



Notes on NEW CHINA

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NOTE

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LONG LIVE THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND A LONG LONG LIFE TO CHAIRMAN MAO!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE CHINESE MASSES AND THE PEOPLES OF THE USA!

NOTES ON NEW CHINA:

A documentary record of a three-week study tour of the Peoples Republic of China from October 25-November 15, 1974, of a delegation of Southern activists organized by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association.

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INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most overwhelming personal experience that I had in the Peoples Republic of China was to experience what a blind factory worker said to our group: "We are living in a sea of love among brothers of the working class." New China is a country of hard working people who are united in the task of socialist construction and are actively contributing to the progress of the peoples of the world. It was an inspiring experience to go there to visit and talk with the revolutionary comrades and make friends. As I wrote in a letter sent from Shanghai, it is an historical privilege to get a glimpse of the future.

China is a socialist country, where the proletariat is in power and the society is based on the worker-peasant-soldier alliance. China is a developing country of the third world, and aims its foreign policy to "firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism." China has truly proven itself a friend of the peoples of the world. It is a bright red star in the turbulent sky of this current period of world history.

This document is the result of a study tour organized by the US-China Peoples Friendship Association. After several years of local developments the Friendship Association had its first national founding convention on the labor day weekend in 1974. At that time there were only 3 local associations in the Southern region, (Birmingham, Atlanta, and Tallahassee). Through several discussions, a trip was organized of people in the South who were interested in working to build friendship between the people of the USA and the people of China. People were selected from five states--Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. Of the 16 people on the delegation, 3 were Black, 3 grew up in rural communities, and 4 have worked in factories in the South.

The make-up of the delegation presented a challenge to all of us because it reflected a cross-section of national differences, class differences, and differences in political involvement and outlook. We made it through the trip having achieved

a high level of unity. Differences did exist and became sharp on couple of occasions, but the overwhelming positive character of China, and the self-imposed discipline of the group kept the interaction on a high and for the most part principled level. So a great lesson was learned by all within the delegation itself.

Our hosts were more than we expected. Every need was met, in fact for the most part our needs were anticipated. The hotels were all first class, every meal a banquet, and the trains rode quite comfortably. This aspect was so generous that we had to remind ourselves to consciously accept the hospitality as a gesture of friendship to all the people of the USA. We have vowed to overcome our many shortcomings and learn how to more fully express our friendship.

This document is a near verbatim transcript of my notes and tape recordings made on the trip. Several members of the delegation helped to make some corrections and transcribe the tapes. Particular credit for this goes to Ann Jenkins and Miles Stryker. We felt that while sometime in the future a more carefully edited version of these documents would be useful, we should push ahead to duplicate these notes now for people interested in what New China is all about. We welcome all corrections, additions, and criticisms to help make the next publication a better document.

Most of the notes are words of the Chinese. Sometimes the speaker changes and its not indicated in the text. Usually a question from our delegation is in parentheses. The notes should be read in terms of basic factual and political information, and not in terms of personalities. There may be many errors in spelling, particularly of names and places. Also some of the statistics may not be quite accurate. We will correct these errors in the next draft. We have added some documents as reference material. Finally, I encourage everyone to read as much as possible on developments in China. And if possible, to go to China, (at least see the movies and slides being shown in most areas on China). This volume is being reproduced as a way to fulfill our responsibility to share our trip to China with as many people as possible.

This volume is dedicated to Mei-Ling, (my daughter) who was fortunate to experience New China quite early in her young life, and who I hope will be able to return one day.

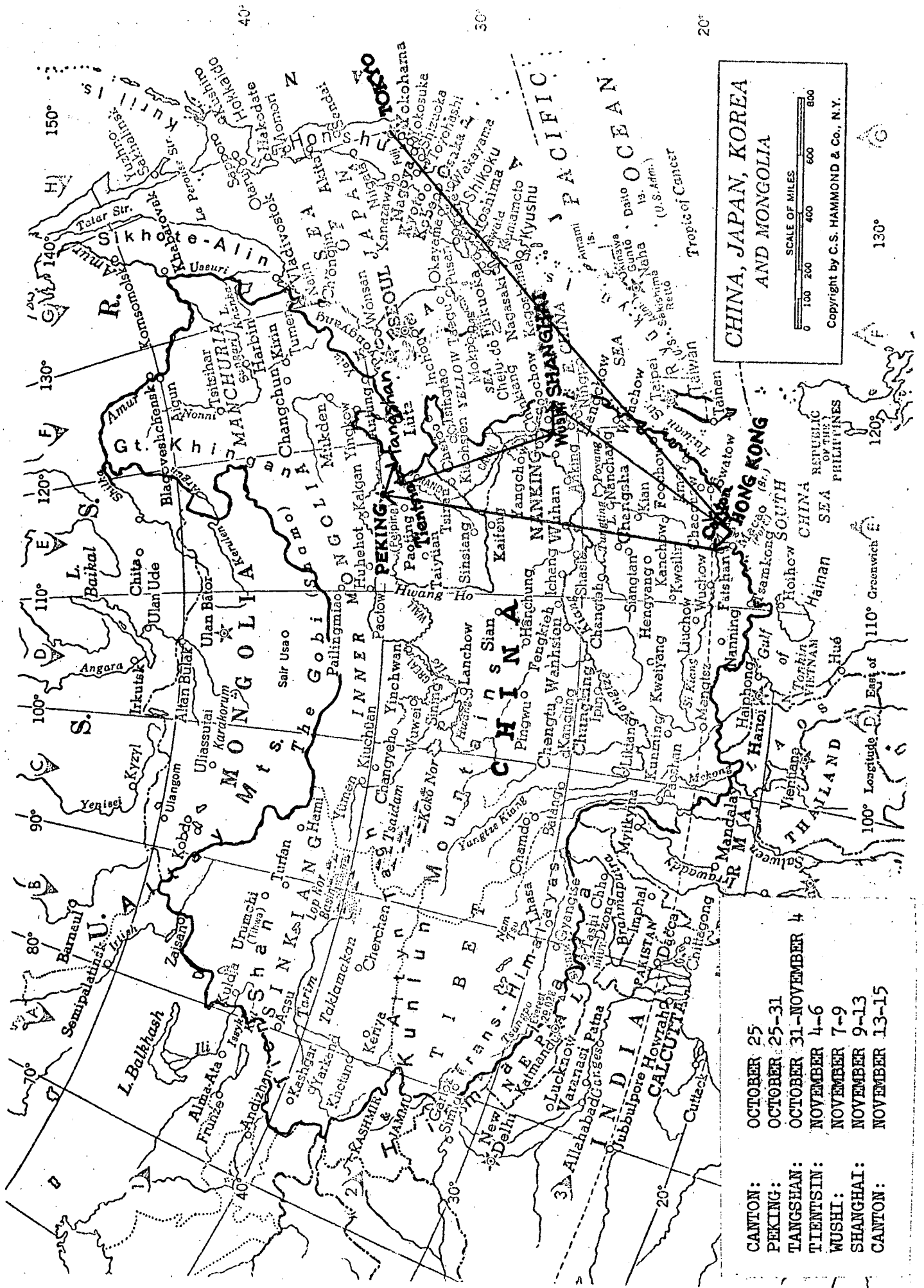
ABDUL

February, 1975
Nashville, Tennessee

CHRONOLOGY OF TOUR

- OCTOBER 24th Arrive in Hong Kong
- OCTOBER 25th Leave Hong Kong by Train
Visit Canton Trade Fair
Arrive by air in Peking
- OCTOBER 26th Breakfast (Western) Peking Hotel
Visit the Great Wall (lunch)
Visit the Ming Tombs
Shopping at Friendship Store
Meeting of Delegation to Discuss Itinerary
- OCTOBER 27th Breakfast at Hotel
Visit Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant
Lunch in Hotel
Visit Red Star Sino-Korean Friendship Commune
Dinner at Hotel
Meeting on Foreign Policy Questions
- OCTOBER 28th Breakfast
Visit to Neighborhood Committee
Lunch
Friendship Association Headquarters for Discussion
Dinner--Peking Duck
Meeting on National Minorities Questions
- OCTOBER 29th Breakfast
Hsinwa Primary School
Lunch
(Cancelled Palace Museum visit due to rain)
Dinner
Movie "From North to South"
- OCTOBER 30th Breakfast
Institute of National Minorities
Lunch
Foreign Policy Briefing
Dinner and Discussion with Americans in Peking
- OCTOBER 31st Breakfast
2nd Meeting on National Minorities
Lunch
Train Ride to Tangshan
Briefing
Dinner
Birthday Party for two comrades on delegation
- NOVEMBER 1st Breakfast
Shashaiyu Brigade with lunch
Kailan Coal Mine Exhibition Hall
Dinner

- NOVEMBER 2nd
Breakfast
Visit to Lin Hsi Mine
Lunch at the mine
Visit to hospital and nursery at the mine
Dinner at Hotel
Movies (1) Kailan Coal Mines (2) Shashiyu
Meeting on future itinerary
- NOVEMBER 3rd
Breakfast
Miners homes
Talk with old, young, and women workers
Propaganda Team Performance
- NOVEMBER 4th
Tangshan Ceramic Industry
Leave for Tientsin by train with lunch
Hotel
Carpet Factory
- NOVEMBER 5th
Philosophy Discussion with Workers at #2 Woolen Factory
Visit to # 16 Middle School
Group Internal Discussion
- NOVEMBER 6th
Ching Kuang Hardware Factory
Train Ride to Wushi (Overnight)
- NOVEMBER 7th
Train ride--arrive in Wushi
Boat Ride on Tai Land and Visit to Turtle Head Park
Evening in Hotel
- NOVEMBER 8th
Holo Peoples Commune
Wushi #2 Silk Filature Mill
- NOVEMBER 9th
Hui Shan Clay Figure Factory
Train to Shanghai
Shopping
Acrobatic Performance
- NOVEMBER 10th
Site of the First Party Congress
Irregular Shaped Steel Tubing Factory
- NOVEMBER 11th
Feng Ho Transistor Factory
Briefing on Woman Question
Banquet
- NOVEMBER 12th
Visit to the Docks
2nd Discussion on Party
Hospital--Shanghai Institute of Traditional Medicine
- NOVEMBER 13th
Shanghai Teachers University
Plane to Canton (Kwanghou)
- NOVEMBER 14th
Kwanghou Deaf Mute School
Institute of the Peasant Movement
- NOVEMBER 15th
LEAVE



CANTON:	OCTOBER 25
PEKING:	OCTOBER 25-31
TANGSHAN:	OCTOBER 31-NOVEMBER 4
TIENTSIN:	NOVEMBER 4-6
WUSHI:	NOVEMBER 7-9
SHANGHAI:	NOVEMBER 9-13
CANTON:	NOVEMBER 13-15



16-member delegation of Southern activists of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association and Chinese hosts at the Kailan Coal Mines; Tangshan, Peoples Republic of China. (November 2, 1974.)

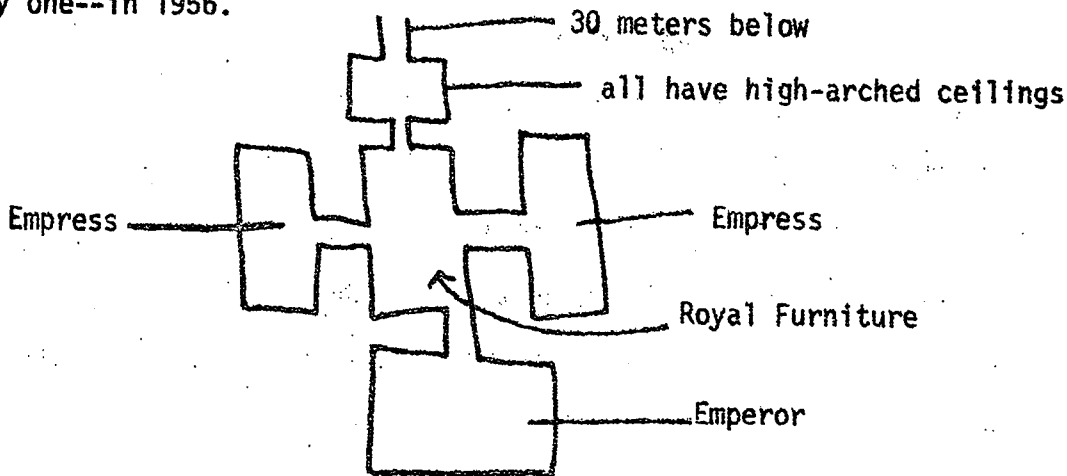
1. PEKING

OCTOBER 26-31, 1974

OCTOBER 26

Morning at the Great Wall: There were many people there--not great crowds, but a steady stream of people--many with children. The Great Wall was constructed from 220 B.C. to 50 B.C., covering 6,000 kilometers or 2,000 miles. It is the only man-made structure that can be seen from outerspace with the naked eye. It is very steep in spots, so they have built metal hand rails to make it easier to climb. People go there, eat lunch, read, etc. It is also interesting that the Chinese scratch their names and home towns into the stone wall. We were told that other graffiti was not present. Only part of the wall has been renovated, and it serves the very important purpose of building national pride due to such a great architectural feat. Everyone in China who gets near Peking must go to visit the Great Wall. We ate lunch in a little stone house along with some tourists from Argentina. It was a box lunch with the everpresent beer and orange juice. We shared the different meanings of words--propaganda (education in China vs. brainwashing in the USA), agitation (call to action vs. trouble-making), etc. There is a real desire to share some aspects of life from both our delegation and our Chinese hosts, although we haven't yet succeeded in our side of it. After the lunch we went on a drive to the Ming Tombs.

The Ming Tombs: There are 13 in all but the Chinese have excavated and opened only one--in 1956.



The meaning of the Ming Tombs for the Chinese are explained in signs.

It took 86,000,000 workdays to build the one we visited (the equivalent of each household in China working 6½ days). It cost the equivalent of rice to feed one million people for 6½ years. Throughout the Tomb there are paintings and explanatory posters that explain to the people the exploitation of the old feudal nobility. As comrade Chang said there are two lessons here; (1) to expose the feudal nobility and (2) to show the strength of the peoples' labor in making this place. On the grounds, there are two buildings with all the treasures discovered in the Tombs--over \$100,000 worth of gold, clothes, crowns, jewels of all sorts, etc. There is also a large set of life-like clay figures showing what the nature of exploitation was like for the masses--taking away a peasants daughter because of failure to pay taxes, and a scene of resistance. There is a long road leading to the Tomb lined with large stone animals on each side. They were put there for protection. Huge, very realistic figures.

OCTOBER 27

We welcome our friends. Mr. Shiao is director of the general office of the revolutionary committee. Comrade Re is head of the trade union branch, also here are some veteran workers in various work shops. Mr Shiao--On behalf of all friends I would like to extend our greeting (Chinese clapped). First, thank you for the work you have done to promote friendship. Your visit to our factory will further friendship. The name is Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant. The factory was built in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward. That's why we say it results from the Great Leap. This used to be deserted land--all the work here was done by workers themselves based on self reliance. There are 5,700 workers: 1,800 are women, about 2,000 young workers. The young workers were assigned by the State after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) when they finished middle or secondary school. Our production tasks are to make steam generators, mainly manufacture steam and turbo generators, big size motors. Great changes have taken place after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). First is the fact that we have carried out

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line by relying on our own efforts, taking initiative into our own hands. We carried out large scale technical innovations, we organized the three-in-one groups for the transformation (workers-cadre-technicians), to meet the demands of rising production. We designed and made the large machine tools ourselves. The workers took initiative for extra tasks; after completing quotas, they succeeded in making a 12 x 4 meters large-size plainer in 1 year's time. We spent 1/2 year making a 5 meter diameter vertical lathe (working surface). We have made more than 50 such machines since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Second, since the GPCR we have filled our quota each year--total output value for Jan.-Dec. has increased by 13% since last year. Up to now this year's quota has been filled up to 85%. Third, the factory, when it was built, designed only 25,000 kw generators. We have now succeeded in making generators of 100,000 kw. We feel our achievements are due to the leadership of Chairman Mao, and the workers' new thrust out of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Although there are still defects in our work, much is to be done and learned from countries that are more technically advanced. I'm sure you will find many shortcomings, and we welcome your criticism. (We leave the conference room for a tour of the plant.)

A river divides the factory into eastern and western parts. (Tea is served.) Our production and assembly of parts begins with the raw material. (Entrance to the plant--4 large bulletin boards, 1 welcome to workers, 1 statistics of production, 2 articles by workers on Lin Piao. Signs hanging from the ceilings all saying study hard to master Marxism-Leninism.) Here is a huge lathe we bought from the Soviets in 1958 for 900,000 yuan, (large sign reads "workers and oppressed nations of the world unite"). Another sign reads the political line decides everything with pictorial history of struggle against Confucius to the May 4th Movement in 1919.

Children in the nurse--we visited 3 small rooms and then a small auditorium.

The first song the children sing is about the "PLA is good" (age 4-6). There are 8 dancers and the director of the nursery is playing the piano and singing with tamborine. "We'd like to do many works from childhood on dance from Skiang autonomous region. Song--"Chinese children are greeting the American children." Song--"One Cent Coin". Ping pong dance--"friendship first, competition second." The blue dresses worn are Mongolian traditional dress.

Visit to a household: The woman of the house has done daily labor since she was 12. The man of the house recently graduated from a workers university, then he went to Tshinua University and studied electrical machinery. They have lived in this apartment since 1963. They have four sons, the eldest is in the army. She worked in a factory in 1948 when China was under Kuomintang reactionaries. There were six in her family, but only her father worked in a factory during the day, pulling a rickshaw at night (only 40 kilograms of rice a month was salary). She worked in a match factory. She was the eldest child--in the old society, due to imperialism and feudalism, they had no political or economic rights. She is from the northeast, an area liberated in 1948. Women were especially oppressed by tradition and by imperialism. She is now very respected and joined the party in 1955. "Since liberation I have always followed Chairman Mao's teachings. I was very active during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because it was necessary to keep the political color red. Chairman Mao was always followed by the reactionary line of Liu Shao-Chi's revisionist line--there remain "hidden enemies".

Another housewife present has nine members in her family, parents, 5 sisters, and 2 brothers. Her father is a retired worker and was promoted to a worker cadre in 1940; his income was 140 yuan per month. He joined the Communist Party and now receives 97 yuan in retirement. All sisters and brothers entered school after liberation, some in technical school, some in the university. This was unimaginable in the old society. After liberation she went to factory night school; now she is up to the middle school level. They used to have only 3 beds for 6 people and had

to go dig roots to eat. Now the prices are stable. She had nothing before, now she has a sewing machine, a television, etc. Regarding food, we eat breakfast at home, public cafeteria for 1 hour lunch, finish work at 4:00 pm and study until 5, then go home to cook. She makes all of the clothes; they don't have a refrigerator. Income for the whole family (2 parents and one son) is 200 yuan. A T.V. costs 314 yuan, 130 yuan for a sewing machine. Living in the apartment are 2 parents and 2 children. They are paid in cash monthly. They have free medical service, 2 libraries (1 technical, 1 literary), and they personally own the works of Chairman Mao.

Everyone is in the trade union. The trade union is a mass organization under the leadership of the Party. The main task is political education and training to run the factory.

Discussion--How are decisions made? They are made by the revolutionary committee based on the 3-in-1 principle. The revolutionary committee is the administrative organization in the factory. The members of the revolutionary committee are elected from workers through a democratic process, with the 3-in-1 combination representing workers, cadres and technicians, also men and women. We also pay attention to the age in the 3-in-1 combinations. The revolutionary committee is in charge of discussion, and decisions concerning production. The production plan is given from the State to the factory. Then the revolutionary committee will hold a meeting to discuss it to determine what are the favorable and unfavorable conditions for meeting the plan. Should it be more, then the revolutionary committee will mobilize the workers to overcome all difficulties. Once the revolutionary committee makes a decision then workers will meet in each workshop to discuss how they will meet the plan. Usually after such discussions each worker will put forth their suggestions on how to achieve the plan. Then the leadership of each workshop will summarize and report to the revolutionary committee. Then the revolutionary committee will reconsider the total plan. Further improvement requires further discussion--each member

of the revolutionary committee and cadres work one week in the factory per month or one day each week. Technicians work everywhere in the workshops. They come from technical schools and also some come from the workers in the shops. Cadres are elected and assigned by the State. Her husband was a worker and in the army, then the State assigned him to work as a cadre.

The trade union has undergone reorganization since 1972. The main task is to organize the broad masses of workers to take part in 3 great struggles (class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment). We've had a trade union here ever since 1958, but we reorganized it after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because Liu Shao Chi interfered in our work, also Lin Piao and Confucius. The campaign has changed the mental outlook, as Mao said the spiritual power is now a material force in production. The trade union has created a movement to train workers in theoretical work studying Marxist-Leninist theory. Members of these theoretical groups study and work. The study classes were organized since the cultural revolution, but since the Lin Piao campaign they study the revisionist theories of Lin Piao and criticize Confucius. Our trade union committee has 25 members, all elected from trade union members and 7 are women. 95% of all workers are in the trade union, 5% are apprentices (not yet workers) and some are former capitalists who work in the plant. Elections for the trade union committee are every 2-4 years. Leadership should be based on, first being politically advanced, second, having a good attitude, third, maintaining good contacts with the masses. Also those who study conscientiously should also enjoy a high prestige among workers, also they should be capable of this kind of leadership work. Leaders should possess the ideology to serve the people wholeheartedly; in one word, they should gain the confidence of the workers.

All workers work 8 hours with one hour for lunch. In one's spare time there is cultural activity and a library. We have amateur artists who design the factory blackboards. We spend some time in political studies and organize various types

of sports. There are special factories for the handicapped. They do not work here. Wages are increased according to ideological standards, and one's experience; wages are also adjusted in line with the national economy. The highest wage is 110 yuan per month, the lowest is 34 yuan. There are 8 grades. Apprentices get 16 yuan per month for 1 1/2 or 2 1/2 years. Every spring and winter the apprentices get clothing allotments. Workers have 7 days holiday per year and if parents are far away they get 12 days with pay. The 7 days vacation means our national holidays.

Women--There are 1/2 women on your delegation so you have equality too. One half of the workers here are women. For expectant mothers at 6 months, they get a lighter job; maternity leave is 56 days with full pay, after the leave babies go to nurseries and mothers return to original work. From 56 days to 1 year the mothers can feed babies during work breaks, twice a day for 1/2 hour each. The 56 days is measured from the day of birth; before birth, changes in work schedule depends on the approval of a doctor. Our revolutionary committee has 20 members, 3 are women. More than 30 women are leading cadres, many more are technicians. No men have ever worked in the nursery, but men do public health work. The charge for the nursery is different than kindergarten. It is 11 1/2 yuan for children in nursery per month, 13 1/2 for kindergarten. This is partially subsidized by the factory, (6 yuan).

We passed out the buttons and they were received very well.

The Red Star Commune--Comrade Liu of the revolutionary committee--Today we are very glad for our friends to visit the commune. First of all on behalf of the revolutionary committee I welcome you. The name of this commune is the Red Star Sino-Korean Peoples Friendship Commune, set up in 1958. In this commune there are more than 17,000 households with 80,000 people. The arable land is 10,800 hectares structured in 3 levels; commune level, 10 administrative regions, 126 production brigades, (normally there are commune, brigade, and production team). This one is different

because of its size.

Essentially the economic organization is the same--unified economy, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, but agriculture is our main task. Our major products are rice, wheat, corn, cotton and some vegetables. In forestry we mainly have fruit trees, 150 hectares in apples and grapes. We have other areas too, mainly on the roadside, canal side, and rear houses including poplars, willows, etc. In animal husbandry we have dairy cows and pigs. In this commune we have 3,000 cows and every year produce 11,500,000 kilos of milk. Pig production in 1973 was 65,000. We are lagging behind in pigs because of our quota, everybody should have a pig, all 80,000 people. In fact every mu should have a pig, we have 160,000 mu. We have come to realize this shortcoming and we are moving to catch up with our other brotherly communes. From our own experience if we want to increase crops we should breed more pigs, for the manure is useful as fertilizer, otherwise if we only use chemicals we will destroy the land. Apart from this we have more than 3300 horses for short transportation work. This will decrease with the increase in mechanization. On this commune we have 3 forced-feeding duck farms and we produce 140,000 ducks per year.

In the sideline occupations we are following Chairman Mao's teaching that agriculture should take the lead, but where possible small industry is necessary. We are using our reserve funds for this purpose. All together there are 14 factories: milk powder processing, farm machinery repair shop, processing shop for cotton, grains, oils and brick making factory (mechanized). These small factories are to serve agricultural production and welfare of the commune members--there are 2800 workers in the 14 factories. In our fishery, there are 160 hectares of ponds for breeding fish, carp, etc., with 100,000 kilos of fish produced each year. On education and health--before liberation we had no middle schools, only some primary schools. So many of the older persons were illiterate. Now we have 12 middle schools, 63 primary schools, with a total of 19,000 students. Education has been

popularized to junior middle schools. There is a hospital on this commune, and 1 clinic for each region; each brigade has 2 or 3 barefoot doctors. The collective medical system was set up in 1969. Each person pays 1 yuan per year for medical care.

Before liberation the soil was very poor, saline or alkaline land and likely to be water bogged. We had very little irrigation so our output was low--generally 750 kilos of grain per hectre. After liberation the peasants have been following collectivization. In 1958 we formed this peoples commune. The peasants utilized "hard work and self reliance", using their spare time to do the basic construction, clear the land and develop water conservancy projects. So in the last 20 years we have made 4 irrigation channels, 8 drainage channels and 4,000 pumping wells at present. The average depth of our wells is 50 to 60 meters deep, in the east 80, in the west, 30-40. 95% of the land is irrigated.

In 1973 our output was 5,200 kilos per hectre of grain. This year (1974) we had some drought in the spring, but after a hard struggle we achieved a bumper crop in the summer. Our total output this past summer was 20,000,000 kilos of grain (5 million more than last year). For our autumn crops (mostly harvested), we estimate output can reach 6,000 kilos per hectre. Our mechanization is not high, only in plowing, harrowing, sowing, and thrashing. Weeding is done by hand. We have 115 big tractors, 250 hand tractors, and 140 cars. 160 square kilometers is the total area of this commune. We started in 1958 but in August 1960 our leadership choose this mane. At the same time near Pyongyang (Democratic Republic of Korea), they named a peoples coop farm the same name. The purpose of the name is to promote friendship between Korean and Chinese people. Since then we have been exchanging our experiences in revolution and production. Also in the suburbs in Peking there is a Sino-Albanian commune, and a Sino-Vietnam commune and others. In the past few years the American friends have done much to promote friendship and through this visit more friendship will come.

Our dairy cows come from Holland, then we cross breed them with Chinese cows from Northeast China. We call them Peking black and white cows. We use artificial insemination now for all reproduction. We have 9 dairy farms and 450 cows here. We produce 170,000 kilos of milk for the milk powder factory. The average from one cow is 6,000 kilos per year. We milk the cows 3 times every day, (7 am, 3:30 pm, and 10 pm). Corn stalk are used for fodder and sweet potato. Cows are pregnant for 9 months then nurse for 5 months. We use the one artificial insemination center in Peking; after 18-20 months we send them for artificial insemination, 9 months of pregnancy, then we can milk them.

Warm welcome in the hospital. This is a commune-run hospital, set up in 1958. At that time we had only 20 beds. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we carried out Chairman Mao's principle to put stress on medical care in rural areas. There are 75 doctors and staff, 50 medical (7 of which are university MD's and 21 graduated from technical schools and then trained here). We have 50 beds now and do ordinary surgical operations, some on eyes and some on broken bones. 10 yuan is the cost for a set of false teeth. We use both traditional and modern medicine, but acupuncture is not well developed here yet. Our hospital grows our own medicinal herbs in the front yard.

Our four irrigation channels are "linking" two regions--water comes from two reservoirs in Peking, about 150 kilometers away. The greatest flow is 80 cubic meters per hour. We have gates in the channels every 1,000 meters. There is a natural flow to the fields, needing no pumps. The channels were built in 1958. They can handle 50,000 mu of rice and 30,000 mu of wheat. Before liberation land was saline and alkaline; the best output of mu was several dozen caddeys, in recent years output has been 1,000 caddeys per mu.

Comrade Liu Hsiu Chen comes from a family of seven. She is a mother, wife, and has 4 children (1 girl and 3 boys). One son is in middle school, two are in primary school. She and her daughter do agricultural work, and her husband

works in an electrical parts factory. Before liberation life was very poor; she worked as a farmhand for a landlord and sharecropped 1/2 of his crop. There was never enough food or clothes. After liberation, with land reform, collectivization, and cooperatives, life has improved. They got 24 mu during the land reform. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has changed his life (husband). His house was built in 1958. He joined the party in 1954. He hasn't done good study of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought but they do study the campaigns, newspapers and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought in their spare time. The Lin Piao and Confucius campaign is developed well, criticising old ideas and old habits. He owns his house, he built it with his neighbors' help. The land is collectively owned--wife and daughter get 700 yuan per year, he gets 500 yuan per year. "Working points" are the basis for salaries. They are determined by collective decisions (factory workers are paid monthly, agricultural workers paid yearly). They own chickens and pigs, and grow some vegetables for their own consumption. The surplus is sold to the State. Their money is kept in banks, on the administrative or commune level. Any member of the family can get the money out of the bank. He and his wife did not have education before liberation. "The world situation is 'excellent'! China has established new relations with many countries. The Soviet Union is social imperialist."

The milk factory was built in 1965 and production began in 1966. There are 9 dairy farms and 28 tons of milk is collected each day. The milk is pumped into large tanks to be weighed, then lowered in temperature to 50°C, later sterilization is carried out at 85-87°C. Then we remove 60% of the water from the milk, condense it at a high pressure to put it into a mist-like spray, down a flat vibrating slide turning it into a powder. They produce 3 tons of powdered milk per day.

We have 126 production brigades, based in 140 villages. Grain is produced and consumed on a self sufficient basis. All primary school education is available on the brigade level, and middle school education on the administrative regional level.

Barefoot doctors are on the production brigade. We have six film projectors in this commune to show films. All brigades have TV sets that are available on the brigade level. Other entertainment comes from amateur performing groups, wire broadcasting that can relay other programs (from Peking or elsewhere) or broadcast our own. There is a loud speaker in each household that broadcasts information 3 times each day. We have sports on the factory and brigade level.

The peoples commune combines State power and economic production. The leading body is the Party committee. There is a public security bureau of the State under the leadership of the Party. Crime is considered sabotage against the people and is dealt with according to the law. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution crime has lowered, but a few individual cases still exist. When a crime is committed we mobilize the masses to criticize and educate. We care for the physically handicapped or disabled people. We have some originating before liberation; for those with no family we established a "home for the respect of the aged" to guarantee food, clothing, shelter and burial. After liberation they rely on family members; there is a commune public welfare fund. After liberation everyone has work and food here. There is no mental illness on this commune.

OCTOBER 28

Fu Swei Ching Neighborhood Committee--Comrade Li Chi Hsiang, representative of the revolutionary committee. We extend a warm welcome. Today we plan for you to visit the May 7th Patchwork and Stitch Work Production Group, prevention and treatment station, nursery and kindergarten, and visit a family. The neighborhood is the basic level unit of political power in the urban areas. We work under the West City District Revolutionary Committee. Our neighborhood has one street and 137 lanes. It is mainly a residential area, consisting of commercial workers, trade services, schools, teachers, and a total of 20,000 households; 77,000 people under the direct leadership of the revolutionary committee. There are 12 factories, 16 primary schools, 10 nurseries and kindergartens, one service station (sewing,

mending, washing) with 9 branches one neighborhood hospital, and 35 residential committees. All the factories were built up in 1958 under the guidance of Chairman Mao's general line "going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism". The broad masses of households wives went out to build these factories in all out struggle. These factories are poor, with a low technical level, but they do assist in the development of socialist production and construction. So they were built up also, not so good but for the convenience of the people, repairing household items (kitchen pans, etc.) and sewing. There are 9 branches. The hospital is responsible for out patients, health care, preventive care and propaganda work. The hospital is poorly equipped and the medical level is not so high. It combines western and traditional medicine.

Under the leadership of this neighborhood committee there are 35 residential committees. These are the self-governing mass organizations. Their leading body is elected in a democratic manner and enthusiastically serve without pay. The main tasks are to organize the people to study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought, to read newspapers, study national and international affairs, to propagate and carry out policies of the Communist Party, to mobilize the people to do hygiene work, and to prevent disease. In every residential committee there is a prevention and treatment station against infectious diseases in accordance with Mao's teaching to help and care for each other.

In relation to schools, there are after school activities. We organize the housewives who have spare time to work for the neighborhood factories that do processing for the big factories. The residential committee we will visit is on 6th alley lane. Patchwork is done by the sick, disabled people in their homes, to contribute to building socialism and get some income. The factories contract this work out, then it goes back to the factory for sale to the State. They teach patchwork here in this area. It costs 30-40 yuan for a piece that takes one month

to produce. It costs 1 yuan, 30 fen for a pair of pillow cases. Sewing machines are individually owned.

The vice chairman of the revolutionary committee is head of the health station. This is called "the red clinic"; it was set up in 1969 after the cultural revolution. There are two medical workers here who have had short term training from the hospital. The main task is to put prevention first. Here there are mostly women and children, so we specialize in those areas. The younger women work outside, so the older women over 50 are organized for regular check ups for cancer, once a year. For each new baby we keep a health record, then the hospital does so up to one year; after that, in this clinic we handle checkups and inoculations. All of the handicapped get sent to the hospital. When a child enters primary school their record goes there. For family planning, propaganda about contraception, pills, and devices are free from here. Also we organize the people to do periodic hygiene and sanitation work. Also, we give out common information about the prevention of disease. We administer some treatment, including some emergency acupuncture and "suction cup" treatment to increase circulation. We make some house calls to measure blood pressure. Chairman Mao has a June 26th directive in medical work saying put the stress on the rural areas, so we set up this clinic so that more medical workers could go to the countryside. This center is mainly for propaganda work, for prevention and then treatment of the masses. Chairman Mao had already said that medical work should be mass oriented to workers, peasants, and soldiers. There are 3-in-1 combinations (district hospital--neighborhood hospital--masses). The request for a center comes from the masses, then the revolutionary committee transmits directives to the masses. The neighborhood committee sums up the mass view and sets up a center with the help of a district hospital. The center has an income; we charge 5¢ per call, 50% goes to the medical workers but they do not live on this income, e.g. a woman who has a son and a husband who works. Main attention is to whooping cough, tetanus, measles, polio,

and tuberculosis--all require vaccinations.

Comrade Chang Shu Yieng, 58 years old, has 3 members in her family--wife, husband and son (27 years old and a welder). Husband has worked for 10 years on a forest farm in the western suburbs and comes home on the weekends. She is a member of the residential committee. She doesn't work. She has 2 1/2 rooms and she pays 3 yuan, 40 fen per month. Whenever a person needs a house they apply to a housing management committee under the municipality, district or neighborhood. Electricity and running water has a meter for the entire courtyard, each family on this courtyard will be charged 1 yuan per month. Garbage is set in an alley in one place and picked up at night and taken to the suburbs (free) on the district level (by the public sanitation team). The housing management committee repairs all houses. Coal is supplied by the neighborhood, costing on the average 3 yuan in the summer, 5-6 yuan a month in the winter. There are many study groups of 15-16 people, meeting twice a week for 2 hours. Now the focus is on Lin Piao and Confucius, newspaper editorials and special articles. Our personal library has 3 volumes of Capital, 4 volumes of Selected Works of Marx and Engles, the Selected Works of Lenin, Chinese history, philosophy, history of world, Chinese literature. This belongs to her son. He is not a member of the Communist Party. She goes to the cinema and opera often, and listens to the radio.

Before liberation her husband was a rickshaw driver, and she was a nurse for rich people. Life was very hard. After liberation our life has changed. My husband had never had a mattress or quilt. Before liberation, although she heard about the revolution she didn't have a good understanding of it. All she knew was they were for poor people so instinctively all the poor people supported it. After liberation they were very happy--poor people now have political rights and economic gains. After liberation there were illiterates, but they learned of the policies of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao.

Discussion: Under the residential committee there are 3 or 4 study groups composed

of 20 households. The residential committee organizes political study meetings for the group to carry on twice a week at a fixed time. If there is a special meeting called the information comes through the group leader. Recreational activities are mainly film shows, morning exercises, going to a park, or for a walk because residents are old. While this is not collectively organized, it is encouraged and often facilitated by collectively buying tickets to the cinema. Between neighborhoods all contradictions are resolved through consultations and discussions, e.g., if the people propose to set up a service center then the two neighborhoods will send representatives to discuss the location to serve both neighborhoods.

This area used to be known as the "poor northwest region" where poor folks were concentrated. West of the big street there was a dirty water ditch, no drainage, most residents were workers, rickshaw drivers, laborers. Since liberation both our political and social life have undergone great changes. Health and sanitation have been greatly improved, we have built roads where there were narrow lanes, broadened streets, and we've built hospitals and many new houses. All the working people living here are entirely liberated and are masters of their own destiny. These poor people here are very thankful to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party because only after liberation could they stand up and have improved living conditions. The neighborhoods are divided now on a geographical basis only, not a social basis.

Before liberation there were many crimes and that was a result of the old social system. These problems could not be solved by the reactionary government since they were based on the social system. Since liberation our Party and government has paid great attention to educating the people in communist morality to love and care for each other, to love the collective and return lost things to the rightful owner. Through education of communism, the criminal cases have been fundamentally solved. Now it is the common people's love of the collective and desire

to help others that sets the moral standards. However, China is still a class society, and the influences of the exploiting classes are left over and exist in the minds of some people. There are some in China who act against the collective, and still some are counter-revolutionaries. Our policy is to help them, educate them and to transform them ideologically to be a new man. There are a very small number of crime committers. Though education and help is our main approach, if they still stick to the old habits, punishment is still necessary. But even here the effort is to reform them, to concentrate on transformation. So far in this area we haven't had any people who refuse transformation.

We educate the school children with society--teachers--parents, constituting the 3-in-1 combination. We mainly educate them to learn from the peasants and workers. Whenever a school student misbehaves then they will be steeled for a period of time in the rural areas to learn from the experiences of the lower and middle peasants in the 3 great struggles. Then they are assigned by the State to a job in a certain place. They can choose to live back here or change their place of residence. Usually they stay with their parents; of course if they are in the countryside they will stay with the peasants.

Before liberation people of different classes lived in different areas; poor folks lived here. After liberation we put stress on improving our living conditions; first housing repair and construction and services. Right after liberation we set up a neighborhood office in charge of political study and improvement of living conditions (theory and practice). Since 1958 more services and factories were developed. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the neighborhood office was changed into the neighborhood committee. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we had a district peoples committee. Afterwards, the revolutionary committee was formed. Peking was a consumer city. There was no production, housewives had no jobs, but since 1958 there are 12 factories here and many services. They (housewives) stood up politically and economically. The women are

standing up. I'm sure the visit will enhance our friendship. We welcome you to our neighborhood again. We hope you'll bring the Chinese greeting to the American people.

Headquarters of the Friendship Association: Discussion with Hu Hung-Fan, council member, Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

Warmest welcome. Each time friends come we gather to exchange views, and each time we find you bring good news that we are glad to hear. It is very inspiring for us to hear that good work has been done in the United States. We were very pleased at the formation of the national organization. I was in the USA two years ago with the acrobatic troop, and only visited four cities. I left with the impression of friendship, and the need for more information about New China to be available in the USA. I think this will serve as a good foundation for further development. As you have just told us, some of your cities have associations, and some will establish them. Perhaps now the associations are small and newly formed, but we feel very good progress is being made. We cherish the spirit shown through your work. We believe that all things develop from small to big, from lack of experience to rich in experience. As long as we are engaged in a progressive and just cause it will always grow and succeed. We believe that the cause of friendship is just and represents the interests of both people. We are sure your work will develop. I would also like to express our thanks to our friends. What you are doing is a very important job, since China and the US are both big countries with big populations. It is the stand of the Chinese Communist Party and government that the people are always the decisive factor. Chairman Mao says the US people are a great people. During the past two decades our relations were not normal, but the US people were not at fault. The US government pursued a policy against China, a hostile policy.

In the past imperialism enjoyed special privileges in China. We used to say that there were three big mountains, feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capi-

talism. A big one, US imperialism, became the dominating force against China during and after the war against Japan. So to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek, running dog of US imperialism, would lead to the imperialist countries losing privileges. And then through three years of struggle the Chinese people were liberated. Of course, several millions lost their lives during the war. The Chinese people were slaughtered by weapons given by the US government to Chiang. This was a bad thing, but the Chinese people were taught through these struggles to overcome all enemies. Right after 1949 when the Peoples Republic of China was founded, US imperialism started the war in Korea, occupied Taiwan and set up the blockade against the Peoples Republic of China hoping to strangle her. But in fact this has been proved an illusion and their policies proved bankrupt. That's why the US government had to reconsider its attitude toward China a few years ago. Of course, they have their own reasons, but the basis is its unpopularity among the masses of people in the United States. The US government didn't isolate China but was isolated from the US people. We think that the restoration of relations is the result of the common effort of the two peoples. The relations are not completely normalized, but in general we think the relations are good, especially when compared to the past.

At present the fundamental problem is to carry out the Shanghai Communique. The main problem mentioned is the problem of Taiwan because there is only one China and Taiwan is a part of it. The Chinese people must liberate Taiwan. This is an unshakable policy. So we think it is very good to normalize relations, and we must implement the Shanghai Communique. It is the main trend that the people want information on and are friendly with China. But on the other hand, there are a small group of hostile forces against China who try to sabotage relations, and a relatively large number with bad ideas due to the long history of anti-China propaganda in the US. They have erroneous views and misunderstand. They are all possible friends in the future because we believe over 95% are friendly towards China. Those opposing are a small number.

I personally witnessed and experienced this in the USA. We find this friendly attitude manifested in the reception of our acrobatic troop, more than five curtain calls to a standing ovation lasting over five minutes--a good expression of friendship impossible to fight against. In the black market tickets were \$50 to \$100. Of course this shows the artistic level is good but more important is the expression of profound friendship of the US people. On the other hand, there are always some reactionaries with anti-China slogans. The audience was disgusted with them, they were unpopular. I can tell you a story that happened in Chicago--a reactionary dropped some tear gas during the performance. So the show was interrupted, and the audience left. This reactionary element tried intimidation and fear, but this was only wishful thinking. We announced that the performance would continue and the audience stayed on. It was winter time, very cold outside. However, nearly everyone remained with only 50 people leaving because their children had to go home. Those 50 people returned the next day. When we resumed our performance we announced that we came to promote Sino-American friendship, and that we knew only a small handful of people are hostile. The audience gave over 10 minutes applause and gave 12 curtain calls. When they left the theatre several hundred people remained to salute the Chinese performers.

Common to the total world, old associations are going on and in some countries new associations are forming. This proves Mao's words "We have friends all over the world". Question--What kind of organization should the association be? Our views are the same as yours--the association should be a broad mass organization to work for friendship with people of various strata. To say it is easy, to carry it out is difficult. Two tendencies deserve attention:

- A. Making the association into a political party. This is especially true for progressive friends at the beginning when they lack experience. They thought only progressive thinkers who support Marxism-Leninism can be members, only those who support socialism are qualified. These friends were not very patient with those who wish to know about China but have

erroneous ideas and refuse to include them in the association. By so doing the association cannot extend to a large scale. One foreign friend said if all people are into Marxism-Leninism then why is it necessary to establish the association. Later on they summed up the experiences and shifted to the new views. Some friends have told us that their work has had ups and downs two or three times. Some other friends said the new work represents a growing association and more and more people take part in the activities.

B. To pay no attention to political contents. They draw in people with confused thinking, some who don't distinguish New China from Old China, and advocate a two-China policy. Of course all of these people are not bad, they just have erroneous views. But to be a member there is an elementary requirement, to believe in one China. So a friend must support the resolute stand of the Chinese masses. In the past some introduce old China and not New China to the people, only propaganda about Chinese antiques.

There were also certain associations under the control of revisionist parties, viewing that the association should have no line with politics and refused to publicize Chinese views on political questions. For example, during the period of the Sino-Indian boundary question many people wanted to know the truth, China's view, but these associations refused to send out information because the associations should not be linked to politics. So I asked, "are you a friend of China?". I said the world reactionaries are slandering New China and as a friend, why don't you send out Chinese materials. So we think these people are not friends, sham friends or even enemies. We think it is good to mention that as a friend of China, it would be correct to speak out against the slander of China.

