations as Ann Tompkins' Mother Earth and the radicalized Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The RU started colonizing factories and unions across the country and participated in several strikes the AFL-CIO was not adequately supporting. The RU's immediate impact on the labor movement was not great, leading to one of the first of many schisms in 1971 when Bruce Franklin demanded taking direct action. Then came another split based on RU's following Mao's reinstating Stalin as a hero and condemning modern Soviet Russia as "revisionist."

The RU survived its early 1970's problems. Labor and non-violent action remained its focus, but not all its members consistently followed its policies. Bergman's son and daughter joined the WUO and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Bergman allowed Bernadine Dohrn to stay at his house, and he met with Clayton Van Lydegraf. William Hinton hosted Robert Williams the Black radical, after Williams returned from China and settled in Philadelphia. Hinton also let the Black Panthers and Weathermen use his farm for meetings, even for target practice. Then, Bob Avakian advocated for more aid to Black liberation organizations and for a direct statement of

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the group's communist roots. Under such prodding the RU continued, but with a new name, the Revolutionary Communist Party.(RCP).<sup>16</sup>

By 1976, the RCP faced a critical challenge. After the ousting of Mao's Gang of Four and China's new rulers backing away from Mao's strict communist economic policies of no private firms or farms, many in the RCP such as Bob Avakian demanded the party immediately condemn the changes and move to an approach more like the WUO's. That was too drastic, even for Maoists such as Bergman and William Hinton. They wanted to continue a focus on labor and wished to wait to see if China's new policies were truly "capitalistic." They bolted the RCP in 1977, taking a third of its members into their Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH). Not surprisingly, they based the RWH in William's city, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As with other such factional disputes, neither their RWH nor Avakian's RCP survived the split. Both quickly dwindled away with the remnants of the RWH merging into the post-New Communist era's Freedom Road Socialist Organization.

### **Hinton and The Friendship Association**

Another of Leibel Bergman's and William Hinton's post-1971 activities lasted longer and was related to William's China goals --and his family's welfare. On their return to the United States after their 1971 China visit Leibel and William immediately helped create a United States version of the China friendship societies that had developed in most other nations after 1949. With the United States opening relationship with mainland China, it finally seemed possible to have a pro-China society accepted by the American government and its population.<sup>17</sup> Gathering old American leftists such as Frank Pestana and David Milton, and young ones like Ann Tompkins, Leibel and William began the United States-China People's Friendship Association(USCPFA). Like the Party's front organizations of the 1930s and 1940s it was

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advertised as a liberal, non-political organization supporting peace and cultural understanding. But in 1971 the founders had other missions: Advance the interests of Communist China and world communism. Its Immediate goals included turning Taiwan over to the mainland government then letting it decide what to do with the Nationalists who had fled there.

### **The Miltons and Their Journeys West and East**

The USCPFA's, as well as the Revolutionary Union's recruiting efforts were aided by a young man with Communist and China credentials more impressive than Ann Tompkins. Christopher Milton's father and aunt were long-term Party members, union organizers, China advocates, and "peaceniks." His father, David Milton, and David's older sister (by twelve years) Isobel (Isabel) Milton Cerney were raised in Chicago and in the nearby affluent village of Winnetka, Illinois that was once Carmelita Hinton's hometown. David and Isobel's father, Taliaferro, was a Virginia born, Virginia Military Academy graduate who became a famous, wealthy, and professionally -respected electrical and automotive engineer. In his thirties he fell in love with the daughter of a rich and socially prominent Marin County, California family. Lucille Wilkins was then in her late teens. Despite their age difference, and despite Taliaferro being what Isobel called a "Southern Gentleman," and Lucille being a "socialist," the marriage lasted, producing four children, the first in 1911, the last, David, in 1924. The children grew up in abundance and as part of the town's social set. Isobel was a debutant. <sup>18</sup>

Isobel attended the best schools in Illinois, then Minnesota's highly respected Carleton College where she obtained Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in history and philosophy, with a poetry specialty. <sup>19</sup> She became acquainted with Marxist works such as Lenin's *Imperialism: The*

*Highest State of Capitalism*, and met a guest speaker, the influential reformer Jane Addams.

After graduation in 1934 Isobel spent a semester at Winnetka's ultra-progressive teacher training school that emphasized the use of the visual arts. Neither Winnetka nor Carleton were part of the elite Seven Sister colleges' liberal social circle but Isobel connected to it when she worked at Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago. Isobel also made an important connection in Winnetka, Edwin Cerney, when they both were in its art teacher school. .

The aspiring Chicago artist and teacher Edwin Cerney was not of the elite, being the son of a second-generation Bohemian immigrant electrician, then clerk. Isobel described Edwin as a "workingman." Edwin had suffered a severe illness that left him with only one lung and a few years behind in school. Despite the handicap he attended Notre Dame College then, during the same semester as Isobel, the Winnetka teachers' school. They fell in love. In 1935, the twenty-eight-year-old Edwin married the twenty-three-year-old Isobel.<sup>20</sup>

Their married life began well. Isobel obtained a teaching job in Bronxville, the rich New York City suburb, and Edwin joined the area's artistic circles. Isobel's deepening ideological commitment led her to also teach at the New York City extension of the Women's Trade Union League-supported Bryn Mawr summer school for working women that trained them for union leadership. Edwin interspersed his painting and sculpture by teaching art appreciation during summers in Winnetka. On a return home Isobel exhibited her leftist, if not Communist involvements, when she testified against the police after she witnessed the 1937 strikers' march and the police shooting at Chicago's Republic Steel plant.<sup>21</sup>

On the couple's return to New York City Isobel found another well-paying teaching job at a private school as Edwin established his own studio. The couple lived in a boarding house with other young artists and intellectuals, then their own nicer apartment, sharing in an exciting avant-

garde culture in The Village district.<sup>22</sup> They seemed to be launching successful careers in art and academics. Edwin had two of his statues exhibited at the New York World's Fair and Isobel published an article on progressive education. Then, Isobel, who was taking classes at Columbia University, received a prestigious Rockefeller-General Education Board (GEB) fellowship to study semantics at Harvard University. GEB awards usually went to the brightest-and-the-best who were expected to make major contributions to their field of study.