Of course we welcome criticisms from friends. We have defeats. We need criticisms. But attention should be paid to the motives of the criticisms and prevent

using the association as a disguise to attack China. We learned that most people were in disagreement with these erroneous views. Why can't we make direct criticism to the Chinese and not in public? For example, we read about public criticism in one association publication saying China is going to join the world bank, and the world monetary organization. What is the basis of this? A pseudo-friend based himself on the western press. In fact, there was no such news. He criticized China for joining a capitalist organization. He would have been correct but he based himself on no information. It is not true. China had done or said no such thing, so he was following rumors. If he has no ulterior motive, he was taken in by the western propaganda. So we think it is very good for you to come to the conclusion to make direct criticism based on concrete evidence. I learned that in some of the association chapters there are Trotskyites. In organizing a delegation to China they included a Trotskyite leader. Its only natural for us to reject his participation. We were told he was very dissatisfied and wrote to Chou En Lai, but Comrade Chou will not help him. We learned that this person has withdrawn his membership from the association and wrote a long article in his magazine refuting China's view on Trotsky. This reflects the second tendency.

To summarize, during the process of establishing associations two tendencies emerged, left and right. In the associations in many countries, work proceeds when these two tendencies are overcome. Since here we have some associations and some forming you can use this information for your reference. Of course what I have said concerns the associations. You have used the term "outreach" and we like the expression. You should try to reach as many people as possible. So then you will reach a broad mass in gaining a better understanding of New China. There is a good point in the association in the USA because from the very beginning you have carried out the principle of self reliance. It is our belief that for a peoples organization it is necessary to have the spirit of self reliance, and as long as it does it will have its vitality. I can tell you that in the past some associations were controlled

by revisionists who would ask for monetary support. We think it is of no significance. "Can you use money to buy friendship?" This would be unreliable. So we think it is very valuable for true friends to work and we believe that they can overcome all difficulties. You have done so and we are happy to learn that; e.g., on this visit you are not paying within China, but you paid transportation costs, and some of you will lose your jobs. So you are our true friends. We communists in China worked in this spirit during the revolution. We believe revolution cannot be exported. You must rely on your own people. We did so with self reliance to overcome all difficulties. Of course self reliance is basic, but secondly international assistance is good. But self reliance is first. Besides, international assistance is mainly spiritual--political, not material. We got international assistance, but mainly political and moral help. The Vietnamese people won their struggle, but the anti-war movement in the USA also helped them. Their own efforts were the basis of their victory. Since they won, they also have inspired the US people.

So self reliance is important to all peoples organizations and political parties.

In the past there existed two tendencies on the mass line, to carry it out or not, and certain associations under revisionist leadership did not pursue the mass line. It happens like this, one or two monopolize all the work. How could they do the work successfully in a mass organization? When the masses come, they are treated by the one or two as invited guests. They fail the masses. Some follow the mass line and mobilize the people in a joint effort, including decision-making. In these cases when they are small they can quickly grow. Some of these newsletters were all written by one or two folks, and mailed out or kept without distributing them. But there is another way to handle the public. Many people join in writing, producing, and distributing the publication and the cost would be much lower. Mass line is important in the work of the association. Three points: the political line--this is

decisive. What kind of organization it should be is based on whether the line is correct. Spirit of self reliance, style of work--mass line for any friendship association if these three problems are properly resolved then the work will develop. We think that the work of the associations in the US have dealt with these three points, and that is good. What I have said is for your reference. Each association is an independent organization. There is no such thing as a directive, or authority. We have fraternal relations. We always follow Chairman Mao's line to "oppose big nation chauvinism." One of our main criticisms of the Soviet revisionist party is that they did not treat others on an equal footing. They issued directives. As a Marxist-Leninist country we always work under Chairman Mao's teaching in dealing with party, state, and peoples' relations. Of course we should do our best to help in your work, e.g., exchanges through delegations or tourists, because many friends were asked "have you ever been in China before?" So we think it is reasonable to suggest that delegations be organized. You suggested getting more pictures, films, and exhibitions, because speech is only one form of education. So we will do our best, but it must be done step by step. Its 6:00 and I will stop but I repeat this is only for your reference.

Thank you again for your friendship work. I wish you new success.

OCTOBER 29

Hsinhua Primary School--Comrade Ting Lin, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, another vice chairman, member of the revolutionary committee, two teachers, 1 staff, and students; 5th grade, 4th grade, 5th grade, 2nd grade, & 4th grade.

We're very glad that our friends from the US have come to visit. On behalf of all teachers and pupils I extend a very warm welcome. It is our hope that understanding and friendship will be enhanced through your visit. Our program today consists of a brief account of the school, visits to class rooms, a visit to a small factory combination of study and labor, and a kindergarten.

Discussion: The name is Peking Western District, Hsinhua Primary School, founded

in 1910. At present, there are 1,095 pupils divided into 26 classes. The number of teachers, staff and workers is 75. Also we have a kindergarten with 170 pupils from 3 to 6 years old, with 27 teachers and staff. Our work has been done according to the policy of our party; the educational policy of our party is to ensure all-rounded development, morally, intellectually, and physically, and to ensure the development of socialist consciousness.

Starting from liberation in 1949, the new social system has ensured rapid development of our education, but, owing to the interference of the revisionist line of Liu Shao Chi, the education was interrupted. At our school since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we began to transform our education. This transformation is all round but mainly the following: first the transformation on schooling. In the past we have required six years for each pupil. This was left over from before liberation, but we all felt this period was too long because according to this system the pupils would have six years primary school, six years middle school, the university for five or six years, then people were 25 or 26 years old. We think that young people around 20 are full of vigor and vitality, so they should participate in socialist construction earlier than 25. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao instructed that the schooling period should be shortened and education revolutionarized. According to this instruction by Chairman Mao the schools at various levels are being transformed so we are experimenting by shortening the years from six to five. In order to achieve this objective we must transform our teaching methods and curriculum materials.

The second transformation requires us to correctly implement the educational policy of the party and strengthen the ideological training of pupils. We should ensure pupils' development morally, intellectually, and physically, so it is very important to have a balance of the three. In the past, the revisionist line put stress on intellectual development. As a result the teachers and pupils were only thinking of getting good marks. At that time if the pupils got good marks they had gotten everything. That means they could go to better middle schools, or to a

university and become famous or an expert. So in those days if we asked the pupils what kind of people they wanted to become they said scientists, men of letters, or experts. Of course the students should have ideals, furthermore socialist construction will need all kinds of specialists. But we think it won't do for those pupils to think of becoming specialists, and not integrate themselves with workers, soldiers and peasants. It is because of this that the objective of our education is for students to be revolutionary successors. So moral education is the first priority, i.e., we educate the children with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought, we intend to let them know basic Marxism-Leninism from childhood. We also pay close attention to the intellectual education of the pupils. Now the subjects taught are Chinese language, math, political science, physical culture, drawing, and singing; from the 4th grade additional courses of common knowledge are taught. This includes history, astronomy, geography, industry and agriculture. We use most of the school time in these classes. We ask them to study hard but we make it clear that after better knowledge they should serve the people when they grow up.

The third aspect of transformation is to combine teaching with productive labor. In the past this was divorced. The school was as if run behind closed doors. Although the pupils might learn a lot, they couldn't put it into practice; e.g., they learned math, but actually they could not measure things and some didn't know scales and measures. Or they may learn something about agriculture; but in the countryside they couldn't distinguish wheat from corn. Every math teacher didn't even know this because we learned dead knowledge from books in the old tradition. During the cultural revolution we criticized this and we said this was to "grow crops on the blackboard". Now we organize the pupils to go to the countryside and the factories to take part in labor, and the pupils of senior classes go to vegetable markets or stores to do spare time labor. In this school we also have a small factory with four workshops producing wooden Chinese chess. We also recruit veteran workers to educate our pupils, and also PLA fighters to come to tell stories to educate stu-

dents in our revolutionary tradition. Through these activities our teachers combine teaching with practice, and are in constant contact with workers and peasants. The pupils are brought into an awareness of larger problems and then they can learn more. But we mainly see that through these activities we educate them ideologically. That is, we see to it that they love workers and peasants, and love labor. Then they can gradually develop into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

In this school we pay attention to physical culture and health, and also the organization and guidance of out-of-class activities. All together we have organized more than 20 groups for singing, dancing, ping pong, Chinese boxing, and radio groups. In this way the pupils can develop their own likings. The classes of each day consist of four periods in the morning and two in the afternoon. Every week there is one lecture on preventive health and hygiene, also on how to cure a small illness. We coordinate all vaccinations to pupils. Every term a student gets two eye examinations and is measured for height and weight. Every morning after two periods they have eye exercises based on acupuncture points to prevent nearsightedness. They massage acupuncture points 32 times, each of four ways to prevent nearsightedness. In the classroom there is the rotation of seating once a month, the lamps are kept bright, and the walls kept clean. Additional data on the school:

- (a) Calligraphy class (writing) from 2nd grade. 1st grade learns 700 characters, graduates know at least 3,000 characters.
- (b) Drawing class is once a week.
- (c) After 2nd period eye exercise, then calistenics for 6-7 minutes.
- (d) Library has 25,000 books.
- (e) Produce 1,000 sets of chess per week. Every pupil works 90 minutes per week in the factory.

Discussion:

The pupils can criticize the teachers, and furthermore the teachers should take initiative to ask for criticism. At the end of the term the opinions will be asked

from the pupils. I wonder if you know the pupil Kwansi Huang Shuai. She was a pupil in a primary school and she voiced her opinions about her teachers that resulted in being published in the newspapers. We organized the pupils to learn from her deeds. Kwansi was in the 5th grade in a Western suburb of Peking. This comrade will give an example from a 4th grade Chinese language class. There was a very active pupil but he had a defect, when he wanted to speak he didn't raise his hand. The discipline was broken and I criticized him--"why can't you remember to raise your hand like I have said!". Later the pupils criticized me saying it won't do to just blame him, we should help him, both the teachers and his classmates. Gradually after some time he overcame it. Parents can criticize teachers and vice versa because they have the same objective, to educate the pupils well, e.g., the teachers will try to do ideological persuasion but sometimes the parents will beat the children and the teachers then will criticize the parents. The teachers should be responsible to pupils and parents, but in the main, to the revolutionary cause to train revolutionary successors. The teachers and parents should coordinate their work to train the revolutionary successors; e.g., every term we hold a meeting of parents once or twice for summation and at other times for specific reasons. Sometimes we contact parents by letter; e.g., in the summer. We encourage students to swim and we send a letter to get their support. When vacation comes we ask that the time be used well. The most commonly used method is a home visit or telephone contact on an individual basis. When there is progress or problems, the relationship between parents and teacher is a relationship between comrades in arms. Teachers teach for revolution, pupils study for revolution. Our method of education is basically persuasion. But there are instances of impatience when teachers get into a rage, then pupils will criticize. Physical punishments are forbidden, so if it happens it is an error. If the pupils do misbehave we persist with persuasion; e.g., we will invite veteran workers or poor peasants to come and tell their experiences of why they should take care of the property of the

schools, e.g., desks and chairs. The old people explain why socialism is not easy to develop and why we should love the property of the school. If some pupils commit errors and refuse to be persuaded, then we will criticize him or give him warning or take notice of what he has done, but we will not expell the pupil. We want to educate them within the school, so we rarely use punishment.

The curriculum materials are the same throughout Peking, but our methodology is discussed with the pupils, e.g., pupils used to learn something about agriculture in books--the excellent work on the communes, water conservation projects, etc. They wished to go out and see for themselves, and the teachers organized them and instituted the "open door method of learning". They went on a visit. By these activities the pupils activeness and creativity is developed like Chairman Mao says "take initiative in your study."

In our country the handicapped people receive education like everyone else; e.g., we have a cripple pupil who must use a crutch. When this pupil entered the school the teachers organized other students to help him when coming to school. They go to his home to help him come and when they went home they would go together. And during the class when they stood up to ask questions he was allowed to answer without standing up. If the students are going out to a film or to the countryside he would go with their help or by special transportation. As time goes on this collective style becomes more natural. One day it was raining heavily. We found out two large students had gone and carried him to school. In Peking there are special schools for the blind and deaf mutes. There is a difference in the capacity of pupils, some are a bit slow. The methods are first, additional guidance by teachers out of class. Also, we organize the pupils to help each other but still some are not clear. So apart from helping, we encourage them to study together. Some of them can improve. As to those with very low results we can ask them to repeat a year, but only once, then they must continue with their classmates.

Generally teachers are assigned to posts after completion of teachers train-

ing school. During teachers training school they do practice teaching in primary school, e.g., there are 12 teachers practicing here at this school, but their time in study is more than in practice teaching. Apart from primary school teachers, we also invite workers, peasants, and soldiers to come and make reports, e.g., we invited a commune member to report on how cucumbers are planted. Sometimes this is done in the countryside, e.g., 300 students were going to the autumn harvest; before we had peasants come to explain. Sometimes we ask neighborhood people to come and report on "class" education.

The teachers have their own evaluation. After a certain period pupils will get a summary on their intellectual, moral and physical achievements and what problems must be overcome. Generally most students can correctly evaluate themselves, although some individual students in their summing up fail to realize shortcomings and therefore are encouraged to seek help from other students. There is another approach. Every term two examinations are given and the teachers send a report to the parents on individual progress.

The Little Red Soldiers--The Little Red Soldiers is a mass organization in which we enroll as many pupils as possible. There is no militia training. They learn from the PLA to strengthen their sense of discipline, e.g., how to stand at attention, march, and drill. We take an active part in the present campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. For example, we write articles, childrens songs, and stories about the struggles between the legalist school and Confucius and his followers. We have study groups on Marxism-Leninism after class. We also go right into the society, a market or shop, working to serve the people. The Little Red Soldiers also help people with shortcomings. For example, if some people didn't understand the lesson then afterwards we coordinate ourselves to help. Our Marxist-Leninist study is inside and outside of class--inside, the main class is political science but the spirit of Marxism-Leninism is in all classes. For the lower grades we mainly tell Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse-Tung Thought stories and

quotations, for senior grades we let them study excerpts of various works. For example, the senior grades are learning to sing the Internationale, so the teacher organizes the pupils to study Lenin's articles on E. Pottier, the author of the song. Study on Mao Tse-Tung Thought is mainly the five articles for young people, senior grades study things such as "Orientation of the Youth Movement" and at present we are criticizing Lin Piao's reactionary military line, so we study Mao Tse-Tungs' "Single Spark".

We emphasize the study of news in political science. Every afternoon there is 15 minutes completely devoted to this. In previous weeks they mainly studied editorials about October 1st, China's 25th anniversary, and Hua's speech given in the United Nations. The radio has a special program for the little red soldiers so they also get news at home. We emphasize educating children on current events and the different struggles in society. The pupils have a slogan--"we are sitting in the class room but we have the world in our minds". They strengthen ties with people all over the world. Chairman Mao teaches--"We have friends all over the world."

The curriculum contents are organized by educational bureaus of the Peking municipality. It is not nationwide as far as I know. Every province and municipality has its own teaching material. They are different based on the special needs of the locality. We are beginning to pay attention to using media--films, slides, tapes, records, radio, and TV. Some records are being used to learn by imitation. We organize pupils to see films about Tachia. There is a class about physical culture two periods per week. Some of the pupils join the sports teams of the school (basketball, ping pong, track, etc.). Some also join the district team. We have special teachers for this. Generally speaking, all students take part. Illness is an exception; some individuals like the cripple pupil do not take part.

The year is divided into two terms; the first term begins in February, ends in July and the second term is from August to January. There are two vacations during

the year of one month each; every term has 22 weeks. For senior grades there are 10 days each term to learn agriculture and industry--2 days in agriculture, 2 in industry (a tailor shop or factory not far from school), and 6 days in the school factory. Every week we devote 5½ days to study, Sunday is free. After class work is voluntary. Homework is assigned. School facilities include rooms for TV, a library and play areas. There are also group activities, for example, several students live in the same courtyard or nearby and they will study, exercise, and play together. Of course, other activities consume their time; films, parks, family chores, and some will go to other cities to visit relatives, etc.

The transformation of teaching methods is part of the educational revolution. The general objective is that the teachers and students can fulfill the tasks handed down by the Party. In the field of teaching methods Chairman Mao teaches, "We oppose spoon feeding. We support elicitation." In the past the teachers covered much material whether the students understood it or not, it was like force feeding a duck. Of course at present some teachers are better than others. Just as the students help each other the teachers work together for individual and collective improvement. We also have the students evaluate and help the teachers. They learn from each other, the students sometimes say that the teacher often speaks to us on and on without our understanding the lesson. Then the teachers take this criticism and try to improve. We think this is a good method.

In 1910 this was a primary school attached to a womans college in Peking. Later the college became a state-run normal college. As far as I know in 1949 there were 500-600 pupils with 30 teachers. The housing and equipment were bad. This building and one other were built after liberation. Before liberation the classrooms were poor, the few books were not fit and equipment was scarce. The pupils were from the rich because before liberation the schools were not numerous. Most schools were private rather than public, so it was impossible for laboring people to send their children to school. The students were in school to learn

to serve the capitalists, they were trained to become famous, how to make profits, and how to be officials. Of course the old schools were like this.

Chairman Mao has paid much attention to education. This school has been developed; apart from the increase of pupils and teachers we have received 1,000 articles of teaching equipment and 25,000 books. It is comparatively better than other schools here in Peking although I have been to others that are better equipped (auditorium, swimming pool, more modern equipment), but not many. There are many with fewer facilities than ours, we have a piano but many have none. We are a developing country and since liberation we have concentrated on guaranteeing everyone an education in school and then raising the level of facilities in our schools. This fundamental change is the correct policy of the Party. The students we enroll are from the two neighborhoods nearby. All for certain ages. Our goal is to train pupils to be revolutionary successors. When asked, the students expressed the desire to be a textile worker, a steelroller worker, PLA fighter and work in the countryside too. One said: "We are happy here in the primary school. The purpose of our cultural knowledge is to build communism when we grow up because our learning is for the revolution. The purpose of our study is to build socialism after we grow up. That is why we want to study."

OCTOBER 30th

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

A warm welcome from Comrade Szu, head of research and a Li national. He introduced the following comrades: Comrade Ching of the revolutionary committee and a Chuang national, a student from the Hue national, a student Miao national, Prof. Chen from research, a student Kazakh national, a student of Mongolian nationality, and a few other students. He also introduced Chaing Shuo Chuan, director of the general office of the Han National Institute who gave us a brief account of the Institute and the exhibition, then led us to various classrooms for further discussion.

The name is the Central Institute of National Minorities, founded in 1951. The task of the Institute is to train cadres of various nationalities. Since its establishment there have been 9,600 graduates. At present we have 1,500 students from 53 nationalities. There are 55 nationalities in China; apart from Han which is the majority, the nationalities are relatively small. We call them minorities but we are all fraternal. There are 9 institutes to train cadre of national minorities but in Peking this is the only one, the others are in the minority areas. There are 5 departments in the Institute: (1) The cadre training department--in which we train those cadre already engaged in work above the commune level. They receive training for 1 or 2 years then return to their area of work. (2) The Political department--here we train theoretical workers and study political theory. They study for 3 years. (3) The Language department--in which we train translators and interpreters to use their language with Han. There are 5 sections in this department, Tibetan, Mongolia, Korean, Vighur, and Kasakh. Students study for 3 years. (4) The department of Arts has 3 sections; music, dancing, and fine arts. This is to train the art workers of the minority people and requires 3 years of study. (5) Preparatory class--in which the students raise their educational level and learn the Han language so they can go on to different departments. Most students here are from the border regions, we mainly train minorities but there are some Han here. The Han students study the culture and arts of the minority areas. All the students have free tuition and free room and board and clothing. Special considerations are given to different customs of the various minorities, and educational transformation has been carried out here as in other higher educational institutions in China. One of these reforms is that before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the students here were mainly middle school graduates but now we take students after only two years of practical work and the schooling time has been shortened. In the past it was 5 years, now it is 2-3 years. We are improving the teaching materials to make sure they meet the needs of the differ-

ent areas. Teaching methods have changed; we now take the students out into the society, factories and rural areas, or in the army. The national minorities range from large to small; for example, the Chuang national minority is the largest with 10,000,000 and the Hoche national minority is the smallest with 1,000 (only 300 at liberation). Before liberation only 10 national minorities had their own written language. After liberation the government helped another 10 develop a written language and 5 to reform their written language (some words were arabic script and some were romanized).

Mao called all nationals to unite after liberation, the basic policy is one of equality and unity and of the national minorities equal rights. Chou en Lai issued a directive not to use ~~狗~~ which is a derogatory symbol used on minorities meaning dog. Mao has met with the Institute people 14 times and Chou came to the Institute in 1956. The Institute has been originally set up in Yen-an. Students here come from 402 counties, 16 provinces or autonomous regions.

After the formation of the Chinese Communist Party most of the minorities were semi-colonial and semi-feudal. About 30,000,000 minority people were at this stage just like the Han, and about 1 million in Yunnan and Szechuan were at the stage of slave society. Four million were at the stage of the serf system; this prevailed mostly in Tibet, and a small part ^{of} Uighur, and among several minority people from the border region of Yunnan. Six hundred thousand Wa were at the stage of primitive communalism. Before liberation the Kuomintang did not admit that there were national minorities. They oppressed them politically and exploited them economically. They were also discriminated against socially. This resulted in some minority people mixing with the Han and daring not to wear national dress or speak their language. They even pursued a policy to compel the national minorities to use the Han language and dress as a policy of assimilation. In those days the imperialists used to collaborate with the Kuomintang and with local rulers in the minority region to oppress the people. As a result of this collaboration the oppression deepened. There are many Marxist-Leninist works on the national question but the basic question

is that the national struggle in the final analysis is class struggle. The reason national oppression exists is because class exploitation exists. Only when the system of exploitation and oppression is abolished can the national question be solved. The concrete forms can only be decided by the people themselves in each country based on their conditions. Since liberation there are representatives from different national minorities in administrative work at all levels. Apart from that they formed autonomous regions in which they formed separate governments. In the second and third national peoples congress, 14% of the deputies were from national minorities. This is more than double the percentage of minorities in the whole country. In formulating policies the opinions of the minority people were consulted.

At the time of liberation the national minorities were at different stages, but after liberation we all should be socialist, so reforms were planned for all areas. We now have the policy to enable all areas to formulate the policy which is suitable for their development to socialism. For example, the policy to develop the economy is development with the decision whether to retain some of the old that will help build the new being made by the people themselves. Perhaps this can be manifested in the number of minority cadre in the autonomous regions. Usually there are more minority cadre than Han cadre. In fact in these autonomous regions under the county level there are all minorities--people on the grass roots level, for example in the communes. After liberation we educated the Chinese people to oppose Han chauvinism and Bundism but we put stress on Han chauvinism. Since this was left over by history it was impossible to eliminate this all at once. For example, the Han cadre working in the minority areas still had the ideas of not respecting the culture and character of each national minority or they did not serve the minority people wholeheartedly, like just issuing orders. This style of work can be found among the Han cadre working in these minority areas. Lui Shao Chi, number one capitalist roader revisionist, always propagated the idea that it

was impossible to realize socialism in the minority areas. We found excuses not to carry out the necessary social reforms. Bundism found its manifestation in over stressing the special character of each nationality. Persons like the Dalai Lama were against reform of any kind because they wanted to maintain the serf system. Even after liberation and more than 20 years of education we have eliminated much Han chauvinism and Bundism but there are remnants of these wrong ideas.

FOREIGN POLICY BRIEFING AT THE INSTITUTE OF FRIENDSHIP

Presentation by Comrade Li--My impression is that you have made quite a study of our policy and that you have a good spirit. Perhaps I will not do well since I'm not an expert.

Twenty-five years have passed since the founding of the Peoples Republic of China. We've last the 50's, 60's and are into the 70's. During this time great changes have taken place. Before 1970 there were only 47 countries that had diplomatic relations with the PRC. Now there are 97 countries. So it shows a great development in our friendly relations with peoples in the world. Even the US government wants to normalize relations. But of course this is only preliminary and the American people have shown great interest. For example, the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association was recently founded as a national organization and this is something the US people and Chinese people are happy with.

Generally you ask two main questions: 1. What are the principles guiding our state relations and 2. How do we carry out the Marxist-Leninist line of proletarian internationalism in support of revolutionary struggles in various countries. In the early days after the founding of the Peoples Republic of China many countries took a hostile posture, so in the 1950's only 30 countries had diplomatic relations with China. As soon as the PRC was founded we declared that we would establish relations on the basis of principles. Then in 1955 at the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, the five principles were put forward: (1) mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) mutual non-aggression, (3) mutual non-interference in each others

internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefit, and (5) peaceful coexistence. During the past decades we have persisted with these five principles for all countries and these five principles do not include mentioning social systems or ideologies. So after 1970 many countries recognized these five principles.

For the people in various countries that want to make revolution we feel that it is the affair of that country and as a result of this position our implementation of the five principles has resulted in good effects and they are welcomed by the people of the world. If things are going the other way around we must see the social system and we couldn't relate to some countries. In other words, if they violate the five principles we are resolutely opposed. If some who have relations with us have fascist dictatorships, for example the Soviet Union has turned to social imperialism and although the relations are bad we maintain state relations. So if we put forward a demand to have the same social system and ideology as China it would be difficult to have relations with many countries, that would be isolationism. We don't have relations with Brazil, South Africa, Portugal, and the Phillipines. However, the Phillipines has sent representatives to visit the Peoples Republic of China and are interested in developing relations. Bangladesh has not expressed that wish. Portugal has not abandoned its colonies, South Africa is under white racist rule, so there is no possibility of establishing relations with them at this moment. Israel still carries out aggression at this moment so they don't meet these conditions for peaceful coexistence. These have been our principles for the past few decades so if we keep these in mind our policy will be easy to understand. For example, take the US, in 1972 Nixon came to China and the Shanghai Communique was signed; but the Taiwan question has not been solved. It is written in the Shanghai Communique that Taiwan is part of China. But this is not implemented by the US because Taiwan has an embassy in the US, manifesting the 2-China policy. So we say the relationship with the US is only semi-normalized because the US is not in conformity with the five principles--there is still a way to go.

How and what is our position on revolutionary struggles? China is a country with a proletarian dictatorship and we take a Marxist-Leninism line in dealing with world affairs. China is a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party. Our position is Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism. In carrying out proletarian internationalism we should unite with certain people and certain countries. We should unite with genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. We have to unite with countries and nations oppressed by imperialism and social imperialism. We also support countries striving for national independence to safeguard national sovereignty. Had we adopted a passive attitude ours could not be called a socialist country. Although we have normal state relations with certain countries, we also support revolutionary struggles of the peoples in those countries, with political support, public opinion, moral support and material economic support, and if possible, if necessary we can provide military support. There is some contradiction here but it can be solved. For example, with Britain, France, and West Germany we have economic and trade relations, exchange science and technology and educated persons. But the social turbulence and corruption in those countries, the economic crisis, energy, unemployment, workers and students struggles--are carried in our newspapers. We are doing work to expose the decadent nature of capitalism. This is the fundamental position we are taking and we never vacillate. So our friends, young or middle aged, if you have a grasp of these five principles you can have answers to many specific questions. If you don't grasp these it will be hard to grasp details. There are many things going on and we can't know them all.

The four contradictions mentioned in the political report to the 9th Congress in 1969 were: (1) imperialism versus nations; this contradiction still exists. (2) Proletariat versus bourgeoisie in capitalist and revisionist countries; this exists in the US and the Soviet Union today. (3) Imperialism versus social imperialism and control among differing countries, still exists. (4) Socialist versus imperialist and social imperialist--this still exists. The present world is in three

parts, 1st world -- the super powers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism; 3rd world, developing countries (Asia, Africa, Latin America); and the 2nd world -- the developed countries. (Note: See Teng Hsiao Ping Speech, appendix.)

Moreover, it is very clearly pointed out that the principle contradiction in the world is the people of the world vs. the superpowers. This is not to say that the rest of the contradictions have ceased to exist, but this new analysis can give a more correct reflection of the present day world. The 2 super powers are contending and colluding so there is the danger of a 3rd world war. Between the two, U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism, the greatest danger is Soviet Social imperialism. The reactionary policies of U.S. imperialism have exposed the U.S. Moreover, now it is gripped in difficulties at home and abroad so it shrinks a little to maintain its position. It refuses to give an inch. For example, Kissinger has been very busy touring the world protecting the interests of the U.S. When Nixon was in office he went to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, in order to strengthen its position, is desperately expanding its nuclear force and now many Soviet warships are in many areas of the world. Maybe they have surpassed the U.S. Wherever the U.S. is, the Soviet Union wants to be there to squeeze its way in and elbow the U.S. out. You can trace all the Soviet positions from the news. The Soviet Union has also engaged in subversion. Certain countries have been expelling S.U. diplomats, so relatively speaking in the world there is more danger from the Soviet Union. I don't know if you feel this, we feel it profoundly. It is an objective observation, not in the interest of China alone. For example, "The main target of the S.U. is China, they have stationed one million troops on the Sino-Soviet border." In fact their main purpose is to control Western Europe because they are developed. So although the Soviet Union is a threat to us, 70% of their troops are in Europe -- fake to the East, attack in the West. We do not want war but we are not afraid of war. For example, during the war of liberation Chiang Kai Shek had 4-6,000,000 troops but we wiped them out in a couple of years. Suppose the Soviet Union sent troops into China. We can hold 2-3,000,000 invading

troops. The question is can they mobilize that many -- if they enter they will not leave. For example in Korea, U.S. imperialism was rebuffed, in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism could not win and had to withdraw. So on the part of China we do not take the Soviet Union threat very seriously, we have to talk about the objective situation. Some foreign friends may think of only China but more important is the threat on the East as a whole, from the U.S. 7th fleet, and Japan.

The united front against the two superpowers --

There must be a common basis for the United Front against imperialism. It is the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism. And of course both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have their own accomplices and they can't be included. The broader the front, the better. Take China for example, we twice cooperated with the Kuomintang during the war of resistance. We formed the national united front against imperialism. A united front is very important to have in breaking a thieves gang. First we must capture the gang leader so we concentrate on the main enemy. Concentrate the fist to hit one enemy at a time. For example, some east European countries are under the control of the Soviet Union and are dissatisfied and toward this we show understanding. It doesn't mean no hope, we have hope and are confident that the people there will awaken and arise so it is the people of a country who determine the destiny of that particular country, not those of another country.

State relations between Chile and China--As long as Chile abides by the five principles we will maintain relations. The internal affairs are different, we are not fond of or support the Junta. The same is true with Britain and the United States.

What is the current stage of the revolutionary process in most countries? Most of the third world countries are in the stage of the national democratic revolution, the socialist revolution is a future task. A revolution has stages and, of course as long as capitalism exists exploitation will exist. Only when all exploi-

tation is smashed will there be communism in the world. The most important task for the third world is the national democratic revolution, whether it is backward or progressive national independence and state sovereignty for reactionary policies. Of course, the people should have a critical view. So it is very important to integrate the ways of struggle with the actual prevailing conditions. Otherwise mistakes, deviations right and left are made. So in the present struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism the main task of all countries is national independence and sovereignty and development of the national economy. It is only when the tasks of the national democratic revolution are completed that the struggle for socialism will be possible.

OCTOBER 31 -- Second Discussion on National Minorities

Yesterday there was a question about Tibet, why is it a part of China and Nepal not. First of all, in general terms we know that Tibet has long been part of China and Nepal not. This is very clear. Tibet was incorporated into the empire of Yuan in 1253 during the period of the Mongolian Empire. Troops were sent to Tibet to end some war on the side of the rulers. For 400 years there had been splits. The troops helped. So since 1253 Tibet was part of China but there had been considerable contact in the previous 5-600 years. Every since the middle of the 7th century, AD, there was close association between Han and Tibet. In 641 an emperor of the Tong Dynasty married his daughter Wen Ching to a Tibetan King, Tsun Zen Gambo. When she went to Tibet she brought the culture and productive techniques from Tong which greatly promoted the relationship between Tong and Tibet and also stimulated production in Tibet. In 710 another princess, Chin Cheng of the Tong dynasty was also married to a Tibetan King and further contacts were made. She brought a large number of cultural and technical experience of the Han national and through her the many good things of Tibet were transferred to the Han people. The close relationship between Han and Tibetians can be seen in a stone monument in front of a monastery, set by a Tibetan King in 821. On this monument the history of the relationship

was recorded in Han and Tibetan languages.

During the next 400 years the Tong Dynasty came to an end and there were many wars within the Tibetan kingdoms. So during these 400 years the relationship between China and Tibet was suspended. It was not until the 13th century in 1253 that contact was made again when the Yuan Emperor sent troops into Tibet and incorporated it into China. Since then the central government of China exercised power over Tibet. This fact lasted until liberation. In the past the political system and titles of Tibetan kings were stipulated by the Chinese Emperors. The merger of political and religious systems was set up by the Yuan in 1275 when Hu Bi-leh, a Yuan Emperor conferred the title of lama on a Tibetan religious leader Basiba, for his achievements in creating the Mongolian written language. The right to rule Tibet was also given to him. The Yuan Emperors and the Ming Emperor sent emissaries to be stationed in Tibet to supervise the administration of Tibet. Like a superintendent or minister, this lasted until the Ching Dynasty.

The title Dalai Lama is a title of honor and was bestowed by the Ching Dynasty. Starting in the 17th century the Dalai Lama was the political and religious leader of Tibet. The administrative and local officer was decided on by the Ching emperors. Another example of the authority of the central government is the incarnation of the Dalai Lama. They were not allowed to marry so the successor would usually be chosen from the very intelligent boys. There was a system for selection--the minister would draw lots out of a golden vase sent by the Ching dynasty. This demonstrates the Ching's authority over Tibet. So from all these facts you can see Tibet has long been an inseparable part of China. This was acknowledged by the imperialists who had the intention to split China. They dared not deny it; in 1905 a British minister in India, Hamilton, admitted that Tibet was part of Chinese territory. Also, when India signed a common pact with China in 1955 J. Nehru said that for several hundred years no one has denied that Tibet is part of China. Now why should this question arise? We hold that there were reactionaries,

both domestic and external who did not accept defeat since the Chinese victory in 1949, so they tried their best to spread rumors and said that Tibet was independent of China, especially in 1959 when the Dalai Lama fled to India. Since the rebellion in Tibet there has been propaganda distorting the fact that Tibet is an unalienable part of China. But from all of these facts the world's people know that Tibet has long been part of China. The Tibetan people know it well. We believe that all reactionaries hope to split China but will suffer an ignominious defeat in the end.

(Comrade from Tibet speaks)--The local government, the Ghasha, has its formation and composition decided by the central government; structure, size, even the highest ranking official was assigned by the central government. When the officials have to be removed it is decided by the central government, the highest officials and lowest officials are appointed.

The Ching Dynasty was overthrown by Sun Yat-sen's revolution. After that, the Republic of China was founded. During the Kuomintang rule they had an office with representatives of the central government working in Tibet until 1949. When the Dalai Lama drove out the Kuomintang in 1951, the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) liberated Tibet. Tibet was liberated in accordance with an agreement between the central government and Tibet. At that time, Apei Awanjma (then the local official, now vice chairman of the standing committee of the national peoples congress) was the chief representative of the Tibet local government who signed an agreement to liberate Tibet. Tibet was peacefully liberated because of the agreement of 1951.

Policy of nationalities--As you know the problem of nationalism is a component part of the question of revolution and many policies have been included in the common program and constitution concerning this. The concrete policies can be found in the common program adopted by the Chinese Peoples Political Consultative Conference. On the eve of liberation a conference was convened in which the common program was stipulated. In this program Chairman Mao's policy of carrying out regional autonomy where national minorities live in compact groups was implemented. This

policy of equality among national minorities should be carried out, the customs should be respected and their own languages and religious beliefs should be respected. The common program served as a constitution before the constitution was adopted by the First Congress. All abided by the program. After 1949 when China was liberated Chairman Mao issued a statement to call upon all nationalities in the Peoples Republic of China to unite. After that the central government sent delegations to tour the minority areas and publicize the national policies of our Party. Apart from this common program there are concrete policies. In 1950, a tentative program of training minority cadres was adopted and a tentative program for the establishment of a central institute of national minorities was adopted. Also, around this period an institute for training national minority cadres was established in many places. In 1951, the state council issued a directive to abolish all those names and ways of addressing people and the names of places or monuments which have the characteristics of discriminating against or insulting the minority nationalities. An agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was concluded between the central government and Tibet in 1951. In 1952, the central peoples government formulated an outline for regional autonomy for national minorities in the Peoples Republic of China and since then has been put into effect. These concrete policies further brought into effect the policy established in 1954 when we adopted the constitution. The spirit of all these policies included, respect for religion, customs, etc., and an outline for regional autonomy included in the constitution. There are many more on the specific areas in each autonomous region, including general principles guiding the formulation of the concrete application of these policies. After liberation one of our important tasks was to put into effect our policy of autonomous regions. This is our basic policy because it is very important to realize regional autonomy.

After liberation Chairman Mao's policy of regional autonomy was carried out. For example, in 1935 and 1946 some small local autonomous counties were already

set up in many places. In 1946, we had Hui autonomous region in Chiang (an administrative unit smaller than a county), in the Shensi Knighsa Kansu border region in northwest China. On May 1st, 1947, the Inner Mongolian autonomous region was set up. Inner Mongolia was liberated in 1946, earlier than the rest, and is near Yen-an (a liberated area that existed in Inner Mongolia). The five autonomous regions, 29 chous, and 60 counties were all set up one after another during the 1950's. In some places autonomous administrative organs were established later; they were set up in Kwei Chou and Yunan provinces in 1963. The last autonomous unit was the Tibet autonomous region in 1965. The decision was made in 1955 and preparatory work started in 1956. To adopt such a policy we aim to ensure all the nationalities in China to have equal political rights and equal status and bring into full play their political enthusiasm and their initiative in political life. Due to historical reasons the minority regions were less developed so special consideration was given to speed up development and catch up with the rest of the country in a short period of time. After more than 20 years of practice our policy has been proven correct. The unity of the country and solidarity of nationalities has been consolidated. These policies are still being carried out because problems still exist today in all fields.

As early as the founding of the Chinese Communist Party its program stipulated the equality of all nationalities. In the early stages since our bases were in Kiangsi there were no minorities. There contacts were not frequently made with the minority people. Since the Long March began in 1935 more and more contacts have been established with the minorities. On the Long March the Red Army passed through many minority areas, Miao, Yao, Chuang, Yi, and Tibet. When the Red Army arrived in Yen-an they contacted Mongolians and Hui people in all these places. The PLA strictly followed a disciplined program and this left a deep impression on the minority people. They learned that the PLA was the their army, totally different from the Kuomintang reactionaries. After liberation the staff and army sent men to minority areas who

were all very disciplined and friendly. They served them wholeheartedly, did many good things and made friends. For example, they helped the minorities to improve living conditions and gave them medical care, tools for agriculture, and relief materials. They also made public the party's policy. The PLA told the people why they suffered so much in the old society and why further reforms were necessary in each locality. These policies among the minority people further strengthened unity between Han and other nationalities and all rallied behind the Chinese Communist Party. The basic spirit in doing all this is that all nationalities are equal, all nationalities should unite for emancipation and for building up the country. Through all this work the minority people began to know what the Chinese Communist Party policy was and their attitudes were turned from distrust to trust, from skepticism to support, because of the examples of the PLA. The people used to be oppressed and cruelly exploited by the Kuomintang army and local reactionaries but the Red Army's style of work was entirely different so by and by they were willing to send the young people to join the Red Army. During the Long March many husbands and sons joined the PLA, and eventually cadre from national minorities have been trained and their numbers greatly increased. During the revolution we have trained a great number of minority cadre. During the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war the minority cadre played a very important role. Many revolutionary bases were set up in the minority areas such as the Taching Sahn revolutionary base in Inner Mongolia. Bases were even set up in islands in the South. In the allied forces army during the war of resistance to Japan there were fighters from Hui, Manchuria, Korea, Dwar in the north China plain. There was a Hui guerrilla force fighting the Japanese forces in the liberation war and even more minority people took part in Sinkiang, Kwangsi, and other places and did revolutionary work. In a word, there have always been minority people taking part.

We hold the national question as key to the world. What does the (national problem) nation mean to us? To our understanding the formation of a nation has been

the product of history. Social production is not a bourgeois concept, not a biological approach. The fact that a nation comes into being at a certain stage of human society is a social phenomenon. Each nation has its own history of development. Each nation will go through different stages of development of humanity. Some nations may progress a little quicker than others. The theory that there are superior and inferior nations is wrong. We hold that the fact that there are more advanced and lagging nations is due to historical reasons. In class society this is the result of class exploitation. This is why some were impeded from developing faster. This aggression, oppression, and exploitation can come from both reactionary rulers and other nations. For example, in Tibet there existed a dark, cruel barbarous serf system which exploited and oppressed the common people. Also in Tibet and other areas the slave system existed which was oppressed by other nations.

In modern times imperialism and foreign aggression are the main reasons that prevent nations from advancing quickly in their development. In the final analysis the national struggle is a class struggle. It is impossible to solve it in isolation. It should be solved with all other problems in a revolution. According to the Marxist point of view the national problem cannot be solved by improving education and culture, it must be the class struggle that solves the national problem. That's why Chairman Mao said that the struggle of the Black people should closely link itself with the working class struggle in the USA. That is also why Marx pointed out that the national problem is part of the problem faced by the proletarian revolution.

Internationalism is a fundamental view in Marxism concerning the national problem. We think that the war of resistance and the war of liberation are all part of our international duties because through these wars we have eliminated the system of exploitation in China. We drove out foreign imperialism itself in mutual wars among nations. Those who have won their revolution must support others who have not. As

Chairman Mao says, the Chinese people won their victory in the revolution by combining the Marxist theory with concrete conditions so we think this is the correct way. In the course of revolution all people should learn from each other but not dogmatically apply it.

A great percentage of the minority cadres are from minority areas. In the minority areas there are central committee members who are from minority areas like Rozi Turdi, a Uighur national, formerly a hired laborer and now secretary of the Turfan county Party Committee.

Women have played a great role in the revolution. They joined in the Eighth Route Army, the Red Army, working in the revolutionary bases and womens associations. The film, The Red Detachment of Women is from the Hainan Island in the South. Many minority women joined this detachment in 1954 when the PLA was putting down the Tibetan rebellion. Many women joined the brigade to help the wounded.

In the central peoples radio there are five different programs in five minority languages. There is a minority broadcasting department that arranges these programs at the central peoples radio in all the autonomous regions, provinces, and big cities. The radio arranges the programs in Han and local minority languages. Newspapers in each region are published in the national language. On the central government level there is a national publishing house that specifically deals with publishing books in different languages. Radio programs include many aspects reflecting work, life and culture of the minority people. Since liberation we have produced more than 100 films about the national minorities. In all these organs there are many minority cadre taking part in this work. In radio Sinkiang there is a Uighur language editorial department that deals with programs in the Uighur language. All people in the departments are minorities.

2. TANGSHAN

NOVEMBER 1-4, 1974

TANGSHAN CITY BRIEFING

We're glad to see American friends here for a visit. You're coming can help friendship. On behalf of my comrades I extend a warm welcome. In order to let our friends get a clear idea of this region let me give an introduction.

Tangshan is an administrative region of Hopei Province. This area is located in the east of the province. It faces north to the Great Wall. The total area of our region is 6,700 square km., population 7,000,000. Tangshan region has 2 cities, 12 counties, and a state-owned farm. The regional office is in the city of Tangshan. Before liberation the production in our area was backward, In agriculture the output yield per mu was 100 units. Now we have a foundation for industry; before liberation it was low. As you know the earliest industry was coal mining. This was discovered by the Ching Dynasty. In the 50 years British and Japanese imperialists occupied this coal mine, more than 200,000,000 tons of coal were taken away. At this coal mine the workers lived a very hard life. The capitalists paid no attention to their lives, just to profits. Serious explosions occurred and more than 500 workers died. You will see an exhibition of their living conditions before liberation. Another industry is the ceramical industry which is 500 years old. Other industries are cement and metallurgy, so we are a highly industrialized city. Our crops are maize, wheat, rice, and sorghum. Also, cotton, and peanuts; in the north part of this area we produce fruits. We have 260 miles of coastal line, and produce fish and shrimp from the sea. The grain output reached its highest in 1970; the output of grain surpassed 400 per mu. The Shashaiyu brigade learns from Tachai.

This village was short of water and soil. In one part there was nothing but rocks but now fruit trees grow along the road. We are self sufficient in grain and sell the surplus to the state. Now the output has reached 800 mu (6 mu = 1 acre) The people set a good example of learning from Tachai. Shashaiyu is called the village old man who removed the mountain. This is all I have to say now, you will

get more ideas through visits and talking with common members and workers. During these days we'll talk in detail so please ask any questions you have. Since you've come a long way, first take a rest, then we'll see about the program. Have some tea.

NOVEMBER 1st

Shashaiyu Brigade: Staff of the revolutionary committee of the county, and vice chairman of Shashiyu committee, served apples and walnuts from the tree in the courtyard. You've come a long way and we are glad, through your visit we will strengthen our friendship and improve our mutual understanding. On behalf of our revolutionary committee and the whole people I express a warm welcome. This is the Yuekechanang Hollow commune. Our brigade is surrounded by the mountains. It has 141 families with a population of 717 people. This brigade consists of 6 production teams. The whole brigade has 300 able-bodied men and women. Total area is 1200 mu of cultivated land. There are 400 mu of fruit trees, but mostly rocky land. Our brigade owns 64 draft animals, 5 tractors and 54 assorted machinery. The farm has 150,000 caddys (15,000 kilos) of reserved grains, and we have accumulated reserves of 300,000 yuan. We have a 5-course primary school and a cooperative medical service system. We have 6 barefoot doctors, and commune members get treatment here. The living standards have risen compared with before liberation.

Since we have been organized we have built 600 rooms of new houses. Most of the families have bicycles, some have radios and sewing machines, some commune members have bank savings (total savings more than 30,000 yuan). We produced 20,000 kilos of surplus grain. Before liberation the Hollow was known as a backward village. "The earth is as precious as oil," it was very dry and rocky here. In the past we planted crops in between the rocks. There was no water to drink, drinking water was 5 kilometers away. Before liberation the people of Shashiyu had nothing to eat, and no padded clothing for the winter. Before liberation the Hollow had 78 families because life was very hard. 67 families had to hire out to the landlords, 13 of them had to beg year-round, and 21 of them were short-term beggars. There was

only one rich peasant here before liberation and he was a running dog of the landlord. He exploited people of the Hollow after liberation, though the living standards changed. Collectively struggling continued after land reform, 18 families had to sell land and poor conditions came into being. At this critical moment our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out how we could get rich. In 1951 we organized the mutual aid teams. In 1952 we had agricultural producer cooperatives. In 1956 we set up an advanced agricultural cooperative. Later this cooperative became a peoples commune. After we got organized the Party branch urged the people to "learn from Tachai", and the foolish old man who removed mountains. For example, our mountain had no trees. In 1953 we planted trees to conserve water. Up to now 1200 mu of bare land cleared on the mountain, 180 mu forested in which 300 mu have big trees. 600 mu are in straplings.

Another battle is our grain problem. Before 1957 we had only 280 mu of cultivated land, divided into 23,000 small plots. These small plots were planted by individual households before they were organized. At that time the output of grain was very low. The average yield from one mu was 70-80 Gin. They had to depend on the government for relief grain. From 1949-1956 the state had to give 360,000 gin (2 gin per kilo) per year in relief. In 1957 we studied Chairman Mao's instruction "Transform China in the spirit of Tachai Village and the foolish old man who removed mountains. Through these studies we have more strength to turn the rock mountain into terraced fields. From 1957 within 7 years we changed from 78 mu of land to 1200 mu of terraced fields. We connected 23,000 small plots to 6,600 mu.

In 1954 our great leaders issued a call to learn from Tachai and we committed ourselves to follow the spirit in order to build terraced fields of the Tachai type. 100 young people were organized on North mountain. These young comrades hacked at the mountain during the daytime. To build the terraced field with no earth--what shall we do? They decided to carry the earth there from another village. These people worked hard to carry 2,000 baskets of earth and walked 5,000 kilometers (the

village is 2500 kilometers away), to cover 1 mu of earth in order to inspire the peoples spirit "one mu is worth 2,000 baskets of earth and 5,000 kilometers of walking. We built 600 mu of terraced fields this way. The output of grain per mu has constantly risen. In 1973, it was 800 gin per mu. We have enough grain now and sell the state several hundred gin of surplus grain.

Another campaign is to plant fruit trees. After liberation we had 1,000 apple and 2,000 date trees, yeilding 5,00 to 6,000 gin of fruit. In 1954 we began to plant apple trees in between rocks and we now have 60,000 fruit trees, bearing 300,000 gin of fruit. The apples you are eating come from these trees. In order to solve the drinking water problem the peoples' earlier efforts failed. From 1953-57, we dug a reservoir of 12 meters deep, 17 meters in diameter in the northern mountain. In this way the system provided drinking water. In 1960, we dug a spring well 10 meters deep, 11 meters in diameter, on the other side of the mountain. From another village in that year the water was into our village. Over 200 meters high, through 1,300 meters of pipeline. The age old problem of water had been solved.

In 1968, with the help of the working class we dug a well of 97 meters deep. Through the movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we used the method of one dividing into two and we discovered shortcomings. There were two contradictions, water and earth. Our land has changed, but for 1,200 mu the average earth layer is about 1 foot deep (1/3 of a meter). We solved the problem of drinking water but not how to irrigate the land. In 1972, we organized a method for a 10-year plan to irrigate the land at Shashaiyu. This plan included planting pine and cyprus trees at the top of the mountain, fruit trees around the slope and 500 kilo of grain per mu at the foot in irrigated land. In order to realize this plan in 1971-72, we dug a tunnel through the mountain to get earth. In the past we had to walk many distances, with this tunnel we only had to walk 1 kilometer through the tunnel. The tunnel was built by 27 young militia. It is 235 meters long, 3.5. meters high and wide and we use it to bring soil from the other side of the mountain. From 1972

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until now we have dug 3 new wells and 500 mu is under irrigation. After we have water we changed the habit of planting 1 crop into planting 2 or 3 crops per year. In the past our place didn't plant wheat, now we plant a lot. This year we had 450 gin output per mu of wheat. Rains in July and average 700 milimeters.

The Cultural Revolution was like every place under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and our great leader Mao Tse-tung. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is great but in the early stages because it came abruptly many cadres did not understand the significance of it. In the implementing of the 16 Points of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution set down by the Central Committee, the masses were active but we were under the influence of Liu Shao Chi's reactionary line. The essence of the line was that it suppressed the mass movement. The masses were active--big character posters, etc.--but the cadre carried out the reactionary line and put obstacles. The Red Guard movement was in full swing and travelled throughout China. At that time many Red Guard came from Peking and a few other places. They came to explain the significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the policies of it. Their role served to mobilize the masses "to kindle the revolutionary flame". As a result the masses saw through the reactionary line of Liu Shao Chi. They came to understand that we should have faith in relying on and respecting the creativeness of the masses.

Then the mass movement came to a new high of debates--big character posters, etc. Later the Red Guard took Chairman Mao's call to be re-educated in the countryside--to come down from the mountain. At that time a Red Guard at our brigade went to a factory to integrate with the proletariat. Together with the workers to grasp Mao's call to "promote production and grasp revolution" and explain the 16 points. The Red Guard explained Mao's thinking to the people and worked to contribute their share to socialist production. During the integration with the workers we learned a lot and received a good education by their proletarian feeling for Chairman Mao, love for socialism, hard work, and revolutionary vigor. That is what

we did in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (This educated youth was 20 years old.)

The campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius is important for Marxism to triumph over revisionism, and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Since the campaign has begun the outlook has changed a lot the determination of the people in firmly following the socialist road, after the criticizing of Lin Piao and Confucius line of self-cultivation and restoring the rites. The purpose of restraining oneself and restoring the rites--Lin Piao would have restored the rites, Lin Piao would have restored capitalism in China. The majority has personal experience of how this has come down, so personal histories are used to counter-attack these capitalist roaders. Some old poor peasants say if Lin Piao had won they would return to the old society--eat wild vegetables, etc. Through study and criticism the people believe Chairman Mao that "only socialism can save China".

There is an old peasant--Yin, 70+ years old. After criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius he felt that since he is old he should seize every opportunity to contribute to the collective. Now he persists in taking part in productive labor, even challenging the young people. They call him the "old and active one". Another example, there is a herdsman in the first production team. After criticism he loves all the more the collective. The "heavenly mandate"--people say we don't believe it, we want to make revolution--man will triumph over nature although drought this spring. This position was overcome and they got an even better harvest than last year. Last year the yield was 800 jin per mu. This year it will be higher.

In order to continue this movement, we set up a Marxist theoretical group in this Brigade. This group is a 3-in-1 combination of educated youth, cadres, old peasants. They conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought to explain it to the people and help the study as well. In this campaign we not only criticize their falacies, the revolutionary line of Lin Piao also some bad books, novels, For example, a children's book in the Confucian tradition. They criticize

all books who advocate Confucius, e.g., the "3 character bible", or a "book on women". They criticize the reactionary proverbs of Confucianism: "Since the people are poor they do not have big ambitions"; "If the horse is seen and not fed he will have long hair." NO! If they are poor they will want to make revolution. They also criticize the disciples of Confucius and Mencius. "Your birth and death is decided by fate and it depends on heaven whether you are rich or poor." So we have been using the Marxist viewpoint and actual facts to criticize bad books, reactionary proverbs. After our first period of criticism, the situation in the brigade is excellent. Since they have a theoretical contingent to provide leadership, we can organize the cadre and peasants to study more with good results. We take the Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought throughout the countryside by a performing group that uses the theory, singing revolutionary operas and praising local work. We have a small library here for spare time reading. On the whole, after we started the campaign to criticize the ideological level, good deeds are emerging. The situation is excellent. We must develop in, unfold the campaign, and deepen it among the masses.

Our third 10-year plan was made in 1972. The people summed up their experiences using Mao Tse-tung Thought to divide one into two; so to draw up the plan, the plan of work first we mobilized the masses to discuss how to harness the mountain, how to plant trees? How to build terraces? What are our goals? The masses must be mobilized to do this. We think the masses have much practical experience and have the right to speak. For example how do we cap the mountain top with pines, and put fruit trees in the middle and terrace at the foot? This comes from the masses. For example, if we put the trees on the top then it will preserve water and soil and cut the wind down to protect the fruit trees at the waist of the mountain. So we put emphasis on grain at the foot of the hills so it is convenient to take care of the grain crop, and use machinery if we acquire it.

We will use mechanization for transportation, this includes tractors and horse-

carts. For irrigation and drainage, husking, thrashing, processing grain, fodder crushers and plant protection we have mechanization or semi-mechanization in these areas now. We plan to mechanize plowing and harvesting in 3 to 5 years. At present we have achieved repairing on a small scale in the brigades, medium scale in the commune, and large scale repair on the county level.

We encourage family planning and late marriages. We criticize the position of Confucius, "it is women and laboring people who are difficult to deal with". Now family planning is going on well. The birth rate is 9 per 1,000. We welcome the educated youth to come and settle down. Last January more than 20 came here.

Fertilizer is normally manure and compost; every mu gets 20-30 jin of natural fertilizer and some chemical fertilizer. We usually take preventive measures, then we use some insecticides. The 78 original families still live here. The rich peasant before liberation, exploited and oppressed the broad masses. During land reform we exercised the dictatorship of the proletariat because the rich peasant is our enemy. We will transform him through labor and leadership by the masses. If he does it well he can be an ordinary commune member. But before that he is still our enemy. Towards his children we carry out a policy of uniting with them. They can follow the socialist road with the rest of the commune members. Of course his political rights are taken away, but economically he works and gets the same pay as everyone. He has not been remolded yet. Before liberation he owned lots of land and had many farm hands, during reform we got his land but did not change his ideas. After this labor reform he maintains lots of reactionary ideas.

We barefoot doctors are trained for 3 months on the commune or county level. In the countryside our main task is to prevent illness, run cooperative medical center well, family planning. She (a barefoot doctor present) did some work to prevent the flu. Last May she put herbs in water, boiled it and gave it to our commune members. Good results. At present 2 barefoot doctors are in the brigade. They have 6 barefoot doctors with 2 barefoot doctors in rotation training--she got some acu-

puncture training. The operations are done on the commune level. The patients come to her, but she makes home visits also. First 2 or 3 visits they come here, then she goes to them. She sent the drink to work areas to prevent the flu. She was recommended by lower and middle peasants and approved.

In the primary school, 120 pupils are in 4 classes with 7 teachers. In 1968 Chairman Mao said in the countryside the poor and middle peasant should take a role in education. After that they assumed leadership in our school. During the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we especially criticized the view that students can be officials if they perfect their schooling. Mao's line that education should be combined with productive labor and serve the proletarian line. In the past the education was run in a closed door way. Now under the leadership of the brigade party branch we use the "open door" approach--students learn from the peasants on the brigade. For example, in order to learn from people we run a small plot of land, we call it the plot to train revolutionary successors. They did it just like the peasants. It is 4/10 of a mu. They cleared it, built it up, put earth, planted and achieved a good harvest. Through this practice the students and teachers have learned the spirit of peasants for the revolution. In our teaching work in order to combine theory with practice we prepared an experimental plot of land. When the pupil has agricultural training they teach right on the spot. For example, math is used to measure the area of land--we go and do it. This summer when the wheat suffered, the pupils prepared insecticide under the guidance of the old peasant and sprayed. The result was 890 gin per mu on the experimental plot. We feel that after the integration of theory with practice it is easier and quicker to learn for the students. The students make home visits to write compositions to criticize "restraining oneself and restoring the rites." Through the home visits they understand about the bitter life before the liberation and feel keenly that we should not let Lin Piao restore capitalism in China. Through these activities they master writing techniques and improve their ideological level.

About financial things: we have reserve and public welfare funds on the brigade level. The brigade takes 1-3% of income of total brigade income. If the harvest is poor it is less, if excellent more. The reserve fund serves to expand production. Public welfare fund facilitates the culture and welfare of the commune members and subsidizes the elderly with no family, and the disabled with 5 guarantees: food, clothes, fuel, housing and medical treatment. This income comes from working points. The value of each point depends on the collective decision. Money for grain, oil, cotton, fuel, vegetables, will be taken out. A laborer here gets 210 to 250 yuan per year, and they spend \$60 yuan on necessities. The rest they get in cash, apart from this there is some sideline income. The peasants may raise pigs, chickens, rabbits or bees.

In this brigade there is a militia company and platoons. This is a mass armed organization. During ordinary time they work and are the vanguard in the three revolutionary struggles. Also there is militia training and some go to the army for training. When war breaks out they will take part in peoples war. As long as imperialism and social imperialism exists there is the danger of war. They will heighten vigilance at all times, and defeat all enemies.

Now there are 21 educated youth in this brigade. Most came in January. We have achieved good results in labor and ideology under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee, with the concerned help of the lower and middle peasants. After we came the Revolutionary Committee tells us before and after liberation and how the people have struggled. The comrades told us to work well and contribute our share to this brigade. The old poor peasants gave us reports on old bitterness and current happiness, and support us to become revolutionary successors. Once some of the committee pointed out some shortcomings and then helped us to overcome these shortcomings. They always organize us to study and educate us with the political line, politics and ideology. Since then our political consciousness has been enhanced.

When we first came here we were not accustomed to manual labor. We had gone to

work before but only after a short period our hands were full of blisters and our shoulders were swollen. The commune members encouraged us to temper ourselves in this and not to lose heart. We are determined to transform this brigade with the commune members. We had little knowledge in production, we were often the laughing stock. For example, in the cities we only knew that grains were good to eat, but we didn't know how to raise them. When we came we were asked to sow wheat but couldn't, we didn't even know how to water the wheat. At this time they didn't laugh but showed us how to do the work. Everything requires learning. We learned modestly from the peasants, and after many months we can do sowing, cultivation, and harvesting. Labor enables us to understand that property only comes from hard labor with both hands. Also cooking; in the city we didn't cook, but here we have to do it for ourselves. We didn't know about the food. We either burned it or ate it raw. Then the peasants living with us patiently told us how to prepare dishes. We learned modestly and gradually mastered the technique. Now we can prepare ordinary food. Now the Revolutionary Committee has prepared for us a collective kitchen and some one to cook, now when we finish labor we can have our good food. Now there is even a change in taste, in the city if there is no white bread it is bad, but now only if it is corn bread we find it to our taste. After this period of tempering several changes--our skins are black from sunshire, our ideas are red and we've learned to make the land green. We came to a conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to integrate with the masses to be a revolutionary successor. We are determined to follow this road of revolution forever.

KAILAN COAL MINE

A Discussion with Members of the Coal Mine in the Exhibition Hall

Welcome, how are you? In this hall we follow Mao's teaching--"never forget the past, never forget to build socialism."

The Kailan coal mine was the first in China to use a mechanical process to remove coal; but they had to import locomotives due to no industry here. 600 years

ago the mines began, now there are 7 mines in this area.

Kailan was named by combining the names from 2 mines, Kaiping and Lanchol. Kaiping was controlled by British capitalists in the name of economic assistance with economic and political pressure. Herbert Hoover came here to investigate and submitted a report to the Mooring Company that provided information that this area is rich in high quality coal. So the British decided to plunder it on a large scale and by 1900 they controlled it. In 1970 the Lanchol and one other mine were set up under British rule. By 1912 the British forced the Lanchol mine to be united with Kaiping under joint Sino-British control. The first character of each gives the name Kailan.

Before liberation there were many police here to suppress the workers. The number reached 1500 for this mine, an average of 20 miners under the surveillance of 1 policeman. Under Japanese imperialism an underground prison was set up here for the purpose of spiritual oppression. The Japanese aggressors printed newspapers and built lots of churches.

In 1907 and 1916 more than 16,000 were deceived and pressed into slavery, sold to Russians and some Europeans. They got more than 100,000 yuan from the sale. Many workers died in the foreign countries. During Japanese imperialism many were pressed and taken to Japan. Sometimes workers were innocently killed. In 1946, this mine was occupied by U.S. imperialists. Sometimes they used workers for experiments; in one over 50 were killed. The Chinese workers were treated worse than animals. In 1922, a meal costs 0.47 yuan but coal miners salaries were .224 yuan. The manager had clean water and soybeans, but the workers had dirty water and sour bread. Managers had careful medical care, coal miners no care, and if they got sick they were kicked out. In 1926, the profit was 14,649,786 yuan for the capitalists. It was equivalent to 24.3% of the total capital invested in the mine at the time. This represents more than 100,000,000 gin of corn flour, food for 30,000 workers for 10 years. The salary of the general manager was 43,076 yuan monthly

pay; the worker worked for 30 days in a month and got 15 yuan. So the manager makes what a worker gets in 239 years (inflation made life miserable). Foreign capitalism held sway here for 40 years with net profit 328 million silver dollars. In all this included 5,397 deaths of coal miners. During this same period more than 20,000 were injured. Before liberation most miners came from the countryside of north China. Here is a picture showing how one worker came here--he is now a member of the Party committee. After peasants came they had to sign a contract. There was a stipulation that the company was not responsible for accidents or deaths.

On the exhibition--we built it in 1968. It was open to the people in 1969 after one year of preparation. The exhibits are based on records in archives and the history recorded by the old coal miners. All exhibits were made by amateur artists in this coal mine. Actually it took 5 months to make all of this; so far we have received 1 1/2 million visitors. In order to educate the workers about the bitter past all coal miners, especially the new ones come here to be educated before going into the mines. We often see the old ones taking the young ones through the exhibition. Besides many students have come here for class education; after the visit to the exhibition they are inspired to do better in their work.

There were cases of Black lung before liberation but now ventilation has eliminated it. We use water spray to keep the dust down; also before liberation there was only .8 meter³ of fresh air, now the law states it must be 4 m³ of fresh air.

More than 100 comrades worked on this exhibit; now there is a staff of 60. There used to be a public organization of workers called a club, later under the leadership of the Party it was turned into a union. Two big general strikes occurred here under the leadership of the Party, 1922 and 1938. After 1922 there were more than 20 smaller strikes; before 1922 there were 12 spontaneous strikes. Since 1882 when it started production, the first spontaneous strike was in 1883.

NOVEMBER 2nd

Comrade, director of general office, revolutionary committee of the mine, chief engineer, chairman of womans affairs, two + staff of revolutionary committee.

The workers and entire staff are very happy that American friends are coming for a visit. The veterans, youth, engineers, technicians, and staff warmly welcome friends from the USA. Now a brief account.

Linshi coal mine is under the administration of Kailan since it is located in Linsi in northern mining area. It was built in 1879. We have 13,608 workers and staff members. This coal mine has gone through two societies, one old and one new. Before liberation it has gone through oppression and rule of British-Japanese imperialism and Kuomintang reactionaries. It was nearly in a state of bankruptcy, all the work was sabotaged but after liberation this coal mine was rejuvenated under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao.

Our workers used to say that to describe liberation and the new life it took 7 days and nights, and even then you would not tell all since that time is even limited. I'll only describe 4 main changes that have taken place since liberation. The first change is that before liberation the coal miners were beasts of burden--slaves. But today, they are masters of the mine, masters of their own destiny. As a result of the rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries the miners were cruelly exploited and had no political freedom. They were considered as only slaves or tools who could work. They had not the slightest freedom. Since there is oppression there is resistance. The more oppression the more they wanted to fight. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party the mines had quite a number of strikes, a total of 81 before liberation and finally they won victory in December 12, 1948. After liberation led by Chairman Mao and the Party all the coal miners are now masters of the mine. For example, before liberation an old veteran miner was called "a beggar miner", an insulting name. But after liberation he has become the deputy chief of Linsi mine and vice chairman of the Revolutionary Commit-

tee of the mine. Now 90% of the cadres are from the ordinary workers of the mine. They not only have taken part in the mine but also an active part in state affairs. For example, a woman worker was elected representative to the Ninth Party Congress in 1969.

The second change is that before liberation the working conditions were very poor and now are greatly improved. Before liberation the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries paid attention only to profits. They didn't care about the life and safety of the workers. The mining method was very primitive and barbarous. In some shafts there were no props to hold the mine up and very few machines were used. The tools the miners used were only picks and the coal was put into baskets and dragged out by the miners themselves. As you know everyone needs fresh air to breath. In the old mine shafts the ventillation was very bad and the workers got only 0.8 cubic meters of air per minute. It should be 4 cubic meters per minute. These working conditions have been fundamentally changed; we have adopted the long wall method with many props to insure safety. Besides many mines now are using whole sets of machines in extracting the coal. Now we can supply sufficient air to the pit, 6-9 cubic meters can be supplied to each person.

The third change; before liberation the output of coal was very low, while now is has been greatly raised. The yearly output has been increased by 5 times as compared with pre-liberation days.

The fourth change; before liberation the livelihood of the miners was not guaranteed while the welfare has now been greatly improved. About education, we had only one primary school before liberation but now we have 3 primary and 1 middle schools. And medical care--before liberation the hospital was very small and poorly equipped. The miners couldn't get good treatment. But after liberation the hospital has been greatly expanded and there are many health centers, even in the shaft. Welfare; before liberation houses were only provided for staff and foreigners. The miners had very little chance to live in houses provided by the coal mine.

But now all the miners have living quarters for their families and we have built 4 times as many homes. Besides we had no nurseries or kindergartens before liberation but now we've set up for children 56 days before school. More details this afternoon. There was no public canteen to eat in but now we have 4 for the workers to eat in. And there were no bathrooms or showers--now we have showers for men and women, and for guests who come to visit.

To make a long story short we have some verses to describe the life of the old and new. In the old days the miners used to sing very sad songs. "Their blood and tears can form a river, saw so much coal plundered and nobody cared about life and death of the miners." Today a new verse; "Today the miners are all leading a happy life and the face of the mine has changed. The output has been greatly raised and miners have made great contributions to the Chinese and World Revolution."

TOUR THROUGH THE KAILAN COAL MINE

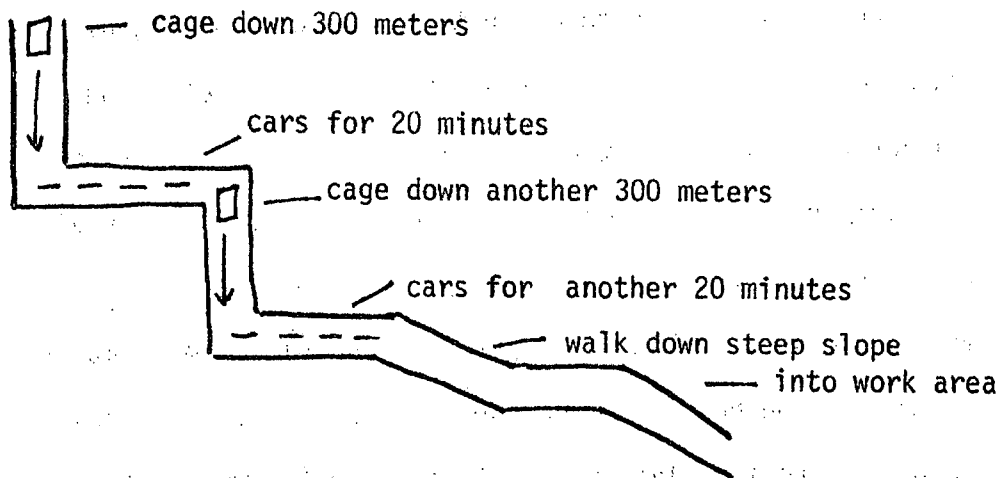
The miners are very happy to know the U.S. friends are here to visit. The depth of this mine is about 600 meters deep and you have to walk quite a distance. You have to go down in cages twice then take the mining car down and up. So I'd like to call attention so those not physically fit, those who can't go down can visit a factory manufacturing and repairs shop. Then we can all exchange information. The film tonight will show the shaft; no smoking, no cameras.

The Mine Experience:

We took the bus to the mine. Walked up many stairs, bridges, etc., got to dressing rooms. They give us all a complete set of clothes and each a separate dressing room. We went down into the mines. We were all wearing very heavy clothes and hard hats with lights. It was very dark and the last slope I was almost on my knees. The life of a miner is one of direct struggle against nature. However, the Chinese dramatically demonstrated to us that they were dealing with the exploitation of the past, making great strides in the present. We came across 3 miners eating

lunch virtually in the dark until we came upon them. The pit is a constant challenge to man; of course, the real challenge now is to replace coal as an energy staple so that man can be saved from being such a beast of burden. We all wondered how a delegation from the Harlan county mines would have reacted.

Going into the mine:



Discussion: The comrade said this morning that before liberation the miners lived a miserable life. The foreign imperialists plundered the resources of the mine and this resulted in many miseries for the miners. The workers worked in bad conditions like lots of dust and smoke in the pit. Many miners suffered from black lung disease and the workers worked in the shops without props so there were many cave-ins. But after liberation the workers became masters of their own destiny. Our party and great leader Chairman Mao gave consideration and formulated a policy of safe conditions. Through summarizing experiences and hearing proposals from the workers the government set rules and regulations to protect the workers in the pit. There are three main ones; (1) to save production, (2) the technical process--every worker should observe all work rules, (3) working method--besides the government has also worked out some concrete methods. For example, it is stipulated that each miner should be supplied with at least 4 cubic meters of fresh air per minute and no less than 20% oxygen in the air. The temperature in the pit must not exceed 26°C, not too hot and not too cold. In the air to the pit the dust and smoke should not

exceed 2 milligrams per cubic meter and the humidity must not exceed 95%. These matters are to insure that the miners will not be affected by occupational diseases. All miners receive a regular checkup and are sent to the sanitorium for a rest. Everyday ultra-violet treatment is given to everybody when they finish work in the pit.

During the process of putting together these policies we organized several groups to discuss how to control the roof of the pit for safety. But since it is the special character of mining in the pit with narrow tunnels it is unavoidable to have certain accidents. For example, maiming of limbs. To provide first aid we have set up health centers in the shafts, besides we've organized a group of people for emergency cases so that the injured can be given immediate treatment, cut suffering down. You have seen the hospital wards, surgery deals with this kind of accident. There is a lot of work to be done to improve this type of work.

We should constantly sum up experiences and form discussion groups to find out how to avoid the accidents again. There are open pit mines in China. There is one in the northeast, the Fushen open pit mine. But all the Kailan mines are of the shaft type.

In the name of all women workers here I extend a warm welcome. I'm sorry we don't have enough time to exchange information on women in China and the U.S. The first question is the special feature and tasks of women workers, then the question of the changes of women's position in China and the third the contribution made by women in the 3 great struggles. As you know the women's organization wants to rally the broad masses under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party with workers and poor peasants as the backbone forces, the foundation. It is an organization for the Party to keep close contact with women. It also helps the Party in working among women. The first task of the women's organization is to organize the study of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought to help them raise their political and class consciousness. The first task is to fully grasp the class struggle, to

criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism so we can persevere in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The third task is to mobilize women to play a prominent part in socialist production filling or fulfill production quota. The fourth task is to help the Party and state to train more women cadres. The fifth task is to mobilize women to fight remnants of feudal ideas, establish new customs and eliminate old ideas and habits. Now we are exerting ourselves in organizing women to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius by which we want to raise their consciousness of class struggle. The two line struggle to enable them to do better work. For example, the Confucian idea of "3 obediences and 4 virtues" used to force women into obeying men; "5 guiding principles and 3 programs." The three programs means guided by the emperor, husband or father. The 4 virtues means paying attention to speech, appearances, etc. The sixth task is to give special consideration to women in their daily life and help them solve problems.

There were no women workers here before liberation and only 48 women working in the hospital. Before liberation women used to stay at home with household chores, but after liberation most women ^{have} joined in socialist construction. Now the hospital has 220 total women staff, before liberation no women workers or staff but now women staff and workers total k,200+. The women have played key roles in the ideological struggle here. In the electrical machinery department there is a women worker who has contributed much to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the current campaign. She succeeded once to repair electrical machinery (#5 generator) within 40 days. While in the past it used to take one year to get it repaired costing 10,000 yuan. Formerly it had to go back to the factory. She used the spirit of self reliance and now they do it by themselves. Due to her contribution she is a member of the Revolutionary Committee and the Party committee here. She organized some women workers to go to Peking to meet Chairman Mao, a great honor.

NOVEMBER 3rd

Comrade Li Jin Shan, host and hostess Wang Chuang -ying. In this neighborhood there are 275 households. All of us came here in 1956 or 1957, after the houses were built in 1955. Before liberation this place was deserted with the scattered bones of miners. No one wanted to come to this place. Before liberation of the 275 households, 120 had to rent or live in the old style dormitories (like in the exhibition). At that time they took part in labor everyday. There was not enough food and clothes. They had only rags when they went down into the pit. Only had the bitter fruit of the oak tree no mixed flour. In order to keep body and soul together they had to pull rickshaws at night. When the miners got ill no one cared. When injured they would be kicked out of the mine. Some miners could not rent a house or dorm and had to sleep beside the boiler at night to keep warm. There was a hospital in the mine but it was not open to miners with no money. There was a song before liberation; "The miners worked in the shafts many years but they had to go out and beg for food." There were no working suits provided--we worked and lived in the same clothes and no place to take a bath. On December 12, 1948, Tangshan was liberated. Chairman Mao saved us from a sea of misery. After liberation great changes have taken place. The workers have more to eat and clothes to wear, welfare facilities, bathrooms, work suits, hospitals, everything necessary for them. Nowadays if the worker gets ill the doctors are very concerned. If the worker is at home the leaders at various levels make home visits. On retirement the worker gets free medical service and 70% of salary.

Politically the miners are masters of the mine. Some miners have been promoted to cadre. The housewives have to do household chores and also that part in social work. After the cultural revolution housewives and retired workers were represented on the Revolutionary Committee (17 members). The cadres of the Revolutionary Committee organized the housewives to work for miners. They wash clothes and quilts and sew; and in this way share in producing more coal. They also help

peasants nearby to take part in the harvest. Since liberation the state has built these houses and life has improved. At present the 275 households have 508 bicycles, 308 wrist watches and 225 other clocks, 161 sewing machines, and 280 radios. Before liberation all of these were rare. About 80% of the households have bank savings, a part of our support for socialist construction. They owe all of this to the Party and Chairman Mao. Sometimes we don't know how to express thanks so when the Party asks something we always try to do it.

Visit With a Miners Family:

This is a family of 7, parents and 5 kids, 3 at school, 2 at home, little girl 12 and little boy 7. Wife's family also had 7 but they were leading a very miserable life. Her mother was a domestic, her father was a farmhand for a landlord. The parents toiled all year but couldn't feed the family properly. So the children begged, the oldest son herded cattle for the landlord. They did not have a proper house. In the evening they always had to seek out a place to sleep. Although they worked all year they couldn't afford padded clothing, in the winter sometimes they couldn't get food from begging. She and her elder brother went to work, she as a domestic. The little ones died of starvation. She was 4 or 5 when she went to work. She was scolded and beaten. Since they couldn't live there they moved but their life didn't change. They were left there and mother returned to original city to see if things had changed. That means that she was given to the landlord as a servant. Only after liberation did they struggle against the landlord and begin to lead a new life. After the liberation the eldest brother became a miner. She came here and married her husband. Our family owes our happy life to the Party and Chairman Mao.

The Party and Chairman Mao gave our family a second life. Now this is a family of 7 and only the husband is working. He is a coal miner. The three children are in school, the eldest one is an educated youth gone to the countryside in answer to Chairman Mao's call. I support my son in this and I tell my son to receive education from the things of the past because he has had a red class education. We always tell

our children not to forget the bitter past of their mother and father compared to the happy present--now we have good rice, and clothes to wear. We tell the children to respond to the Party's call to go wherever the Party sends you. I always tell the children to study well and make progress everyday and they should lead a plain life. Before liberation we had no cotton padded coats but now have cotton padded jackets, pants and overcoats. And I also run this family well so my husband can set his mind at ease. This is my contribution towards socialist construction. I usually do not let my husband do any household chores. When the kids are ill I send them to the hospital where their care is 50% free. The happy life is brought to us by Chairman Mao. Before liberation there were not cotton padded quilts, now one for everybody, 2 bikes, 1 wristwatch, 1 sewing machine, 1 radio, 2 rooms for the family. All this could not be dreamed up before liberation. We also have our bank savings.

In this neighborhood we are an ordinary family. My husband went to work in the mines in 1954. Since they moved here in 1957 they gradually bought their things and we now have a school. Only one of our family is working but can provide all of these things. Before liberation he worked for the landlord and has scars to show beatings. Before liberation the mine was controlled by the Kuomintang with underground party organization secretly. He only heard some things before liberation because the party members were like the other miners. They explained the Party's policy and said the miners should organize against the bosses. Usually the farm hands fought the landlords, rose up and redistributed the land. He was very young and was a messenger for the peasants association. If he had been caught he would have been killed. He was caught once but he had only rags on and the landlord didn't find it out. He joined the Party in 1968, party branch here and revolutionary committee of the neighborhood. Under the revolutionary committee there are women organization (7), organizations for sanitation work, also the Communist Youth League, public safety committee (7), group to solve family problems in this neighborhood (5).

In all of this the party branch is the leading body. The revolutionary committee is the administrative organ. The several groups have leading members from the revolutionary committee. Our party branch is composed of housewives, and retired workers. Originally there were 7 members, now we have only 4 because some retired workers went back to work. If there is work to be done in the neighborhood the revolutionary committee will call a meeting and all members groups from 7-11 groups.

Hostess Li Shui Ying is a member of the May 7th Team. They organize women to take part in socialist construction after Chairman Mao issued the call. The women cadre here organized a team to work at the mine, I worked in a tailor shop for the workers. This helps them dig more coal. I make protective clothing. We also have a team to make bricks for mine and housing. The organization for domestic problems speaks to the quarrels between a family and neighbors. Sometimes on their own initiative, sometimes they were asked. Sometimes children will quarrel, then their parents will do so. Then this organization will develop a study class of Mao's works and the families will criticize each other. They must know that we are all working for the same thing and therefore will organize a resolution.

For example, one family, the wife is Lu Gin, one day her father sent a letter saying he was ill. Her home town is very far. She wanted to go but her husband said not right now. They quarreled in the middle of the night. Then the wife asked a responsible person to solve the problem. When they came they quarrelled even more. Both gave their own reason and felt they were both right. The comrades explained that the parents expect it, but you are busy right now. It is better to send money to your father, you can go later. They agreed and were both very happy. Confucian ideas are that parents are only cared for by sons, both wrong--father said money or come, wife wanted to go. Confucian ideas wrong and to go would cost too much. Solution was to send money. The father recovered and came to see her.

Since the organization was founded they get the neighborhood to study and be united. In the 200 households, the leader organized study classes 3 times a week

and look after houses where husbands and wives work. Six study groups in the entire neighborhood. Now we study the advance unit of a village that emerged during the Lin Piao, Confucius campaign and culture. They criticize the Confucian idea of looking down on women comrades.

Comrade Li--I have 6 children, 8 in my family. Three children are in middle school, 2 are at work posts, 1 staff, 1 PLA fighter, the eldest before he went to countryside as an educated youth then elected to the PLA; 1 daughter in secondary school elected by poor and lower middle peasants. Her husband is a miner. My husband is a party member, received his education by our party. He looked down on women a little in the old society, like all bad men who felt women were useless, but now things are different. But my husband since liberation thought he earned more money than wife, though that women comrades can't own money. The Party education has done away with this idea. Before liberation more than 10 lived in a narrow house--no place to sleep, or eat or money for daily necessities. Now better clothes and everything else. Now 5 people live in 3 rooms, pay 1 yuan 50 fen including electricity and water, 25 yuan for food per month, clothes 200 yuan per month income for entire family. She works 8 hours at 1 yuan 30 fen per day. Each party member pays 0.5% of wages membership fee to Chinese Communist Party. Workers medical care is free, for family dependents they spend half. For middle school 3.5 yuan per term, for primary 2.54 yuan per term. For technical school there is no fee, the state gives them 16 yuan per month. Because of 3 in the mine we get 250 kilos per month of coal free (free only for workers who began before 1958). We use 3 tons of coal per year. My husband came when 18, now 50+, been in mine all that time, 32 years. Before liberation she was the only daughter but she had to work in a factory--married before liberation in 1949. When 17 years old the Japanese aggressors bosses treated the workers cruelly but they didn't want to work well, slowed down during the night shift and took turns sleeping. They were not supposed to wash but they did. Once in summer a worker went to wash by herself and

was discovered by Japanese. They beat her with a club. Most workers in textiles are women.

Expenses--food, vegetables, clothes; spending change for children, rent, water, if no money on clothes they save 70-80 yuan. Now synthetics cost more. Daughter is in first year of junior middle school, taking 7 courses, language, English, math, geography, physical culture, music, political science. Now studying the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. School starts at 8:00 A.M., 11:30 for lunch, afternoon classes 2:00 P.M. until 4:00 P.M. They come home for lunch. She likes to play basketball after school.

We will have a detailed talk for 1/2 day, very informal discussion. Responsible members of Kailan Coal Mines Revolutionary Committee, 2 veteran workers, Comrade Liu Chung-chis, (womens affairs), a young workers, young Yu Huei-hsia woman worker.

The October Socialist Revolution gave the opportunity to carry Marxist-Leninist theories into China and the Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921. The party organization was formed in this area in 1922 under the influence of the Anyuan strike. An organization of workers came into being named "The Secretariat Department of Labor Union of China". This later turned into the trade union. This organization formulated a legislative program later considered the trade union program in which it was stipulated that workers had the right to hold meetings and to strike, also the right to organize. At that time it was Wu Pei Fu, a northern warlord, that ruled this part of China. The workers demanded that this program be adopted by parliament. But his demand was rejected by Wu Pei Fu who represented the interests of the landlords. This exposed the slogan put forward by Wu Pei Fu that he was interested in the interests of the workers.

Following this the secretariat department mobilized the workers throughout the country for labor legislation. Of course, the workers were not aware of party leadership--Tung Pei, a party cadre had been secretly sent to lead this movement

by the guard headquarters of the labor union. Then a movement for labor legislation league--under the leadership of the league strikes were organized. In 1922 a strike held in Shanghai Quan, a bridge factory extended to this area. The workers won this strike. In celebration another took place here.

There were 5 great strikes in 1922 in this area. So the Communist Party educated the workers with Marxism-Leninism; Mao Tse-tung Thought through these strikes. The first strike here was a spontaneous one, in 1892, and it failed. But the 1922 strike was organized under the leadership of the Communist Party. Since the victory of the 1922 strike, we have had 5 great strikes. The workers movement entered a new stage under the leadership of the party. Led by the party the workers waged political and armed struggle against the enemy. They defeated troops and the strike lasted 25 days in victory. There have been more than 20 strikes on a large scale from 1922-1937. In 1937, the July 7th incident took place when the Japanese attacked China on Marco Polo bridge near Peking.

Another big strike was in 1938 when a director of one of the mines initiated a new system to control the workers in the interests of the imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists. A worker should register twice everyday, once before going into the pit and once in the pit to control the workers so that they couldn't leave work earlier--strict surveillance of the workers. They were irritated. March 16th the workers launched a strike demanding an end to this system. This spread to all 5 mines (Tangshan, Mchai Kuo, Linsi, Tang Chai Chung, Chao Ke Chuang) all under Kailan administration. During this strike the miners organized the workers self defense brigade led by 2 leaders, Hu Chih Fa and Chei Chin Kwo. All the important departments of the mines were blockaded by the workers and the authorities of the mine tried to sabotage and undermine the workers, They decided not to pay the workers to break the strike. To sabotage the workers strike the imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists carried on cruel oppression using police armed force. On the other hand, they bought off the renegades of the workers.

During 1938 there was a renegade Lin Chang-shan who worked with the authorities not to do that because the workers could not hold out for more than 3 days. The workers discovered this intrigue. When Lin was having a talk with the capitalists the brigade went to the office and put an ax on the table and threatened him saying they should have sent more to protect him. Lin tried to send workers back to work but they demanded the flour to go back. Afterwards the workers took the renegade to participate in a meeting demanding the truth of the whole plot. They told him to ask the authorities for the flour otherwise they were going to hold him responsible for the consequences. The next day at a mass meeting he was compelled to tell the whole intrigue. After 3 days more they got the wheat flour. The first stage of this strike ended in victory.

This shows that a strike is always a form of class struggle. The imperialists and capitalists will always try to stop them with police, special agents, and renegades. But the workers are always clever and can distinguish the good people from the bad. Through the strike the workers came to know that through the masses they are all powerful. Through leading the workers movement the Party spread Marxist-Leninist ideas. The workers can only understand the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle through their own practice. After that first victory, the workers held a public meeting to accuse Lin with his crimes in which they exposed his true feature and told all the workers that this man was not a representative of the workers but of the imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists.

The strike went on and the workers persisted. The capitalists then resorted to economic blockade to undermine the struggle by refusing to provide food. Under such circumstances the workers cabled the union in other parts of the country in response they sent materials and money from other cities. Since the workers had no food, the people in the countryside all supported them with food and encouraged them in the struggle. Also the workers got coal from the storage of the mine (more than 5,000 tons of coal) and sold part of it and used the other. With the support of

of other workers and peasants they completely smashed the blockade. The strike went on for 50 days to complete victory because the capitalists couldn't stand it. Finally, they had to promise to meet the workers demands, (increase wages and 8-hour day were also demands). As a matter of fact the strike was aimed to raise their consciousness to fight against imperialism and the bourgeoisie. So the strike should end at a proper juncture and prepare for the next struggle.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution, personally led by Chairman Mao. It is a big exercise to fight revisionism and prevent revisionism on a mass scale. Since the first Marxist big character poster was on radio on July 1, 1966, Chairman Mao received many Red Guard in Tien Mien Square. At that time in order to sabotage the great mass movement Lin Piao and Liu Shao Chi propagated the view to suspect all and investigate all, and got the masses to struggle against each other. The workers in Kailan Coal mines responded warmly to Chairman Mao's call in a letter published in 1967 to all coal miners "make revolution on the ground, promote production in the shaft." There are many veteran workers in Kailan. They carried out Chairman Mao's line "grasp revolution and promote production." As a result, in 1967 the coal miners in Kailan made 2 big contributions and were praised by the leaders of our state.