The Harvard year was not followed by an appointment at a major university, however. Instead, Isobel and Edwin accepted jobs at a New London, Connecticut, junior college. Junior colleges were regarded in many circles as merely extensions of high schools and providers of job training. Edwin took some courses at nearby Yale University's art school, but as had Isobel's career, his faltered. Isobel was not publishing academic articles; he was not producing noteworthy art.<sup>23</sup>

### **Another Move West, San Francisco Connections Again, China Again**

Once again, Isobel and Edwin seemed unable to hold a job. Perhaps that was the reason they made a strange decision in 1944. Along with Edwin's elderly father they moved across country to California. They did not settle close to Isobel's wealthy grandparents in Marin County's high-priced Ross. They chose a low-cost, tree-covered site in Menlo Park's, Stanford Weekend Acres. It was in walking distance of Stanford University in Palo Alto and only thirty miles from San Francisco. Menlo Park was a mixture of up-scale retreats for San Francisco's wealthy and bare-bones homes for artists. Edwin and his father began building a modest, almost summer cabin, from "scrap," as Isobel searched for work. It took some time for her to find a full-time position at the area's new high school—but she and Edwin immediately began teaching at San Francisco's Communist-dominated California Labor School where they met Sali Lieberman and his artistic

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friends. Edwin also taught part time at San Francisco's State Teachers College while he took classes at Stanford University. Meanwhile, the couple became part of the region's left-wing community. Informants believed they joined the local Party by 1945. Isobel's becoming a San Francisco Labor School board member makes that believable. She ended her formal ties to the school in 1948 but continued to serve as an active member of the local chapter of the Jane Addams-founded Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Isobel and Edwin again changed jobs. Isobel left her high school post after less than three years. One FBI informant asserted she was dismissed because of her Communism. Isobel and Edwin spent part of summer 1947 teaching at a school for administrators of American Indian reservations, then Edwin then found a position at the well-regarded liberal arts College of the Pacific in Stockton, California, one hundred miles east of San Francisco in the state's hot agricultural belt. That job did not last and despite her impressive credentials, and the high demand for schoolteachers, Isobel could not secure a regular position. The best Edwin could find in 1948 what was reported to be a part-time, then later a full-time tenure-track, slot at Stockton Junior College. Isobel seems to have taught a course or two there while keeping the Menlo Park house as the family's home-base.

Childless and without full-time work Isobel was able to devote more time to the Party and the peace movement. She also became a Quaker, a quite active one. Edwin helped his father expand the Menlo Park house, including adding a garage Edwin used as a studio, as Isobel rose to chair her county's Party organization while working with San Francisco leaders Al Richmond, Oleta Yates, and Pop Folkoff. She became close to Holland Roberts, the Stanford professor who led the Labor School. Edwin was also active, soon heading San Francisco's Friends of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, he and Isobel were becoming near round-the-clock

“peaceniks.” In 1949, Isobel wanted to travel with Edwin to Mexico’s international peace convention, but Edwin was not earning enough to pay the \$3,000 registration fee. An elderly matron friend donated the needed money for the trip to what was a pro-Soviet, anti-American event. The conference led Isobel to be connected to more of the leading left-leaning American peace advocates, including Willard Uphaus (a friend of Carmelita and the Dobrowolski family) and John Kingsbury, and to “front” organizations such as the American Continental Congress for Peace.

Isobel and Edwin traveled back to California, and to problems. In 1950, the state had a new loyalty oath, one that included a pledge that an employee did not support or belong to an organization that advocated the overthrow of the government. The law aimed at the Communist Party. Edwin refused to sign stating he was defending freedoms of speech and belief. He did not make public that he was deeply involved with the Party. He was fired from the Stockton junior college but continued to teach without pay until the semester’s end in mid-1951.<sup>24</sup>

Edwin and Isobel once again could not find regular employment. They held onto the house in Menlo Park, but they had little money. They worked odd jobs such as Isobel bill-collecting for the hod carriers’ union, Edwin sold a few paintings, and they took embarrassing hand-outs from friends. They used the largest of those gifts to attend a huge 1952 peace meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. While there they were invited to an all-expense-paid trip to China’s 1952 Asia Pacific peace conference, as was Hugh Hardyman, Stephen Fritchman’s close friend. The Cerneys accepted the offer and in Beijing worked with Hardyman, the Hintons, Fletchers, Illseys, Powells, and Engsts. They wrote glowing salutes to what Mao was doing for women and the arts -- while condemning the United States. On their way home they visited Soviet controlled Armenia and East Germany. Isobel and Edwin were stopped at American customs where their

passports were confiscated because they had not gained permission to travel to China. That received national newspaper coverage and the attention of civil rights groups.<sup>25</sup> Back in Menlo Park Isobel and Edwin gained more attention when they contributed numerous articles to left journals such as Jessica Smith's *New World Review*. Predictably, all the articles described the great democratic achievements in China, the Soviet Union, and the satellite countries, including dictatorial Armenia and East Germany. Other articles condemned America's use of germ warfare, stressed that only rich American corporations benefited from the Korean conflict, and argued the continued China embargo threatened American longshoremen's jobs.