On the other hand owing to the interference of Lin Piao and Liu Shao Chi, "suspect all and overthrow all" we were also influenced by these bad ideas. The masses were divided into factions and struggle developed due to some differences. In 1967, Chairman Mao issued an instruction; "within the working class itself there is ^{no} fundamental contradiction of interests." Again the workers in the coal mine carried this out. In November we realized our errors and by January the 3-in-1 combination was realized and the revolutionary committee was established. In our struggle to oppose and criticize revisionist line of Liu Shao Chi and Lin Piao we see clearly that when we hear Chairman Mao we can distinguish a correct from incorrect line. The three splits initiated by Lin Piao--(1) splits among workers,

(2) splits of army, and (3) splits among party and masses. Up to February of 1968 all factories and mines have set up revolutionary committees. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution put more effort into production. Our consciousness was raised and production went up July-August, 1968. Leading members of the central committee twice received representatives of our workers and cadres due to our good work. The orientation of the mass movement was always correct but because it was a mass movement there were errors. Through this the masses learned the struggle of two lines, i.e., the main thing to learn is to distinguish Marxism-Leninism from revisionism and revolutionary line from reactionary line. This is our purpose up to now.

Women--There is a women's organization called a women's committee, the total number of women are 1,200 in the Tangshan Coal Mine. This organization was formed in July, 1972, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. There was an organization but during the Cultural Revolution it was suspended and before the Cultural Revolution the women were not so numerous. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the growth of women a new committee was formed. The committee was elected by the women in the mine.

After liberation the government took over the coal mine from the imperialists. There were few women in the mine. After that woman comrades began to increase, the Party paid attention to them. The Party set up a women's department in charge of women's affairs. At that time there were only a few dozen there. So the emphasis was on the housewives of the coal miners. Before liberation there were no women in the mines--women were oppressed and discriminated against. They did the cooking. After liberation the women were economically and politically equal and they began to work in the mine. Since the women have become masters of their own country, on every level there are women comrades.

The organization of women is a mass organization, functioning under the leadership of the Party, like an assistant. Now the women's committee has eleven members,

3 are entirely on this post, 8 are working in other posts as well. Under the women's committee there are groups. Altogether 32 groups having 64 group leaders. This women's committee upholds their job around the central task of the party in this mine. The committee meets once a month concerning the main task of the Party. Afterward meetings of the group leaders are held to begin to carry out their task. The tasks of the women's committee, first to organize women to study well, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought second to organize mass criticism, for example Lin Piao and Confucius; third, to grasp revolution and promote production; fourth is concerned with the welfare and life of women workers, mainly take care of four periods of women comrades (menstruation, pregnancy, nursing, maternity).

Before liberation some women worked in the hospital but there were no rights; afraid to get married or have children because they would be fired. For example, there is a 56 day maternity leave after giving birth, then for a year a daily 1-hour period to nurse children, and they don't have to do heavy work. With regard to those who are in the home, for example they will guarantee the husband's have rest and proper food, help the neighborhood and educate their children well. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution more women worked in the mines. Now also in administration, supply department, machines and motors department, schools and hospitals. This is precisely because their role has been brought into full play to contribute their fair share. The Party committee is giving attention to advanced workers, now this included 350 women, of which 3 are named model worker laborers.

In the struggle to increase coal output--to double it--many women contributed her share. One said, "I will work days and nights to prepare props", but while the quota was 12 she surpassed her by making 52 as a result working efficiency increased by a factor of 3.5. At the end of the last year she was given the name of model worker in all the Kailan Coal Mines. In the emulation drive many women comrades try to do their best. Another example concerns the lamp for the miners. They

acted according to Chairman Mao's teaching "what men can do, women can do". They strived for a red banner on their window, that means excellent work. They guaranteed that when the miners come the lamps will immediately be put into his hand and after the miners come from the shaft then when the lamp is handed in, the keeper will give a ticket to show its there (a record keeping system was their innovation). Shorten the waiting so no line would form at the window.

On Lin Piao and Confucius, an example--In this we learned from advanced deeds of Shao Jung Chaung Village. For example, there is an old worker who retired, but he works in the neighborhood then he died. Before liberation his son thinks his father was bitter, then he was happy. The son wanted to buy good coffin. The mother said no coffin we should cremate him, change the old custom. The revolutionary committee of the neighborhood praised the mother's idea and held a meeting to remember him and prepared a wreath. Over 100 came, this was very educational for people in the neighborhood. For example, before liberation the imperialists, feudalists and capitalists tried to fool miners, your death is decided by God. Sometimes workers died from gas explosions or flood, they did not admit it was the result of profit and greed--they said on every 15th (lunar calendar) let the cage go empty, for the first time to pull the ghost up the shaft, the it will be safe. They also built a temple to the mine god--if you praised and gave something you'd be okay. For example, one worker came to the work at age 16, but 3 days later his little finger was chopped off and the bosses said it was the ghost. He went to the temple to pray. In the present campaign he realized that it was not god but oppression by class enemies and only through socialism are workers safe.

Another example, for 3 generations his family has been masons but they remain poor. His father builds houses for the rich but they live in a hut. The mother spins thread but they didn't have clothes. He used to ask his parents why we can't have good houses and clothes. Mother said our destiny is not favourable. He wasn't convinced but didn't know why, now by criticizing the heavenly mandate of Confucius

it is understood that before liberation and now there is the same destiny. Before not, now yes, clothes and good housing. The reason is exploitation. "We can't believe in Confucius' heavenly mandate but make revolution." Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution this comrade has been putting more strength into the job, 6 days a mason, on Sundays he goes into the pit as volunteer worker--5 years without missing. He is very famous and now a miner also. This is just one of thousands of examples resulting from the campaign. The spiritual has changed into the material.

Why is a trade union necessary in a socialist society? The trade union is an organization for the workers themselves. The main task is to lead the workers in the study of Marxism-Leninism, criticism of revisionism and to concentrate on workers welfare. Like the womens organization, the trade union is an assistant to the Party. The trade union must organize workers to implement party policy and principles. From this you can see there is a vast range of work for the trade union. One more task is to lead the workers in production and socialist emulation, no matter how many tasks all must be done under the unified leadership of the Party, that is, lead workers to make revolution and construct socialism. All the responsible members of the trade union are elected by the workers. The trade union is a good form in which to train people for the Party. The trade union is a workers organization, while the Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. So the trade union must implement the Party's policies in the interest of the proletariat. The trade union can do its role good only under the leadership of the Party.

Before liberation there were trade unions here called "yellow trade unions" by the workers. At that time trade unions were influenced by policies and ideals by bureaucratic capitalists and imperialists. In appearance it was said to be in the workers interests, in essence they served the imperialists and bureaucratic capitalists. For example, in the strike the trade union worked for the capitalists and betrayed the interests of the workers in our mines in terms of the trade union the

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names are the same but they are entirely different. The trade union in our mine can assist in organizing and mobilizing workers to implement Party policy. So far as trade union organization here, we have a committee at the mine level and several under it in the mine and factories, and many trade union groups under them on the basis of shifts and teams. Total is 37 members on the mine level, including women, youth cadres and veteran workers. There are several groups under the trade union committee: propaganda, women, coal production, labor protection, workers welfare--there are a lot of regulations to insure workers life. For example, they will retire at age stipulated by labor insurance and get certain percentage of salary based on how long they have worked in the mine. In other cases if a worker is sick or disabled, after 6 months he can get 60% and if this is not enough then subsidy should be given to show the concern of the state.

I am an example: I used to be a coal miner. In 1966 I had rectal cancer and was hospitalized for 2 years. After 6 months I got 60% of my original salary and additional subsidy for my 7-member family (father, wife, 4 children). Thanks to the concern of the party and trade union the cancer was overcome and now I continue my work as before contributing to our revolution and socialist construction. A male miner can retire at age 55, workers above ground can retire at age 60, all women at 55. If they so desire, workers who are not healthy may retire earlier. I was troubled by cancer at the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, some bourgeois doctors at the hospital said my cancer is incurable. With an operation you'll only have 2 years. Thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution I got help from other doctors who carried out Chairman Mao's line on medical affairs. I was taken to Teinsin where I was operated on. This shows the great concern of the Party. Before liberation the hospital was closed to us. Now I have recovered and do my bit for our Party and country. In the operation my rectum was cut off and my intestines is one foot shorter so the doctor opened a hole so I could move my bowels, first a rubber tub was used but it was not properly healed and it was painful and

often bled. My comrades in a machine shop made a stainless steel box and fixed it. First I worried but then I studied Chairman Mao and understood the necessity to overcome all difficulty. Now with the great care of my comrades and the Party my case is more and more improved. In recent period I am active in artistic and cultural affairs and my spirit is high. This comrade is Chiang Shih-lin. He is full of might, always with high spirit and famous in our mine. He does propaganda work in the mine--writes songs, etc., to spread the ideas of Chairman Mao's thinking. He has been elected as advanced worker several times in last few years.

The trade union is a political organization of the workers. It is not a welfare organization. After liberation we carried out a policy of limitation, utilization, and transformation of bourgeois enterprises. Before 1956, some enterprises were managed by capitalists. In that period 1949-56, in those enterprises the trade union had the right to survey the managers of the factories, to implement the stipulation of worker insurance, wages, and hours of the workers. Also the trade union guaranteed normal production and sale of products under the capitalists during that period. So part of the role of the trade union at that time was to insure the implementation of the party's policy and principles and welfare of workers and increase production.

After socialist transformation of national bourgeois enterprises, they were turned to state ownership. So the trade union has a different function now. In this period the trade union has the role to organize workers in study of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought and the Party's principles, and is capable of reflecting the demands of the workers and insurance of labor and safe conditions for production and organization of workers in emulation drive to make good contribution to socialist revolution. Before 1956, some enterprises were under the capitalists, now they are all state owned and the trade union has got a new function. Directors of all enterprises must report to a conference of representatives of the trade union regularly. The trade union sends workers demands to Party administration. I can

affirm the change in 1956 based on a change in the production relations, but the goal has remained the same, to build socialism and eventually communism.

Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution all the trade unions were both under the leadership of the party in their unit and the general trade union at the national level. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution when Mao initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Liu Shao Chi tried every means to interfere in all organizations at that time. In response to Chairman Mao's call the revolutionary masses broke out and formed their own organizations. For example, the Red Guards in schools and others in factories. They got Mao's directive directly in newspapers and CC documents. This was better so the trade union was suspended temporarily for a short period.

NOVEMBER 4th--Ceramics Factory #5

Introduction, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee, responsible comrade of the office of the revolutionary committee.

Warm welcome to our friends who have come to the Ceramics Factory #5. The ceramics industry here has a history of over 574 years ago, built by Yung Le of the Ming Dynasty. Right before liberation the workers here suffered seriously by the three big mountains. At that time workers led a very poor life--asthma and bronchitis were occupational diseases, when it was cold they had to go begging because they couldn't work. The equipment was poor and production was backward. Donkeys were used to grind material and the pots were shaped by hand. The workers toiled days and nights. Before liberation there were 20 small factories in the city, with 600 workers. Just a little was produced, with no good color, and of poor quality. They were called "cement ceramics" by the people. The workers before liberation were always unemployed in the winter. There was a substantial change made after liberation. In the past decades or so under the leadership of the Party, Mao held high the red banner of the general line. "Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." We have

been marching with good strides along the socialist road developing new equipment and improving the whole process. Total materials are processed with an automatic grinding system, most are shaped by machines. We have tunnel kilns. All technical innovations have been done by putting together the 3-in-1 combinations of workers, technicians, and cadres. "We need red hearts and red hands to overcome difficulties and get everything we want."

The great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, especially the present campaign has brought good change in our production. There are all together 11 factories of this company producing porcelain wares. Besides, there are 4 auxillary units, flower pattern factory, materials process factory, ceramics research institute, and special machinery production factory. There are also hospitals and several schools, kindergarten, nurseries, primary, middle and technical schools. We have 11,300 workers and staff. This year we expect to produce 115 million pieces of ceramics. At present our factory can produce 400 varieties for industrial, water conservancy, daily use by people and electric industry. In the early post liberation years 9,300,000+ pieces were produced, now 10 times+ more. 50% for daily use, other 50% for export. We send our product to 70 countries in the world to help promote cultural exchange and strengthen friendship with other peoples. Our company is a developed one.

We have made progress under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, but there are shortcomings in our work. We have gained success in technical but mechanization is still not high enough. So afar as quantity and quality is concerned, we cannot meet the needs of the domestic and foreign market. We have friends all over the world who need us to produce more, at home our people need more and more. Before liberation a family with 7-8 people used 7-8 bowls for everything. Now they need complete sets for different purposes.

3. TIENSIN
NOVEMBER 4-6, 1974

TIENSIN

Comrade Yang--we welcome you. Through this visit our friendship will improve. The friendship of our people will improve both the Chinese people and the people of the USA. Have some tea and a little rest. Schedule: after settling in your rooms at 3:00 visit a carpet factory. This evening Comrade Yang will have dinner with you. Tomorrow morning visit workers at No. 2 Woolen Factory of Tiensin, in the afternoon, No. 16 middle school and a cultural performance in the evening. Day after tomorrow, hardware factory for the blind, conclude visit at 3:00.

Tiensin #1 Carpet Factory

Originally we planned a briefing first, but limits of time reversed it. This factory was built in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward. There are 1280 workers and staff members, 60% are women. We start with wool, spin thread up until the finished product. The workshops here are divided into 2 categories; (1) machine spinning the wool into thread and (2) making the carpet usually done by hand. The main product of this factory is carpets, but we also sell surplus thread. The carpets are one of the handicrafts in China, that is, traditional art. It is 2000 years old.

The special features of our carpets are fresh colors arranged in a harmonious way, the varieties are numerous. They look like they are beaming, like they are real. That's why they are welcomed in the international market. Since liberation, especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers have been doing technical work to lower labor intensity and to speed up production. We have achieved good results. For example, you saw the cutting with electric scissors. This is an innovation by the workers. Also, in the trimming process--before it was done by hand, now we use a machine. As a result of the technical innovation, the labor efficiency has been improved 3 or 4 times. Because of the technical innovation and workers initiative there has been steady increases in our production. The product of 1973 increased 15.85% over 1972. In the 3 seasons of this year we increased 8.1% over our plan. The reasons why we achieve these results is because we have implemented

Chairman Mao's line of independence and maintaining initiative.

There are still shortcomings in our factory, for example, in some workshops the equipment to keep dust out is not so good. Second shortcoming is we do not make good symmetrical carpets; we can fix them but waste time and material. We have more than 100 looms, more than 300 weavers. For a 300 ft. square rug, 4 people take 3 months to weave it--takes 9 months starting from the wool. Cost for one square meter of a carpet from the factory is 260 yuan. This takes 10 days for one person, takes one month from wool for one person. Average wage is less than 60 yuan per month, average age is 30 years. There are welfare facilities. For example, when they come to work 50% of their travel fare is paid by the factory. Then free medical treatment, full pay for time ill. For family dependents medical care is 50% of cost. The workers enjoy free haircuts and free baths. There are 90 cadres, 1/3 are women. There are 9 on the revolutionary committee, 5 are women. Some medical problems from dust, but every worker is given a mask and has an x-ray once a year. But all workers don't like to wear them. 90% of cadres are workers. In this factory there is a clinic, charge is free. Serious illnesses, they will be sent to the district hospital or the big one in Tiensin. There is a kindergarten and nursery. The factory takes care of kids from 56 days to 7 years old. All cost is free, only food costs. There is no school here but they go to schools in the district. But we have a night school, the workers can study cultural, political, and technical subjects.

Patterns are based on traditional ones; for example, a special type is the Peking type. It represents the old China traditional culture. Another type of aesthetic design, the floral design. Another is plain embossing. That is decided by the needs of the plan, set by the minister of foreign trade who knows the needs of the market. But with regards to quotas set for a particular factory, this depends on the available equipment and ability based on discussion with the workers. The workers know quite well where the products go. Some are displayed, some

samples go to other countries. Some buyers come to Canton to see the product. During the work we explain where the rugs are going and expected date of completion, so their work will be on time. The plan is decided on basis of equipment and ability so the quota is usually conservative, so usually the workers ask for more sometimes it is the opposite. About 200+ are members of the Communist Party. Some individual designers came from art school, but majority are from workers who learn through practice. The designers know how to weave so they will know what is possible. Some foreigners come here to study our process, for example, Iraq and Rumania. Since this is a socialist factory wages are 33 yuan, lowest, highest is 100 yuan+. The process of the work wages come from (1) technical level, (2) seniority. The workers discuss the work points, and for veteran workers the pay is more. The cadres are paid less than the workers. The highest paid gets 100+ yuan, electrician 60 years old, cadre in charge of plant get 80 Yuan. The workers know where the rugs go inside China as well, Kwantung Province, Peking, Tiensin railway station. The wool comes from the autonomous regions, but we don't send many carpets there. They make their own carpets and other wool is sent out.

The salary of the revolutionary committee is a bit lower, highest is 80 yuan+, the lowest is 50 yuan+. A young worker on the revolutionary committee gets 30 Yuan. The revolutionary committee is elected by the workers. Since the revolutionary committee was established there has been no election since 1967. Because of death, retirement or change of place people leave. The workers discuss who will fill the vacancy--nominations from the workers, then approval by the revolutionary committee, final approval by the revolutionary committee of the municipal bureau of carpets in Tiensin. Normally they approve; if no approval based on democratic centralism then they ask for another nominee. They have 3-in-1 combinations. Weaving is done on one shift because it is difficult to distinguish colors under the electric lights. Morning work for 4 hours but workers can rest based on their own decisions, for lunch one hour break, 4 hours work in afternoon. Study in spare time, every week 3 times

to participate in political study, etc. The study is organized by the revolutionary committee. The revolutionary committee carries out the decisions of the party. The party committee is elected by party members, and approved by the higher body. The teachers of kindergarten and nursery are selected from workers here at the factory and get the same wages and work similar hours.

Visit To #16 Middle School

Comrade Jin, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee, physics teacher, two political science teachers, language, cadre of revolutionary committee and some students.

Warm welcome to our friends from the USA. We have 60 classrooms; 3,195 students, 219 teachers. The area covers 35,000 square meters; construction includes 5 labs (2 for physical laboratories, 2 chemistry, 1 biology), assembly hall, gym, library, swimming pool, and a school-run factory. Before liberation the poor couldn't send their children, but since liberation our school has served the sons and daughters of the laboring people. But Liu Shao Chi's revisionist line in education put intellectual training with marks in command, so children of laboring people were still deprived. So only after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was our school really open to the sons and daughters of workers, peasants, and soldiers. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we followed Chairman Mao's instruction that education should be revolutionary, so we criticize the revisionist line that education should be divorced from the proletarian line and productive labor. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line goes deep into the hearts of the people so we all took an active role in transforming education. So we are making effort in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line of productive labor, socialist construction and revolutionary culture.

In recent years we have changed the method of closed door study by going to the workers, peasants, and soldiers for training, and we invite them in to our school. In this way our students combine theory with practice. For example, in

physics once a teacher gave a simple mechanics lesson--they went to the port and factory to work with workers to grasp the theory better and know how to put it into practice. Now the revolution in education in our school is under experiment so its not mature. Some old ideas still exist in our thinking. We have to go on making efforts to perfect our new proletarian system. Although we have achievements in some respects, we have shortcomings, we have a long way to go. We have arranged visits to the lab for biology, chemistry, physics, library, gym, factory, 2 classes, then discussion and performances.

(We played basketball and ping pong with the students. They brought out pans of hot water, soap, and towels--their politics are clearly displayed in their hospitality.)

Discussion:

Students can criticize teachers, anything said or done that does not conform with Mao Tse-tung's proletarian line can be criticized. Students give examples--once a student was late because of something important at home. When he arrived at school he was criticized. The classmates were not happy because they knew why he was late. They criticized the teachers because there was no investigation of the facts. Of course, discipline is good but there must be a full investigation. Later the teacher agreed and they are now working in full harmony. The teaching materials are all decided by municipal or district leading organizations in education. The students have no right to decide what they are going to study, this is decided by the municipal education bureau. They are quite young and they are learning only the basic knowledge getting ready to serve the socialist cause in the country. The materials are to serve proletarian politics and productive labor.

Student--As you know the Red Guard is an organization formed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as inspired and led by our great leader, Chairman Mao. His role is to insure the implementation of political study as instructed by

the Party and leading organization. Every Red Guard should be more advanced and set good examples for the other students. They should be the vanguard in the political movement and revolution in education. After school the Red Guard should take initiative and study Marxism-Leninism well. Also cultural and intellectual studies. Besides also supposed to go out and serve the people, investigation to enrich their class education. Red Guard usually organize such activity as a visit to a factory or commune to learn from workers and poor middle and lower peasants. Outside class the red guard would go to commune to hear the old peasants tell stories of oppression in the old society. Through this their class consciousness is heightened. We go to the PLA and get a certain kind of military training there. Through this we can heighten our vigilance and get prepared against war. We should be prepared for a war launched by imperialism and social imperialism.

Now in China, junior middle school is popularized (available for all). Some junior middle school graduates go directly to work in socialist construction. There is an age limit. All the students going to work must be 16 years of age. Yes, the students can go to work if they choose but not always that way. The state has a unified plan for how many students will be needed in the cities and rural areas. The students must apply, some get permission, some don't. This is done in accordance with the principle of developing each student morally, intellectually, and physically. It depends on what kinds of needs exist. To go to work or to continue to study--both are to serve the revolution. There is no qualitative difference. Only those 17 years old can go to countryside; usually parents and students are in agreement. If 16 and don't want to continue to study normally we persuade them to go on. We don't let young children work in our society, this shows the concern of our Party for our youth. When we make a decision on who continues study or work we consider all factors, moral, intellectual and physical, not just intellectual. So not the less intellegent to to work. We had a student,

good intellectually, physically, and politically but she applied to go to the countryside in answer to Chairman Mao's call to integrate herself with workers and peasants and now she is very active in the countryside.

The average age of a graduate from middle school is 16. 70-80% of junior middle school graduates continue school, others go to work. Through the three years of education all students know they must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, so they volunteer. There is no compulsion. Generally at graduation you can find big character letters saying we the students will go wherever--
"Whatever the party needs me to do, I will take it as my ^{own} will and do it."

Usually in normal college there will be a department of political education in which the students study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought along with all the other departments in the college. To be a middle school teacher you should be a graduate of a normal college or university. Usually when they are still students, they have some time to practice teaching. Since all the university students come from workers, peasants, and soldiers they don't need any additional practice when they graduate. Generally the political science teachers practice for 6 months (sometimes 1 month at one school, then change). All teachers of political science don't have to be party members--they receive leadership from the Party in the same way as the other departments. Generally the wages are enough for family and spending, with some surplus. The wages differ: the wage of first grade of middle school is 149 yuan per month highest, the lowest is 46 yuan. The school teachers have many welfare benefits--free medical service, maternity leave for 56 days, rent subsidized up to 60% from the school. To rent a room of 20 square meters cost 3.4 yuan per month. Besides there is no income tax. Besides kindergarten is 50% subsidized for those with more children. The state also helps. As you know in our country all the prices are stable so the life of our teachers is insured. Not only are prices stable in the market for certain commodities (medicine, radios, etc.), the rest is going down. I pay only supplies and food for 3 children

in school--no tuition.

NOVEMBER 6th

Chuang Kuang Hardware Factory

Chung Lung-chen, secretary of the general office of the revolutionary committee, Sheng Su-jung, chairman of the revolutionary committee, Li Teh-cheng, chairman of the general office.

Friends, how do you do? You have come from afar, and brought friendly feelings. We are very glad to receive you. On behalf of our workers I extend a warm welcome.

This factory is attached to the civil affairs bureau of the Tiensin municipality for blind people. There are 366 workers and staff members, 109 are blind people and 5 are deaf mutes, and 9 are disabled (limbs). The floor space is 9,700 square meters, building covers 4,500 square meters. Factory has 5 workshops, and 237 pieces of equipment of all kinds. The main product of this factory are bicycle spokes, nuts, and bolts.

Before liberation the blind people were on the bottom of the society, their lives were not guaranteed. The Kuomintang reactionaries only knew how to enjoy themselves, cared not at all for the laboring people. Up to liberation the blind people could do nothing so most blind workers could only go begging. They were usually struggling on the verge of starvation and death. Many died on the street and in lanes. Often with nothing to cover their bodies. After liberation the Party and government showed every concern for blind people. In the early days of liberation our country's economy was just rehabilitating from damage and the peoples government gave money to develop enterprises for blind people. At that same time some groups of blind people to support themselves were set up. We organized the blind people to do handiwork. For example, to weave basket covers for thermos bottles or to make grass ropes. In 1958, the government combined those groups and set up the Chung Kuang factory.

Since the inception of the factory along with production we take care of the lives of our workers. We built a dormitory for singles, with floor space of 500 square meters. And also built houses for family dependents covering floor space of 700 square meters. There are also welfare facilities--canteen, nursery, bathrooms, and clinic. The department in charge of sanitation does check ups to cure the eye diseases of blind people. Workers get free medical treatment. Under the care and education of the party the cultural level and political consciousness of the laboring blind people have been enhanced; some blind people joined the Communist Party and many youth joined the Young Communist League. More than 10 blind people are in leading posts in the factory, workshops or groups. So the socialist system has brought the initiative of blind people into full play. As a result, the outcome proves the greatest of Chairman Mao. We study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and implement the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung. We follow the principles of self reliance in our work, also technical innovations with health workers. We have overcome many obstacles and difficulties and made many facilities for the blind. Our material conditions have improved greatly. All of this provides the conditions for blind people to make a greater contribution to socialist construction, socialist revolution and world revolution. Tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the consciousness of blind people of the two-line struggle has led to more determined fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The movement to learn from Tachai has led to our output in 1973 doubling that of 1965. We have also set up spare time performing groups to praise and sing songs for our Party, Chairman Mao, and our new life. In the Past 10 years we have done more than 160 cultural items. We have been to those fraternal factories, countryside and PLA units 300 times, 200,000 people, workers soldiers, and peasants. In the past 20 years we have done much but there are shortcomings in our work. For example, the level of mechanization is still not high. Output of certain products can't meet needs, quality is not stable. We are determined to make technical revolu-

tion by holding high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought and carrying forth the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in order to advance forever along the road to socialism.

Discussion:

We think that training the blind people is very important work. As a matter of fact they receive special training; on the one hand they study as do others in the school, on the other hand they receive special training to look after themselves. So generally after graduation from school most can look after themselves very well. Once a blind workers is admitted to a factory they get a tour to be familiar with the environment. Also they are helped to master the skill of working on the machines. As a rule it only takes 3 to 5 days to train a blind person on a machine. As time goes they get more skill and can do more than one kind of work. For the blind worker to work on the machine they can master skill by asking questions to other workers and by listening to see if the machine is working properly. They use touch to check quality of product and proper functioning of the machine. The blind workers are not only able to master skill in the workshops, they also cook at home.

What I was talking about was the young. The old blind workers from the old society had many skills because they had to be resourceful in order to survive. After liberation all of the blind workers have stood up and become masters of the land. They have the right to participate in the management of the factory. In the leading bodies in the workshops there are blind workers where most were blind. The leader is blind. The cadre in charge of production is blind. Apart from participation of workers in management, we administrative cadre take part in manual work in the workshops. This is to insure that we know the demands of the workers and keep our proletarian consciousness developing. The participation of workers in management and participation of cadre in manual work are our basic policy. Besides, our 3-in-1 combinations for technical innovation have blind workers. Many rational proposals were made by blind workers to improve conditions of work and technical innovations.

Many special changes in the machines result from suming up practice of the blind, and are based on the cooperation of sighted and blind workers.

Just like all other factories blind workers get the same salary, equal pay for equal work. Apart from the apprentices, the lowest is around 40 yuan per month, the highest is 80 yuan per month. The average is above 50 yuan. The workers here have subsidy for haircuts, bathing and are given working suits and towels. The night shift gets extra pay. In the electroplating department they get extra pay to buy more nutritious food. Some get up to 50%^{more} in this electroplating workshop poisonous material has been removed but there is acid that is harmful to the skin so we feel better food is necessary. Besides for all the blind workers they get a free ticket for all public transportation. Besides all books and newspapers are free of charge. Rent subsidy varies--some get it, some don't. All the workers enjoy free medical service and receive 70% of wage at retirement. The women workers have full pay for maternity leave. Retirement age is 60 years for men, 55 for women. Night shift gets 25-35 fen extra per night worked. The shifts rotate once a week work 6 days a week.

In the old society blind people were discriminated and insulted by the reactionary authorities. We were the waste--they said we were not as valuable as a dog. After liberation since relations between people have been changed the relation between blind and sighted has changed. It is based on class solidarity, a new type of relationship, comrades in arms. There is special care in the society, for example, those attendants in grain store send the food right to the blind persons house to make it easier for them. The vegetable stores are the same. Those who are from the department store carry goods to the factories, the tailors come to the factory once a week. The municipal bus company provides special bus service for blind who live far from the factory to get to work everyday. In crossing the street people they don't know guide them. We are living in a sea of love among brothers of the working class.

We think that in a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no need for a special law concerning the blind. The relations between people is one of class brothers. The only essential differences between people is based on class. So we think it is not necessary to have laws. In the old society there were laws for equality but it never happened, in the new society there are no laws but our equality is entirely guaranteed. In our factory Liu Yuan-chiang was a begger as a child. At that time he didn't have the right to walk freely on the street. He was often insulted and beaten up on the streets. Quite often he had to sleep in the dirty, dark public bathrooms. After liberation just like all working people he is the master of his own destiny. He proudly entered this factory to go to work. Later on he was admitted to the Party. Many times he has been elected an activist in the study of Mao's work and a model worker on the city level. He is a member of the revolutionary committee, vice chairman of the trade union and head of a workshop. (This comrade is also vice chairman of the Tiensin municipal trade union.)

The example is meant to explain that in a socialist state with proletarian dictatorship the political status of blind workers is entirely equal. The blind people are all eager to have physical culture training. The blind workers in this factory take part in various sports, track and field, parallel bars, tug of war, etc. As to recreational activities they participate in reading literature, playing chess or cards, and listening to the radio. We also have a certain kind of exercise to protect any remaining vision of workers. Besides these workers receive check ups twice a year by optomologists in the hospitals. These workers will get medical therapy, exercise to protect remaining vision. Further along with development of medical science in recent years, we've helped 4 blind workers to revive their sight to some extent and 1 is cured. We use both traditional and western medicine, acupuncture and operations if necessary. Including transplants. There is an herbal treatment to reduce glacoma. Also some acupuncture to reduce pressure; we put very

hot packs on eyes but it can only be cured at the early stage. After the sight is lost there can only be transplant. Usually he receives help from other cadres, he is read to and transcribes them into braille.

As far as I know the workers don't get bored for 2 reasons (1) total workers are very clear on the aim of the work, all conscientiously link their work with the building of socialism in China and the revolutionary cause in the world. That's why they can always keep their interest in their work. Apart from this (2) since the enterprises are developing everyday, new equipment everyday, new technical innovations everyday. For one meal it costs 20-30 fen, a very good meal. They pay for every meal with tickets they buy every month. School ages is the same and subjects are the same. Only the teaching method is different, with more teachers. The schools are boarding schools, there are blind students who study in regular school. I studied Chinese language and literature in spare time night school for 4 years. It is easier for blind people to learn Chinese in romanized form but braille is entirely different from Chinese characters and roman letters. There are reading rooms in this factory. The state has set up a special organ to publish books in braille. There are braille editions of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, also a full selection of Party documents. Also scientific works.

In the old society the main causes for blind individuals were (1) born blind as a result of parental disease, e.g., syphilis but most (2) were the result of poverty disease, being too poor for medical treatment. After liberation, the conditions of medical service is improved. There is no more venereal diseases, except special diseases that are highly controlled. The number of the blind is decreasing. In Tiensin there are 15 factories for blind or deaf mutes, but one school for blind and one for deaf mutes. This comrade is 29 years old and was blinded at the age of 2. The living standards go up each day.

The municipal civil affairs bureau is in charge of many types of work--relief work, allocation of man power, national minority affairs, religious affairs, and

the orphans and elderly and blind. The central government has a ministry of domestic affairs. We can hardly meet the demands at home and abroad we should do more to meet the needs of our people and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

4. WUSHI
NOVEMBER 7-9, 1974

NOVEMBER 7

Comrade Lin, chairman of Friendship, Wushi Municipality, 2 staff people.

American friends, today we are very happy you've come. I extend my hearty welcome. You must be very tired, have a short rest, a cup of tea, and cigarettes and I will give a brief introduction to Wushi.

On the way here we talked with the leader of your delegation and you've not been to China or Wushi. Wushi is a medium city, 650,000 population. It is situated in the southeast of the province. 470,000 are urban, 180,000 are in suburbs; 240,000 are industrial and staff, 100,000 are students, others are older and children. Wushi is considered an industrial city. In the old days before liberation it was a consumer city--producing only cotton, furniture, photography, wheat. There were only 300-400 workers and staff of industry. Wushi has long been "land teeming with rice and fish", the "water Canton". In the old days it didn't live up to the name for the poor people, only the rich people enjoyed themselves. There was industrial and agricultural backwardness. On April 23, 1949, Wushi was liberated under the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao and we transformed Wushi from a backward city. Since liberation we filled a gap of heavy industry, communications, transportation, chemical industry. In line of heavy industry we have iron, steel and coal mines, heavy industrial tools. And up until now, there are 480 factories, medium and large size.

There has been great progress in education and health work. For example, before liberation no one from the laboring classes went to school. Now we have 1 colleges, 60 middle schools and 196 primary schools. We have made great progress in health. There are 8 municipal hospitals, 4 district hospitals, large factories--hospitals, small factory clinics, rural area cooperative health systems. There are great developments in agriculture. Before liberation (180,000 in suburbs now), output was low; 2 crops a year of rice and wheat. Per mu output only 40 kilos of wheat and 200 kilos of rice. Since liberation we carried through land reform

(mutual aid teams, cooperatives, peoples communes in 1958). Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966) per mu of wheat was 100+ kilos, 300 kilos of rice. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the political consciousness of poor and middle peasants was greatly raised. Now 2 crops of rice and one of wheat, per mu of wheat reached 200+ kilos, rice reached 600-700 kilos per mu.

We have 3 reasons for this: (1) our socialist system has collective ownership, the basis for overcoming problems, e.g., water conservancy projects is now done collectively; not individually. We use the lake as a natural reservoir. (2) Political consciousness is constantly raised according to Chairman Mao's teaching "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." The lower and middle peasants work for themselves, our socialist system and world revolution. (3) The poor and lower middle peasants farm in a scientific way--use good seed, improve soil, use good fertilizer (chemical and natural--we use mud from lake and rice stalks). We use insecticides. In addition Wushi is a scenic (vacation) spot.

NOVEMBER 8th

Hola Peoples Commune

We feel very happy on behalf of the revolutionary committee and members of our production brigade. Hola Peoples Commune--4,080 households, 14,820 total population. 7 production brigades, 82 production teams. Ours is the biggest Hola Production Brigade--1,017 households; 4,016 total population in our brigade, with a labor force of 1,852. We have 18 production teams: 8 in grain farming, 3 fishing, 1 silk worms, 6 for farming fruits. We have 1,340 mu in grain, 323 mu for silk, 162 fish ponds, 630 mu water, 900 mu forest and orchard. We set up pigery and also have 2 processing workshops (shoes and embroidery). Also pearl cultures in 3 of our fishery production teams.

We take grain as the foundation, the rest as side occupations. Agriculture has constantly developed during 25 years since liberation. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our work further developed. For example, grain has in-

creased; per mu before liberation in wheat was 45 kilos, since liberation the crop in 1956 reached 107.5 kilos, this year 372.5 kilos. Rice per mu in 1949 was 225 kilos. 1956 reached 310 kilos, in 1958 reached 400 kilos, last year 713 kilos. Silk culture (including mulberry trees) 20 kilos of cocoons before liberation; in 1956 32.5 kilos of cocoons could be fed; 1958 40 kilos. Before liberation per mu 225 kilos of fish; 1956 reached 335 kilos; 1958 reached 405 kilos; last year 702.5 kilos. With this development the level of mechanization is better than ever before. There are 20 working hand-operated tractors, 23 water pumps, 14 thrashing machines, 4 motorized boats.

Living standards of commune members have improved. The production has increased since liberation but compared to other fraternal brigades it is weak. We must sum up our experiences to win still greater victories.

We breed 8 kinds of fish in one pond. There are 3 layers in the pond: on the surface, 2 kinds (white bighead fish, colorful bighead fish), 3 kinds in the second layer middle (Chinese Ide, flat fish, black carp). 2 kinds of fish eat shell fish (black carp and carp). Chinese Ide and flat fish eat grasses on the bottom of the pond and on the land. Others eat the zoological plants or (insects). We put fish fry (small ones) in January, harvest in June, catch 5 times a year just the big ones up to December. Then drain water and dig out mud to deepen the pond--use mud as organic fertilizer. 30% of ponds for fish fry, 70% for commodity fish breeding.

The peoples commune formed on the basis of advanced cooperatives here. There were 6 advanced cooperatives with a diversified economy. Some were originally into fish production. Revolutionary committee arranges the development of the division of labor. The fishermen know the laws of the fish so in order to breed fish quickly a good quality then enriched the water. April and May, June the fish will grow their skins; July-September they grow their flesh; January-April the fish fry will be put in. When we sell the cocoons to the factory and they have some parts left over which they put into the water and spread through the water. They also put the

manure of chickens and pigs into the water pond.

Before liberation the fishing pond belonged to the despotic landlords so the fishermen had nothing. Of course, there were a handful who owned fishpond, but they were rich also so the broad masses were inhumanly oppressed and enslaved. Before liberation the output was very low. They could not speak of how to breed fish in a scientific way at all. Since liberation under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and our great leader Chairman Mao they pointed out the need to take the high road, the collective way. Fisherman became the masters of their destiny, so according to Chairman Mao the fishery had followed the 3 struggles (class, production, scientific experiment). From 1956, ⁱⁿ the advanced cooperative we have bred fish in a scientific way. We formed 3-in-1 scientific team combinations (cadre, young veteran peasants). They studied the historical records of the fishing ponds. For example, when we put fish fry from February-April the weather is very cold so according to the living law of fish the water is cold and shallow. In May there is warmer and deeper water. The fishermen understand that when black carp increase 1 kilo in size they must be fed 50 kilos of shell fish, whenever Chinese Ide increase 1 kilo of flesh they must eat 110 kilos of water grass or 55 kilos of grass on the land.

5. SHANGHAI

NOVEMBER 9-13, 1974

Greeted by 3 comrades of Friendship Association, Shanghai branch. Shanghai is a coastal city, an important industrial base, total population 10,600,000. It includes 10 urban districts and 10 suburban counties. Program: Sightseeing and No. 1 Department Store and Friendship Store. Evening--acrobatic show, childrens palace; site of the First Party Congress, Irregular Shaped Steel Tubing Plant, free evening, Fung Hue Wooden Box Factory, womens briefing, banquet, hospital, Shanghai workers cultural palace, Shanghai teachers college, 1/2 day free and 1 evening--morning visit to No. 5 Harbor.

Shanghai Irregular Shaped Steel Tubing Plant

Vice Chairman of the revolutionary committee of factory, workshop directors, 2 vice chairman of trade union, deputy secretary of Young Communist League, some veteran workers.

Warm welcome to Shanghai Irregular Shaped Steel Tubing Plant. We have a total of 780 workers, so its relatively small. We produce all kinds of irregular shaped tubes. We have gone through 4 stages: from 1953-57 originally a hardward shop, only processing large to small, thick to thin, on a small scale; from 1958-61 we only had small indigenous equipment and our production was based on the need of the state, mainly 76 millimeter in diameter tubes; from 1962-65, in this period we met requirements of the state and began to produce irregular tubes. Most irregular tubes were imported mainly from the Soviets, but the Soviets pulled out. The workers held a heated discussion over whether to do it ourselves. Some said it is complicated producing these tubes and our equipment is poor so if we do it, it should be done in a large factory. But the masses of workers and cadre ahad their own opinion. If the state needs it we will do it. They key is to "maintain independence and keep initiative in our own hands." We produced 5 types (square, round, rectangular, octagonal, plus 1 more). Later a comrade from a special unit asked us for a corri-gated tube. In the past we imported from the Soviet Union. Some used it in industry for national defense so workers decided to produce it themselves. We didn't have any

experience but we mobilized the masses. After over 40 experiments in 8 1/2 months we succeeded in producing the corrugated tube. Our tube can stand 50 kilos of air pressure, the Soviets could only take 20 kilso.

Later requests for 2 different tubes^{came} from the petro-chemical industry. They were badly needed. We said we had no technicians or engineers, only 5 workers self-trained technicians since 1958. The petro-chemical person found this out and just went away. After 6 months he didn't come back but we felt they were needed. We formed a 3-in-1 combination of workers, cadres, technicians, to see if the need was still there. The answer was you will have difficulty in producing them. Our veteran workers said for our petro-chemical industry we must do it if we have to use our teeth. They tried 30 times in one month, made a mold and pulled it through to make it. Then they made one with a smaller, tighter mold. They used Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to solve the problem. Over 100 experiments were made in one year before we succeeded.

Later 3 PLA soldiers came and asked us to produce a large twisted tube (like a pigtail). At first people thought it was too difficult--okay for bread but not for steel. But the 3 PLA fighters said it was used in industry for national defense and used in preparing for war. We heard this and took on the task. Some people started to look for technical data. The Soviets say it takes special equipment taking 20,000 yuan and a year to build. Most of the workers thought that since this would be used to prepare for war they studied Chairman Mao, On Protracted War--"You fight in your way, we fight in ours." The workers took this and applied to production. The imperialists and revisionists have their own way to do it, but we should build our tubes in our own way. After heated discussion many methods after 30 experiments over several months (ball bearings were put around a mold, then when the steel was pulled through, they turned the mold), they used old material and labor and did not spend many yuan. They are used by the Navy on the warships.

The 4th period covers from 1966 to now, since the Great Proletarian Cultural

Revolution we have been criticizing the bourgeois and revisionist line. Our consciousness has been raised and as a result our production is developing. For example, before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, from 1958-65, we produced 839 varieties of 160 irregular shaped tubes. Since 1966-73 we produce 3200 varieties of 1600 irregular tubes. Since the beginning of 1974 we started to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and from January to October we developed 270 varieties. The plan including producing 100 small ones, total weight .1 kilo each. Usually we measure steel in tons, so grams were strange to us. But the veteran workers said ours is a socialist country run by workers so we should produce whatever is required for us to produce. We succeeded after 400 experiments. After many years now we produce for aerospace, ships, land transportation, mining, agriculture, textile, light industry, medical and electronics. Before the cultural revolution our production was 2000 tons, after about 8000 tons a year. In order to develop these tubes we have designed and made our equipment (72% of it in this factory). Although we have achieved, also but we are still in a trial period and can't meet the quantity and quality of materials demanded by our state and our methods are backward. Some of this is due to our lack of mechanization, but we have confidence and determination to overcome this backwardness.

In our particular factory no capitalist roader was discovered during the Cultural Revolution but Liu Shao Chi's influence was found among the cadres of this factory. The workers did rise up to criticize the mistakes made by the leading cadre. We stick by Chairman Mao's policy to criticize mistakes, but to unite with good comrades when those leading cadres were aware of their mistakes, and make self criticism. They were welcomed by the workers in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In our factory the revolutionary committee is composed of 3 leading cadre, and 7 workers and militia. 10 members, all still working ⁱⁿ the workshops.

I was a worker and was elected to this post by the workers. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the broad masses of workers here have raised their

consciousness and are more eager to learn Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought. They know that the workers are the masters and what we produce is essential for building socialism in China. Comrade Wang Hung Wen enjoyed wide support among workers in Shanghai. We unaniously supported him as a leader of the working class because we believe that he has fully grasped the essence of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought. All the leading members of the revolutionary committee are elected through consultations with the workers regardless of previous positions. We think that the capitalist roaders were only a small handful but the leading cadres may have made this or that mistake due to the influence of the revisionist line. If they are there we will discover them, otherwise we just criticize mistakes and repudiate the revolutionary ideas and influences that the mistakes reflect.

That comrade was a worker before, but I was a cadre before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and received criticism ^{from} the workers. I had the experience that through the criticism of the workers we can make progress because we were influenced by the revisionist line before. Then I had more faith in myself than in the masses. As a result of lacking faith in the masses I divorced myself from the workers in many ways but through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution I understand that a cadre must rely on the mass line. Otherwise you will accomplish nothing. In the past I used to do my work by issuing orders and directives because I was confident in myself and not in the masses. After criticism and education given by the workers during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution I now see that when we work, first sum up experience of workers, then form policy and carry it out jointly with the workers. A cadre must integrate himself with the masses of workers. In the past I used to stress the necessity to rely on small numbers of people in the factory (some few individuals) but through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution I realized that those were not necessarily the best persons.

Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we made certain equipment,

used 100,000 yuan to make a furnace but we failed; a hydrolic press cost 100,000 yuan+ but it was not effective, we failed. That was because in design we relied on a few individuals and not the broad masses. Now we have changed and mobilize and organize the majority of workers in making new equipment and now all equipment we make is quite effective. So through these concrete facts we realize that the question of mass line is very important. Whether we rely on mass line is a fundamental difference between bourgeoisie and proletariat; between Marxism and revisionism. Once a person is isolated from the masses, revisionism is inevitable; with the mass line--you keep the color of the proletariat red. Whenever we are assigned by the state we tell the broad masses of workers and also make public the blueprint given us by the state. We post it publicaly for all to see. Then we organize the workers to discuss the problems of fulfilling this task. Sometimes in small groups, where discussion can reach everyone. Besides we introduce the advanced experience of other factories into ours and sometimes we organize visits to other places. And we are constantly telling workers about the importance of the products we make. This is our regular approach. For example, when we designed and made one particular tube over 50% of the workers took part in the discussion. Even a cook from our canteen. The cook said although I don't know the technique I want to hear opinions and maybe I can give some suggestions to help the workers solve the technical problems. Some workers come with notes and designs on paper, some draw on the blackboard or on the ground during the discussion.

Our revolutionary committee is based on the 3-in-1 combinations (cadre-worker-militia), also ages (old, middle, young). We are thinking of adding another member because when the revolutionary committee was formed there were few women here. We have women in the trade union and Communist Youth League, as responsible members. In the past before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the trade union was welfare oriented, now the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has trade union oriented to political and theoretical study. In the last 2 years we have studied

the Communist Manifesto, the Critique of the Gotha Programme, State and Revolution, and Mao Tse-tung's philosophical works. We were also active in criticizing bourgeois and revisionist and all kinds of non-proletarian ideologies. Workers are also keen on international affairs. Through the trade union responsables, all of the workers were informed of your visit to this factory. We take this as time to discuss friendship between our two peoples. The trade union also organizes socialist emulation and technical innovation. It is clearer now that politics is first we also pay attention to production.

Our highest wage is 130 yuan, lowest is 36 yuan, average is 60 yuan. Total workers are 780; 20% are women, 13% are party members, 40% are young workers under 30 years. We have a low wage in China, the average wage is low but its quite sufficient for our daily life and we workers now enjoy various kinds of facilities enjoyed from the state. The state allocates money equivalent to 4 1/2 months of a workers wage for various facilities per worker per year. In the summer time they give rain coats. Workers in alot of heat get supplement for special food. The prices are always stable, the market is thriving. The average number of people in each family working is increasing. Now 2 in each is common. In my family of 7 now 6 work, only my younger sister is studying. In the old society the workers were considered like grass, now the Party and Chairman Mao regards us like treasures. Socialism is good indeed. Our lives are insured. After liberation the workers enjoy special care from the state. For example, the children can be looked after in nursery, free medical care with 50% off cost for family members. We have our own trucks for transportation but we make use of the public transport team on the municipal level for a fee. The raw material is supplied by Shanghai iron and steel works. In our factory there were no PLA representatives so we tried to include the militia. They are in our 3-in-1 combination because Chairman Mao said PLA should be one of three. Comrade Wang Hung Wen was a workers in #17 Textile Mill of Shanghai before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. During the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution he led the workers to rebel against bourgeois reactionary line in the factory and later he became a leader of workers in Shanghai. Comrade Wang Hung Wen was publicly known for his feats in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because he carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and very sincerely adhered to Party principles and policies. He enjoys very high prestige.

NOVEMBER 11th

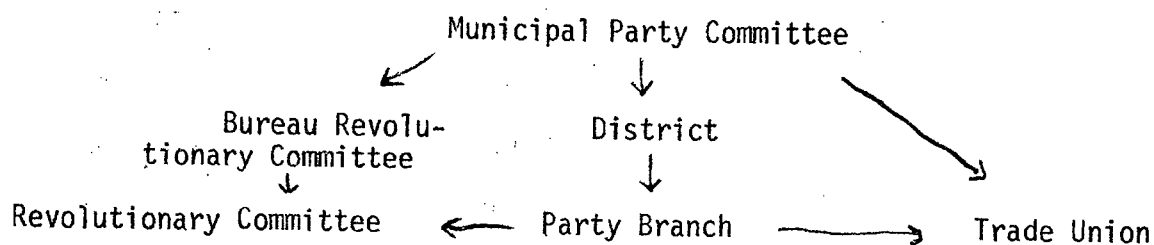
Feng Huo Transistor Factory

On behalf of all comrades I welcome you (3 leading members of the revolutionary committee, veteran worker). I will give you a brief account. Originally it was called Feng Huo Wooden Box Factory, run by neighborhood committee. Now it is called Feng Huo Transistor Spare Parts Factory. In 1958, 32 housewives came together during the Great Leap Forward under Chairman Mao's line "Dare to think, dare to act." Now there are 298 workers and staff, only 10% are men. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1969, we transformed our factory into producing transistor spare parts. We ran into serious difficulty because our cultural and skill level was low. We had to move from a simple product to a complex one. How did we do it? At that time our husbands were workers in the big factories with high skill. We met after work and they taught us skill and we even made equipment for the factory using indigenous methods. Now 60% of the equipment is made by workers here. Now the skill of the factory has improved. After 1969, the state assigned some educated youth to work here. It took 76 days to make the first transistor. Now we have made different products--integrated circuits and single circuits used in making computers. Now we want to study more.

Discussion:

In 1958 the Great Leap Forward was called to improve the situation all over China, and everyone was jubilant. The housewives here wanted to do something, not just stay at home, cooking and being idle. We have two hands and should participate in social labor. The leadership saw this and organized a group, and contacted

other units to see what work they could find and decided on making wooden boxes-- for post office mailing, packing products, e.g., bicycles. We went to the big factories to see what kind of work we could do. At first we had only 32 comrades, and used the tools we had at home to make boxes. We were under the neighborhood organization. AT that time we were under the neighborhood administrative office, but now we are under the handicrafts bureaus of Tsapei District. After setting up a different group, our scale became larger so we were put under the handicraft bureau. We are run by a revolutionary committee, and also a revolutionary committee in the bureau.



At first when making wooden boxes we were influenced by Liu Shao Chi's line of material incentives and little politics. Also these kinds of enterprises were looked down upon by this revisionist line. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the workers have criticized this false line. For example, trailing along at a snails pace of the slave philosophy. Later when making transistors some thought the workers should have high cultural knowledge (college, etc.). But others thought that the honor of the Chinese people was at stake so we overcame many difficulties. (Veteran worker)--I am in charge of the de-ionization process. I went to a factory to learn how to do it. The water must be pure, more than distilled water. You use an electrical instrument to test its purity. In mastering the instrument you should know the symbols on it, or you won't be able to do it. I didn't know the symbols so there were many difficulties, but at that time I was determined to win honor for the working class and Chairman Mao. I couldn't sleep because production would fail based on my failure. At that time I thought of many things in the old society. We led a poor life like beasts of bur-

den. Chairman Mao and the party saved us and made us the masters. Then before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, at that time Liu Shao Chi put forward the view that "it is not necessary for women to have high cultural knowledge if they do their work well in producing more." After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution I thought this wouldn't do. We should criticize this. I thought of people saying only technicians and college graduates could produce transistors. I felt angry, why couldn't workers do that! Why can't women do that!

I learned from my son about those letters because I thought real knowledge comes from practice. I followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, since we are in the new society. In my family I have pupils in primary and middle school. At that time only my small son was at home. I asked what foreign letters were, and he asked did I want to learn. I said yes. He said lets wait for his older brothers and sisters, but anyway I needed to know the 26 letters of the alphabet. I started to learn my ABC's and didn't even stop while I was cooking and preparing meals. Because I never studied any of it before, my pronunciation was not correct. My son criticized me, and later I tried and tried again. However hard I tried, I always forgot what I learned. Today I learn, but tomorrow after work I would forget again. Then my son said mother why are you so foolish. For example I myself only learned after once or twice, but always you forget. I myself have homework. I can't devote all my time to teach you. My little son was impatient. At that time I explained why I studied so slowly. In the old society, for generations we could not afford to go to school, so all your forefathers were all illiterates and couldn't keep body and soul together. But now Chairman Mao and the Party have made us masters of our country and we are leading a happy life. So I should do some work to thank the Party and Chairman Mao. So I as determined to learn and overcome difficulty to master the technique.

After I explained the history of my family to my son he sympathized with me and tried to help me earnestly and then I thought of Chairman Mao's words, "knowledge

comes from practice". So I started to write and not just read the letters, and in learning the ABC's I tried by various means to learn them. The workers say "we love Chairman Mao" and in Chinese love sounds like A so I always think "I love my Party" of "I love my country"; but C & D were very difficult. I pondered and at last I thought of a method: C is facing right but D is facing left. C is like house with open door, D is house with closed door. My son praised me for my method. I asked my son about the letter with legs pointing downward and he said "M" and I noticed the ones with legs up and he said "W". At that time I feel very happy because the burden was being lessened. So after I learned all of the alphabets I succeeded in mastering the technical instrument. The son was 11, she was 49; that was 5 years ago.

Since the Great Leap Forward a large number of housewives are in small factories. There are 60+ educated youth who have been sent to this neighborhood factory. Some of the men come from this neighborhood, some were dispatched from another factory. They do many types of work. Our workforce is assigned by the handicrafts bureau. There is an overall plan. When the students graduate, a certain number will be to this factory. Only some few individuals, are shifted from work in another factory, and this is done by the handicrafts bureau. Sometimes a worker will apply for a change due to living a long distance away, etc. There are 11 people in this factory who are in the Party. The only difference between state-owned factories is that the salaries are lower. This kind of factory was set up in 1958, with no salary for the workers. Eventually an increase in production provided wages, gradually. Ownership is collective. Lowest pay is 33 yuan, highest 50+, average 36 yuan. Whether we become state owned depends on (A) development (B) needs of the state. The workers under Liu Shao Chi divided the workers into grades. Those who were highest got a bonus. The workers were dissatisfied with this line, it broke down unity. They should put politics in command, not just put efforts into getting more money. We must use politics to increase pro-

duction. Originally we had no fixed wages, then pay began in a fixed form. First discussion among workers about wages, then the result will be approved by a higher body concerned with the matter. Each workers is evaluated on the basis of (1) his political consciousness, (2) his attitude toward work, (3) his length of time in this work (4) his skill. In this factory there is no womens federation but we have a womens committee in our trade union.

In 1958, there was a womens federation in this neighborhood that encouraged the women workers to come here. We have contact with the University, where the revolution in education is being unfolded. So sometimes teachers and students come to work in this factory--they are running the school in an open door way. Sometimes we study a problem jointly. Four of our workers some have been sent to study in the University. We have contacts with Shanghai University of Science and Technology and Shanghai Teachers College, where^{the} 4 people are studying. They have studied transistors and are now back. One is in the spare time industrial college. No educated youths working here have been elected for further study.

The campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is centered on the fallacy of superior people, wise and lower people, men superior to women. Both related to working women. In making technical advance these views hindered them and they weren't free. After criticism the women workers became very active, got good results, and production was raised. For example, in the past whenever equipment was out of order the women comrades dared not to repair them or even touch them. After this campaign and consciousness raised so now they think what men can do so can women. We sent some to be trained and now all of the equipment can be repaired here. We don't have special education on the women question for new people because the criticism campaign is all over the country.

In the past, before liberation, I was peasant and I even went out begging and never went to school. When I saw more educated people sometimes I felt unable to learn, I would lose heart and confidence. I thought I was in this situation be-

cause I had not been to school. Now under the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, opportunities are present and I can overcome great obstacles if I have the determination.

Before 1958, there were no houses here, just some vegetable gardens. At first we just built a shed for the production of boxes, but no one gave up a house here. (Male comrade)--I have been raising my consciousness along with political study. Before I worked elsewhere, then went to a May 7th School, then came here. At first I felt difficulty in working with housewives, but after practice with them I learned modestly and respect for them. Because the change this factory has gone through it has been an education for me. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they were advanced in age, low cultural revolution, equipment bad. But they changed to transistors. No formal introduction to leadership, gradually and informally they would find out. Most workers eat at the factory. They do eye exercises for eye rest once a day.

6. CANTON
(Kwanghou)
NOVEMBER 13-14, 1974

NOVEMBER 14th

Kwanghou Deaf Mute School

Comrade Ching, responsible member, Comrade Liu, head of medical team, comrade Chin, Communist Youth League responsible, and a PLA doctor.

We will visit the school along with a delegation of overseas Chinese. Pupils come from the city and suburbs of Kwanghou, totaling 290 deaf mutes and served by 80 teachers. Before liberation this school was run by an individual with 6 teachers and 30 students. Before 1968 classes were given by gestures, with no medical treatment. In December 1968, the local government sent MD's to our school who with the PLA gave treatment. The method being used is the traditional Chinese acupuncture. There is no fee, all expenses are assumed by the government rough treatment. 70% of our students now can hear at some level. After the restoration of hearing, some acquire talking skill. Now 6 have transferred to normal school. Up to now 20% of deaf mutes have no positive results in improving their hearing ability.

Discussion:

Before liberation the deaf mutes were treated as the burdens of society. At that time only the deaf mutes from rich families could go to special schools. Here each pupil had to pay the equivalent of 50 kilos of rice per month. Those from the poor families couldn't pay much. Deaf mutes shined shoes, begged, and wandered in the street. People abused them. They had no position in the society. After liberation the Party and government showed great concern. The older ones were sent to the factories, the young ones were sent to schools. They are now regarded as part of the wealth of the society. The deaf mutes have their own representatives in the provincial congress and the congress of the Kwanghou municipality. Every National Day and May Day some deaf mutes are sent to Peking to meet Chairman Mao. For example, every household can send a representative to the advanced workers congress, while in some factories a member of the responsible leadership is a deaf mute. After graduation these deaf mutes are assigned work by the government and get the same

salary as other people.

In our socialist society the deaf mutes are regarded as fraternal brothers and sisters. The deaf mutes have self confidence. In order to educate these pupils we often exchange experiences with other deaf mute schools. We have some experience in improving the hearing and speaking ability of the deaf mute students. I don't know the number of deaf mutes in China, but a recent investigation in a district in Kwanghou found 1 in 20,000. Before 1968 the pupils used hearing aids provided by the state. Now acupuncture treatments are used instead. If the aids were used they wouldn't try as hard to develop their hearing. Before the PLA doctors came to this school they received medical training for 1 year in traditional acupuncture. We have carried out scientific research for treatment of the deaf mute. We have artificially made the animals deaf through making loud noises or impairing their nerves. When the hearing ability was damaged, we tried acupuncture to rehabilitate the animals. We used bulls. After two months the treatment they began to react to the bells.

There are two main causes of deaf mutes (1) birth defect, (2) diseases. For those born it is usually caused by a diseased mother. For example, hepatitis and mumps. When the mother is pregnant if she gets streptomycene or quinine that can cause the baby to be a deaf mute. Or some other mental and/or physical deformity. Another case is caused after birth, usually this is caused by using certain forceps in artificial birth. Or the baby gets yellow jaundice within 7 days after birth. Another case is babies or children with infections, diseases, for example, measles, or pneumonia. Some medicine can cause it.

The teachers learn how to teach through practice. from experienced teachers and collective discussion. There are no journals on this, but teachers exchange visits to share experiences frequently. In the hospitals they treat older people but the effect is not as good. Acupuncture has been used for 2,000 years but it has only been used on deaf mutes since 1968. A PLA unit in Shangyuan had a doctor

who discovered its effectiveness in treating deaf mutes. At first he used it on his own body, then in a school in the northeast and was successful. So PLA troops in different parts of the country gradually popularized it throughout the country. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has helped to push forward the cure for the deaf mutes. Chairman Mao called upon the medical workers--"In medical work put the stress on the rural areas." Before doctors were concentrated in the cities, now we have a broad focus. During this period the acupuncture treatment is a newly emerged product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At first everyone was enthusiastic but didn't pay enough attention to research work so after the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius we are trying to put more stress on scientific analysis to improve the quality of our work. For the 20% who don't react to acupuncture, we use other medicine. We teach through gestures and lip reading. In this school we perform no major surgeries, only minor operations. Treatment is in courses. For example, a month with daily treatment with a few days rest in between. There is a small sized factory here--sewing workshop, and one for wood work. We use them to train, not to produce. The earlier the treatment, the better the results. But for those under 8 years, they are not able to react to acupuncture and its not comfortable due to the slight pain.

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF NATIONALITIES

Introductions: Comrade Su, a cadre of the research room in this institute, is from Hainan Island and a Li nationality. Comrade Tin works in the revolutionary committee and is a Chuang nationality from Kwangsi Province. Professor Chan is from the research room in this institute. He is a student of Kasakh nationality. We have students from the Uighur, Meo, Kasakh, Mongolian, Avenki, Koasha, and Tushian nationalities. My name is Chang Shuo-chuan, director of the general office of the revolutionary committee and a Han nationality.

Today we planned for you to listen to a brief account of the Institute first and then show you an exhibition of our Institute. Then we would like to take you to the classrooms to see how the students are taught. After that, you may come back here and have further discussion.

Now I'm going to tell you briefly about our institute. The name of this Institute is the Central Institute of Nationalities, founded in 1951. The task of this Institute is to train the cadres of various national minorities. Since its establishment, there have been 9,600 graduates. At present we have 1,500 students, including students from 53 nationalities. There are 55 nationalities in China. Apart from Han which is the majority, the numbers of other nationalities are relatively small, that's why we used to call them "minority nationalities"; they are all our fraternal nationalities. There are nine institutes to train cadres of national minorities in China, but this is the only one in Peking. The other eight are located in different parts of the country, mostly in the minority areas.

There are five departments in this Institute: (1) The cadre training department is where we train those cadres who are already engaged in a certain field of work, mostly the cadres above the commune level. They will come here to study for a period of time in this department. They receive training for a short term, usually one or two years, and then go back to their respective areas to work. (2) The political department is where we mainly train theoretical workers. They study political theory there and become theoretical workers after graduation. They study for three years. (3) The language department is where we train translators or interpreters from their respective minority language into the Han language. There

are five sections in this department: Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur, Kasakh and Korean languages. Students in this department also study for three years. (4) The department of the arts, including three sections, music, dance, and fine arts. We train the art workers of the minority people in this department. They also study for three years. (5) The preparatory class is one in which we help the students to raise their educational level and learn the Han language so that they can be prepared to study in different departments later.

Most of the students studying here are from the national minority areas in the border regions of China. Of course we mainly train students from minority areas but there are also some Han people studying here. These students of Han nationality study the culture and art of the national minority areas. Tuition is free and students also don't have to pay for their own food and clothing. Special consideration is given to the different characteristics and customs of various national minorities. Educational transformation has also been carried out in this institute as in other higher educational institutions in China. One of these reforms is that before the Cultural Revolution the students coming here usually were graduates from the Middle Schools. But now we are taking the students who usually have received an education and have completed two years of practical work when they enter into the institute for further study. The time for schooling is also shortened. In the past it used to be 4-5 years, now it is 2-3 years.

About the teaching materials: we are also improving the contents of them to make sure they will serve the actual needs of different minority nationalities and areas. As to the teaching methods: that has also undergone reform. Now we not only teach the students in the classrooms but take them to study in the society as a whole to give them a chance to get practical experiences in factories, rural areas or in the army.

That is a very general introduction about this institute. How about having some tea first and then we'll go and have a look around.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD #1

I don't think there is time now for answering all these questions in detail. Perhaps we can go through it more briefly.

At the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, most of the minority people were still at a stage of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism, just like the majority Han people. About 30 million minority people were at this stage of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. About 1 million minority people in Szechuan and part of Yunnan were at a stage of slave society. While about 4 million people were at a stage of the serf system. The serf system prevailed mostly in Tibet, Szechuan, Yunnan, and a small part of the Uighur region in Sinkiang.

As you know, before liberation the Kuomintang reactionary government did not even admit that in China there existed national minorities. They oppressed them politically and exploited them economically. The social position of minority people was one of being discriminated against and oppressed. This resulted in some minority people who mixed with the Han majority living together in the same area with the Han majority. They dared not to put on their national costumes and speak in their own language. The Kuomintang even pursued a policy of assimilation to compel the minority nationalities to use the Han language and wear the Han costumes. In those days imperialism used to collaborate with the Kuomintang reactionaries or the local rulers in these minority regions to exploit and oppress the minority people. As a result of this collaboration the misery and oppression suffered by the minority people further deepened. Perhaps I can't go into great detail in answering each question because there isn't enough time. I would like to give you a general answer first and we will see if we have time to go into further details.

(Another question)--There are many Marxist-Leninist works on the national question. The basic stand of Marxists is that the national struggle in the final analysis is a matter of class struggle. The very reason for the existence of national oppression is because there existed the class oppression and class exploitation.

Only when the system of exploitation and oppression is abolished can the national question be solved. As to the concrete forms of solutions to the national question, this can only be chosen by the people of different countries in accordance with the concrete conditions in respective countries, by the people themselves based on the concrete conditions of each country.

How do minority nationalities participate in the formulation of policy of our party and government. As you know, after liberation, we have representatives from different nationalities participating in the work of administration at all levels. Apart from that, they also formed their autonomous regions in which they exercise self-government. In the Second and Third National People's Congresses, we had deputies of national minorities which constituted 14% of the total number of deputies. This figure, you will find, is more than double the population of minorities in this country which constitute only 6% of the whole population. In other words, it means that this 6% minority people have 14% deputies in the National People's Congress. In formulating policies the Central People's Government consults the opinions of the minority people.

As you know, at the time of Liberation, the national minorities were still in different stages of social development. But, after Liberation, all of them should advance along the socialist road. So, socialist reforms should be taken in all these minority areas. Our policy is to enable the minority nationalities in different areas to formulate the policy which is suitable for the development in their own minority area. They can formulate their own policies in accord with the concrete conditions that exist in these minority areas. For example, the policy to develop the economy in these minority areas or the policies regarding whether they should reform or maintain their old customs or habits or their own language, all these things will be included in the policies formulated by the minority people themselves. Perhaps this can also be manifested in the number of cadres of the minority nationalities in the autonomous regions. Usually we always have

more cadres of national minorities than the Han cadre in these autonomous regions. In fact, in these autonomous regions most of the cadres under the county level are all minority people. That's more at the grass roots level, you see, under the county. For example, in the communes, that's an administrative unit under the county level. In those organs, the cadres are mostly the minority nationalities. In the leading organs under the county level most of the cadres are minority nationalities. From this you can see what role is being played by the minority nationalities.

About the question concerning Han chauvinism and Bundism. After liberation we educated the Chinese people to oppose both Han chauvinism and Bundism but we put stress on criticizing Han chauvinism. But since Han chauvinism and Bundism were left over by history, it was impossible to eliminate all the remnants existing in the society, all at once in a short time. For example, the Han cadres working in the minority areas sometimes had the ideas of not respecting the special customs and habits of minority nationalities or gave no consideration to the characteristics of each nationality. Or they did not serve the minority people wholeheartedly and their style of work might be one of just issuing orders and commands to the minority people and not show enough respect. This style of work can be found among the Han cadres working in the minority areas. Liu Shao-chi, the number one capitalist roader, who advocated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in China -- always propagated the idea that in the national minority areas it was impossible to realize socialism. He found various kinds of excuses for not carrying out social reforms in the minority areas. Bundism found its manifestation in over-stressing the special characteristics of each nationality. Persons like the Dalai Lama were against any kind of reform in Tibet because he wanted to maintain the serf system, even after liberation. Through more than 20 years of education we can say that we have eliminated the Han chauvinism and Bundism to a great extent but still we can't say that there are no more remnants of these wrong ideas.

SECOND DISCUSSION ON CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Yesterday we didn't finish our talks since time was up and today I understand that this talk has to be concluded at around 11 o'clock since you are leaving in the afternoon. So perhaps we can still not go into very much detail in answering your questions. There're still a lot of questions left. But today we have invited some comrades of different nationalities to be present at this meeting. This comrade is of Uighur nationality, from Sinkiang, named Ha Mi-ti. This comrade is Pai nationality from Yunnan Province. That comrade is Hoyun of Tibetan nationality and this comrade is of Monogolian nationality.

Yesterday among your questions there was one about Tibet asking why Tibet is considered a part of China while Nepal is not. So perhaps I'll start with this questions. And, as you see, since there is a comrade from Tibet himself, he will also give his opinion after I give you a general answer.

First of all, I would like to say in genral terms that Tibet has long been an inalienable part of China while Nepal has never been considered a part of China. This is a very clear question to us. Since you asked about some details on historical facts perhaps I'll go into that later on and just give you this general answer first.

Tibet was incorporated into the Empire of Yuan in 1253, during the period when Chien Tzun of the Yuan dynasty ruled China. He was the emperor who sent troops to Tibet and helped the Tibetans there to end the wars in Tibet because in that region for about 400 years there had been aplits in the Tibetan region. This emperor sent troops and helped them to unify the whole region in 1253 and at that time Tibet was incorporated into the Yuan Dynasty of the Mongolian Empire.

Ever since the middle of the seventh century, A.D., there had been close contact and associations between the Han and Tibetan. In the year 641 an emperor of the Tany Dynasty named Tai Tzung married his princess daughter Wen Cheng to a Tibetan king named Tsun Zan Ganpo. When she went to Tibet she brought with her the culture

and productive technology from the Tang Dynasty which greatly promoted the close relationship between the Han and Tibetan people and it was also a significant step to accelerate the production in Tibet. In 710, another princess, Chin Cheng of the Tang Dynasty, was married to a Tibetan king. Through this marriage, further close contacts have been established between the Han and the Tibetans. She brought with her large numbers of cultural and technical experiences of the Han nationality and thus, through her the many good things of the Tibetan culture were also transferred to the Han people. So this is another example to show the close contacts.

The close relationship between the Han and the Tibetans can be very well reflected in stone monuments established in Lhasa in front of the Ta Chow Lamasery. This monument was set up there in 821 by one of the Tibetan kings. On this monument the history of the relationship between the Han and the Tibetans was recorded both in Han language and in Tibetan language. The name of this monument is The Nephew and Uncle Alliance, because the Tibetan king used to consider themselves to be the nephews of the Han emperors since the two Tang emperors had married their daughters to the Tibetan kings they consider the relationship between the Han and Tibetan as the relation between the uncles and nephews. That's why they set up this monument that shows a very vivid evidence to show the close relationship between these two nationalities.

During the four hundred years after the ninth century the Tang Dynasty came to an end. The reign of the Tang emperors was overthrown and replaced by another Dynasty. While in Tibet there had also been many wars within the Tibetan kingdom. So during this 400 years, the relations between the Tang emperors and the Tibetan kings were suspended until the thirteenth century. In 1253 when the Yuan emperor began to rule China the Chien Tsung emperor of the Yuan Dynasty sent his troops to Tibet and since then, Tibet was incorporated into China, into the Yuan empire. This I have told you at the beginning.

Ever since then, the central government of China exercises power over Tibet, which was already a part of China. This system lasted until the time of liberation. The political systems and the titles of different Tibetan kings were all stipulated by the Chinese, by the Han emperors. For example, the merging political and religious systems together started from 1275 when a Yuan emperor whose name is Hu Bi-leh conferred a title on a religious leader, a Tibetan religious leader whose name was Basiba, a lama, for his achievements in creating the Mongolian written language. Because the Yuan emperors were all Mongolians. He conferred this religious leader's title and gave him the right to rule Tibet. This was the beginning of the system of merging the political and religious systems in Tibet.

Since then the Yuan emperors and Ming emperors always sent an emissary to a station in Tibet; an emissary from the Yuan and Ming empires, to supervise the administrative work in Tibet. At that time, they called this emissary a superintendent minister; this is not exactly the Chinese term but it generally means that. So the sending of emissaries lasted until the Ching Dynasty. There's Yuan, Ming, and Ching; these three dynasties are linked, are connected. Starting from the Ching Dynasty, the emperors formally and officially sent a minister who was garrisoned in Tibet; he always stayed in Tibet representing the central government. This minister's power was even greater than that of the emissaries sent by the former dynasties. This minister also had the right to supervise the administrative work there and his right was even greater than Banchan and the Dalai Lama's.

The title of Dalai Lama is a title of honor. This title of honor was bestowed by the Ching emperors. The Ching Dynasty started in the seventeenth century when one of the emperors, the first emperor of the Ching Dynasty entered Shanhaiguan. Before that he was in Manchuria and in 1644, this emperor Shun Cheh of the Ching Dynasty entered the Shanhaiguan, that is the name of the place between the North-east and North China. It's a pass, the starting point of the Great Wall.

In 1655 the Dalai Lama personally came to Peking to congratulate the Ching emperor and the fifth Dalai Lama's title was officially conferred on him by the

Ching emperor. As you know, the Dalai Lama was the ruler of Tibet, of the Tibetan local government. He was also the religious leader.

Another example to show the authority of the central government to the Tibetan local government is about the incarnation of the Dalai Lama. As you know, the Dalai Lamas were not allowed to marry. Then comes the question as to who will be the successor. Usually they have the system of selecting the so-called innate child to be the successor of the Dalai Lama who is supposed to be very very intelligent and wise. There was a system of choosing these boys by putting their names in a golden vase to be selected by the minister in the garrison in Tibet sent by the Ching Dynasty. And this golden vase was also given by the Ching emperors. This shows that the authority of the Ching government over Tibet because even the successor of the Dalai Lama was decided by the minister of the Ching government in the garrison in Tibet. So from all these facts you can see that Tibet has long been an inseparable part of China.

This fact was even acknowledged by those imperialists or expansionists who had the intention to split China. Even to those people, they dared not to deny that Tibet is a part of China. For example, in 1905, a British minister in India in charge of Indian affairs named Hamilton, admitted that Tibet is a part of Chinese territory. Also, Jawaharlal Nehru said that for several hundred years nobody has denied that Tibet is a part of China. He said this on the occasion when an agreement of communications between India and China's Tibet was signed in 1955. So even these people could not deny that Tibet is a part of China. Then why should there be such a question as to Tibet not being considered a part of China? How did this question arise? We hold that there were reactionaries, both domestic and external, who were not reconciled to their defeat since the Chinese people have won victories in their revolution. So they tried their best to spread rumors and slanders by saying that Tibet is independent from China, especially after 1959 when the Dalai Lama fled to India as a result of his defeat in the rebellion in Tibet. Especially

since then there has been propaganda which denied the fact that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. But from all these historical facts and materials, the world's people know that Tibet has long been a part of China and the Tibetan people themselves know this very well. So we believe that no matter how reactionaries, internal or external, wish to split China, they will suffer an ignominious defeat in the end. So we would also like our American friends to get this information about the historical facts that Tibet has never been an independent territory and it has since ancient times been a part of China. That's what I would like to say, I wonder if this comrade has something to add.

I think Professor Chen has already given you a lot of information. What I want to add is something about the formation of the Tibetan local government. As he has already mentioned, the formation and composition of the local Tibetan government, called the Ghasha, is decided by the central government. How is the structure, how many numbers of officials should they have in this government, were all decided by the central government. Even the highest ranked official in this Ghasha whose name is Gayun was appointed by the central government. And when the officials need to be removed from their post, this was also decided by the central government. So the officials of lower ranking, not only the highest ones but the officials of the third or fourth ranking in the government were all appointed or ordered to be removed by the central government.

(One question from friendship delegation before going on): Is the appointment of these officials any different from the appointment in any other autonomous region or any other unit such as Tibet is now?

What we've been talking about was in the Ching Dynasty in the past, not the situation now. It's not the leaders of the Tibetan Autonomous Region now. It was in the Ching Dynasty.

(I guess what we would be interested in and perhaps the comrade is going to speak to the question, but to move to the Ching Dynasty to now in the formation of

the autonomous region and the nature of the democratic reforms, the nature of the rebellion and how the situation has developed up until today.)

Now the local Tibetan government is no longer called Ghasha; this was only during the Ching reign when officials were appointed like that. Briefly, the Ching Dynasty was overthrown by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolution. After that, the Republic of China was founded. During the Kuomintang rule in China they also had an office in Tibet with representatives from the central government working there. And this situation lasted until 1949 when the Dalai Lama drove out the Kuomintang representatives in Tibet. Two years later, in 1951, the Peoples Liberation Army liberated Tibet. Tibet was liberated in accordance with an agreement between the Central People's Government and the local government in Tibet. At that time Apei Awangjme, (now the vice chairman of the standing committee of the National Peoples Congress), was then the chief representative of the Tibetan local government who signed the agreement to liberate Tibet with the Central People's Government. Tibet was peacefully liberated because an agreement had already been reached between the Central Peoples Government and the Tibetan local government.

Shall I start with the question of what policies on nationalities were formulated since liberation by our Party and Government? As you know, the problem of nationalities is a component part of the revolution, of the problem of revolution. Many policies have been included in the common program and the Constitution. There are already stipulations in our common program and Constitution concerning the problem of nationalities and there are also some concrete policies. These policies can be found in the common program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949. On the eve of the liberation of the whole country, a conference was convened in which this common program was stipulated. In this common program was Chairman Mao's policy of carrying out regional autonomy in the areas where minority nationalities live in compact groups. Also included was the policy of equality among nationalities that should be carried out throughout the country.

Customs and habits of the minority nationalities, their religious belief, and their use of their own written and spoken language, should be respected. The common program served as a constitution before the Constitution was adopted by the First National Peoples Congress. During this period all the political parties and all nationalities abided by the common program.

After 1949, when China was liberated, Chairman Mao issued the statement to call upon all nationalities in the People's Republic of China to unite. After that, the Central People's Government sent a number of delegations to tour the minority areas and publicize our Party's policies on nationalities.

Apart from this common program, concrete policies have also been formulated. For example, in 1950, a tentative program of training the minority cadres was adopted and a tentative program for establishing a Central Institute of Nationalities was adopted too. Around this period institutes for training minority nationalities cadres were established in many places.

In 1951 the state council promulgated, issued, a directive to abolish all the names and ways of addressing people and the names of places or monuments which have the characteristic of discriminating against or insulting the minority nationalities. All these terms of address, or names of places or monuments should be taken away. This is a special directive issued by the state council. Our agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet concluded between the Central People's Government and the local Tibetan authorities was also reached in 1951.

In 1952, the Central People's Government formulated an outline for the implementation of regional autonomy for minority nationalities in the Peoples Republic of China.

What does the nation mean to us? To our understanding the formulation of the nation has always been a product within the historical and social category. It's not what the bourgeois specialists used to propagate that a nation is the outcome of biology. It's not a biological approach. The nation comes into being in a certain

stage of human society, it is a social phenomenon. Each nation has its own history of development and each nation will go through the different stages of development of humanity. Some nations may progress a little quicker than others. The theory that there are superior and inferior nations is wrong. We hold that the fact that there are some nations which are more advanced and some lagging behind is all due to historical reasons. In class society, this is mainly the result of class oppression and class exploitation. It is due to these reasons that certain nations were impeded from developing faster.

This aggression, oppression, and exploitation may come both from the domestic reactionary rulers, their own local reactionary rulers and by other nations. For example, in Tibet and the Liangshan Ui minority areas, there existed a very dark and cruel barbarous system of serf ownership which cruelly exploited and oppressed the common people. So this was one reason for the lagging behind by some of the minority nationalities.

Another reason is the oppression by some other nationalities. But in modern times, we think that foreign imperialist aggression and oppression was the main reason to prevent a nation from advancing quickly in their development. So in the final analysis the problem of national struggle is the matter of the class struggle. So to solve the national problem by isolating it from other problems is impossible. It should be solved together with all the other social problems in revolution. According to the Marxist point of view, we don't think it's possible to solve the national problem only by trying to improve the cultural and educational conditions. These problems can never be solved without the solution of the class problem in a given society. That's why Chairman Mao said in his statement in support of the Black people's struggle in the United States that the struggles of the Black people should closely link itself with the struggle of the working class in the States. (Note: See Statement in Support of Afro-American Struggle, appendix.) This is also why Marx pointed out that the national problem is a component part of the general

contemporary problem of the proletarian revolution.

Another point is about internationalism. We think that internationalism is a fundamental view in Marxism concerning the national problem. We think that the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and our war of liberation for example, were all a part of our internationalist duties. Because through these wars we have eliminated the system of exploitation in China and driven out the foreign imperialists from this land. Internationalism finds its manifestation in mutual assistance among nations. Those countries who have already won independence and won victory in their revolution should support other peoples in their revolution. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, the Chinese people won their victory in revolution by combining the Marxist theory with the concrete conditions in the country. So we think for other peoples this experience will also be useful. That is, to combine Marxist theory with the concrete conditions of each country. In the course of revolution, all people should learn from each other but any people should not take the other's experience and just dogmatically apply it in their own country without considering the concrete conditions.

(In the national minorities are some cadres taken from the peasants, or rural proletariat?)

A great proportion of the minority cadres are from the proletarian origin. There are some members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party who are from the minority nationalities and they were working people before. Like Rozi Turdi who is Uighur, a member of the Central Committee now, who was a hired laborer in Sinkiang. Now he is the Secretary of the Turfan County Party Committee. Another one is Bor Dia, a Tibetan and the leader of a commune who led the people to transform their desert land into fertile. This is a woman Bo Dzu-dai. She was a herdsman before and now she is also a member of the Central Committee. A large proportion of the minority cadres come from proletarian origin because in the minority areas there used to be a very small number of intellectuals.

(How many members of the Central Committee are from national minorities?)

We haven't got this statistic about minority members in the Central Committee, but I gave you that figure yesterday about the proportion of minority deputies in the National People's Congress, that was 14%. As to the minority members in the Central Committee, as far as Sinkiang Autonomous Region is concerned, this one region has 7 members in the committee already.

(How big is the Central Committee?)

You'll find it in the documents of the 10th Party Congress in the appendix.

(We're running very short of time, and there's another question that we're very interested in. That's the question of women and the oppression of women. Were there special aspects to the struggle for the liberation of women from oppression in the national minority areas?)

Women played a great role in the liberation, in the revolution. They joined in the Eighth Route Army or the Red Army or in the revolutionary bases, and worked very actively in the women's associations. You may have seen the film about the Red Detachment of Women. This Detachment is from Hainan Island in the extreme South, and from this you can see the role women played; even a whole detachment of people are women. Many minority women participated, joined this Red Detachment of Women from Li and Yao in the Hainan Island. In 1959, when the PLA was putting down the rebellion in Tibet, many women, Tibetan women enthusiastically joined this brigade, helping the wounded. They worked very enthusiastically in this brigade.

(Perhaps, I don't know what time it is, but one last question. The question of radio and television and maybe you want to ask this question: is there a national policy of using mass communication as a means of dealing with the national minority question?)

In the Central People's Radio, there are five different kinds of programs arranged in five minority languages. In this radio, there is a minority nationalities broadcasting department which makes all the arrangements for the special pro-

grams. In all those autonomous regions and some provinces and the big cities, the radio all arrange their programs in the Han language as well as the local or minority language.

About newspapers; in each autonomous region, they publish newspapers in their own language. At the national level, there is a nationalities publishing house which especially deals with the publication of books in different languages. As to programs arranged by the radio, it usually includes many aspects from those reflecting the work and life of the minority people in each region or the program of music. I can tell you that since liberation, we have already produced more than 100 films about the national minorities.

In all these organs in charge of propaganda or press, in the central government levels, there are many minority cadres taking part in the work and in the autonomous regions, most of the cadres working there are minorities. In Radio Sinkaing, there is a Uighur language editorial department which deals especially with the programs in Uighur language, so is the case in the newspapers. There is also a Uighur language editorial department and all the people working in this department are minorities.

You can read a book about the national problems in the Soviet Union entitled Internationalism or Russification by Ivan Dziuba (1970), secretary of the Ukrainian Writers Union. This book was published in Britain (1970), and after publication of this book he was arrested by the Soviet government. The government was forcing him to make some self-criticism, but we believe that what he said, his self-criticism, may not be genuine but the information given through this book was very true, because it's a good representation of the national problem in the Soviet Union and the policies towards the national minorities which the Soviet government adopted. He made a good exposure about the situation of national minorities in the Soviet Union, but we don't think that he was writing this book entirely from a Marxist point of view. Still, there are a lot of viewpoints contained in the book which are bourgeois democratic so we think when you are going through this book you may pay certain

attention to this point.

(The comrade mentioned about making more than 100 films, have any of those been made available to friends or friendship associations in other countries. Is there any way that we could see them?)

Some of them were brought to be shown abroad before the Cultural Revolution. But now we are going to re-examine these films again, you see. So for the time being, they don't think we are ready. There is a special cultural group under the state councils which is in charge of this re-examination.

When we adopted our Constitution, the spirit of all our policies are all reflected in it, all included in the Constitution. Contents about the respect for religious beliefs, customs, and habits of the minority peoples are all manifested in and included in the Constitution and the outline for the implementation of regional autonomy. This is from the Central People's Government level. As to the policies concerning the specific areas, there are many more besides; but we won't be able to go into details. There are many concrete policies and resolutions concerning each minority nationality, in each autonomous region or autonomous organ. They still have many more specific policies concerning their specific areas. They include the general principles of the policy of nationalities and formulate the concrete policies suitable to each minority area. This can be done by the local authorities in each minority area. There are many more such concrete policies.

After liberation one of our important tasks was to bring into effect the policy of establishing autonomous regions. This was the policy of our Party in regard to the policy of nationalities. Because to carry out the policy of nationalities in different minority areas, it is very important to realize regional autonomy and this was considered as the most important work. After liberation, the regional autonomy was carried out step by step but even before liberation, during the process of our revolution, these policies have also been carried out in many places. For example, in 1935, and 1946, some small local autonomous hsiang or local autonomous counties

were already set up in many places. In 1946, we had already a Hui Autonomous Hsiang (that is the unit, administrative unit, lower than a county), of Hui nationality in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, that is in the north, northwest China. In this border region an autonomous hsiang has already been established for the Hui nationality.

In May 1, 1947, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was set up. It was the first autonomous region in China. Because Inner Monogolia was liberated in 1947, earlier than the other parts of the country.

(Why was it liberated earlier?)

Because it's in the north, that's near Yen-an. That was our revolutionary base. As you know, one of our revolutionary bases was set up in Taching Mountain in Inner Monogolia during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The five autonomous regions, 29 autonomous chous and 69 autonomous counties were all set up one after another during the fifties. In some places, autonomous administrative organs were established later, such as some autonomous counties in Kweichow and Yunnan Provinces, which were established in 1963. The last autonomous unit set up in China was the Tibetan Autonomous Region--that was in 1965. The decision to establish such an autonomous region was already made in 1955 and preparatory work started in 1956. But the formal establishment of this autonomous region was in 1965. So up to 1965, all the autonomous units which we planned to have in China were set up.

To adopt such a policy, we aimed at insuring that all the nationalities in China to have equal political rights and equal status. And bring into full play their political enthusiasm, their initiative in political life. Due to historical reasons the minority areas were relatively less advanced than the other parts of the country, so special consideration was given to help them to speed up the development so that they can catch up to the level of development in other parts of the country in a short period of time. Over the course of more than 20 years it has been proved that

the policy of nationalities of our Party has been proved to be very correct. The unity of the country and solidarity among different nationalities has been further consolidated. These policies are still being carried out in all walks of life since there are still problems of minority nationalities in existence today. So these policies are still being carried out in all fields.

When our Party and the Red Army began to establish contacts with minority nationalities, we can say that as early as the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, in the Party's program it has already been stipulated that all nationalities in China are equal. But in the early stages since our revolutionary base was in Kiangsi where the people are mostly Han and there were no minority people, so these contacts were not made very frequently. Not much contact had been made between our Party and the minority people. Since 1935 when the Long March began, there was more and more contact established between our Party and the minorities.