Such publications did not serve as academic credentials at a time when public schools were demanding more than a Bachelor's Degree and colleges more than a Master's. Once more, the couple was out of work. They never explained how they supported themselves between 1952 and 1957. Edwin's part-time teaching at San Francisco State College provided little although their needs increased after Isobel was hospitalized, after she accepted the call to be the Communist-dominated Progressive Party's candidate for the United States Senate, and after she was asked to do more traveling for the peace movement.

Because of their China involvements Edwin and Isobel and their friends the Powells were scheduled to appear at a 1954 Congressional hearing in San Francisco. Learning of the impending subpoenas, and fearful they might be forced to reveal their Party connections, they turned to their comrades. They received help. Barney Dreyfus, the long-time Party-linked lawyer who represent the Chinese Communist government in the United States and who collaborated with the attorneys helping Mill Valley's Sali Lieberman, gave advice: If the government could not locate you, you could not be served, therefore you would not need to appear at the hearing. The Cerneys went underground. Other comrades helped by paying the rent on an apartment for

the couple, hoping the government would not find them. Edwin evaded the investigators. Isobel did not. She was found in a local hospital, but too late as she was too sick to attend the hearing. Unfortunately, the next year she had spinal surgery that left her crippled. That did not stop Isobel from being a peacenik or a Party faithful, and she and Edwin added another cause to their list: They became deeply involved in the Civil Rights movement in the South.

In 1957 Edwin was attending Stanford finishing the courses he needed for a Master's and PhD Degree, credentials that had become a minimum for any college position. He and Isobel were also busy forging new links with people in the emerging anti-segregation Civil Rights movement being spearheaded by old-time left-wing activists such as Carl and Anne Braden of Kentucky (Susan Clark's friends) and others in the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). It may have been those connections that led Edwin to a full-time position at the small Spelman College of Atlanta, Georgia before he obtained his degree.<sup>26</sup> Spelman was what became known as an Historically Black College (HBCU) as it was a segregated institution, as well as being for females only. The school was an undergraduate liberal arts college, not a research institution and it paid what Isobel described as subsistence level salaries. Isobel found a part-time college position in Atlanta (at Morris Brown HCSU) that helped with family finances and the couple was able to spend many summers back in Menlo Park. Edwin's job was exciting, and so were the town and the era. There was another HBCU in Atlanta, the famous Morehouse College that educated leaders such as Martin Luther King. Edwin seems to have been influential in Spelman's hiring at least two later famous White left-wing writers, Howard Zinn and Staughton Lynd, as the students at the city's colleges were beginning to be active in the desegregation and Civil Rights movements. Isobel took an early-on active role in both. She joined the SCEF and supported the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee that led Southern and Northern



students on anti-segregation and voting rights campaigns in the South, ones that sometimes were countered with extreme violence. She was arrested at demonstrations at least once. She also served on Martin Luther King and his wife's staffs during much of the 1960s. Edwin decided to take a much less public role than Isobel, Zinn, or Lynd. While his two colleagues were dismissed from Spelman because of their activism and radical influence on students, Edwin stayed-on until he reached retirement age in 1969. Menlo Park again became home .

Isobel and Edwin stayed with the old Party (probably more than in spirit) after the defections caused by the revelations about Stalin, after many members left because of the Soviet's conciliatory policies, and after the Party was condemned as being a tool of the Soviet regime and after its abandonment of revolutionary policies. While always supporting China, Isobel and Edwin did not condemn the Soviets after the 1960 breakdown of relations between the two countries. Isobel did get into a little trouble when she let her peacenik commitments trump her Communism. She was asked to author an article to be sent to Russia then broadcast to the world denouncing the United States' developing a Hydrogen bomb. She did as she was asked but added a sentence stating the Soviet Union should show-the-way to the world by being the first to abandon Hydrogen weapons. The Party showed some discontent but kept Isobel and Edwin in good standing. They reciprocated. They supported the mid-1960s grand, and expensive, New York City salute to Herbert Aptheker, the Party's lead intellectual. A decade later they donated to Party fronts such as the Emergency Civil Liberties Fund and to the Party's *Peoples World* newspaper.

Although Isobel supported the New Left oriented Pacifica Radio, its reporter-editor Lincoln Bergman, and New Left causes, there is no evidence the Cerneys joined any of the new radical parties or the China causes after 1969. They kept out-of-the news except for Isobel being arrested

when she helped blockade a road to the San Francisco area port that shipped napalm bombs and Edwin filing a lawsuit in 1980 to recover lost wages because of his 1950 Stockton Junior College dismissal---he lost! Edwin taught some classes at Stanford University, but he and Isobel continued living inconspicuously on a meagre income . However, Isobel remained active with the Quakers and she and Edwin may have retired in financial comfort as their modest Menlo Park home dramatically increased in value. By the Twenty-First Century the house on their small lot was worth \$3,300,000. In the late 1980s they used their sale proceeds to live in a Quaker-sponsored seniors' home in Santa Rosa, California the once small farming town fifty miles north of San Francisco where Ann Tompkins and her mother spent their later years.