On the way of the Long March, the Red Army passed through many minority areas and met many minority nationalities such as Miao, Yiao, Chuang, Yi and Tibetans. When the Red Army arrived in Northern Shensi in Yen-an, they further got into contact with Mongolians and Hui people. In all these places where the Red Army passed through, the Red Army strictly abided by the three disciplines and eight points of attention. So they were very disciplined so this has left a very deep impression among the minority nationality people. They began to know that the Red Army is their own army, is entirely different from the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After liberation, the staff and army men sent to the minority areas were all very disciplined and friendly toward the minorities. They served them wholeheartedly and did many good things for them, made friends with them. For example, they helped the minority people to improve their living conditions and gave them medical care, gave them certain tools for developing agriculture and some relief materials. Besides, they also publicized the Party's policy concerning minority nationalities. They told them why they suffered so much in the old society, what was the reason for

this suffering and why it's necessary to carry out further social reforms to overthrow the system of exploitation in each locality. So by doing all these works among the minority people, the unity between the Han and other nationalities are further strengthened. All nationalities further rallied themselves around the Communist Party.

The basic spirit in doing all this work (there has always been a basic spirit) is that all the nationalities are equal in China, is that all nationalities should unite for emancipation and for building up the country. Through all this work, the minority people began to know, to understand the policy of the Communist Party and began to know about the Red Army so their attitudes were turned from distrust to trust and from skepticism to great confidence in the Red Army and support for the Communist Party. In their experiences, they used to be oppressed and cruelly exploited by the reactionaries, both the Kuomintang and local reactionaries but they found that when they made contact with the Red Army that the Red Army was entirely different in their style of work from other reactionary armies. So by and by they were even willing to send their own children, their young people to join the Red Army. So during the Long March, there were many cases like that of the parents sending their son or the wives sending their husbands to join the Red Army. By and by the cadres of minority nationalities had been trained during the course of the revolution and their numbers have been greatly increased. During the course of the revolution, we have already trained great numbers of revolutionary cadres of minority origin.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Liberation War, the minority cadres and minority people have played a very important role. Revolutionary bases were set up in the minority areas such as the Taching Mountain base in Inner Mongolia during the War of Resistance. In the Hainan Island in the extreme south there were also revolutionary bases. In the allied forces of the army, during the war of resistance against Japan there was an army called the allied army in resistance against

Japan. Within this army there were fighters from Hui, Manchuria, Korea, and Daur. On the China Plain there was Hui People's Contingent fighting against Japanese aggression. These were guerrilla forces. In the liberation war there were even more minority people taking part in the revolutionary work. People from Sinkiang, Yunnan, Kwangsi--all joined the army or did various kinds of revolutionary work.

In a word, during the course of liberation, in the war of Japanese aggression and the Kuomintang reactionaries, there have always been minority people taking part in various activities.

PEASANT MOVEMENT INSTITUTE
CANTON

On behalf of all the comrades working here in this Peasant Movement Institute, I extend to our American friends our warmest welcome.

In order to facilitate your visit to this place I would like to give you a brief account about the history of the establishment of this Peasant Movement Institute by Chairman Mao. This is the former sight of the Peasant Movement Institute initiated by Chairman Mao. The courtyard you walked in was the former sight. This was actually a school for the training of peasant cadre during the first revolutionary civil war.

After the founding of the Communist Party of China on July 1, 1921, the party had concentrated its efforts in leading the workers movement, and an upsurge of the workers movement came into being during that period. On January 1922, the Hong Kong seamen held a big strike. After 36 days of heroic struggle the seamen won the strike. This strike was directed at the British capitalists, to oppose these British capitalists and demanding an end to their exploitation and oppression of the seamen. And on September, 1922, our great leader Chairman Mao led the An Yuan miners to hold a strike. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line this strike ended in complete victory. Again, in February 1923, the railway workers in the Peking-Hangchow line held a general strike demanding a right to establish their own trade unions. As a result of this strike the Peking-Hangchow line came to a standstill, and this strike dealt heavy blows to the foreign imperialists as well as the feudalistic warlords. Great upsurge of the workers movement had taken shape in this period. But due to the cruel armed suppression by Wu Pei-fu, a northern warlord, with the support of the imperialists this strike suffered a failure.

The Communist Party of China summed up the experiences of the workers struggle and we came to realize that to achieve victory in the Chinese Peoples Revolution it is not enough to have only the workers forces without the alliance of the workers

and peasants. Without the allied efforts of the peasants it would not be possible for the Chinese revolution to achieve complete victory. This is to say that to achieve the victory in the revolution the working class must unite all the revolutionary classes and strata, and form a broad revolutionary united front. It was only on this basis that victory could be won in the revolution.

Since then, the party has devoted itself to the establishment of the revolutionary united front. In June 1923, the Communist Party of China convened its third national congress. At this congress the question of cooperating with the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was discussed. And also discussed was the question of the establishment of a united front. Our great leader Chairman Mao personally participated at this congress. At this congress the comrades who followed the revolutionary line, led by Chairman Mao, carried out firm struggles against the leftist and rightist opportunist line headed by Chang Ku-tao. Those people held that in China only the working class was revolutionary, while the national bourgeoisie in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country like China was also just the same as the monopoly capitalists. So in this way they denied, they negated the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, meaning that the national bourgeoisie also had another aspect, the revolutionary aspect.

They did not recognize that the peasants are also interested in vaulting themselves into politics, and they denied that the peasants were also revolutionary. They also were opposed to the cooperation with the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The Kuomintang, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was then actually the bourgeois democrats.

At this congress there was also a right opportunist line. This held that the bourgeois forces in China were stronger than the working class forces, and they were also more concentrated than the peasants, so they advocated that the revolutionary united front should be placed under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. They held that the peasants were scattered and difficult to get organized. So they negated

the revolutionary role of the peasants in the revolution.

The correct line led by Chairman Mao waged resolute struggles against these two erroneous lines at the congress. Chairman Mao correctly estimated the stand and attitude taken by the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He held that the Kuomintang under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen had persisted in the stand of the democratic revolution since 1911. He held that as a result of the failures suffered by the Kuomintang during the course of the democratic revolution, and also given the victories that the October Revolution had already won, and also in China the Communist Party was already formed; so under such circumstances Dr. Sun Yat-sen gradually came to see the real forces of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the communist party. Sun Yat-sen at that time was ready to welcome and also to help the assistance given by the communist party. He placed his hope on the workers and peasants under the leadership of the communist party.

Chairman Mao made a correct analysis of this situation and made a correct estimation of the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; their attitude and stand at this period. So Chairman Mao stood for the cooperation of the Communist Party with the Kuomintang under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But Chairman Mao also particularly stressed the necessity, the importance of maintaining political and organizational independence of the Communist Party within this cooperation. So under this particular situation the Communist Party members could join in the Kuomintang as an individual member. Chairman Mao gave particular stress (emphasis) on the importance of the peasant movement in China. He pointed out that the peasants were the main force of the revolution. So as a result of these efforts by the Communist Party of China a decision was made at the third party congress to cooperate with the Kuomintang.

On January 1924, the first national congress of the Kuomintang was convened in Canton with the help of the Communist Party. Chairman Mao and many other communist party members took part in this congress and also participated in the leading work

of this congress.

At this congress, Dr. Sun Yat-sen made a new explanation about the doctrine of the Three People, advocated as his political views. This new Three People Theory means nationalism, peoples rights, and peoples livelihood.

("Three rights of the people or three peoples?")

Three peoples doctrine--principles advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in the content of which is mainly nationalism, peoples rights, and peoples livelihood.

It was also at this Congress that the policy to unite with Russia, with the Communist Party, and assist workers and peasants was adopted. These policies were actually the main contents of the Three Peoples Doctrine. The convocation of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang symbolized the cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. And also shows that the Revolutionary United Front between these two parties was formed. As a result the Kuomintang underwent reorganization and was reorganized into an alliance of workers and peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. With the establishment of the revolutionary united front the workers and peasants movement began to develop more forcefully.

At that time the peasant movement was growing; and the work among the peasants was being carried out very well, very smoothly. Of course, the workers movement was also in upsurge.

In May 1925, a great workers strike was held in Shanghai, and in June the same year workers in Canton and Hong Kong also organized large scale strikes. That's what we call in history the Canton-Hong Kong workers strike. These strikes spread further, to all parts of the country. And also won the support of the peasants. All social strata rose up in support of these strikes.

To cope with the need of the workers-peasants movement, and also to train cadre for this movement, a national institute of the peasants movement (Peasant Movement Institute) was established in May 1926 here in Kwangchow. We already had five institutes set up in the name of the Kuomintang but the leadership was always in the hands

of the Communist Party. When the institute was set up, at the initiative of Chairman Mao, 327 students were accepted to this institute. They came from 20 provinces and regions of the country. The director of the institute and all the teachers (the great majority of the teachers working here) were party members, members of the Communist Party. Chou En Lai was once a teacher at this institute. Working here were also many good comrades like Tsiao Chu-nu, Comrade Peng Pai, Comrade Yung Tai-ying.

(Why did he say they were good comrades?) Because they played a very active role in the Peasant Movement then and later on they all laid down their lives for the revolution.

At the institute the students learned Marxism-Leninism and also studied the basic problems of the Chinese peoples revolution--mainly the peasant problem. Apart from the leading work Chairman Mao also personally gave lectures, taught in the classes. He taught three courses: one is the peasant problem in China, two is rural agitation, and thirdly, geography. And he gave a special lecture on the question of the analysis of the classes in Chinese society--later on it became an article in the Selected Works, Mao's Selected Works. Comrade Chou En-lai taught military movement and peasant movement in this institute.

So for all the students who studied in this institute stress was put on the combination of theory and practice. So all the students had established a revolutionary style of study, that is to combine theory with practice. Besides studying, theory the students also actively took part in the political activities in the society. Beside Chairman Mao also organized 13 peasant problem study societies (societies for the study of the peasant problems). Thirteen societies like this participated by students in accordance with students coming from different regions of the country--here in the institute. You see the students were organized into 13 societies for study of peasant problems according to geographical regions.

And Chairman Mao also put forward 36 subjects for the students to do investi-

gation. During their study here Chairman Mao also organized the students to go to those places where the peasant movement was very active for practice. Aimed at enabling the students to temper themselves in the peasant movement, now (they) could understand what were the desires and demands of the peasants, and how the peasants organized these peasant associations and wages struggle against the landlord. Through this practice the students were able to closely combine the revolutionary theory with the practical struggle--so that their study would yield better results.

Apart from studying revolutionary theory the students also received strict military training in this institute. Chairman Mao always taught the students his brilliant ideas of the armed struggle. He taught the students that to make revolution it is necessary to use sword against sword and dagger against dagger. All the students in the institute lived with strict military discipline. One third of the courses students here received was devoted to military affairs. As a result of this revolutionary theoretical study and practice, and military training, the students could do all sorts of work--they could either do propaganda work among the masses or organize the masses and at the same time to organize people to make armed struggle.

The institute was set up in May, 1926 but in September it had to close, because the program for the students in this institute was just four months (from May to August) and they had already completed their courses. After the graduation all these students went back to their respective areas to wage revolutionary struggle there. Students on their return also began to set up local peasant movement institutes in order to train more peasant cadre. And some students on their return did a lot of propaganda work among the masses to tell them about the revolutionary theory, and also organize the masses, establish peasant associations or organize peasant self-defense armies.

All these graduates have contributed a great deal in pushing forward the peasant movement in their respective areas. So the establishment of this Peasant Movement Institute made a great contribution to the success of our revolution. This means that

the establishment of this institute has played a very important role in the revolution of the Chinese people, written down a brilliant page in the history of the Chinese revolution.

Before liberation this sight of the institute suffered a lot of damage from Kuomintang reactionaries. After the founding of the Peoples' Republic of China the Party and government have shown great concern in protecting this site and all places that were of significance during the revolution. This place has been repaired and renovated several times since liberation. The office room of Chairman Mao's and his bedroom were already renovated and kept in their original form, so have some of the classrooms. The department of military and the department of educational affairs in this institute were all repaired and returned to original form.

This is a general introduction to this place.

Would you like to have some tea and then we will proceed to see the former site. If you have any more questions to ask perhaps we can do it after our visit.

Before Chairman Mao was director, the institute completed five semesters. The sixth semester was national, not local, and after the sixth semester the institute was closed and moved to Wuhan. So in Wuhan, Chairman Mao set up another Peasant Movement Institute to carry out the work. At that time in the Kuomintang Communist Party cooperation, there was a split that ended the cooperation.

This is the place where Chairman Mao worked and slept--desk and chair, notes written by students, bed, bamboo suitcase used to keep clothes and books.

This was the office room for teachers. This is a portrait of Comrade Chao Su-si, the Dean.

(What was his role, what did the Dean do?)

He was full time teacher, took up all the main courses. The other teachers were all teaching in their spare time while he was a full time teacher. Chairman Mao used to come here and talk with Comrade Chao Su-si and the others about the teaching methods. Comrade Chao Su-si was murdered by Kuomintang reactionaries on

April 15, 1927; that's when Chang Kai-chek staged that reactionary coup.

This was the duty room of the military teachers . . . in charge of the students military life and strict discipline. If students wanted to take off they must fill in the form and have the approval of the military teachers.

This torch, (flashlight) was used for patrol. At night while students were sleeping a guard inspected the rooms, the dormitory, and surroundings. This room was for general affairs--this was the telephone used at that time. Reading Room-- In spare time students came here to read newspapers and magazines. This box of tablets were read by the students; the journal Political Review at that time was edited by Chairman Mao in Canton. It dealt with the theory of the peasant movement problems. Students came from different parts of the country--20 provinces and regions.

Premier Chou En-lai when he was teaching here did courses on military movement and peasant movement. Picture was taken in 1925 when he was twenty . . . all of these were teachers at that time.

In 1926, the students took part in the third National Labor Congress held in Kwangchow and the second Peasants Representatives Congress in Kuan Tung. One third of the time was working in military training. Kuan Tung artillery factory was the place for the students to practice shooting. Very prosperous of Kuan Tung Province at that time was with the peasant movement. Mao organized students to make investigations of those places so that they (students) were tempered in the actual revolutionary movement. This is the dormitory of the students and also bedding. The shoes they wore were straw shoes.

This was the lecture hall, here Chairman Mao gave lectures. Chairman Mao gave lectures on three topics; Chinese Peasant Problems, rural education and geography. An Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society was also given here. Students often sang revolutionary songs and those two songs were put on the wall, were sung by students at that time. One is the Internationale and the other a national revolutionary song . . . apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the actual situation in China. Read Marxist

books in spare time like the Communist Manifesto. The topics lectured on by the teachers was applied Marxist-Leninist theory.

This is the dormitory. Four dormitories the students lived in, also some teachers on duty--those teachers who were teaching sparetime. The dining hall--for the students that came from different parts of the country Chairman Mao paid much concern for the livelihood of the students. They had an organization called food managing committee to manage their food. Those students from the North had food made of wheat flour and the Muslims had beef instead of pork. This shows Chairman Mao's concern for the students, not only politically, but also their livelihood, their welfare.

Training Office--military officers worked here and slept here. They organized the military training of the students. Chou Shu-chin was the training officer of this institute. They were divided into six contingents and went into suburban areas of Kwangchow for military training.

After 1926, when the institute was closed the students carried out activities. They returned to their original places. Comrade Chou Chi Chung, a teacher led . . . self-defense guard and also many peasant movement institutes like this were organized more and more.

This was an article published in Red Flag, it called upon workers and peasants to spread agrarian revolution in a deep going way. Teachers and students devoted their lives to the peasant movement, the revolutionary movement and many of them laid down their lives for the revolution. Chou Chi-lai and Chun Fu-ching were two of them. This was an article in memory of the martyr Lu Cha-shung. Chairman Mao said, "A single spark can start a prairie fire." The students trained in this institute were spreading their revolutionary seeds all over the country.

(Shall we begin by asking these questions?)

Yes.

(1) Why was Kwangchow secure enough to have this institute here?

(2) The second question concerns the curriculum of the institute. The comrade mentioned that one third of the curriculum was devoted to military instruction. What would the other major areas be and what percent of the curriculum would they be? What was the breakdown?

(3) What was the level of literacy? Was that a problem?

(4) Did teachers have study groups on Marxism-Leninism, and in the process of teaching was there a concern for criticizing the old ideas of Confucius?

(5) The next question concerns the students who were here, the 327 students:

A. First, how were they selected?

B. How many were women, and if there were no women, why?

C. How many were from national minorities?

D. What was the class character, that is to say different types of peasants or others?

E. And if there were national minorities, as was suggested in the food managing committees concern for different kinds of food at least on religious grounds, was language a problem?

(6) The last general question concerns Chairman Mao's analysis of classes in Chinese Society. We would like to know more about how he summed up the different types of peasants and what role the information brought to the institute by the students played in that. What role the information the students brought to the institute the papers and discussion they held from these twenty provinces and regions?

(7) And could the comrade give us some more details about the 36 subjects that Chairman Mao put to the 13 research societies in order to better formulate an objective understanding of their conditions?

(8) This is a different type of question in that it concerns this comrade. We wonder if he could give us some idea of his background and how he came to know so much about the peasant institute and his work here.

You have raised a number of questions and I would like to give you some infor-

mation about them, to my knowledge, and we can also have more discussion on these subjects. Kwangchow (Canton) was supposed to be the revolutionary base during the period of the first revolutionary civil war. After the founding of the Communist Party of China the workers and peasants movement in Kwangtung had gained great developments. About the workers and peasants movement, I have already mentioned this in my introduction.

The Peasant Movement in Kai Lu Fong, the name of some place in Kwangtung Province, under the leadership of Comrade Hung Tai, one of the leading comrades working here, was already quite developed in the year 1922. So at that same time the peasant movement in other parts of Kwangtung Province were also developing to different extents. Great developments were also made in Kuang Ming and Sehwei counties of this province. The peasant movement also went along very well in the suburban areas of the city. With regard to the workers movement, Kwangchow was also a city with revolutionary tradition of the workers movement. Besides, the Seamens strike which took place in 1922, there have been a number of other workers strikes in this province; for example, the July 1924 strike of the Sha Mu workers in this city and also a general strike of Kwangchow-Hong Kong workers from June 1925 to April 1926.

From this you can see that Kwangchow is a city of revolutionary tradition. Besides the party organization in Kwangtung province also led many struggles of the workers and peasants from 1924 to January 1926, in smashing the attacks launched by the reactionary feudal warlords. So from thorough efforts the revolutionary bases in Kwangtung Province were unified. So the excellent situation in this province was better than any other place in the country. Kwangtung Province was the revolutionary base and Kwangchow city was the center of this province where the revolutionary forces of the masses was very strong. And you see there was such a good basis for the development of the workers and peasants movement here. That's why the city was chosen as the site of the institutes.

Now the second question. There were all together 25 courses in the institute. Students spent one third of their time in military training, while the remaining two thirds was devoted to theoretical study. During this theoretical study the students mainly studied Marxism-Leninism and at the same time they also did some investigation and research on the problem of the Chinese peoples revolution, especially the problems of the peasants. For example, among the three courses taught by Chairman Mao, two were connected to peasant problems. And the course taught by Comrade Chou En-lai also had connections with peasant problems. What he taught was the military problem and the peasant problem, so he was trying to combine this peasant problem with armed struggle. And the course taught by Comrade Hung Tai was about the peoples struggle in Hai Lu Fong, a place in Kwangtung Province. This mainly dealt with the peasant movement.

Among these basic theories of Marxism-Leninism students studied the outline of Marx's Capital, and the outline of Imperialism. You see this teaching material was compiled by Chao Chi-si himself mainly on imperialism. Of course the students also studied other works of revolutionary theory. The contents of their study was mainly a combination of the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism with the practical problems of China. The students who came here to study were all of the educational level of middle school students--all of them had the determination to devote themselves to the peasant movement, and some of them before coming were already activists in the peasant movement.

In the institute there was also a party organization and the teachers joined Marxist-Leninist study groups themselves. Both the teachers and students made criticisms of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius during their studies. Chairman Mao used to criticize the old ideas of looking down on workers and peasants, and on negating the revolutionary role of the peasants, and the wrong ideas of despising manual labor. According to the material we have collected there were notes written by students at that time which meant to criticize Confucius and Mencius. Because to

master the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, it was very necessary to criticize the old ideas of Confucius and Mencius left over by the feudalist society during the last several thousand years.

The students were selected and sent to the institute from various parts of the country. Some of the students were recommended by the party organization of the Socialist Youth League organization and sent to the institute through the National Revolutionary Government, which was the government on the basis of the Kuo-mintang--Communist Party cooperation--with the approval of this government.

Some were minorities. China is a country of multi-nationalities so it is only natural to have minority students in this institute. Since all the students were of middle school level, they know both Han language and other minority language. Through many years of exchange between the majority and the minority people these people already had learned the Han language, so naturally they could study at the institute without any difficulties. By now there were no women students here. It is my opinion that I think the reason why women students were not accepted here because at that time the struggle was very hard. The struggles of the people were very hard and all the students who were recommended to come here to study had to conquer many, many difficulties in order to be able to come. I can't tell exactly whether there was also the consideration that men were superior than women on the part of the government. I doubt but I can't tell exactly whether it was. Most of the students were from the workers or peasant families, and a small number of them were of families of exploiting classes--the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

In his brilliant work, *On the Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society*, Chairman Mao analyzes the peasant class according to make an analysis of these peasant types according to the economic position and political attitude. Chairman Mao analyzed the rural areas of China and pointed out, analyzed, these different classes in the rural areas first of all according to their different economic position--namely as to how many (much) land one occupied, and how many farm tools he owned, and how many draft animals he owned. (The rest of the tape is inaudible.)

TIENTSIN #2 WOOLEN FACTORY
PHILOSOPHY DISCUSSION

On behalf of the Revolutionary Committee and all the workers and staff members of the factory, I would like to give you a warm welcome. We are very glad that the friends of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association (USCPFA) of the Southern Region have come to visit our factory. Now I will tell you something about our factory.

This factory is comparatively old. It was set up in 1931 by a capitalist. At that time this factory only produced threads for the carpet factory and later with the profit gotten from exploitation of the workers, the capitalists gradually bought some equipment and looms. After liberation, supported by the government and the Party, we gradually increased the equipment and at the same time transformed some old equipment. This factory was changed into an enterprise jointly run by the state and an individual capitalist on December 1, 1954, and on January 12, 1956, Chairman Mao came to inspect our factory. Under the care of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party and guided by the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, two workers in our factory called Li Chang-mao and another worker called Liu Jing-ying, organized the first group for studying Chairman Mao's philosophical workers in our factory, on the date of June 8, 1958.

Later, led by these two veteran workers, the groups from studying Chairman Mao's philosophical works spread all over the factory.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle and campaign to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work, and the present campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the consciousness of the workers on the struggle between two lines and their mental outlook has been changed. This has laid the foundation for the workers to grasp revolution and promote production.

The product of our factory in 1949 was 60,000 meters of woolen products for the whole year. This year we plan to produce 1.6 million meters. The product is 25

times bigger than the figure of 1949. In the year prior to the Cultural Revolution, that is 1965, we have increased 50%.

Now with regard to the equipment--In 1949, we only had 2,000 spindles. Now we have 7,200 spindles and 118 looms. In 1949, we had 400 workers and staff members. There are 1,972 workers and staff members now. Women workers occupy 56%. Since this is an old factory the average age of the workers is a bit higher. The figure is 40.4 years old. When Chairman Mao inspected our factory, he encouraged us to exert ourselves and to do our work better so in the past years, we have done some work in the spirit of self-reliance and along the line of the Party's general line in building socialism. That is, "Go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." We made efforts to transform that old equipment. The movement of learning from Taching has also been unfolded in our factory and in the past two years we have made 50 items of technical innovation or technical transformation. We changed those old looms from the 1930's, transformed them into jet looms. According to the change in the variety of the product, we have made a new machine, and I don't know precisely what is the new machine, but we think that before production this machine should undergo heat treatment so the machine will be stable in producing. In order to reduce the labor intensity of the workers and increase the production rate, we have also made kind of electric chairs for the textile workers to sit on, that is they are motivated by electricity so that the workers don't have to walk all around the workshop. We have also made equipment to add in the materials automatically. You've already had the figure for the planned product for this year, its 1.6 million meters. In this figure, 40% will be exported to other countries.

In 1949, we had only six varieties, now we have developed up to 35 varieties. They will go to 32 countries and regions; for example, Tanzania, Zambia, Japan, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Rumania, and the Soviet Union. In a word, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the efforts of the workers of

the factory, we have increased our production and developed our factory, but still there are some shortcomings. For example, there are shortcomings in management and the quality of our products are still not very stable and the speed of our technical innovations is not quick and in the field of struggle, criticism and transformation we still have some problems. So I wish after you visit our factory and through the discussion also, you may give us some ideas or criticisms so that we can improve our work so that we can make bigger contributions to our revolution and to the revolution of the world as a whole. This is my brief account.

I would like to ask your opinion whether we will make a visit or make a tour of the factory or if we'll proceed directly into the discussion. Do you think it is better for you to put out your questions first and then we can answer them according to different kinds of questions.

(Comrade, I'll read the questions that we have prepared. 1. What is philosophy and what basic works of Marxist philosophy are studied? 2. In approaching a problem, how is it done? First, how are all the contradictions in the problem discovered? How is the principal contradiction discovered? And how are the aspects of the principal contradiction discovered? 3. Is philosophy ever studied in a general way without trying to solve particular problems? 4. What is the difference between the fundamental contradiction and the principal contradiction? And could the comrades give us specific examples of both in production and class struggle? 5. How do the workers study philosophy? Give some specific examples of the process involved. For example, reading materials, philosophical materials--do they read them at home? Or are they read aloud in a collective group setting? Is the entire work read or are specific sections of a work read at any particular time? 6. In which area have workers had the greatest success in using philosophy? The struggle for production or in the class struggle? 7. The comrades explained the theory that one divides into two, why doesn't two merge into one? And how has this theory been applied concretely to solve problems? Give concrete examples of that.)

To these questions, our comrades, our veteran worker Liu Jing-ying and the other workers will try to give you the answers.

Warm welcome to our American friends and I myself feel very glad to take part in the discussion. I have not studied philosophy well so maybe I cannot give you a very satisfactory answer to the problems with regard to philosophy. So she (another comrade) is going to deal with the first question, what is philosophy.

Philosophy is also a subject of science. It includes social science and natural science. Philosophy is a subject to study the world outlook of human beings. So you say, how do we assess the problem of the world. In philosophy, there are mainly two schools. One school is idealistic and metaphysical. Another school is dialectical materialism. For example, we dialectical materialists think that the world is made of matter. Matter decides spirit. But the idealists hold that spirit decides everything, heaven decides. But we dialectical materialists think that matter is primary and human beings will surely triumph over nature. But the idealists think that heaven decides and the human being can only obey the heavens or God. They think that the laboring people are suffering and leading a bitter life and that that was decided by God. We can say the philosophy of idealists is the philosophy which cheats the laboring people and it is a cheating philosophy. And the dialectical materialists hold that human beings can triumph over nature. The laboring people rose up to struggle according to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and they can become masters of their own country, of their own destiny.

The bitter life of the workers was not due to their bad destiny, but was due to the exploitation of the surplus value by the capitalists. Eventually in the old society, we were slaves. In the new society, we are masters, because the world is created by the laboring people.

We believe now about how the human beings will triumph over nature. But in the old society, for example, in agriculture, if it did not rain, then the crops would die and the laboring people could only suffer from natural calamities. But in the

new society, we will struggle according to Marxist-Leninist theory and fight against heaven and earth. If it does not rain, then we can think of other means, by digging wells or other means to irrigate the crops and have a good harvest. So we can say the theory of Marxism-Leninism is a weapon for the laboring people to emancipate themselves. We should study philosophy. Study is also to consolidate our proletarian dictatorship. And prevent the changing of the color of our country. That is the questions about what is philosophy and why we should study philosophy.

We have studied the works, the philosophical works like On Practice, On Contradiction by Chairman Mao, the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, the Critique of the Gotha Program by Marx and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. In the process of our study, while we study Marxist-Leninist philosophy, we also criticize the metaphysics of those philosophers. For example, in China we have a person called Tung Chung-sho, a scholar in the western Han Dynasty and he thinks that nature never changes. So the principles will also never change. That is propagated by this scholar.

The question about the principal contradiction. The purpose of our study is to guide our practice with Marxist-Leninist theory so in our study we integrate theory with practice and make close links between the two. Before we studied philosophy, we did not know what is a contradiction. We did not know even the principal contradiction or secondary contradictions. What we did know was that we had a lot of things to do. So in China we used to say it is like we have picked up the sesame seed but we have a lot of work, but actually they have forgotten or neglected the main thing they should do. So in China we used to say, it is like one who has picked up the sesame seed and has thrown away the watermelon. You see, sesame seed is very small but the watermelon is very big. So in the past they were very busy in their tasks but sometimes they could not even fulfill their quota.

After we studied philosophy and we learned to and began to grasp the principal contradiction. For example, Chairman Mao says in his work "On Contradiction", if in

a process there are two or more than two contradictions, then this contradiction is very complicated so we should exert ourselves and try to grasp the main contradiction and when this one is solved, the other contradictions will also be solved, or the other contradictions will take care of themselves.

We studied this problem, what is the principal contradiction. After the study of Chairman Mao's works, we think the principal contradiction is just like the key problem in doing a thing. It is just like in leading a cow, you should take it on its nose; if you take it by its tail, it will kick you and also it will not follow you. For example, they have got a task that they should make a certain kind of woolen cloth which is very light in color and very beautiful so after they received this task, they analyzed the contradictions in the process of making the cloth. They think there are many contradictions. For example, in the weaving, in every process in the weaving and in taking care of it in the various processes, there is the contradiction between quality and quantity and others. But among these contradictions, what is the principal contradiction? They analyzed this principal contradiction and at last they think the principal contradiction is that this thing is very light in color and very beautiful so it should be kept very clean in every process and also this thing cannot be repaired if you make a mistake or make it dirty. So the principal contradiction is that they should make sure that in the making of it, in the various processes of making this product, they should keep it clean in every process. So they think that is their principal contradiction in fulfilling this task.

After the principal contradiction is found, then they try to find the principal aspect of the contradiction. In the processes, it will pass through several processes in the course of finishing the product, but they think the principal aspect of the contradiction, that is, the principal problem in keeping it clean, is that they should take care that the loom itself should be clean and not be marred with oil. If oil is on the cloth, it is very hard to get rid of it. While if it

touches some dust in some certain process it is easier to clean, but if the oil sticks to the cloth, it is very difficult. So they think the principal aspect to keep clean is to make the loom clean. After this is grasped, then they fulfilled their task very well. Originally they thought they could not fulfill this task in due time, but later, after they have grasped the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of the contradiction, they fulfilled their task two days ahead of schedule. That is an example given to the question.

She says she did not attend school in the old society and she has not studied philosophy well. Maybe there is something wrong in what she says and she welcomes your criticism.

Now I am going to say something about one divides into two and use this to criticize two merges into one. Only through struggle can the two sides unify. We should apply this one divides into two in every field. Either when we are analyzing a certain ^{thing} or when ^{we} analyze a certain person, we should also use this principle of one divides into two. That is to say, Chairman Mao has another expression, is the theory of two points. Not the theory of one point.

For example, if we are to analyze ourselves. If I analyze myself, then also one divides into two. That is, I have merits and also demerits. As to the comrades around us, it's the same. They have their merits and they also have their demerits. So if we adopt this attitude then we can learn from the merits of others and try to overcome the demerits of ourselves.

For example, the proletariat and bourgeoisie constitute a contradiction. To solve the contradictions we have to adopt the method of struggle; only through struggle can the contradiction begin to change. Well two merges into one is the theory propagated by the capitalists, by the exploiters because they want to preserve their private ownership, they will advocate that the two aspects of the contradiction, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie should merge together and the proletariat should be exploited by the bourgeoisie. So in advocating that two merges into one, the capitalists wish to exploit and to legalize their exploitation of the workers. That's

another example:

So you see, the two philosophies: one wants to divide, the other wants to merge. So we put it simply, it is divide and merge. In our country when we began to study the philosophy, in our study of philosophy we criticized Liu Shao-chi and a person called Yang Chieh-tzun, and their philosophy of merging two into one. Yang Chieh-tzun is a representative of the bourgeois philosophy. They say that if you merge two into one then both sides benefit; but if the spirit is divided, then both sides will be harmed . . . it will be harmful for both sides. This philosophy of Liu Shao-chi and Yang Chieh-tzun, in propaganda to merge two into one is that they wanted to restore capitalism in China. What did they mean by both sides being benefited by merging into one? That means they asked the laboring people to merge with the capitalists, to combine together. The capitalists, will run the factory and the workers will work in the factory so both will benefit. But we believe that if you merge the two into one, the workers and capitalists, it will be harmful for both. The capitalist cannot run the factory and the workers will have no work to do. When we merge with the capitalists that means we have restored capitalism in China. It means we have degenerated into revisionism and we have surrendered to the capitalists. Can we laboring people merge with the capitalists? We suffered a lot in the old society, worked for the capitalists like beasts of burden and now the social system has changed and we have become our masters under the leadership of Chairman Mao and for us even we have become the master of the country both politically and economically. How can we merge with the capitalists? Only by using the weapon of dialectical materialism in the struggle against the capitalists and not merge with them can we advance continuously and can we consolidate our proletarian dictatorship.

(In relation to this one divides into two. I understand in terms of biological processes and human being changing of how one divides into two or ideological struggle. Sometimes in the United States the example is used of a machine. In the pro-

cess of a machine like a car or a loom, does the same process go on of one divides into two or do different laws apply to manmade objects such as a machine. Is it just natural processes that this one divides into two theory applies?)

In other words, how does this theory apply to machines, man-made things?

(In other words, a car on its own, not the making of a car, but a car running on its own, does the theory of one divides into two apply to that?)

He explains this in this way. The machine also develops from old to new. For example, in our factory before, we did not have automatic looms and that was very old and also gives some pollution and a lot of noise. So this is a contradiction between our task, ourselves and the machine. Then we should develop the machine and make them change to suit our needs. So we made technical revolutions and we changed the older loom into a new loom, changed them into automatic jet looms. So by this development the old machine changes into a new machine. On the one hand, some pollution is reduced. On the other hand, the production is also increased. So she says everything is developing and everything develops.

(But in that example, that's the human being that is changing the loom. The loom itself is not turning itself from old to new. I just want to know because in trying to explain the theory of contradictions or the theory of one divides into two, I've had it said to me, well what about a car, what about a loom, how does it divide into two. I'm not talking about human beings acting upon a machine. I'm talking about the machine itself in operation. Does the same theory apply to its operation? The reason that it operates, the basis of its operation--is that one divides into two or is that another, does it abide by another set of laws in and of itself?)

By saying one divides into two we mean that it is the contradiction, one divides into two in a contradiction. For example, a loom also divides into two or also has contradictions in itself. For example, you have the upper part of the loom, then you must have the lower part of the loom. Otherwise the loom would not

exist. It's also true with the human being to sleep. For example, we want to sleep, but we should also get out of the bed. We cannot sleep continuously. So we mean that everything can be divided into two and everything is, you see, there is a contradiction in everything.

Now I would like to talk about how did we carry on our study of philosophy. For instance, the Li Chang Mao study group, the first one set up in this factory to study philosophy, is composed of 30 workers. Most of them are veteran workers. Only ten are young workers. The subject we pick up to study are all those which can serve the solution of the problems arising from the three struggles (class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment). We started from studying the basic philosophical viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's quotations concerning these views. But through practice we came to realize that it is not so good to select only a few parts of Marx's books. We better carry on our study by reading the whole books instead of selections. So we concentrated in studying the five main philosophical works of Chairman Mao and the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The five are On Contradiction, On Practice, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From, On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People, and Chairman Mao's speech on the conference on propaganda work (I think this is the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Arts).

Since the members of this group are of different educational levels, during our study we adopted four different forms. One is to combine self-study with collective study, because we think to study for half a day collectively is not enough. So this should be combined with self-study at home. During our collective study, we raised the emphasis of the work which we are going to study and also of practice. When we go back home, we will study by ourselves according to what has been pointed out-- the emphasis which has been pointed out during our collective study. In our self-study, whenever we encounter some difficult points, we will make notes. This is one form, one combination. There are four combinations.

The second combination is to combine discussion, group discussion, with assistance from some more advanced learners. This means, whenever we find some difficulties and some questions which we cannot solve by ourselves, then we will seek help from the leading comrades of the factory or other comrades concerned to give further explanations. On the basis of this help given by the more experienced leaders, we carry on our own discussions. So this help is aimed at helping everybody to better understand what we've learned from the books and the discussions will again in turn advance based on the assistance we've got from these leading comrades.

The third combination is that between the veteran workers and young workers. Since most of the old workers had no opportunity to attend school before, their educational level is relatively lower than that of the young people. So the young workers will take initiative in the study groups to combine efforts with the veteran workers. The young workers usually can grasp the meaning of the philosophical works quicker than the old because they are of higher educational level. But the old workers are more experienced in practical work. So we combine this practical experience of the veteran workers with the ability of grasping the meaning of the work quicker on the part of the young workers. For example, when we studied the Manifesto of the Communist Party we found that for the young workers, it was more difficult for them to understand how capitalists came into being and how they developed and how did they exploit the workers. On these occasions, the veteran workers would tell the young workers about how the situation was in the old society. How they worked 12 hours a day and still couldn't get enough to eat or enough to wear. Their personal experiences of suffering in the old society tell the young workers why we had to work so hard and still we couldn't get enough to eat. This is because the surplus value we created was exploited by the capitalists. And it is on the basis of this exploitation that the capitalist class develops. Through these stories the young workers come to understand better what exploitation means.

The fourth combination is that between the regular study and summarizing of experience periodically. During our studies everyone takes notes and writes down what they think about the book they just studied. So, after a certain period of time we will summarize what have we achieved during this study. We exchange experiences with each other. We try to bring our personal experiences to a theoretical level so that we can help each other to get a better understanding of the philosophical works. By so doing we can help each other to raise our level of study on and on. Through these studies, our consciousness of class struggle and two line struggle have been constantly promoted. All the members of this study group have become backbone forces in each workshop. They have become veteran fighters in the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Also, the most daring fighters in production.

A member of this study group whose name is Chen Lu-feng, was formerly a housewife and only began to work in this factory in 1958. She is a mother of 3 children and her husband is working outside this city. So in her study she has had to overcome many difficulties. She has difficulties because she didn't attend school before and had very little education. Since she has many children to look after there are a lot of household shores. But following Chairman Mao's instruction that to carry on theoretical study you must persevere, you must persist in this study for several years continuously and this will finally yield results. So following this instruction of Chairman Mao, she persisted in her theoretical study every day, not matter how busy is her work in the factory or how busy is her work at home, she persisted in this study every day for one hour. During all these years, she has already finished writing more than 10 diary books and some of these diaries have been selected and printed in Tientsin Daily. Besides she has also become assistant teacher in her workshop helping the others in their Marxist theoretical study. She is also responsible for organizing the spare time study group in her workshop which consists of more than 40 members.

Another veteran worker by the name of Wang Re-chih, this veteran worker also received no education before liberation and only began to attend night school after liberation. Since the beginning of this campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, she has become a very active fighter. Ideological struggles often take place in her mind because she was wondering whether these old workers without high educational level could play an active role in this campaign or not. She didn't have confidence in whether or not they can do so. But through studying Chairman Mao's teachings she gradually came to understand that the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a struggle, a revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Then she thought to herself that since the workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force in this campaign and the working people are the creative force of world history, if we do not step on the stage to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, then who can do so, who else can do so? Lin Piao and Confucius used to slander the working people by saying that the workers were ignorant and stupid, they were not capable of studying theory and they were the lower people in the society. The working people are those who created the history of the world so we must reverse, we must conquer them. So she collected many historical materials and studied them and finally succeeded in writing a long article of more than 20,000 words. It's an article to tell about how the working people fought against Confucianism in the history of China. In order to explain her article well to the fellow workers, she exerted herself in memorizing the whole article by heart. She gave 13 lectures in this factory and outside this factory and more than 20,000 people have heard her lectures. Through this practical experience we feel that to make revolution it is necessary for every workers to study Marxism-Leninism. This is the need of the class struggle and the two line struggle for continuing revolution. If these studies are not carried out then we will fail in getting a correct orientation in our work.

Since we realize the importance of the theoretical study, we can keep on our study from year to year from more than 10 years. I would like to give you my

personal view on this question. Personally I think that there is a difference between fundamental contradiction and principal contradiction. To my understanding, (there are two terms that mean fundamental contradiction in Chinese and I am asking him whether it is the same thing). By saying a fundamental contradiction it means to my understanding the contradiction in the first place, of first importance. In general, it is manifested as the principal contradiction. In each stage of development, the fundamental contradiction may not be expressed. He means that in a process of development of a thing, there might be more than one fundamental contradiction existing. But it does not mean that in the process of development of one thing that all these fundamental contradictions will make themselves known.

For example, in human society, there exist the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production. Also there exist the contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure. Generally speaking, the principal contradiction is at the same time the fundamental contradiction. But it is not equivalent to the fundamental contradiction.

For example, going to a destination, to one place. There is the contradiction first of all whether you want to go or not. That's the first contradiction. But at the same time there is also the contradiction as to which route we are going to take to reach this destination. Between these two, to go or not to go is the principal contradiction.

For example, the current campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a reflection of the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure. So in our revolution in production, the present campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a reflection of the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure. So in our revolution in production, the present campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius expresses itself as the principal contradiction.

(In the fundamental contradiction of the economic base and the superstructure, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is the principal contradiction.)

Yes, it is the principal contradiction. So it is an expression of this fundamental contradiction.

(I have a question on this. In that case, the fundamental contradiction would never be resolved? Would the fundamental contradiction of a class society moving to a classless society, with the struggle of the current campaign being the principal contradiction one day be resolved? What I'm asking is, could we say that the fundamental contradiction is the class struggle to do away with all manifestations of the old and to bring in the new society, the classless society and that the principal contradiction in that struggle has changed from one struggle to the next, e.g., the struggle against Liu Shao-chi, the struggle against Lin Piao, the campaign to criticize Confucius. Are these different principal contradictions that faced Chinese society?)

Yes, you see, the struggle of the whole, you see of the whole struggle from the class society to the classless society expresses itself as a fundamental contradiction, while each concrete struggle in this society like the campaign to criticize Liu Shao-chi or Lin Piao and Confucius express themselves as the principal contradictions. Is that clear?

Well, in China there have always been existing the contradictions, the fundamental contradictions between the working class and the capitalist class, between the landlords and the peasants. These are the contradictions which have always existed in Chinese society. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, there arose the contradiction between the Chinese people and the Japanese aggressors. At that stage of history, this was also a fundamental contradiction in the Chinese society. So in the same period, there existed two pairs of fundamental contradictions: (1) the contradiction between the Chinese people and the Japanese aggressors and (2) the domestic contradictions, the class contradictions, two pair of these fundamental contradictions. But during this specific period, we think that to resist Japanese aggression was the principal contradiction while the

contradiction between the working class and the capitalists and the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords are the secondary contradictions. So in this specific period, there is one principal contradiction and a secondary contradiction. But these positions of these two contradictions may change after we have already defeated Japanese aggression, then the secondary contradiction, that is between the working class and the capitalists again becomes the principal contradiction in the society.

In our production there are always the fundamental contradictions concerning quality and quantity. But in the process of manufacturing that fine woolen goods we found that to keep clean is the principal contradiction to insure high quality. So quality and quantity are both fundamental of all production. But in that specific task, we think to insure quality is the principal contradiction.

In the process of manufacturing this specific kind of wool we think there is a fundamental contradiction as to whether we can fulfill this task well or not. We think that this is a matter concerning the revolution and socialist construction of this country. So we must do our best to fulfill this task. When we were assigned this task, there was the question of whether the quality of these goods can be assured or not. And the problem of quality thus becomes the principal contradiction which we must solve in the fulfillment of this task. But this principal contradiction also links itself with the fundamental contradiction as to whether we can serve revolution well or not. Because to fulfill well or not has something to do with whether we can serve the revolution and construction of the country well or not. Through this, the principal contradiction is linked with the fundamental contradiction.

This is also a matter of the relationship between the revolution and production. That's why we say that we must grasp revolution to promote production. That's all I want to add.

(To criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, there is a contradiction between the

economic base and the superstructure and that expressed itself as the principal contradiction. I understand that what Lin Piao said in his report was that the principal contradiction at this time was between backward production forces and socialist relations which to me means that he would say the principal contradiction was between the economic base which would be the productive forces and the superstructure which would mean the socialist relations . . . and that was wrong.

(I don't understand how he was wrong.) I don't know whether I can answer this question but I would like to give my view. As you know, in any society there are fundamental contradictions. One is between the superstructure and the economic base and at the same time there is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. Before the proletariat seized power in China, the main task for the Chinese people in this revolution was to transform the system of ownership through armed struggle. To seize the political power and transform the ownership, individual ownership of the means of production was the principal contradiction in that stage.

But after the liberation when the proletariat had already gained political power and solved the problem of ownership of the means of production, then the contradiction existing between the economic base and the superstructure, between the productive forces and the relations of production have begun to change. That means that in the socialist society we think the economic base not only exercises, is not only the . . . in the socialist society the economic base, of course we admit that the economic base is the material base, that is the fundamental thing but at the same time, this economic base will also exercise its influence on the superstructure. The economic base decides superstructure but at the same time we also hold the superstructure will have a reaction on the economic base and its the same between the productive forces and the relations of production.

But in the socialist society we think that the economic base may both agree with the superstructure or contradict the superstructure. There is agreement be-

tween these two and at the same time contradiction between the two. Whatever kind of economic base we have, then there are bound to be that kind of superstructure which suits the economic base. We think that in the socialist society, the superstructure is decided by the economic base but at the same time it also should serve the economic base. That is why we think that the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a reflection to serve the needs, to make the superstructure serve the needs of the economic base. The campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius which is a struggle in the superstructure reflects the need to make the superstructure to conform with the economic base in a better way.

(What needs in the economic base were not met by the previous superstructure? So that in the change, what are the needs that they hope to meet by going through the campaign that were not being met before.)

Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi all propogated the theory of the extinction of class struggle in the socialist society. There will be no more class struggle in the socialist society, they both propogated this theory. They negated the reaction, the force of reaction by the superstructure on the economic base. They said the superstructure can no more influence the economic base. That's their fallacy and that's why they propogated that theory of productive forces.

(They held up the theory of harmony as against struggle, that workers and women have their place rather than that this struggle will continue?)

We think that in the socialist society, although the system of ownership has already been transformed, the old ideas of private ownership still exist. That's why we stress that we must grasp the class struggle in the realm of the superstructure. But Lin Piao negated all this. At present our campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is aimed at transforming these old ideologies as inhereted from the former private ownership, to transform these old ideologies so that we can further promote production.

(So did Lin Piao say that ideas don't make a difference? That old ideas don't

influence production?)

As I have already mentioned before, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is based on dialectical materialism while Lin Piao's reactionary line is based on idealism. We believe that in the socialist society there still exist classes and class contradictions and class struggles. While Lin Piao denied the existence of class struggles. As a result we must analyze any and all problems arising in the socialist society from the viewpoint of the class struggle to make a class analysis of the society.

That's why we advocate to grasp revolution to promote production. But, Lin Piao's revisionist line negated the existence of all classes and tried to restore capitalism in the socialist society. This is aimed at slackening the vigilance of the people on the question of class struggle so that he can push forward his policy of productive forces. We think the problem of the two-line struggle is a problem of the struggle in the superstructure. Although we have already solved the problem of ownership, but we have not confiscated the bourgeois ideas. Chairman Mao has summarized both the positive and negative experience, the experience both abroad and at home. On the question of the superstructure and the economic base, our view is that the economic base, the form of the economic base will decide the form of the superstructure. Superstructure is in the service of the economic base. In the old society, since the ownership of the means of production was based on private ownership, so all the troops and police of the state, all this state apparatus was meant to serve, to protect this private ownership. But in the socialist society, since the ownership has been changed into the ownership by the whole people, the army and the state apparatus become the means to protect the ownership of the whole people. Perhaps I should say public ownership and not ownership by the whole people. Public ownership instead of private ownership.

(Under the dictatorship of the proletariat?)

Yes, under the proletarian dictatorship. We say that the economic base

decides the superstructure, but we must not forget that superstructure sometimes will exercise its influence on the economic base, will react on the economic base. We think that the Soviet Union is a good example to explain this. The superstructure has been changed. So they propogate the extinction of class struggle in the socialist society. They propogate that the Party of the whole people and the world of 'three no's' and such kind of stuff. The 'world of three no's': a world without war, a world without troops, and a world without weapons. It is turning to be a revisionist country and the laboring people are suffering there. A special privileged class has emerged in their society. But in our country to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat we think it is necessary to launch a campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. This is also a means to protect China from turning revisionist.

About the question of ownership by the whole people, the term 'ownership by the whole people'. As you know, in our socialist society there still exist two kinds of ownership. One is ownership of the whole people and another is collective ownership. By saying ownership by the whole people, it means actually state ownership. When we say people we do not include a small handful of enemies, class enemies. Collective ownership, by saying collective ownership we mainly mean the form of ownership applied in the people's communes.

(Actually there's a question that follows this discussion. That is, what's the difference between the philosophical position of the right error or line of Liu Shao-chi and the left disguise of Lin Piao. Was there a difference in their philosophical stand from the right and the left, the errors?)

Liu Shao-chi's line is rightist. While Lin Piao's is right in essence but left in form. From the philosophical point of view, we think that both of these lines, these reactionary lines belong to the category of idealism and it's idealistic and metaphysical.

I'd like to add one word. That is, Lin Piao's line appeared itself as right

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in essence but left in form. But to put it more simply, Lin Piao's line is the extreme rightist line, ultra-rightist.

(Let me ask it a different way. Did Liu Shao-chi propose no struggle and Lin Piao propose all struggle?)

It doesn't mean that. As a matter of fact Liu Shao-chi propogated that there is no struggle and we should concentrate only on production. But actually Lin Piao also denied the existence of class struggle. And stood for the harmony between different classes, class harmony.

(What about the position of suspect all, overthrow all?)

That's left in form and right in essence. In appearance it is leftist to suspect all and overthrow all, but actually he means to keep only the bourgeois interests and overthrow all the proletarian things. So in essence, it is ultra-rightist. He wanted to overthrow all those people who want to persist in the proletarian revolution. He suspected all of these people and wanted to overthrow all these true revolutionaries. It is part of Chairman Mao's policy that the great majority of the cadres are good. We applied Marxist-Leninist theories and Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking on three great struggles, that means struggle for production, class struggle and struggle of scientific experiment. At this stage, perhaps these theories have been applied in the class struggle more often. We think they are inseparable--the application of philosophical thinking. We think that by criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius we have of course abolished many old traditional bad erroneous ideas. This will result in the promotion of production. So these are inseparable.

So we mainly concentrate ourselves in applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought in the class struggle. Only by grasping revolution, can production be promoted.

(There was an earlier question about modern idealistic and metaphysical writings. Would you clarify the writings of Liu Shao-chi as this?)

"How To be a Good Communist" by Liu Shao-chi, is considered a metaphysical work. This theory of the so-called innate genius. These materials are used by us in our criticism, we use it as negative material.

(Do you read Engels, Marx, Stalin, and Lenin or have you just concentrated on Mao?)

We not only study Chairman Mao's works, but also classical Marx and Lenin, Engels and Stalin's works like Manifesto of the Communist Party, Critique of the Gotha Program, Anti-Duhring . . . these are all included. Some of the study groups learn these books.

There are such cases when the workers put up big character posters giving their views on the management of the factory. Then the leading cadres of this factory will examine this poster and study and then summarize as to how to improve their work. There are such cases.

In the dying workshop, there was a problem in regard to the quality of the product. They think that the product was good, you see, the moisture contained in the woolen cloth and the oil contained in the wool were not quite stable so this affected the quality of their products. Once there was such a problem. The workers put up their posters. As a result of this unstable quality in the next process, the problem of breakage of threads occurred. This brought this problem to the next workshop. They put up big character posters asking the leading cadres to help to solve this problem. Then the leading comrades organized a three-in-one combination group to study this specific question and try to find a way to improve the quality of this woolen cloth and finally this was resolved. The workers were also quite satisfied by the steps taken by the leading cadre.

It's like this, when workers put up a criticism of the leadership, the leadership carefully studies what the worker says and then find a way to improve their work. There are many instances like this.

We also have a system of rectifying the style of work of the leading cadres.

Usually we start a rectification campaign once a year in this factory. The leading members, cadres will go into the masses and ask them to listen to their opinions and criticisms or they will invite the workers to participate in the meetings of the leading organ so that they can listen directly to the opinions and criticisms of the workers.

(Let's go back to the character posters. I know when I tell this example in the United States, the next question that I'll get from someone is didn't the leadership resent the workers' criticisms and didn't the leadership then use some form of taking out their hostilities against the workers who did the criticism?)

Putting up the big character posters is the democratic right of each worker. The leading cadres and workers have already established very close contacts. They have been working together for many years. So they know each other very well, and whenever a leading cadre was criticized by the workers, they think that it is help given to the leaders by the workers and we think that all the leading cadres should take the criticism of the masses as a way of helping them to improve the work or their style of work. So the workers are all encouraged to make their criticisms known to the workers. There are no known cases of the leaders retaliating on the workers because this is forbidden according to our Party's discipline and the law of the state. We think that every cadre should cultivate such a style of work according to the revolutionary tradition of the Party. That is, any cadre should combine theory with practice and self-criticism conscientiously. So we think that the big character posters are one way of helping us to examine ourselves and it's also one way of criticism. We must cultivate this style of work.

(Are the character posters used to criticize a particular person's style of work?)

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions hold the interests of the people we must persist in good things. Also correct our own mistakes in the interest of the people. So whatever we do we must take the interest of the people

as the first consideration.

As to why the leading cadres will not retaliate against the workers, already they do accept the criticism from the workers, it's because both the leaders and the masses have the same goal. They are all working for the same aim. On the matter of division of labor, that some are placed in leading positions and some are doing production work in the shops; no matter what position we are in, we are all working for the same aim.

Perhaps it's time to end this session.

(I want to thank the comrade very much for an extremely good session. I know it's been very difficult for the comrades and for our interpreters to interpret this philosophical discussion which has been very difficult to get the points, and we appreciate all your patience in doing this. I think this discussion has helped very much our ability to go back to the American people and try to explain how it is that working people have in their own hands ideas and the power to carry out the work that needs to be done. This discussion will certainly promote the friendship between the American people and the Chinese people and further the understanding between our two people. And we thank you very much for your enthusiasm and your spirit in answering our questions so well.)

We think it is a very good opportunity for us to spend some time discussing this problem with you. We are afraid that we haven't studied well enough and we still have a long way to go. So in the future we should exert ourselves more to study. I'm sure that through these discussions the people of China and the people of the United States will understand each other better. And we think that you will bring back with you our greetings to the working class of the United States and the American people as a whole. And let us join hands for still greater victories.

(Applause)

SITE OF THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS

The first Party Congress took place on July 1, 1921. In this Congress there were 12 deputies. Chairman Mao personally participated in this Congress. The Congress was convened here secretly because at that time this place used to be located in the French Concession. The first four days of meetings were held here, but from the fifth day, it was moved to a boat on a lake, Nan Lake in Chiaohsing County. This was the result of sabotage by the French special agents. This meeting place was hired from an individual because there was no suitable place for the meeting. This place was found by one of the deputies. These were still individual houses. The building had nothing to do with the Congress, only this room was hired. All the arrangements, the furniture and other things in this room are arranged here in the original way. So this is the general introduction about this meeting place. As to some detailed information, we can talk later in the sitting room.

(IN THE SITTING ROOM)

We would like to extend to you our hearty welcome. Maybe I can continue with the introduction about the first Party Congress. After the victory of the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism was carried into China. In 1920, six communist groups were organized in different parts of the country. Chairman Mao organized the communist group in Hunnan in the same year. Around this period, more communist groups were set up in Shanghai, Peking, Hupei Province, Shantung Province and Kwangtung Province. Among the students studying abroad in France and Japan, communist groups were also organized. The total number of the members of these groups were some 70 . . . all the groups combined. On July 1, 1921, these groups sent deputies to Shanghai, 12 deputies, to convene the First Party Congress. The participants of this Party Congress were:

Mao Tse-tung Hunnan

Tung Pi-wu Hupeh

Died in Struggle

Chen Tan-chiu	Hupei, 1943
Ho Shu-heng	Hunnan, 1935
Wang Chin-mei	Shantung, 1925
Teng En-ming	Shantung, 1931
Li Han-Chung	Shanghai, 1927

Oppportunists

Chang Kuo-tao	Peking
Liu Jen-ching	Peking
Chen Kung-po	Kwangtung
Chou Fou-hai	Returned Japanese student

Died Later

Li Ta	Shanghai, 1966
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Two others from the Comintern--one from Holland, one from the Soviet Union.

Chairman Mao participated in this Congress representing Hunnan; Comrade Tung Pi-wu represented Hupei (he's acting chairman of the National People's Congress of the Peoples Republic of China). Among these twelve, five already laid down their lives during the cause of the revolution. Chen Tan-chui represented the Hupei Communist Group; Comrade Chen Tan-chiu, sacrificed in 1943 in Sinkiang; Comrade Ho Shu-heng representing Hunnan and sacrificed in Fukien Province in 1935. Two representatives from Shantung, one Wang Chin-mei and another Teng En-ming from Shantung; Wang Chin-mei died of disease in 1925 and Teng En-ming sacrificed his life in 1931 in Shantung. Another comrade who died in the revolution is Comrade Li Han-chung, representing Shanghai, sacrificed in 1927 in Wuhan (a city in Central China).

Among these twelve there were four opportunists who later on betrayed the revolution and became traitors to the Party. They are Chang Kuo-tao and Liu Jen-ching from Peking; Chen Kung-po representing Kwangtung; a student in Japan Chou Fou-hai. Changes of their political stand was also an expression of the struggle within the party. These four later all turned out to be traitors.

The Party has been developing through the struggles against these hidden enemies inside the Party. All those people were later on expelled from the Party. The Third International under the leadership of Lenin sent two delegates to participate in the First Party Congress. One was Ma Ling from Holland, the other was Nicknoski Lignowski of the Soviet Union.

When the meeting proceeded to its fourth day it was discovered by a special

agent of the police, the French police. The special agent came into the meeting room from the back door, pretending to look for somebody. When he saw that many people were gathered there, he just pretended to excuse himself and left. The deputies were then on alert and this caused the vigilance of all the deputies at the meeting, so what they decided was to immediately shift the meeting place to somewhere else. The deputies also immediately dispersed to different places. Right after no more than 10 minutes the French police came and surrounded the whole area. All the deputies had already gone so they didn't catch anybody. So a decision was made to shift the meeting to a boat on the south lake of Chahsing County also in Kansu Province.

Now about the contents of the meeting: The main task of the First Party Congress was to discuss the question of organizing a Communist Party of China. During the discussion, there appeared two erroneous views, one left and one right. The left erroneous view is centered on the question of organizing the party on a very narrow basis, diverting itself from the broad masses of the people. A small group with very narrow representation, and also divorced from the broad masses of the people. They hold that the Communist Party of China (CPC) should be a party of the working class only so since the CPC is a working class party so it should limit itself only among the working class people. Its activities should only be carried out among the working class people. They said that the revolution should restrict itself only within the scope of the working class. According to this view then, the party will be divorced from the broad masses of the peasants and other revolutionary strata in the Chinese society, because at that time in China there was only about 2 million industrial workers while the peasant population constituted 80% of the total population. That's why we called this left erroneous view as the left closed-door attitude. We hold that their mistake lay in the fact that they couldn't combine the Marxist-Leninist theory with the concrete situation, the problems of China. According to their view, right after the founding of the proletarian political party,

proletarian and socialist revolution should be immediately carried out in China. They would be isolated, divorced from the principal characteristic of Chinese society, and would not be able to solve the principal problems in China's revolution. China was at that time, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. In such a society the principal task for the communist party should be leading the people to oppose imperialism and feudalism. That means to carry out the democratic revolution first then proceed to the socialist revolution. Since they failed to combine Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of China, they couldn't make a distinction between the supreme program of the Party, the highest goal of the Party, and the lowest program of the party. Chairman Mao pointed out that as a Party of the proletariat, the CPC should lead the people to carry on the democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution. There are two tasks for the CPC. Chairman Mao said that the Chinese people's revolution should be conducted in two stages. In the first stage, we should realize the lowest program of the party, that is, to carry out the revolution to fulfill the task of the revolution to oppose imperialism and feudalism. That means to carry out the democratic revolution in the first stage. And then you can proceed to the socialist revolution. By so doing, we will be able to rally around the over 95% of the people in both stages to attack our main enemies and to also narrow the target of our attack to the smallest extent.

At the first party congress there was also a right erroneous view. According to their view, they wanted to make propaganda, publicity about the Marxist-Leninist theory only and not to devote in organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the workers. And not to mobilize and organize the workers. This was bound to lead to a legal struggle, restricting themselves only in carrying out legal struggles. They failed to solve the problem of combining open work with underground work, and legal struggle with illegal struggle. They failed to solve this contradiction. They were also opposed to a compact organization and strict discipline of the Party. Accord-

ing to their view, then the party would simply become an academic group or something like a club with very loose organization. At the congress, those comrades headed by Chairman Mao, by persisting in the principle of organizing the party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory bitterly criticized these two erroneous views, both leftist and rightist.

Finally, the Congress adopted three resolutions through discussion. The first was the adoption of the Party's Constitution, in which it was stipulated that the supreme goal of the Party is to bring about socialism and communism in China. It was also pointed out in the resolution that the proletariat should organize a workers and peasants army in the course of the revolutionary struggle, so as to seize political power. In this Constitution, the basic program of the Party was clearly pointed out. So we think that this first Party Constitution is a correct one because this basic program of the party was clearly put.

(The lowest program of the party was not included in the Constitution. This question was only solved in the Second Party Congress. The Second Party Congress was held in July, 1922 in Shanghai. It was at the Second Party Congress that the principle of dividing China's revolution into two stages was pointed out and included in a declaration issued by the Second Party Congress.)

The second resolution adopted by this Congress was about the central tasks of the Party after its founding. What were to be the central tasks of the Party? It was pointed out in this resolution that the party should make the workers movement as the beginning task of the Party. The Party's work should start from launching the workers movement. At the Congress, a specific resolution on leading a workers movement was adopted. At that time, the Party only had a membership of more than 70 and most of them were intellectuals. To build our Party into a Party of the workers and mobilize them. They decided through this resolution that the Party should send at least two cadres to those factories which have more than 200 workers. This was to be throughout the country (not just in Shanghai). It was also decided to set up

workers schools in those areas where workers lived in compact groups. So as to enable those revolutionary intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers through these schools. As a result of the oppression of the reactionaries in China at that time, the workers had no trade unions of their own. They had no right to set up trade unions of their own. So at this stage the Party made its task to mobilize the workers, to arouse the workers to take part in some economic struggles, for economic rights, through which to achieve the aim of setting up the trade unions of the workers under the leadership of the Party. On this resolution, our Party concentrated its main efforts at this stage to organize the workers movement to lead the workers in these struggles. From 1921 to 1923, within this period, more than 100 strikes and struggles of the workers were held throughout the country with the participation of 300,000 workers. In the history of the Party this period was called the First High Tide of the Workers Movement.

After his return from the First Party Congress, Chairman Mao went back to Hunnan and he concentrated himself in leading the workers movement in Hunnan and Kiangsi Province to implement the resolution of the First Party Congress. For example, in September 1922, Chairman Mao organized the Anyuan miners in a strike with the participation of more than 20,000. Chairman Mao is also an outstanding leader of the workers movement at the early stage. In leading the workers struggles, Chairman Mao successfully combined Marxism-Leninism with the actual situation of China. It was also Chairman Mao who first put forward the idea that as a proletarian party it should not only give leadership to the workers struggles but also to the peasants. Chairman Mao pointed out that since in China the workers were only in small numbers, were not a great number of workers, it is necessary for the Party to arouse the peasants into an allied force. And the peasants are always the most reliable ally of the working class. So Chairman Mao pointed out in explicit terms that the most reliable ally of the working class is the broad masses of the peasants. So from the second half of 1923, Chairman Mao began to lead the peasant struggle in

Hengshan County, Hunnan Province. Through his practice, Chairman Mao successfully solved the problem which existed in the First Party Congress--that the party only gave leadership to the workers movement and did not pay enough attention to the organization work of the peasants. So he remedied this defect of the First Party Congress through his own practice. Chairman Mao holds that to win victory for the working class, it is necessary to have a united front based on the workers--peasant alliance so as to insure the leadership of the working class.

The third questions discussed at the Party Congress and the third resolution made was the election of the leading organ of the Party, the Central Committee. At the Congress Chen Tu-hsiu was elected as the General Secretary of the Party. He was not present at the First Party Congress, so his name is not above. He was the responsible, the leaders of the Shanghai communist group at that time. He was away from Shanghai when the Congress was convened, he was in Kwangtung. At that time he was the director of the educational bureau in Kwangtung Province since he was in this official post, he did not attend the Congress. Because he was quite well known in the society, so the Party Congress elected him as General Secretary. He was by no means a genuine Marxist-Leninist. This is why, after he was entrusted with the leadership of the Party, his rightist erroneous views began to develop.

Chen Tu-hsiu was an intellectual of a bureaucrat-capitalist family. After his joining the Party, he never conscientiously studied Marxism, Marxist theory. So he believed that in the stage of the democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie should be the class which leads. He overestimated the force of the bourgeoisie. He thought that the bourgeoisie's power was greater than the proletariat. He was divorced from practice, and from the workers and peasants. He never really went into the workers and peasants and worked with them, so he couldn't see the strength of the workers and peasants. He was opposed to the idea that the Party should lead the workers and peasants movement. Chairman Mao always waged struggles against these erroneous ideas of Chen Tu-hsiu. In these two-line struggles within the

Party, Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous views were criticized by the Party before 1926. Basically, the line of the Party before 1926 was a correct one. At this stage the workers and peasants movement under the leadership of the Party developed very rapidly. By the beginning of 1927, the Party has already succeeded in leading the struggles of more than 2,800,000.

The surging tide of the peasants movement also was coming into being with Hunnan as its center. The peasant movement was also surging ahead very rapidly. The peasants organized by the Party totaled 9,150,000. And the membership of the Party also greatly increased. By this time, the Party already had 57,000 members. So by 1927, the first high tide of the Chinese people's revolution has already formed. In the cities there were already workers armed forces, the workers self-defense armed force. In the rural areas, the peasants also organized their own armed force in the course of combatting the landlords. However, in this high tide of the revolution, Chen Tu-hsiu had no determination to push forward the revolution. And he also dared not to organize the workers-peasants army under the leadership of the Party. He also used every means to belittle the influence of Chairman Mao, to attack him in the Party. As a result, in the first half of 1927, the erroneous Chen Tu-hsiu rightist line took control of the whole Party.

Taking advantage of Chen Tu-hsui's rightist line, Chaing Kai-chek launched a counter-revolutionary coup d-etat in April, 1927. The high tide of the revolution was suppressed. And the number of Party members was reduced to 7,000. The workers movement under the leadership of the party was reduced to the participation of only 32,000. The number of workers who took part in the movement under the leadership of the party. The peasants movement also suffered a crush from the enemy. Later on Chairman Mao pointed out that in 1927 our Party only concentrated in leading the workers peasants movement without paying enough attention to settling up a workers peasants armed force. So although the workers and peasants movement was surging very rapidly forward, as soon as the reactionaries suppressed this movement then the

workers and peasants couldn't be able to fight back. This served as a lesson for all the members of the Party to know the error of the Chen Tu-hsiu's rightist line.

An emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was convened on August 7, 1927. At this meeting, Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous line was criticized and he was removed from his post as General Secretary. Chairman Mao put forward at the meeting his thesis that political power grows out of the barrel of the gun. A general orientation of the tasks of the Party was confirmed at this meeting, that was to mobilize the peasants into an armed struggle through land revolution.

On the part of Chen Tu-hsiu, after this August 7 conference of the Party he became even more pessimistic and vacillated as a result of the difficulties confronting the revolution. So he began to spread the fallacy of not making any more revolution at all. Stop making revolution. He also organized a Trotskyite group within the Party, and propagated the fallacy of parliamentary struggle in opposition to the armed revolution of the Party. So in 1929, he was expelled from the Party. This is a brief account about the First Party Congress.

(First of all, we'd like to thank the comrade for his presentation because we all learned very much about the beginnings of the Party. We have many questions. The first question: Could the comrade give us an historical account of two main historical events and how they related to the process of establishing the Communist Party--the revolution of 1911 and the role of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and secondly, the May 4th Movement; what was the May 4th Movement, what was its orientation and did the first communists come out of the May 4th Movement?)

Dr. Sun Yat-sen is an older revolutionary in China. In order to develop capitalism in China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen joined the activities to overthrow the Ching Dynasty when he was young. Once he dreamed to have the help from those capitalist countries in the world to realize his ideal in China. That is why the early activities of Dr. Sun Yat-sen were carried on outside of China. In 1905, Dr. Sun Yat-sen contacted with two bodies within the country which were also aiming at the democratic revolu-

tion and then they combined these groups and established the Alliance Society in China.

(What were the two groups that combined?)

The two bodies within our country; the first is Kwang Fu-kwei and the second is Hua Hsing which means for the Prosperity of China. As a result of the alliance of those bodies, in 1911, the Hua Hsing Society organized the armies of the Ching Dynasty to rebel against the Ching Dynasty in Wuhan. And this rebellion gave rise to the revolution which overthrew the Ching Dynasty. So Chairman Mao says that the revolution of 1911 overthrew the rule of the Ching Dynasty, the feudal Ching Dynasty, so this is the great merit of the Revolution of 1911.

By that time, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was out of China. So the revolutionary people at that time wanted him to come back to China but he did not return immediately. At that time, Dr. Sun Yat-sen thought that the bourgeois revolution in China had won victory so the most important thing was that the political power of the bourgeoisie in China should be recognized by capitalist countries like the United States and Britain, and receive assistance from these capitalist countries, so he went to the United States. But the imperialist powers did not like China to develop capitalism so they colluded with a feudal warlord in China called Yuan Shih-kai and as a result the victory of the 1911 Revolution was usurped by Yuan Shih-kai. That's why the Revolution of 1911 failed.

Chairman Mao has said on various occasions that the Revolution of 1911, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not rely on the masses to wage the revolution but only put his hopes on the assistance of capitalist countries so he did not mobilize the masses to wage struggle. From 1911 to 1919, Dr. Sun Yat-sen continued to wage struggles against those warlords and he was still thinking of waging bourgeois revolution in China. All his efforts failed because he did not rely on the masses to wage struggle. Through the failure of the Revolution of 1911 they came to a conclusion, that is, in the era of imperialism it is not possible for China to win the victory of bour-

geois revolution. The bourgeois revolution can never be successful in China in the era of imperialism. It also testifies that the Chinese bourgeoisie can never be the leading force in the revolution.

Then the victory of the October Revolution enabled the Chinese people to see that by mobilizing the workers and the peasants Lenin succeeded in achieving the victory of socialist revolution in Russia. So the October Revolution encouraged the Chinese people to wage their own struggles. So Marxism was brought into China and Marxism enabled the Chinese people to see that only by following the heroic October Revolution originated by the great Lenin and guided by the theory of Marxism can the Chinese win victory in their revolution. So motivated by the great October Revolution, the May 4th Movement of 1919 broke out in China.

This May 4th Movement (M4M) was a symbol which means the beginning of the new democratic revolution in China. During this M4M the Chinese people fought against the reactionary concept of Confucius and Mencius and this criticism enabled Marxism and Leninism to spread more rapidly in China. During the M4M the students in Peking University took the lead to wage demonstrations. This shows that revolutionary intellectuals can play the role of vanguard in the revolution. As the M4M developed to July 1919, the workers in Shanghai and other places waged political strikes. So Chairman Mao later on said that the revolutionary intellectuals can play the role of vanguard in the revolution but they should integrate themselves with workers and peasants because the workers and peasants are the main force in making revolution.

Chairman Mao has said that with regard to the historical role of the M4M that the M4M has created conditions for the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party both in terms of cadres and ideology. Because during the M4M a group of communist intellectuals appeared in various parts of China. These communist intellectuals were represented by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Comrade Li Ta-chao in Peking. So that means, this M4M has prepared cadres for the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party. Pushed by the Third International headed by Lenin, some communist

groups were set up in China in 1920.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was also greatly encouraged and inspired by the great October Revolution. From the Russian Revolution he saw a new hope, revolutionary hope and gradually he came to understand that he was wrong before to place his hopes on help from the imperialist countries and he was also wrong in looking down on the forces of the workers and peasants. So Chairman Mao says that in the late period of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's life, a great change in his whole life took place. He was able to follow the historical tide and in 1924, he agreed to form a united front with the Communist Party of China. Also he put forward the Three Policies of allying with the Soviet Union, allying with the Communist Party, and support the workers and the peasants.

(We'd like to ask the comrade to speak about the way in which Lenin and the third International pushed to set up communist groups and also if he could speak in more detail about Li Ta-chao and the way in which Marxist literature was introduced into China -- translated and introduced into China. When and how, what works, and how they were distributed?)

The out break of M4M attracted the attention of the third International. The great Lenin started from proletarian internationalism. He took the revolution of the colonies or semi-colonies in the East as a very important force of the world proletarian revolution. In the second congress of the communist international Lenin put forward the revolutionary program for the people of the colonies, of colonial countries. In 1920, the two cadres were sent from the third international into China. They went to Peking and contacted Li Ta-chao and also went Shanghai and contacted Chen Tu-hsiu and pushed them to have some activities concerning the establishment of the Party.

As to why they contacted these two: these two were once the professors in Peking University and during the M4M they enjoyed broad fame, were well known in society. After the M4M they wrote some articles to introduce or explain the Oct-

ober Revolution in Russia and also explained to the people what Marxism is. As a result, in May of 1920, Chen Tu-hsiu set up a Communist group in Shanghai and after that the communist groups also were set up in other places. Chen Tu-hsiu was a radical democrat and after he joined the Party he did not make efforts to transform his world outlook. He joined the Party, he wanted to wage Communism, but actually he went only half-way. He was a fellow traveler. He did not intend to travel all the way to the end with the communists. We call him that because he also wished to fight against imperialism and feudalism. And this coincides with the task of the Party in the first stage -- to fight imperialism and feudalism. So he could accept the task of the Party in the first stage to certain extent. But because he did not transform his bourgeois ideology, it became the reason why he committed the right opportunist line in leading the Party.

About Li Ta-chao. He was a responsible person in the communist group in Peking. After the establishment of the CPC he was all the time the responsible person in North China. He worked in North China and in 1924, he also joined the united front, between the CPC and KMT. He was killed in 1927, by a warlord in the North. At that time the warlord in the North cooperated with Chiang Kai-chek's efforts in Shanghai and killed Comrade Li Ta-chao.

About the spread of Marxism-Leninism to China. The Communist Manifesto was published in Shanghai in April of 1920. And in May of 1919, an article written by Marx called Wage Labor and Capital was translated and published in a newspaper in Peking called the 'Morning Post.' In the same period, some excerpts of Engels article Socialism, Utopian and Scientific was translated and published also in the newspaper. During the period of establishing the Party those works of Marxism-Leninism were translated and published altogether amount to 30 articles and/or books. The major ones are mentioned above. Before the establishment of the CPC Lenin's works were also translated and published in China -- about 10 articles.

(The next question is about the influence, the various influences on the formation of the Party. We're interested in what was happening among the Chinese comrades who were developing communists in France, Germany and the Soviet Union and any in Japan or other countries. Were there other individuals besides Lenin and the Comintern or perhaps other Communist Parties that played a role as well ?)

The CPC was established with the help of the great Lenin and also guided by his thinking in building a communist party. Before the establishment of the CPC the Shanghai communist group did liaison work with the other communist groups (both in China and in France and Japan) and at that time there was no communist group in Germany and the Soviet Union. These groups in France and Japan were composed of Chinese students. They did not participate in the revolution of those countries but they tried to develop more party members among the Chinese students there.

(Specifically we're interested in the activities of the students in France and what impact they had on the formation of the Party and also we understood that comrade Chu Teh was in Germany and there was also some communist activity there among students.)

At that time, in France and Japan they organized the communist groups among the Chinese students who were studying there. And for comrade Chu Teh, he went to Germany in 1922; that was after the establishment of the CPC. Comrade Chu Teh joined the Party in 1922 in the group in Germany.

(We'd like to ask a question about Marxist-Leninist publications that existed before the first party congress. How and where were they published and distributed? Who wrote the articles for them? Who read them? Were there underground presses established for the purpose of publishing Marxist-Leninist works?)

There was one publishing house. The Communist Manifesto was published right in this publishing house.

(Was it a secret publishing house?)

The publishing house was secret but the book was distributed openly. The Communist groups in other places also published some journals to openly propagate Marxism-Leninism. One of them is called New Youth, a theoretical organ of the communist group in Shanghai. Originally this journal was initiated by Chen Tu-hsiu in 1915 and when the communist group after setting itself up, took this journal as their theoretical organ. Also the Shanghai communist group published a magazine called Communist Party Monthly. This is a secret publication. There were also other simpler publications in order to explain Marxist theories to the Workers. Chairman Mao published a kind of magazine in Hunnan called Tung Su Pao, means something like easy to understand newspaper.

The Shanghai group also published something called Labor Circle. The Peking group published a journal called Voice of Labor. The Kwangchow group published a journal called Laborers. At that time the cultural level of the Chinese workers was a bit low, so the communist groups published these popular magazines which are easy to understand to propagate Marxism among the workers. In order to distribute these journals, Chairman Mao set up a kind of bookshop in Hunnan in July of 1920. And they also ran workers night schools which in appearance were to educate the workers culturally but in essence they tried to explain revolutionary theory to the workers. Also, among the progressive intellectuals there was an organization called Marxist Research Society. The members studied the experience of the October Revolution in Russia and Marxism-Leninism and those nuclei in these groups were members of communist groups all over China.

In the propaganda work, they combined the open with the secret.

(Another question that has many parts to it. We'd like to know more about the Marxist-Leninist groups that were in existence before the First Party Congress. Who was in them? What was the class character of these groups? What were their names? What sorts of activities did they engage in? What was their relationship to each other? Was there ideological struggle between groups? How did they interact--did

they have joint meetings, for example, between Peking and Shanghai? Were any of the groups organized along democratic centralist lines? Were these groups formed with the purpose of building a party? If not, how did the task of building a party become their central task?)

The purpose of organizing these communist groups was just to establish the Communist Party of China. During the May 4th Movement, a group of progressive student groups emerged and also some people who wanted to make revolution emerged. For example, Chairman Mao organized new democratic society in Hunnan. And Premier Chou, during the M4M organized consciousness society in Tientsin. Li Ta-chao organized the Marxist Research Society in Peking University. So at that time, in various parts of China, the mainstay of revolutionary intellectuals emerged in circles. After the Shanghai Communist Group was set up, it contacted these progressive bodies of revolutionary people with the purpose of setting up communist groups in other places. The relation or contact work between the communist groups was done by the Shanghai group.

The relation between these various groups was sometimes through friends of the members and sometimes through the publications of these groups.

As to the principle of democratic centralism, when the first congress was being held, Marxism-Leninism was first spread among the revolutionary intellectuals. As Chairman Mao says, in spreading Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary intellectuals of China played the role of vanguard. When the first congress was established, there were 70 members and all of them were intellectuals. The problem arose when the first congress was being held of how the revolutionary intellectuals should integrate themselves with the workers movement. From the history of the Chinese revolution you can see that because many intellectuals were not very firm in following the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, they did not carry the revolution through to the end. Chen Tu-hsiu is a typical case. The four deputies who attended the first congress who later betrayed the revolution also

fall into this category. So Chairman Mao says intellectuals are a very important force in the revolution. If we want to achieve victory in our revolution we should adopt the correct attitude to the problem of intellectuals. But intellectuals are not the main force in the revolution. The main force is the workers and peasants. After the founding of our party, we unfolded the workers movement on a big scale. The purpose is to solve this problem.

Among the communist groups there existed struggles. The main struggle at that time was to fight against anarchism. So with the October Revolution, anarchism was also spread to China and regarded as a kind of revolutionary idea. At that time, many people could not see through the anarchism which takes revolutionary form, but in essence played a counter-revolutionary role, reactionary role. For example, ^{the} in Peking group and the Kwangtung group, there were some anarchists who joined the groups. Before the establishment of the party, they mainly struggled against anarchism in the groups. After setting up the communist group in Hunnan, Chairman Mao also encountered this problem. At that time the two young students in Hunnan Province believed in anarchism and they were leading the workers movement in Hunnan. Then Chairman Mao analyzed the anarchism in Hunnan and he correctly distinguished these two young students from those anarchists who speculated to make the revolution by using anarchism. Later he successfully persuaded and won over these young students. Chairman Mao analyzed the real situation in Hunnan on the problem of anarchism and he distinguished these two young students from more serious anarchists. These anarchists were purposely sabotaging the workers movement by using anarchism. But these young students were innocent.

In the workers movement some scabs, actually they were scabs, but they were pretending to lead the workers movement by propagating anarchism, but these two young students only had the wrong idea and it is a problem in their mind, their cognition. After that, Chairman Mao could win them over. That is why Chairman Mao says that we should analyze the situation and adopt different attitudes toward dif-

ferent people and things. At that time, many people still could not realize that anarchism was not Marxist theory. That was because in the early stages, people could not make a thorough study of Marxism-Leninism and they thought that among the theories of socialism, there were several schools. For example, one school is Bakunin's anarchism. Another school is the socialism of Bernstein-Kautsky. They thought there were several schools among the theory of socialism. They could not see that they are different in essence, these schools are different in essence.

In our Party we also had some other comrades, for example, a comrade from Hupeh, called Yun Tai-ying and the two sons of Chen Tu-hsiu who were studying in France. These people at first all believed in anarchism, but later after re-education by the Party, they abandoned their erroneous ideas and became good communist party members. These three people laid down their lives in the revolutionary struggle. Of course, there were also many anarchists who later became counter-revolutionaries because they refused to abandon their erroneous ideas. For example, in the Peking group and the Kwangtung group some of the members were expelled from the group in the early period of 1921 because they refused to abandon their anarchism. The communist groups also fought against the capitalist, bourgeois ideas. One kind of bourgeois idea was that they publicly oppose Marxism-Leninism. They said Marxism-Leninism did not cater to the needs of the Chinese situation. One of the bourgeois ideas was like the theory propagated by the Labor Party in Britain. That is, in appearance they sympathize with the workers movement, but actually, they were opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the establishment of the Party, there were three major debates in the communist groups.

Through these struggles we solved the problems of whether we want Marxism or not. Whether we should establish a communist party or not. And whether we should establish the proletarian dictatorship or not. Through these debates and struggles, they united those comrades who were very firm in waging revolutionary struggles and expelled those who were not sincere in practicing Marxism-Leninism in China. Chair-

man Mao says the spread of Marxism-Leninism to China underwent struggle and Marxism-Leninism was popularized and developed through struggle.

The problem of the setting up of the CPC cannot be separated from the October Revolution. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese people did not know at all about Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Chinese people only knew something about Rousseau, the French man, and Montesquieu, also French. At that time the Chinese people, in order to win national liberation and the independence of their country, also learned from the West, that is to say, they learned from the capitalist countries and they learned from the democratic ideas.

At that time, some advanced Chinese people saw that the Western countries were more advanced than China. Also they saw that after Japan learned from the West, they also became more advanced than China. So that is why at that time there was a surging tide to learn from the West. The ultimate outcome of this resulted in the 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. At that time, the revolution succeeded in overthrowing the feudal rule of the Ching Dynasty and in setting up the Republic of China. The emperors have gone and have been replaced by a President. But Chinese society did not change--the revolution didn't bring any change to Chinese society. China was still a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. After that, the warlords in the North went to war among themselves, but behind every warlord there was an imperialist country. However enthusiastic was Dr. Sun Yat-sen in learning from the West but his teachers in the West would not support him. After the 1911 Revolution, for a certain period of time, Dr. Sun Yat-sen could not stay in his own country. So after he met with frustration he lost confidence. "Teachers always wanted to beat the student."

Against this background, the Chinese people saw that in 1917, the great Lenin led the Russian people in the October Revolution and finally set up the first socialist country with^a proletarian dictatorship in the world. From then on, the Chinese people no longer studied from the West, they began to study from Russia, from Marx,

Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The first one translated in Chinese was the Communist Manifesto. Subsequently there were other works translated into Chinese by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Also various kinds of journals and magazines came to be written to explain the socialist road, the road of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism. In various places, all kinds of organizations were started--reading societies or study groups of Marxism-Leninism.

The May 4th Movement of 1919 is the concentrated expression of all these activities. Revolutionary slogans of M4M were "Down with Imperialism", "Down with Feudalism". These slogans were the first slogans of the movement. In terms of preparation for the establishment of the communist party, the M4M contributed in terms of ideological theory and cadres. Activities to propagate Marxism by these groups were mainly concentrated in big cities such as Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin, Wuhan and Tangsha.

The M4M was initiated by intellectuals but it was only in the late stage of the M4M when the workers took an active part in the movement that this movement became a real revolutionary movement. It took nearly a month from the beginning of the M4M, that is to say on June 3rd, the workers in many big cities in China began to wage struggles and to hold strikes in support of the M4M. Then those intellectuals who were the first to study Marxism began to realize that if they wanted to make real the revolutionary movement in China and if we want to follow the road of the October Revolution then this movement should be led by the working class. They gradually realized that if you want to unite all the revolutionary forces in China, then we have to set up a Party of the working class.

At that time, Chairman Mao was in the Hunnan Communist Group. During the period of the M4M Chairman Mao ran a magazine in Tangsha called Changsha Review. Changsha is the name of a river in Hunnan Province. In the articles Chairman Mao raised the slogan of the great alliance of the people. At that time there was another person who enjoyed wide fame in the society--professor Chen Tu-hsiu. But Chen Tu-hsiu was

never a Marxist. In the M4M he was a radical democrat.

Later, in 1921, the Communist Party of China came into being. About the First Party Congress--you have already visited the location of the First Congress. So we can see the foundation of the Communist Party in 1921 is not an isolated event. It is the outcome of over 80 years of struggle from 1840 and the Opium War. The history in this period educated the Chinese from various angles and also educated the revolutionary personnel in China that if they wanted to win liberation they could only follow the road of the October Revolution and they could only be guided by Marxism-Leninism and only by establishing a proletarian party. So we always say, the setting up of the CPC is the outcome of the Chinese people integrating Marxist theory with revolutionary practice in China. So we can see that the setting up of the party was not the result of only reading books or only running magazines, it is the ultimate eventual outcome of integrating the revolutionary theory of Marxism with the revolutionary practice in China with the movement of the masses in China. The Party was needed by the revolution and also was the outcome of the struggles. Chairman Mao has said:

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." ("Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", Selected Works Vol. IV, p. 284)

Right after the establishment of the party, the party began to lead the masses of Chinese people in revolutionary struggles. Among the biggest struggles were the famous strike along the railway which links Peking to Wuhan on February 7, 1923. At that time, the young Chinese working class displayed their heroism in the struggle of the Strike. There were two famous martyrs, well known in Chinese history, Lin Shiang-chien and Shih Yang. The February 7th strike displayed the revolutionary force, the mighty force, of China's young working class. But also it showed the enemy of the revolution was also powerful. The enemies include feudal landlords, bureaucrat capitalists and behind their backs there were various imperial-

ists.

After these struggles, the Dr. Sun Yat-sen also saw that if the revolution was to be victorious, he should unite with the CPC and unite with the workers and peasants and also win the support of the international proletariat. As a result of these developments, there came the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party for the first time in the history of the party. That was in 1924. It was also called the revolutionary united front. At that time, the CPC also supported the Kuomintang(KMT) in their struggle to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Dr. Sun Yat-sen set up a revolutionary government in Kwangshow. That is to say, he set up a revolutionary base area. Not long after that, they launched the Northern expedition with the aim of unifying all China and overthrowing the rule of the warlords. Soon after that Dr. Sun Yat-sen died and a new struggle came into being.

Within the Communist Party there began the first major struggle of the lines. And the focus of the struggle was what attitude should the Party adopt toward the Kuomintang and the United Front. That was also the problem of what attitude the Party should adopt toward the bourgeoisie. And the viewpoint of the Trotskyites in China was also manifested on this question.

(Do you mean that Trotskyist ideas came out in the struggle or that there was a struggle against the Trotskyites?)

Originally there was a faction of Trotskyite ideas but it was only then during the revolutionary upsurge that the struggle became acute. At that time the question in China's Communist Party was ^{on} the one hand the problem of who should be the leader in the revolution. Chan Tu-hsiu held that since the revolution was the bourgeois democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie should be the leadership of the revolution and the proletariat could only help the bourgeoisie in seizing political power for the bourgeoisie. The outcome of the revolution is to set up bourgeois society in China. The socialist revolution should wait until capitalism is established

and developed. Only then should the proletariat wage struggle and win victory.