### **David and Christopher, China and Potrero Hill**

While Isobel pulled away from public radicalism during the late 1960s, David, her younger brother, did not. He and his wife played significant roles in the Party, San Francisco's leftist arts circles, the Revolutionary Union, and the United States-China People's Friendship Association. Just after the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941 the barely eighteen-year-old David dropped out of Wooster College and enlisted in the merchant marine.<sup>27</sup> Serving as an oiler on convoys shipping out of New York City, he became a member of the Communist dominated National Maritime Union, met the dynamic young labor organizer Eva (Eve) Zhitlovsky, and became a Party member by 1944.<sup>28</sup> Chaim, Eva's Russian immigrant, secular Jewish father was one of the world's leaders in the Yiddish culture movement that hoped to create an independent Yiddish nation. Chaim, was also a socialist philosopher and labor advocate who was close to being a communist. He was so influential and respected 10,000 attended his 1943 New York City funeral.<sup>29</sup>

Chaim's, fame and success did not lead to a pampered life for Eve, however. She became devoted to labor issues and the Communist Party. She and David attended the Black Mountain and Highlander schools that motivated and trained labor organizers. They married and by 1948 moved to the tough industrial town of East St. Louis, Missouri. David worked as a solderer and welder and a labor organizer while active in the Party. Eve was also active although busy raising her first-born, Christopher. David spent ten years in East St. Louis then in middle age and developing a heart problem as Eve was becoming pregnant with Taliaferro, her second child, he decided to move the family to California. The move was not very pleasant and the destination was not upscale Ross where his grandparents lived, nor Isobel's semi-rural Menlo Park. The family moved to San Francisco's Potrero Hill. Then, Eve and David separated, each taking a house in the Hill district. There were financially stressful years, especially for Eve.<sup>30</sup>

Potrero Hill was not one of San Francisco's attractive locations, but it had some advantages. The neighborhood was lower working class with run-down housing and overlooked an old industrial area and a large shipyard. Cheap, temporary homes had been built on the hill for the yard's World War II workers. Compounding the Hill's problems, those workers did not leave after the yard cut-back its workforce. However, there were up-sides to being on the Hill, at least for people like Eve and David. A host of radicals and artists lived or would live there. Among the Party-aligned were attorney Al Bernstein, Angela Davis, Joe Figueredo, the Powells, Pele de Lappe and the Sarvis family. The area hosted many of the Beatnik counter-culture luminaries including Allen Ginsberg and Kenneth Rexroth.

David found another welding job and Eve continued her craft weaving, becoming part of San Francisco's young artists community. She became close to the famed Ruth Asawa. David and Eve were active in the Party but David worried about its polices after 1956. In addition,

David wanted more than the Party and his working-class job. He became determined to complete his education. He enrolled as an undergraduate at San Francisco State College, helped by its night-time course offerings. He graduated in 1963, just as he remarried to Nancy Dall, a daring and radical English teacher. Nancy and David were adventurous and devoted to communism.

They wasted no time. Perhaps using David's sister's old connections, the couple left for China to teach English at the Crook-founded Beijing language school for Chinese bureaucrats. They took the teen-age Christian and their two other children with them. They spent five years in Beijing becoming great admirers of Mao and his policies and of the Cultural Revolution. Christopher joined the Red Guards. On the family's return David was primed to join the RU and the USCPA, and to begin an academic career based on his China experiences and earlier Communist labor work. He and Nancy authored two books by the mid-1970s while he was enrolled in the sociology doctoral program at the University of California at Berkeley. The couple wrote the popular, *The Wind Will Not Subside: Years in Revolutionary China 1964-1969*, a 1976 release, which saluted Mao and the Cultural Revolution but not China's post-Mao policies. Earlier, working with Franz Schurman, the university's China scholar, they edited 1972's *People's China*.

But China was not David's dissertation topic. His delayed 1980 dissertation, "The Politics of Economism: Organized Labor Fights Its Way into the American System," reflected his long-held and romantic communist commitments. He argued that the true intention of the founders of the great CIO was to build a revolutionary union to help create a syndicalist society but they were undercut by Franklin Roosevelt's policies and a few selfish union leaders. The dissertation was accepted two years after David began a long tenure as the University of Oregon's China expert.

He was fifty-eight years old when he began his new life authoring a constant stream of popular essays and news articles bemoaning the end of Mao's era of democracy in China.

### **Christopher the Advocate**

A decade before, in 1970, David Milton saluted his young son Christopher's contributions to the RU and joined him in lecturing on their China experiences and helping Party and Friendship recruiting campaigns. As soon as Ann Tompkins established the initial formal chapter of the USCPFA at San Francisco's ultra-radical Glide Memorial Church, and as Bergman readied the RU, Christopher and David joined a group that began travelling east with the dual purposes of recruiting for the USCPFA and the RU. Ann Tompkins prepared for her trip by contacting the Libertarian News, a service for radical newspapers. She advertised her USCPFA lectures and gained a list of communes and disaffected Party members the RU recruiters should contact. William Hinton joined the campaign on the East Coast.<sup>31</sup>

By keeping the RU's connections, its Maoism, and the goals of gaining more favors for the Chinese government in the background, the USCPFA's campaign did well. Within a few years it had 11,000 paying members. Besides publishing newsletters and sponsoring lectures, it conducted China tours, pricey-ones, \$13,000-20,000 each person. The tours were often led by new leftist "China Hands" such as the Granichs and Ann Tompkins. William Hinton and Jean Rosner seem to have conducted a few. The association had a special advantage in the tour business. While the United States was generously allowing visits the Chinese were quite selective about admissions. They trusted the left-associated USCPCA, giving it a near monopoly for several years. Tour competition developed by the late 1970s and by then protests by members who felt they had been duped forced the old communist-RU leaders to relinquish control.<sup>32</sup>

### **Even Newer China Hands**

The association's changes did not end Ann Tompkins, the Miltons, and William Hinton and his friends' involvements with China. All of them made Communist China a basis for their careers. After marrying a Chinese student enrolled at San Francisco State College, Ann took several trips to China and during one adopted a baby boy. Back in the United States she made a living, but a very modest one, by lecturing on China and teaching junior colleges classes about it. She also taught and authored a book on her version of the old Soviet-Chinese methods of self-criticism. Ann continued by collaborating on a book on Cultural Revolution posters and a biography of Fred and Joan Engst. Until her death in a Santa Rosa "intentional community" (a tiny version of a commune) she argued that Mao has been a great leader and the Cultural Revolution a democratic movement. David Milton continued to do the same but with a variation. In his academic and newspaper articles he stressed how Mao and his wife's Gang of Four had been overthrown by those who stifled democracy in China, imposing capitalist economic policies that were not producing benefits for the Chinese people, just for an elite.<sup>33</sup>

### **William Hinton Reemerges**

After 1971 William Hinton was more deeply involved with China than Ann Tompkins or David Milton, and he had a unique use for the USCPFPA.<sup>34</sup> He had the association help his extended family. One of the uses first aided Carma, his twenty-two-year-old daughter he had not seen since he left China in 1953. Carma had lived with Bertha in Beijing, gone to the local high school, joined the Red Guard, and spent time working in a factory during the Cultural Revolution. She was fluent in Chinese and was good at Russian, but had the English language

vocabulary of a small child. After revisiting Long Bow in 1971 William convinced Bertha to allow him to take Carma to Philadelphia. Bertha stayed in China and, like Joan Engst, worried that her child would be corrupted by living in the United States. Soon after her arrival in America Carma was on USCPFA lecture tours and a frequent contributor to its magazine. She had some difficult years adjusting to America and to student life at the University of Pennsylvania, but did well in her courses, graduating in 1976. During the 1970s and 1980s she visited Bertha, accompanied William on his tours, and began making films about Chinese life.<sup>35</sup> In the United States she established a career based on China and became a college professor at Wellesley college where she helped create a program for visiting Chinese students. She earned a PhD at Harvard University in 1999. Well before then, by the mid-1980s, she had a reputation for making insightful documentary films on such topics as the changes in Low Bow Village. She became famous for her prize-winning three-hour 1995 film about 1989's Tiananmen Square's protests and the brutal military attack on the students. *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* was controversial as it placed blame for the bloodshed on both the government and the most radical student leaders. Although even-handed, the film showed that Carma shared her mother and father's belief there was golden-age of democracy during Mao's reign. Carma's many films did not mention the cleansings and purges during Mao's reign.

### **William and The Young Engsts**

William also helped the Engst family visit the United States, in return they aided the USCPFA. After overcoming his mother's objections, the "challenging" Fred left his assigned job as a wood factory electrician in China and arrived in 1974. He was twenty-two and without English language skills. Sid, his father, decided to come along for a visit, although his English was rusty. They briefly stopped to see Sid's relatives in New York where the family had built a national

reputation for cattle breeding. But Sid decided to settle Fred on William's Fleetwood, Pennsylvania farm. Fred spent a year there as a farm hand while he learned some English and absorbed American culture. He became more assimilated while living with young Carma and her college roommates in a cramped Philadelphia apartment. At the same time, he served on the USCPFA's editorial board and gave lectures for the association. At first, he presented the talks with his father and mother, a few times with David Crook, then, for years, by himself. He voiced his admiration for China and Maoism while expressing his discontent with the United States. He did more than complain. He joined a Philadelphia spin-off of William's Revolutionary Union, then established ties to its successor the Freedom Road Socialist organization.<sup>36</sup>

Fred did not have an easy time in America. He became bitter because although a graduate of China's high school for intellectuals he had to work as an electrician in Philadelphia for many years while supporting his new American wife Cindy and their children. He often faced unemployment and financial stress. He wanted security and more than an electrician's job so he attended Temple University for years at night as a part-time student. He had help for his children from the Hinton's: At least one of Fred's children went to the Putney school. Staying in Philadelphia did not mean Fred cut his ties to China. Despite being a working-man, he found the time and money to make frequent trips home. He also gave indications he wanted to base a career on his China experiences. In 1978-9 he led a USCPA China tour that included his future wife. Beginning in the mid-1980s there were more and longer trips. He helped the Canadian sociologist Norman Chance with a new study of village life and spent much of one year as an assistant commune director. At the same time, he was becoming ideologically flexible. In 1989, Fred bent his beliefs by advising an American company on how to do business in China.



Fred left little trace of his life in the United States from 1990 to 2007 except the PhD in economics he earned from Rutgers University in 1997 when he was forty-five-years old. He became more visible in 2007 when he became a Beijing university professor. After his return to China, he remained a romantic Maoist, a brave one. He was not accepting the new China's policies. He kept writing about the inequalities in the country, even accusing the new China of being a giant imperialist power and the largest concentration of capitalist finance in the world.<sup>37</sup>

William Hinton helped his sister Joan's other two children to come to America during the late 1970s. "Sickly" Bill, who was bitter over being forced to work in a commune for several years, arrived in 1979, Karen a few months later. Both spoke little English and both felt-ill-at-ease. Little is known about Billy except that he earned a college degree and became an engineer and conventional family man in New Jersey. More is known about "temperamental" Karen. After being required to labor at a tea farm she benefited from one of the "rightist" change in China's policies. She was one of the first to be selected after the country returned to merit-based college admissions and began encouraging study in the United States. She went to the best of China's scientific schools and arrived in America in 1980 expecting to study molecular biology at Yale University, one of America's most prestigious and expensive colleges.<sup>38</sup> Who and how her attendance was financed is unknown. Struggling to overcome her poor English she spent two years at Yale as a student and research assistant. Seeking a more applied program she enrolled in one of the nation's colleges involved, like Cornell where her father went, in solving practical agricultural problems. Karen chose The University of Illinois -Urbana plant pathology program and became what is called "a professional student." It took her five years to earn a Master's Degree, when she was thirty-one, and five more for her PhD. There are indications she always struggled to pay her tuition.<sup>39</sup>

Karen had more involvements than scientific research on plant toxins and was not always in Urbana . She had arrived in the United States too late for USCPFA lecturing but made her contribution to China and Maoist causes. She joined The League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), one of the most radical left-wing Maoist groups of the 1980s. It was a collection of small Asian, Chicano, and Black organization that believed united minorities could be the new harbingers of an American revolution. Soon after its founding the LRS was influenced by the radical Black poet and philosopher Amiri Baraka. Knowing the revolution would take time to emerge, the LRS became politically active. It played a part in Jesse Jackson' Rainbow Coalition and his runs for the Presidency. The LRS also cooperated with groups supporting radical causes in Central and South America, such as the Committee in Support With The People of El Salvador.

Although a struggling student Karen was able to travel to China many times. One trip was in 1989 when other members of the extended Hinton-Engst family, including William, were there. She became more involved with the Tiananmen Square uprising than the others, going into the square and mingling with the protestors. She made a name for herself by writing about the protest in LRS' *Unity* magazine. Her article circulated throughout America's leftist community. Karen would mellow ideologically but continued to be someone not-at-ease with conventional society and its culture.

In 1991, a year before she finished her doctoral work, Karen married James Coret Matthews, a thoroughly American mid-westerner. He was a long-time friend although he was five years younger than Karen. He completed his PhD work in mineralogy at Illinois in 1992. Like Karen he had been a near "professional student." The couple continued to have a home in Urbana but as indicated by their never publishing books or articles they did not pursue typical

academic careers. Although Karen remained on the ideological left, James went to work for France's huge multinational TotalEnergies corporation, one of top seven of the world's "supermajor" oil exploration and production companies. It had interests throughout the world. There are hints James did very well financially, becoming part of the left-leaning middle class. However, the couple kept their ties to the Hintons, and Karen gave her son Nicolas the kind of education her mother Joan had as a youth. He went to the Putney School, the ultra-progressive and expensive Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, and then Pau University in France. As well, before the usual retirement age Karen and James were able to afford a residence in France and visits to China and to India where Shadguru, the influential philosopher of a mixture of yoga and earth-appreciation, had his headquarters. Karen had become a devoted environmentalist and admirer of Shadguru.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Old Engsts Return, Temporarily**

The adult Engsts also participated in the mutual openings of China and the United States. Sid and Joan frequently traveled to America between 1974 to 1982. At first, they gave USCPFA sponsored talks and later conducted tours of American dairy farms for Chinese farmers. 1979's tour included bringing Billy to live in the United States. Two of the trips were for personal reasons. Sid developed a heart problem the Chinese doctors thought required special care in the United States. He was sent to Boston, Massachusetts' General Hospital for the operation then for recovery at Jean's home in nearby Concord where Joan was staying. The surgery proved more expensive than anticipated but the Chinese government quickly agreed to pay the thousands of dollars of extra fees. The Chinese government also helped Joan fly to Concord to be at her mother's bedside when Carmelita was near death. One Hinton seems to have been an exception to the family patterns. Bertha, William's first wife, has no record of leaving China.<sup>41</sup>

### **William. the Anti-family Man?**

William Hinton was the Hinton-Engst family's most -traveled member after China's opening. During the 1970s-1980s he was close to being a commuter. His stays in Asia during the 1990s were longer. He worked for the Chinese government during the 1970s and 1980s as an employee, spending a few months each year as an advisor on farms rather than acting as a high-level policy maker. He brought his family with him on the trips, enrolling the children in Chinese schools. Later, he began working for the United Nations on poverty surveys in China, then in 1990s on Mongolian agricultural development projects. While employed by the United Nations he encountered Katherine Chiu, a Chinese-American epidemiologist who also was working with the United Nations. A year after his second wife died in 1986, the sixty-eight-year-old William proposed marriage. Katherine, a forty-eight-year-old recent divorcee, accepted. William gained two young adult step daughters and a wife who would head UNICEF's work in Mongolia's capitol Ulan Bator during the 1990s.

### **Katherine and Population Control and a Totalitarian Government**

The marriage brought William closer to one of China's policies that gave it the reputation as a totalitarian state.

Katherine Chiu's 2009 book, *The Ellipses of Katherine Chi'u*, described her decades of aid work but had little about her background or about her career's ties to broader social and political issues.<sup>42</sup> Katherine was born in China to a middle-class Christian family that escaped to Taiwan in 1949 when she was ten. The family's finances were unstable but Katherine graduated from high school with the help of Christian charities. With their aid she enrolled at the United States' Syracuse University in its information science program in 1960. She completed her degree but

put her career on-hold in 1964 when she married Edgar Rochford Lyle, soon having two children. Lyle was thirty, she was just twenty-five when they married. Edgar was from an established family, attended the prestigious Hopkins School in his hometown of New Haven, Connecticut, and graduated from the University of Chicago in 1955. He began teaching in private schools then, as a Quaker, applied for conscientious objector status to avoid the military draft. Little is known about Edgar after that but there are hints he became a long-term graduate student at Yale University in Connecticut. After his marriage he studied at Cornell University and Columbia University in New York City.

Katherine wrote of the family's economic difficulties while in New York, ones that led her to work as a laboratory assistant to Christopher Tietze the contraceptive and abortion researcher-advocate at the Rockefeller Population Council that was devoted to solving the world "over-population" problem. Katherine also worked at night, teaching Chinese at Columbia University. She also found time to make a small amount of money by translating the 1967 book, *Chinese Fables*. When the children were older she began taking night classes at Columbia university toward a Master's Degree in maternal and child care, although after a decade of marriage the family was still financially stressed. Katherine had to postpone her next step, a degree in epidemiology, as Lyle had not finished his program nor proven a good bread-winner.

After a friend remarked there were no high-school level books on China Katherine and Edgar began researching for a volume on contemporary China's resources and policies. Their 1977, *China's Resources: Mountains, Rivers, and Man*, was a dry but scholarly tribute to Mao's policies. The book praised the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution. A Chinese public relations writer could not have done a better job. Unfortunately for Katherine and Edgar, the

book sold few copies. But as they were working on it their luck and life changed when they began working for the Rockefeller Foundation's international population control program.

The foundation was one of first and richest American philanthropic organizations. It began in 1913, funded by John D. Rockefeller. Based on integrating America's oil distribution and world-wide sales of refined oil products, then banking, Rockefeller had amassed one of the greatest fortunes in the world by the beginning of the Twentieth Century. His foundation expanded as his family's and his Standard Oil fortunes multiplied. Medical care and education were among the Rockefeller Foundation's first recipients, especially in China. The foundation gave more than a billion dollars to modernize China's medical system and agriculture before Japan's 1937 invasion.<sup>43</sup>

As soon as World War II ended the foundation focused on underdeveloped countries, including China, with a new emphasis on a much-feared population explosions as life-spans increased in response to new agricultural and health-care advances. Although the foundation was funding research in agriculture that led to the Green Revolution's astounding increase in agricultural productivity in the 1960s, birth control became a foundation priority. The foundation began supporting the development of family-planning programs to limit populations and invested in research on contraceptive devices. By the late 1960s population control became an even greater priority for the foundation. It engaged Sheldon J. Segal,<sup>44</sup> an embryologist-biochemist and one of the world's experts on contraception (especially IUDs) as well as planning programs. IUDs, metal strings inserted into the uterus, were Rockefeller favorites as they were inexpensive to implant, seemed more humane than abortions, and were more likely to control pregnancies than pills or condoms. The foundation donated tens of millions of IUDs throughout the developing world.<sup>45</sup>

Under Segal's direction the foundation began more intensive work on population limitation in underdeveloped countries such as India and China. Two of the researchers it hired for its New York City office 's latest programs were Edgar and Katherine Lyle. In their late thirties, and still graduate students, they were soon producing bibliographic reviews of the population control literature. Segal later selected Katherine to help with studies of China's problems although she was yet to complete her program in epidemiology at Columbia University. <sup>46</sup> Segal's respect for her led to something unusual at the time: He included her name as an author on their publications. Katherine became trusted enough to be sent to China to do on-site research into its contraception programs. She was there so frequently during the 1970s and 1980s she became part of Beijing's American "social set", although Honolulu had become her new hometown and where she finally obtained a PhD in 1986.

### **China, Birth Control, A Totalitarian State, But Not Totalitarian to William**

The foundation's birth control commitments came just as China was reviewing its population problem and policies. In 1949, Mao's advisors believed the country was not and would never be "overpopulated." They resisted starting any control programs, calling them bourgeoisie plots to control the world. During the 1950s Mao declared there was somewhat of a problem, and a few educational efforts were begun based on voluntary action by the people. In the early 1960s the voluntary programs were expanded, and more were established in rural areas. Disappointing, they did not make an impact. The chaos of the Cultural Revolution ended them.

As order was restored in the 1970s, and just as the Rockefeller Foundation was concentrating on the international population issue, China's leaders determined their country had a fundamental problem that would undermine its newest attempts to modernize. With the advice of Sheldon Segal, who had developed a program in India, and some Rockefeller funding, China

launched its first thorough program to reduce birth rates. The program had a goal of no more than two children per couple. That would keep the population level stable. Education teams were established in every locality as the central government's experts determined birth reduction goals for each area. At first, the government relied on voluntary compliance and positive incentives, such as free contraceptives and voluntary abortions. Disappointed in the results, it began imposing controls.

Soon, each area was dictating which couple would be allowed to marry and which could have a child. Those who did not comply might be forced to have an abortion, then sterilization. Women who had reached the limit on births were induced to use IUD devices, those metal strings inserted into the uterus. To make certain the IUDs would be effective the authorities demanded they be implanted in a way that required surgery to be removed. If there were unlawful births parents were fined, infants born without government approval could be seized by the government then made non-citizens without rights to basics such as food rations and housing when they grew up.

In 1979, again disappointed in results, the government began something that startled observers. It declared a one child per family policy with a rigorous enforcement plan. If successful, the program would reduce the population size. The new initiative has been called the most thorough and totalitarian of all long-term population control programs, more so than the short-lived but brutal program in India during the mid-1970s. Beginning in the early 1980s there was widespread coercion to force use of contraceptives and acceptance of sterilization. Punishing those who failed to obey the new rules became widespread. Forced abortions up to the time of birth and forced sterilizations became more frequent. There were extremes that caught world attention. As early as 1981 investigators, including *New York Times*' reporters, discovered there



were even “dying rooms” where young non-quota children were tied to chairs and left to die from malnutrition and neglect. The plan worked. Birth rates were decreased from 33.4 per thousand population in 1970 to 21.1 in 1990, a percentage decline eleven points greater than the average for selected third-world countries. But that came at great economic and human cost. Historians have estimated the size of the program: 300 million IUD s inserted, 100 million sterilizations, 300 million abortions.<sup>47</sup>

### **Again, Seeing No Evil**

William Hinton and his new wife Kathrine knew of China’s population control policies, may have known of the coercion involved, and must have read about the excesses such as forced sterilization and abortion. Yet, they never wrote against them. Katherine’s 1979’s study of Tianjin, the new coastal city, gave a picture of total voluntary compliance, never mentioning abortions or sterilizations. Her 1980 policy survey also avoided mentioning any coercion. William’s last major work, *The Great Reversal*, while deeply critical of China’s post-Mao leadership and policies had only one mention of birth control and it is surprising. He criticized the government for supposedly allowing its plans to wither, rather than denouncing the program’s harshness and elitism.<sup>48</sup>

### **A Romantic Maoist to His End**

William remained active in his part-time agricultural teaching in Mongolia and often visited China. Then, in 1999 he had a serious heart attack while in Taiwan. He returned to the United States to recuperate, lingering in nursing homes near his sister Jean in Concord, Massachusetts until 2004. Surprisingly, despite his intense criticism of the new China’s abandoning his romantic version of egalitarian and cooperative Marxism (not dictatorship) he was honored by

the Chinese government. Fittingly, his memorial service was held at his mother's creation the Putney School in Vermont.

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<sup>1</sup> Census, family history, school yearbooks.

<sup>2</sup> *Washington Evening Star*, 9-6-1948.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Albert Lea*. *Sunday Tribune*, 9-13-1951.

<sup>4</sup> FBI FOIA, san francisco party.

<sup>5</sup> On the 1960 hearing: "The Northern California District of the Communist Party: structure, objectives, leadership. Hearings United States Congress, House Committee on U-American Activities, 1960. On taps and bugs, Aaronson "Heavy," *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> FBI FOIA, william hinton contains much on the PLP, see also Birch, "Radicals," *Op cit*.

<sup>7</sup> Useful on Garvin: Gore, Dayo F. "From Communist Politics to Black Power: The, Visionary Politics and Transnational Solidarities of Victoria "Vicki" Anna Garvin." (71-94), in, Gore, Dayo F. *et al.*, *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle* (NY: NYU Press, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> An overview of the SDS' history is Barber, David, *A Hard Rain Fell: SDS and Why It Failed*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Useful on the history of the RU, Bergman, Hinton. and Bruce Franklin: Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the United States Armed Services: Hearings, Ninety-Second Congress First session, 1972: FBI FOIA, betty goff.; Terroristic Activity, Hearings Before The Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws Committee on the Judiciary., United States Senate, Ninety-third Congress, Second Session" Part 1, Sept. 1974; "America's Maoists: the Revolutionary Union, the Venceremos organization; report. United States. Congress House. Committee on Internal Security, 1972: Leonard, Aaron J., and Connor A. Gallagher, *Heavy Radicals :the FBI's Secret War on America's Maoists : the Revolutionary Union /Revolutionary Communist Party 1968-1980* (Washington: Zero Books, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> On COINTELPRO, FBI FOIA Vault file COINTELPRO; on RU informers, Congress "Subvert," *Op cit*.

<sup>11</sup> On Franklin's aggressiveness: for example, *NYT* 12-20-1972; Congress ."Subvert" *Op cit.*; and his uniquely biased autobiography, Franklin, H. Bruce., *Crash Course : From the Good War to the Forever War*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey : Rutgers University Press, 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Boudin was a red diaper grandchild as all her American forebears were important to the Party and the Left, especially Louis and Leonard Boudin, see for example: *National Review*, 74, 10 (May 30, 2022): 10; *NYT* 11-14-1971, 11-26-1979.

<sup>13</sup> On Dohrn, for example: *NYT* 2-16-1982; *WP* 10-31-19.

<sup>14</sup> On the weathermen: Eckstein, Arthur M., *Bad Moon Rising: How the Weather Underground Beat the FBI and Lost the Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Ayers, Bill, *Fugitive Days: A Memoir* (NY: Penguin Books, c2003).

<sup>15</sup> A well-researched and documented web-based biography of Van Lydegraf, Clayton (1915-1992)" - <https://HistoryLink.org/File/21139>; along with other general works on the radical movement see, Burroughs, Bryan. *Days of Rage: America's Radical Underground, the FBI, and the Forgotten Age of Revolutionary Violence* (NY: Penguin Press, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> The best source on Hinton and the RU's travails, is FBI FOIA, william hinton.

<sup>17</sup> A solid history of the association is: Trescott, Paul B., *From Frenzy to Friendship : The History of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu Publishing Services, 2015). For an overview of China's push for recognition through such organizations as the Friendship Associations. Brady, Anne-Marie, *Making the Foreign Serve China* (Lanham, Roman and Littlefield, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> For the Miltons' early lives: census, family history;

<sup>19</sup> *Friends Bulletin*, Sept, 40 5 1994 and 1988, have important biographies of Isobel. Her oral history at the Stanford University center is also helpful, as is the finding aide for Edwin's papers at New York University's Tamiment Library.

<sup>20</sup> Census, family history.

- <sup>21</sup> *Pittsburg Press* 6-17-1937.
- <sup>22</sup> Census 1940, family history.
- <sup>23</sup> *New London Evening Day*, 5-6-1942.
- <sup>24</sup> FBI Karl Prussian file , on-line.
- <sup>25</sup> For example,, *NYT* 12-9-1952.
- <sup>26</sup> For example, FBI Martin Luther King File, on-line.
- <sup>27</sup> On David: census, ship lists, and obituaries and biographies from the University of California Sociology Dept., the University of Oregon, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- <sup>28</sup> FBI Asian American Political Affairs files.
- <sup>29</sup> On Chaim: *NYT* 3-29-1939 and the balanced biography at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chaim\\_Zhitlowsky](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chaim_Zhitlowsky). For Chaim's political context:,Michels, Tony, *A Fire in Their Hearts: Yiddish Socialists in New York* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- <sup>30</sup> FBI FOIA san francisco mission-potrero; Potrero Hill Newsletter, *passim*.
- <sup>31</sup> For example, *Chicago Hyde Park Herald*, 5 3 1972.
- <sup>32</sup> For example, *Pomona Progress Bulletin*, 3-20-1976.
- <sup>33</sup> On Ann,: *San Rafael Daily Independent Journal*, 9-3-1974; 3-5-1978; FBI FOIA, ann tompkins; *Sonoma County Peace Press* June/July 2019; *Chinese Poster Art: From the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* ( San Francisco: Chronical Books, 2007).
- <sup>34</sup> The most useful source for this section is, FBI FOIA, william hinton.
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