In the February Revolution in Russia, Trotsky held this viewpoint. After the February Revolution, Trotsky opposed launching the October Revolution based on this theory. After the victory of the October Revolution, Trotsky held that Russia should develop capitalism and opposed socialist transformation. After 1921 he opposed the New Economic Policy of Lenin. After 1924 he opposed nationalization of the means of production. So the nucleus of Trotskyism is--wage bourgeois revolution and achieve capitalism. Chen Tu-hsiu's ideas were not his own invention, they were peddled from Trotsky in the Soviet Union and he tried to sell them in China. This was the first right opportunist line in the history of the party. Trotsky often appears left (e.g., in slogans) but in essence is ultra-right.

The representative of the correct line opposing Trotskyism is Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao holds that the nature of the Chinese Revolution is the new democratic revolution. In essence, it is the bourgeois democratic revolution with the aim of fighting imperialism and feudalism but the proletariat should be in the lead and the future of the revolution is to set up socialism with a proletarian dictatorship--not to achieve capitalism.

So the difference between the two lines was manifested in three ways: (1) the nature of the revolution; (2) the leadership of the revolution; and (3) the future goal of the revolution. Chen Tu-hsiu published many articles expounding his theory. For example, The Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie. He put forth the nature, leadership and future of bourgeois revolution.

Starting from here, there were bound to be many differences on specific policies and principles. First two articles in Selected Works of Mao criticized Chen Tu-hsiu's right revisionist line including the line of the Party toward the united front. On the question of the united front, the rightists held that they should support the Kuomintang wholeheartedly and without conditions.

(Were there any conditions under which the revisionist line of Chen Tu-hsiu

said that you should criticize the Kuomintang?)

You mean whether the right opportunist within the Communist Party also raised conditions under which the KMT should be criticized?

(YES)

They said you are not allowed to criticize the Kuomintang.

(Was this both inside the party and publicly or just publicly?)

It was publicly. They said if you criticize the Kuomintang, then the Kuomintang will be scared away and they will not cooperate with us. Chairman Mao represented the correct line. He held that the CPC should only support the revolutionary policies of the Kuomintang to fight against imperialism and feudalism and the CPC should oppose the reactionary policies of the Kuomintang to capitulate, to surrender to the imperialists and to suppress the workers and peasants.

(I have a question about Mao's revolutionary line. Would there be public criticism of the Kuomintang while they were working together--criticism of their reactionary policies--in the United Front?)

In the very first article of Chairman Mao's Selected Works, that is, "The Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society," Chairman Mao says something about this.

Let me say something more. The bourgeoisie has a dual character. On the one hand, it wants to fight against imperialism and feudalism. On the other hand it also intends to surrender to the capitalists and suppress the workers and peasants. Why is it like this? It is decided by the economic position of the bourgeoisie as a class. Because in their efforts to develop capitalism they receive oppression from the imperialist countries and from the feudal forces. So in order to freely develop capitalism in China, they wish to get rid of the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists and feudal forces. On the other hand, it wants to oppress and exploit the working class. So in their struggle to oppose imperialism and feudalism there is one condition, that is, this struggle should not handicap their efforts to develop capitalism. So it's very natural when the revolutionary movement of workers

and peasants threaten the efforts to develop capitalism then they will surely suppress workers and peasants. Chairman Mao has a very figurative way of speaking of the bourgeoisie--"The bourgeoisie raises its right hand to fight against imperialism but at the same time it raises its left hand to fight against the workers and peasants."

Now shall we turn back to the struggle within the Kuomintang. There was struggle between the left wing and the right wing forces. Among the left forces there were Liao Chong-kai and Soong Chin-ling (now vice-chairman of the Peoples Republic of China--she sent a message to the national convention of your US-China Peoples Friendship Association). They held that they should persist in the revolutionary policy set forward by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that is, to unite with Russia, unite with the CPC and support the workers and peasants.

The right wing was represented by Chiang Kai-chek. His view was the opposite, that is, to oppose Russia, to oppose the Chinese Communist Party and to suppress workers and peasants. Within the United Front, he wanted to squeeze the CPC away and dealt blows against the CPC. At that time Chiang Kai-chek was principal of Whampoa Military Academy so he was grasping military power in his hands.

On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-chek openly betrayed the revolution and slaughtered the CPC members. The place where he launched his reactionary activities was Shanghai. So you can see Shanghai was the place where a lot of workers were concentrated. It has a glorious history of struggles. But at the same time Shanghai was the place where reactionary forces also concentrated. In the April 12th coup d'etat the communist forces suffered great losses. Many of the revolutionary leaders among the masses were massacred by the Kuomintang. Perhaps you have noticed Soochow Creek in Shanghai. During that massacre of April 12th, the water of the Soochow Creek became like blood, bloody water. Subsequently the massacre again took place in Kwangchow, Wuhan, Changsha, and Hangchow.

(Not in Peking?)

No. The northern expedition only fought up to Tsinan in Shantung Province, it did not reach Peking. So the first United Front between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China split owing to the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-chek.

So in the Party's history the first revolutionary civil war also failed. Chiang Kai-chek's right reactionary schemes got the upper hand because the right opportunist line within the party was supporting him. The Chinese people learned a very important lesson in this failure of this first revolutionary civil war. This lesson was gotten at the expense of many, at the expense of the sacrifices of many fine revolutionary personnel and the broad masses of workers and peasants. The lesson is that the CPC should grasp the rifle should have armed forces of its own. The Communist Party and the proletariat should have its own army. That is to say, to oppose the reactionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces. When the reactionaries fought us, we should have fought back. So would you like a have a break?

(We have formulated questions of an organizational and practical nature. However, we think that we might best use this time by going over the major line struggles that have developed in the history of the Party. Particularly the line struggles before liberation because we understand now the importance and keyness of the political line and particularly knowing the nature of the two lines and knowing what articles were written by Chairman Mao which presents the correct line on that particular line struggle so we can follow the history of the Party in that manner.)

Just now I've already told you about the first major line struggle within the party and related to this struggle were two of Chairman Mao's articles, the first two articles of Selected Works. The first article is "The Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society." Chairman Mao for the first time analyzed the various classes in Chinese society by using the class analysis of Marxism-Leninism. In this article

Chairman Mao analyzed the respective economic position of classes in Chinese society and their attitude toward revolution. That means their political attitudes. Chairman Mao reached a conclusion that the working class is the leading class in the revolution and although they are not big in number, they were the most advanced and revolutionary class in Chinese society and it should shoulder the task to lead the revolution. While the peasants, the peasant class, is a class with the great majority of the population, they have suffered serious exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and landlords so they were very eager to make a revolution. That's why they were the most reliable allied force of the working class. By saying the peasant class, I mean the poor peasants and hired laborers and tenants. Hired laborers means they do not own any land. These people account for 70% of the total population of 400 million in China. For most of them, they could only own a small plot of land with some old and backward farm tools. They toiled all the year round but still could not keep their soul and body together. For example, I came from a poor peasant family. Before liberation, there were seven members in my family with only two Chinese mou of land and some 2-3 hoes. The whole family depended on this small plot of land to live on. Chairman Mao pointed out that this class is the most reliable allied force for the proletariat.

As to the national bourgeoisie, it has a dual character. Also they are divided. The left wing may become our friends in the revolution. The right wing may become our enemies so we should unite with the national bourgeoisie and at the same time guard against the activities opposed to the revolution. So they should be included into the united front but we should be on the alert all the time for the possible bad deeds which they could do in the united front.

The feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists are the two most reactionary classes in Chinese society. And they are the object of our revolution. They are also the representatives in China of the imperialists.

So after the analysis of these classes in Chinese society by Chairman Mao, he

came to the conclusion that the revolution in China is a revolution to fight against imperialism and feudalism and the revolution should be led by the proletariat and take the alliance of workers and peasants as its basis and unite with other revolutionary classes.

(How do you make the correct decision about who are your friends and who are your enemies? In every society should a class analysis, an indepth class analysis be made? Even to the point of saying both Lenin and Chairman Mao have done, to the point of saying a poor peasant has so many mou of land and so many types of tools and a middle peasant has so much land and so many types of tools. Should every society be that exact in their class analysis?)

We think every country has its own concrete or specific situation. As for Chairman Mao, he made a class analysis of Chinese society which was semi-feudal and semi-colonial. As to Lenin, before the October Revolution, he also made a class analysis of Russian society. But one thing is in common, that is a universal law, that is the revolution should be led by the proletariat and also there should be an alliance between workers and peasants. But as to those concrete policies or principles, I think they are different according to different situations in different countries.

(One of the things I'm trying to get at is that in our country even though there is a very broad type of class analysis in the developing Marxist-Leninist groups, we recognize the strategic importance between the national liberation movements particularly of the Afro-American people, and the workers movement in the United States in general. But as far as I know, no one has done an indepth analysis of the Afro-American people, such as who are the national bourgeoisie, who are the compradors, who are the petit-bourgeoisie that may be able to be won over. We don't have that type of data, we know that we should ally with the petit-bourgeoisie on some things and that they are going to be our enemies at some particular time. Some will be won over but they vascillate. Yet we don't have a clear outlook just

in terms of the material base of the bourgeoisie and the material base of the classes for that type of indepth class analysis. It hasn't been done as far as I know. So let me ask you a question very specifically. The critical question is not the question of the proletariat, that's clear. The major question facing people in the United States on the Afro-American question is whether the bourgeoisie has two parts. We've heard their comprador part is the national part and this is under the specific conditions in the United States. Given the level of industrialization and the level of proletarianization and the impact of imperialism on every walk of life, on every business, on every bank, on every farm. That's the critical question in the class analysis now of the Afro-American people.)

Among the bourgeoisie there is a national bourgeoisie and a comprador bourgeoisie as a result of the nature of the society which is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. This is only in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. Among the bourgeoisie there were some which relied on the imperialists and relied on the feudal bureaucrat capitalists. Exploitation of the imperialist countries--they are the comprador bourgeoisie, so this comprador bourgeoisie was a product of semi-feudal or semi-colonial country. So these comprador bourgeoisie combined with the exploitation of the imperialist countries. They should also have the political power. They should also be supported by political forces. So most of them were bureaucrats themselves. So we call this class bureaucrat comprador capitalists.

For example, In China the early industries were run by some big officials of the Ching Dynasty. They set up the first group of factories or enterprises, industrial enterprises in China. For example, in Shanghai now we have a shipyard called the Kiang Nan shipyard, which was originally the Kiang Nan repair shipyard. And that was set up in the Ching Dynasty. That was run by a big official at that time and also a big traitor in China called Li Hung-chang. Also in the field of navigation they set up a steamboat company in charge of transportation. They

bought several sailing ships. They sailed in the Yangtze River and also along the sea coast. And there were also mines--coal mines and iron mines run by these big officials in collusion with foreign capitalists. It was only those big officials who could run these kinds of enterprises because they had political power. The bureaucrat capitalist class came into being. National bourgeoisie: most of them were engaged in light industry which requires less capital. And these national bourgeoisie were those who were suppressed by the bureaucrat comprador capitalists. The light industry was for example, the textile industry or wheat flour industry. These industries appear first of all in Wusih and in Shanghai. So although the national bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat comprador bourgeoisie all are bourgeoisie class, there are differences. In terms of economic power, the bureaucrat capitalist bourgeoisie are much bigger than the national bourgeoisie. They colluded with the imperialists and with politically powerful forces. So that is why they adopt different attitudes toward the revolution. We think this is the result or the outcome of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

I think the situation in America is different from the situation in China. Chairman Mao has said the enslavement of the Black people of the colored people came to be along with the development of capitalism and the enslavement of the colored people will finally be wiped out along with the extinction of the capitalist system. So the emancipation of the colored people is not the emancipation of themselves. It is one of the component parts of the struggle of the proletariat in the world as a whole and the oppressed nations in the world as a whole. We are opposed to any discrimination towards colored people. And we support all the colored people in their struggle to achieve liberation. I have a personal opinion that the emancipation of the colored people is not an isolated thing. They will surely enjoy the help and assistance from all the oppressed people in the world. I am thoroughly convinced that all colored the world over will win the ultimate emancipation. We think the discrimination of the colored people was the outcome

of the capitalist system.

(Perhaps in light of the time, we could make an attempt to discuss another major line struggle in part.)

During the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution, our party has experienced six major line struggles. But I think I'll lay the emphasis on the second major line struggle. Wang Ming is the representative of the left opportunist line in this line struggle and this happened during the second civil war.

In 1935 the struggle became acute. From 1934 Wang Ming's line became dominant within the CPC. The CPC^{had} already established revolutionary bases in the Chin Kan Shan Mountain in Kiangsi Province. The CPC has an armed force of 300,000 called the worker and peasant red army of China and it later became the Peoples Liberation Army. Besides, there were small base areas in other parts--Hupeh Province, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fungtian Province. And one small piece in Shensi Province. The revolutionary situation was excellent. We had defeated four reactionary mopping up encirclements of the Kuomintang.

In Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics, we should lure the enemy deeper into the base area and concentrate a superior armed force to annihilate the effective forces of the enemy. Surround the enemy with a superior force and fight a war of annihilation. Strategy and tactics summarized in 16 characters, four lines:

"When the enemy advances, we retreat;
When the enemy stops, we harass them;
When the enemy is tired, we attack them;
When the enemy flees, we pursue them."

By following these, they smashed the encirclement by Chiang Kai-chek and their forces grew stronger.

In this circumstance, the left opportunist line of Wang Ming got the upper hand. They made a wrong analysis of the situation and didn't realize that the communist forces were weak and the enemy forces were strong. So the leftists proposed the line: we should achieve victory of the revolution in one or several provinces of China. They ordered the Red Army to attack those cities secured by

Chiang Kai-chek's forces, the main strongholds of the Kuomintang. They wanted to attack Changsha and Wuhan. They attacked Changsha but failed. They did not really attack Wuhan. The revolutionary forces suffered losses. Policy towards encirclement and annihilation of the Kuomintang was "to beat them by both fists." They were for positional warfare which actually wasted material and human power of the soldiers. Also they proposed to keep various parts of the base areas by dividing the main forces. They opposed concentrating forces and annihilating the enemy one by one. So the Red Army forces were divided and they couldn't keep the base areas. They were rendered into passive positions. The Kuomintang then moved into the base areas.

Organizationally speaking the left line of Wang Ming squeezed the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and used various means to attack Chairman Mao. All those who carried out Chairman Mao's correct line were attacked or blamed. The rule of Wang Ming's line inflicted the biggest losses on the CPC in the Party's history. The Party and the Red Army lost the base area in Kiangsi Province and they had to make the Long March. The Red Army began the Long March in Kiangsi base area and completed it in the north of Shensi Province within a year and traveled 25,000 li. About 90% of the Red Army were lost. When they started the Long March in Kiangsi Province, it was 300,000 strong. But when they reached northern Shensi, only 30,000 were left. Apart from the losses in the base areas, the underground forces of the CPC in the Kuomintang occupied places or cities suffered almost 100%. At that time the Chinese revolution went through a very severe test. But this grave situation also educated the Party and the Red Army soldiers. This enabled them to see that under the correct revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, the CPC started on the basis of the forces left over by Chiang Kai-chek's massacre and developed a great deal. And then this excellent situation of the revolution and the revolutionary forces were discarded by Wang Ming's wrong line. They demanded to end Wang Ming's left opportunist line and supported Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

So in 1935, not long after the Long March, the Party held a conference at

Chun Yi of Kweichow Province. In this conference, Wang Ming's left opportunist line came to an end and Chairman Mao's correct line and leadership was restored in the Party. Correct leadership of Chairman Mao guaranteed the Red Army and the Long March to reach northern Shensi under a very difficult situation. In the early stages of the Long March, the left opportunists adopted the policy of fleeing away. They wanted to let the Red Army hide their forces in Sinkiang Province. It was only after the criticism of Wang Ming's left opportunist line, that the situation in the Red Army was changed from a dangerous position to a safe position. It was a very unfavorable and very difficult situation. And the Kuomintang troops were pursuing them from the rear and intercepting them from the front. The enemy planes were also attacking the Red Army. The Red Army had to traverse over the grasslands which no human being had ever traversed. And they had to climb the snowy mountains which no human being had ever climbed. And they had to cross several big rivers, one of the big rivers was the upper stream of the Yangtze River called Chingshachan.

At that time the Kuomintang mobilized those warlords to try to annihilate the Red Army on the road of the Long March. The possibility really existed that they could have succeeded.

In contemporary history of China there was a case in point. During the period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, there was a general called Shih Ta-kaí. This general split from the revolutionary ranks and led an army 100,000 strong westward. At last, he and this army was annihilated by the Ching Dynasty on the banks of the TaTu River. The Red Army had to cross this TaTu River also.

You see this TaTu River was flanked by steep hills on both banks. There was no bridge, no ferry and the only link between both banks was an iron chain bridge. There were more than a dozen iron chains which were fastened on the rocks on both sides of the bank and on these chains there were planks laid on the chains. On hearing that the Red Army would pass through this bridge, the Kuomintang soldiers took all the planks away. The advanced units of the Red Army under the direct com-

mand of Chairman Mao himself, walked 180 li (2 li = 1 km; about 60 miles) within 24 hours, a forced march and at last they came to the banks of the TaTu River. At that time the Kuomintang soldiers were taking those planks away. Most of the planks have already been taken away and in this crucial moment, 18 Red Army soldiers went on the chains, the iron chains, amidst rifle shots. So the 18 brave soldiers crossed the bridge by holding and walking on the chains confronted with machine gun fire from the opposite bank and faced with a very swift current under the bridge. At last the Kuomintang troops saw that they could not stop the advance of the 18 brave Red Army soldiers so they started to burn the planks on the iron chains on the other bank. Some of the 18 brave soldiers died, but those remaining dashed through the flames and took hold of the bulwark on the bank. In this way they smashed the enemies interception and encirclement. So the Red Army overcame many unimaginable difficulties before reaching successfully Northern Shensi.

So you can see, the Long March itself demonstrates that the Chinese workers and peasants Red Army under the leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is invincible. The Long March also preserved the Chinese revolutionary forces. It also enabled the whole party to see that only Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can lead China's revolution to final victory.

During the Long March at the Chun Yi conference, the most urgent problem to solve was the military problem. So they cannot have time to criticize Wang Ming's left opportunist line ideologically and theoretically. So after the Red Army reached northern Shensi, Chairman Mao with big effort, led the whole Party to criticize and settle accounts with Wang Ming's left opportunist line. Chairman Mao wrote a series of important works. For example, On Practice, On Contradiction, Oppose the 8-Legged Party Asses ; Reform Our Study, Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art. All these articles are aimed at criticizing Wang Ming's left opportunist line. They have to criticize it from the philosophical field, from the theory of knowledge, from world outlook. The most important thing is that through this criticism we should

also educate the whole Party to raise the Marxist-Leninist level of the whole Party. Chairman Mao personally made reports and speeches and led the whole Party to unfold the movement to study Marxism-Leninism.

Since Wang Ming's revisionist line has a special feature--it likes to scare the Party members by bringing with him a lot of thick words of Marxism-Leninism. So it sometimes made those comrades difficult to distinguish, which is genuine Marxism and those comrades who did not have much education because before the revolution they could not afford to receive much education and they entered the revolutionary ranks by simple revolutionary sentiments and feelings. So Wang Ming's line sometimes made it difficult to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. So it was a bit dangerous for those people to be taken in and become captive of the left opportunist line. This movement is the famous movement in ^{the} history of the Party called Rectification of the Style of Work in Yanan.

After this movement, the Marxist theoretical level of the Party has been greatly enhanced. This is a brief account about the struggle within the Party against Wang Ming's left opportunist line.

Those who pursue the revisionist line are usually swindlers. For example, in the 10th Line Piao line struggle in the Party, Lin Piao was also a big swindler. So in the course of the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius our whole Party must study conscientiously Marxism-Leninism so as to have a good grasp of it. The aim of this is to enable all Party members and Chinese people not to fall into the trap of these great persuaders, swindlers, but to be able to see clearly their true features and learn Marxism-Leninism.

I wish our friends had more time. Perhaps we can squeeze some further time for discussion.

(Thank you.)

DISCUSSION WITH MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF SHANGHAI

Well, you have spent about two days here in Shanghai and have seen a number of things in this city. And this morning you have visited the Feng Huo Wooden Box Factory and now we are going to have a talk on the woman question with the women leaders of this city.

Perhaps, first of all I will introduce to you all these Chinese friends. Comrade Chang Chu-chen, member of the standing committee of the Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation; comrade Yuan Yu-chen, chairman of the Nan Shih District Women's Association in Shanghai, and also a member of the Municipal Woman's Federation; comrade Chang Whei-Ling, member of the Women's Federation of Shanghai and also responsible comrade from the Public Sanitation Station of Cha Pei District of Shanghai. These comrades are going to give you a presentation about how women in Shanghai are organized and the organizational question of the Shanghai women as well as other areas concerning women. After their presentation, if there are any other questions we are ready to answer.

We are very glad to have this opportunity to have such a discussion with our American friends because I think that through these discussions we can further exchange information about women's conditions in China as well as in the United States so as to further promote our mutual understanding. I am particularly happy to have some men comrades here and some men friends from the United States to take part in these discussions, because this shows that you are also much concerned with women's work. Maybe first of all I will give you a brief account about women's work in Shanghai, and then we can proceed to the talk of women as well as the status of women in society both before liberation and after.

The Shanghai Municipal women's Federation is an organization of the broad masses of women in this city formed on the basis of unity of different nationalities and social strata. The supreme organ of this organization is the Women's Congress. The Woman's Congress of Shanghai was convened in December, 1973, in which 103

members were elected. From this 103, a standing committee composed of 18 members was formed. And from this standing committee, a chairman and seven vice-chairmen of the women's federation were elected. The general office in charge of the daily work of the women's federation is composed of 30-40 cadres.

We have three levels in the women's organization in Shanghai. The municipal level, the district level and the neighborhood level. All these women's federations are mass organizations, organized on the basis of representation of different nationalities and different social strata. The women's organization as the grass roots is the street women's congress, that is the basic unit. It is not a power organ like the other three levels. It is the basic form of the women's organization in the city. Usually this women's congress consists of 7-11 representatives. They are directly elected from the neighborhood people.

Now I'm going to go into the position and role of the women in China. We think that we women were emancipated in the true sense of the word since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The equality between men and women is guaranteed in the laws of our People's Republic. Since this equality is insured in the law, so we Chinese women during the last 25 years since liberation have gained political, economic and cultural equality in the society; and also in the family life; entirely equal with men. We would generally describe this change in the following words: "We women have stood up politically, economically and culturally. And our status in the family as well as in the society has undergone fundamental change." Woman's emancipation is manifested first of all in the political status-- there have been great changes in political status. Before liberation, the Chinese women quite often just didn't have their own name. Usually when a girl was born, she wouldn't be given a name of her own. After her marriage, she would just be called wife of so-and-so. So many daughters never know what her mother's name was and the mother herself doesn't know what her name is. This was a common phenomenon. After liberation more and more women have taken part in the political activities

and the proportion of women participating in the national people's congress has been growing. For example, in the first national people's congress, women's representation was only about 10%. That means among all the deputies, only 10% were women. While in the second and third national people's congress, this representation has been increased to 25-30%.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there have been even more changes, in terms of women's participation in political activities. There have been more and more women directly elected from among the workers and/or peasants to become leading cadres at all levels. This is also a notable change.

For example, among the 159 members of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, 35 are women. This constitutes 22% of the total membership of the Revolutionary Committee. Within the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee which is composed of 66 members, 11 are women. This constitutes 18% of the total number. This was something which scarcely happened before the Cultural Revolution. Although before the Cultural Revolution, women have also taken part in the political activities but in various lower level posts. In the major posts, the proportion of women was much lower than today. So there has been a great increase of the women in their participation in the major leading posts.

Now, before the Cultural Revolution there were no vice-chairmen, at that time we called them substitute majors, but there were no women in these posts. Now in our revolutionary committee, three vice-chairmen are women. Two are directly elected from among the workers. Both of them were workers in the textile mills before. One was elected from the rural communes by the poor and lower middle peasants. Besides, since the cultural revolution there have been more and more young women participating in the leading organs at all levels. Our party emphasized a great deal that we should pay attention to training young successors to insure that there will be revolutionary successors. So now in the leading organs at all levels there are young people, young women, taking part in the work of these leading organs.

For example, in the Municipal Women's Federation, among these 18 standing members there is only one who is over 50 years old. Four are over 40 years old. All the rest, the other 13 are under 40 years old. Now in the Revolutionary Committees of this city from the Municipal level right down to the basic level, all these should be composed of the old, the middle-aged, and the young. And should there be no women representative, these mainly would be rectified by the higher organ. That means on the revolutionary committee at all levels, there must be women representatives. All this shows that the women's participation in political life is more and more.

The liberation of women is the fundamental problem now. The women's participation in the management and leadership is insured by law. However, it does not mean that everything is ideal because as you know, China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country before liberation. During the last 25 years, we have made great achievements in liberating women's forces. But still, in the society as a whole, there are such traditional old forces despising women, looking down upon women in the society. This is something we should combat. Especially through the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. These old ideas have been further criticized and the role of women has been further stressed in various spheres of life. So in front of us there is still the task to carry on struggles for the further emancipation of women in Chinese society.

The most important thing to insure the economic emancipation of women is that women now have full equality of employment with men. They have full rights to work in society just like men. Before liberation, there were many trades in which women never had a chance to work. Some factories just didn't want to employ women workers. For those who got a chance to work in the factories they had to worry a lot about their pregnancies or the birth of babies because quite often, under such circumstances they would be instantly dismissed by the bosses. This situation has been entirely changed since liberation.

Students, boys or girls, would get equal opportunity to be distributed to work by the state after their graduation. And in Shanghai all the housewives under 45 years old are now taking part in productive work. Of course, for those who are above 45, they may still live at home because you all know that our retirement is 50 for women. This is one point.

Another point to express the emancipation of women is that all women are receiving the same pay as men--equal pay for equal work. This is also something which never existed before liberation. In all factories, women workers receive special care. This is because there are certain physical special features of women which should be given special consideration to insure their health. For example, all the women workers can receive special care during their menstruation or during their pregnancy. As you know, all women who are pregnant from the seventh month have the right to rest according to their actual condition on the advice of their doctors. Before the seventh month they will receive a regular checkup once a month and after seven months they receive a checkup once a week. After they give birth to their babies, they can send them to the factory run nursery which is free of charge. Besides, during the period they have to nurse their babies, they can leave their work an hour a day to go back home to go to the nursery to feed their babies. This is to ensure that both mother and child have good health.

Before liberation, the situation was entirely different. Those pregnant women workers fearing being dismissed by the bosses usually would try by every means to hide the fact that they were pregnant. Sometimes they would use a piece of cloth to bind their belly so that the bosses wouldn't discover that they were pregnant. So the conditions of the women at that time were very very miserable. The reactionary capitalists used to spread such fallacies as "it's easier to find 100 people to work for me than to find 100 dogs." So the status of human beings was even worse than the dogs in their eyes. So there were such cases in the factories when a woman was going to give birth to her baby, of course they couldn't afford to go to

a hospital and some of them just gave birth to the baby in the toilet of the factory with the help of some fellow workers. And after the baby is born nobody could look after them. So some women workers had to leave their babies alone at home. They would put the baby in a washing basin so the baby would just sleep in the basin, make water in the basin and do everything in the basin. And when the baby was hungry, it would eat a piece of pancake which the mother would tie around its neck because nobody could feed the baby--he could only eat by himself. This was something quite common. In some cases the mother didn't want to leave the baby alone at home, so she carried the baby to the workshop and hid it under the machines somewhere so that it wouldn't be seen by the bosses. But particularly in the textile mills where the working conditions were very very poor and the air was so suffocating and there was cotton dust and dirt in the workshops, so this resulted in the death of the baby sometimes--it was just stifled by the dirt and dust in the workshop. So there were some things which really happened before liberation and this shows how bad women's conditions were in the factories. But now of course the situation is entirely different as I have already described before there are many facilities that show the special care of women.

In the old days before liberation in Shanghai there were only 180,000 women workers. And now this number has already increased to 800,000 or more. Not only are there more and more workers, they will have an opportunity to get a job in the factories, but at the same time they receive very good care from the state. Women describe life in the old society like this: "The old society was just like a dark and bitter well and women were always at the bottom of this well." It means that women suffered most in the old society.

Thirdly, women's emancipation means cultural emancipation. In the old society we women were not only living in poverty but were also bound up by very extreme feudalistic ideas. For example, in the past there used to be a saying that for women, no talent is a good virtue. That means that a woman without any ability to

work has good virtue. We can say that the women were basically deprived of the right to receive an education. Most women were illiterate, even those peasant women, even in the suburban areas of a great city like Shanghai--most of them were illiterate. But now, all the school-age children, boys or girls, can enter the school from primary school and middle school and to university or college. Now in the suburbs of Shanghai, universal primary school education is already realized. In the city middle school education is already universal. In educational institutions women constitute a large proportion. Among university students the average proportion of girl students is about 30% and in those institutes like the textile industry or teachers college, this proportion is even greater, sometimes 50%.

Now, all the factories are running schools of different kinds or size. In Shanghai there is the municipal spare time workers university. Workers can go there to study in their spare time. This university has ten sections attached to it which are located in the ten different districts in the city. Some of the factories run, if not a university, they run middle schools or spare time technical schools. In the suburbs, the communes usually set up night schools for the commune members to study political works as well as to raise their educational level.

With the changes in women's status in the family, there has been great changes in the family life of the women as a result of the changes in their social status as a whole. Because they are economically and politically emancipated and they have gone out of their homes to work in the society and get their own income so their status in the family has changed. In the old society, the women were subjected to the domination of men. That means that in the family, they had to obey whatever the man says. We call it the patriarchal authority. This is of course something left over by the feudal society. Man was the center in the family. And the women were all subordinate. We usually describe the women's status in the family like this: after her marriage she should obey her husband; if her husband dies, she should obey her son; if she has no son, she should obey the chief of the clan. So it means that

women had no freedom at all. As a result of this feudalistic bondage, women were just considered as subordinates to men. Since women have now gone out to work and get their own income, so their status in the family is entirely equal. Apart from this the public opinion in the society, their general attitude towards women is also changed. It is my personal experience that once a woman has her own income, then she will never be looked down upon in the family and only under such circumstances can we say that women enjoy full equality in the family. In the family, between husband and wife and among all the family members, it is based on equality, mutual respect and mutual love. It is a new relationship of comradeship. Now we also advocate that men and women should share housework.

Some foreign friends may be skeptical on this point, whether men really voluntarily do these housework chores. Especially since in China there was no law regarding this sharing of household chores--there's no law to guarantee or insure it. We say, as I've already mentioned, since the relations in the family between husband and wife is based on comradeship, based on equality and mutual respect and mutual love, so this problem is not so difficult to solve. It's not so difficult to reach an agreement between the husband and wife as to how many household chores should the men do and how many should the woman do. So of course, there are sometimes also struggles to try to persuade one side to take up these responsibilities. But, generally speaking, this new relationship is developing and going on quite satisfactorily. I can also tell you my experience. At home whenever I have more social work to do, my husband supports me by taking up more responsibility at home, to do more household chores in order to make sure that I can fulfill the tasks, fulfill my social work better. Or the other way around: if my husband has more social work to do, I should support him by doing my best at home. So that he can have more time to devote his efforts to the work outside the home. So this is only a problem of mutual support.

Because of the old customs, men are usually shy to do the household chores

because they think that this is woman's business. So in such cases we use the weapon of giving merit to those who really help the wife to do household chores and criticize those who don't. For example, in the March 8 Festival, that's the women's festival, this year, we publicly told the story of a man cadre in a commune who helped his wife to look after his 3-year-old child at home since his wife is the vice chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation and at the same time she is also a leading cadre in the county. So she is very busy with social work, so her husband is also a Party leader in the commune but he is less busy than his wife. So this husband helped his wife to look after the child by doing the washing and cleaning, cleaning of the toilet, washing the pants for the child. At the beginning he was so shy to do all these things because he was afraid of being laughed at by others. But when we know that he supports his wife publicly at a meeting held on March 8 so as to encourage the men to share these household chores. So we think that by so doing, gradually the public opinion towards men's sharing of household chores will be changed and it is changing.

We think that whether and how women can achieve their emancipation is a problem of line. We think that the movement for women's liberation is a component part of the emancipation of the proletariat. Emancipation of women in the society is always closely linked with the class struggle in a given society. So we hold that we cadres engaged in women's liberation struggles should never divorce ourselves from the class struggle and the two-line struggle in the society. We think that it is wrong to handle the problems of women's emancipation at home and in the society alone . . . to handle this question without putting it into the class struggle and two-line struggles in the society. So the question of women's emancipation can never be solved independently, because ours is a class society and we know that every woman in the society belongs to a certain class. Within the ranks of women there are oppressors and the oppressed, Women are those most oppressed in class society. They suffer the class oppression most.

Chairman Mao once pointed out that the system of authority, the political authority, clan authority, religious authority and husband authority, are like four ropes binding strictly on the laboring women. That's why working women in old China urgently fought for their emancipation. So the question arises: what is the correct road for women's emancipation? Before the introduction of Marxism-Leninism to China, there was no agreement and understanding among Chinese women on this question. A large number of women then held that the oppression came from men. So to achieve liberation for women, it was necessary to fight, to struggle, against the men. Within the women's movement at that time, some people advocated organizing women to fight for equality, democracy and freedom from men. That means to win this equality, democracy and freedom from men. So we called this trend as a movement of feminism.

After the introduction of Marxism into China, the women began to arm themselves with Marxist theory and we began to understand what class struggle really means, and who were the people who really oppressed women and why women were at the bottom of the well. So eventually we came to realize that all the oppression suffered by women came from class oppression, as a result of class oppression and national oppression. So this contradiction does not lie between men--it's not a problem of the contradictions between men and women. But a contradiction between classes.

The destiny of women is closely linked with the destiny of the class and our nation. Only when our class and our nation is liberated can women win their own liberation. It is only when our class and our nation is liberated then the social status of women can be fundamentally changed, the political and economic status of women can be fundamentally changed. That is why we women have been always fighting shoulder to shoulder with men in different stages of China's revolution either in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression or the period of the liberation war of the period of socialist construction after liberation or even in those days of the Cultural Revolution and the current campaign to criticize Lin

Piao and Confucius. We women have always been fighting shoulder to shoulder with men.

We hold that the general task of the women's movement is always in conformity with the general task of the Party. It's entirely in agreement with the tasks of the Party. So there shouldn't be any independent tasks of struggle for women alone. They should be fighting for the same goals, to achieve the same tasks as the Party.

Chairman Mao has said that when the women throughout the country have risen up then the time will come for the liberation of the whole country. So we always follow this instruction of Chairman Mao in our women's work. So we think that only by arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of women to take part in all spheres of work in our country can China eventually win its liberation.

So much for my participation. Perhaps I've been talking too much, and taking too much of your time. I think we should break for a few minutes and then proceed to the questions.

(It's been brought up several times today that women have achieved complete equality with men politically, economically, and culturally. During our trip we have found out that China is in a socialist transformation stage and there are still many inequalities in the society. There are still classes existing, within factories there are different wage scales, there's differences between the countryside and the city--all these kinds of differences. How is it that these differences between men and women have been wiped out and that now women are equal? What makes this question so different from all the others? Why aren't women still trying to achieve equality? Why is the view put forward that men and women are equal at this point?)

Perhaps we cannot say at the present stage that the Chinese woman has already won absolute equality with men. What I was talking about is based on the comparison of the present day situation with the pre-liberation days. I told you that now the women, the proportion of women's participation in the leading organs is increasing. Before liberation, women had no opportunity at all to take part in the work in the

leading organs and by the time of liberation among our national people's congress deputies, women constituted 10%. And this figure has been changed to 25-30% now in all leading organs. So this is already great progress. But we don't think that this progress is our final goal, because we think to transform the old ideas, feudalistic ideas, in the society, the ideas of discriminating against women, is a protracted struggle. So great efforts still have to be made to entirely eliminate these old ideas. So perhaps we can't say that at the present stage we have already won absolute equality with men, but compared with the pre-liberation days, gigantic progress has been made.

I can give you an example. I have already said that since liberation there have been more and more women cadres and more and more leading women cadres. But it does not mean that when a woman is promoted to a higher position, it does not mean that when this is done that there was no struggle at all. Because usually if there is a man and a woman and people are going to choose between the two, the man and the woman having more or less similar criteria; when people are going to make a choice between these two there is still the tendency of choosing the man, instead of choosing the woman. Usually the people, you see some men who still get the idea of looking down upon women, used to say that those unmarried young girls have a special characteristic; they are characterized as always talking and laughing and gossiping. While married and while a mother, since she has already got a lot of household chores, she usually can't make quick decisions. She was always dragged upon by household chores. So also she's not good. As to the comparatively old age women, they said they were too much indulged in trifles, they paid much more attention to minor things instead of big things. So they are also no good. So the younger is no good, the married is no good and the old aged no good. So this is the tendency in the thinking of certain men towards women cadres. From this you can see that we still have to carry on a protracted struggle to combat these wrong ideas. And the Party's policy is always explicit on this question. Men and women should get

equal opportunity to be promoted to a higher post. We should continue to criticize and educate those people who have these wrong ideas so as to entirely change these things.

(I don't understand why the official point of view is . . . for example, in the brochures or pamphlet called New Women in China, the first sentence there is: "In China today men and women are equal." Why is this view put forward when in reality, from everything that we have seen and from what we have heard, this is not true. Why isn't the first sentence something like: "Today in China women have made very much progress, but are not yet equal." What is the use of putting forward this view that men and women are now equal?)

We hold that the inequality between men and women is the result of the inequality between classes. It comes from the inequality between classes. It is not a matter of different sexes but a matter of different classes which exist. In the old society among men there were people who would oppress and exploit other men and there were also men who oppressed and exploited women and the same is true for women. Among the women there have always been some people oppressing the others while some others were being oppressed. This inequality really came from the inequality between classes.

Now after liberation this class oppression and class exploitation no longer exists. Although in our society there are still classes, but class oppression and class exploitation is illegal. You are not allowed. So when we say that the emancipation of women has won their emancipation we are talking from the point of view of class emancipation. So the women's emancipation can only be based on the emancipation of the class. We are all masters of our country. Women have the equal rights to take part in the administration work at all levels just as men. Women have the same opportunity as men with regard to participation in running state affairs, in employment, and in all other spheres. They have the same rights as men. This is guaranteed by the law.

Since China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country before and the feudal ideas have fairly strong influence in the old society, and as a result of this until today there are still such ideas like men are superior to women, but all these were inherited from the old society and we have already become aware of this and are trying to combat these remnants of feudal ideas. We think that inequality between men and women was something inherited from the past and it's not the result it's not caused by the present social system. We note that at the present stage in China there are still classes and there are still differences between urban life and rural life, between manual labor and mental labor and there are still such kinds of differences in existence in the present society. But this is entirely, it has, it's something else. It's another concept. It has nothing to do with the question of the inequality between men and women ideologically.

(How is the remaining inequality and discrimination viewed? Is it a matter of changing the superstructure and if so in what way? Or is it a matter of integrating more women into the productive work?)

One thing I'd like to further clarify is that what we are talking about, you see, is some traditional ideas of discriminating against women does not really mean that men and women are still not equal in the society. Only ideologically, in some people's minds they still have some discriminatory ideas. It does not mean that men and women are still up to now are not equal. In the political, economic, and cultural spheres, she is already talked a lot about this during her presentation about this equality. Men and women are equal already. Only there are some ideological--there are some discriminating ideas against women which are still in existence in our present society. I wonder if this point is clear?

Since these old feudalistic ideas, there are still remnants of these ideas in existence in our society. It is not only these ideas, not only do they influence men, but women as well. Sometimes women also are influenced by these ideas and also think they were inferior. Our present campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Con-

Confucius is aimed at solving this question. This is one of the tasks of the campaign; to thoroughly wipe out these remnants of the feudalist ideas. Both Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao in advocating their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the discrimination against women is one of the contents of their revisionist lines. As for Confucius, he was known to everybody in China that he discriminated against women, looked down upon women. This bad influence was spread in Chinese society for a long time. It is very necessary for us to carry on this movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a practical way so that these ideas can be eventually wiped out. Of course, we should not blame those people for having these wrong ideas because we understand that this is the influence of the ideology of the exploiting class. What we should do is to repudiate them and struggle against them. We think that to solve this problem, the attitude of the leadership is of key importance. When leaders at all levels fully implement the Party's policy and really pay attention to women's work, to give consideration to women's social work and lives and this will be the guarantee to realize the elimination of these remnants of the wrong ideology.

Besides, we also attach great importance to make certain, to really make some achievements by our own efforts. That means that we women should do some excellent work and really achieve successes in whatever work we entrusted with so that those people having these, those more or less stubborn minded people can change their attitudes toward women since they can witness personally that the work done by the women is not inferior at all. That it is just as good as men or even better in some regards. By these concrete examples people will come to see that women can do their work just as well as men.

With the education and concern of the leaders at all levels, the women are studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought conscientiously and they actively take part in socialist construction and play an active role in all spheres of life. So now it's quite common to see that in all kinds of things the women comrades have

done really good jobs and among them many advanced models, women model workers, have appeared. These advanced model workers are not only examples for other women comrades to learn from, but also are examples for men comrades to learn from. This equality between men and women already is insured by the law and what now is going on is just a question of ideology. It's a question of the wrong traditional feudalistic ideas. In our socialist country with our socialist system the equality of men and women is entirely insured and this is also a manifestation of the excellent social system. This is also a manifestation that men and women are equal is insured by the law in this society.

The women should fight against these old ideas with courage and daring. Personally I come from a district, and I am in charge of the public sanitation work in my district and in our area there are many young girls who have taken part in the work for public sanitation, cleaning the streets, alleys and our building houses, so they are all playing a very active role in productive work and doing quite well. But in the society sometimes there is a saying which comes out: "There's no bright future for girls doing this job." So we think this kind of idea is also something left over from the old society. It's also an old traditional wrong idea of discriminating against certain kinds of jobs. So all the women and girls are courageously fighting against these ideas, and they have made certain progress.

(The women's movement began at the turn of the century and at times it took on a religious character and there were class divisions. Could you outline the different periods of women's struggle in China. For example, were there separate segments of the women's movement for different classes of women such as workers, middle class women, etc. Were there working class women involved right from the start or did it start out as a movement of upper and middle class women? At what point did women become involved in the Communist Party and how and at what time did the Communist Party develop a line on the woman question?)

This man comrade wanted to add a few words to the previous question. He says

that in our society, men and women are equal politically, economically, culturally, and educationally. But this does not mean that ideas of discriminating against women don't exist. There are still the traditional forces of looking down upon women. So this means that there are contradictions on this particular question. To solve this contradiction we think the correct way is to go through ideological struggle, through struggle in the ideological sphere because this is not a matter, it's not that kind of contradiction as a contradiction between different classes, to overthrow the exploiting classes to establish the regime of the proletariat. It is not a matter of that character. This is a question left to be solved through ideological struggle. The present movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a struggle of this character. So we believe that in the future, such kind of contradictions will still exist. That means the contradictions which can only be solved through ideological struggles will still exist; some new ones will also arise. But all these contradictions should be properly solved through ideological struggle, and not through the change of political power. We still regard our task as being to carry on protracted struggle in this field to entirely and thoroughly eliminate these traditional old ideas. This comrade gave you an example to show the progress made especially since the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius with regard to this question of discriminating against women.

Well in Shanghai there is a food factory. Before the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in this factory there was a problem of shortage of drivers to drive the trucks for transport. But the leadership were bitterly opposed to the idea of training some women to be the truck drivers. Some women workers applied by themselves to the leadership saying that they would like to receive such training and do this job for the factory. But the leadership refused because they thought this kind of job is usually taken up by the men and women probably couldn't do it well. But during this campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, all these women workers came out to criticize the leadership on this particular question.

They said that we women can hold up half of the sky. Whatever men can do women can do too. Why shouldn't you allow us to receive this special training? And after studying and listening to the criticisms of the workers, gradually the leaders of this factory also changed their attitude and granted permission to bring these women workers to have the training as truck drivers. So facts prove that within a very short period these women workers have fully grasped the field of driving a truck and began to work very well. So this fact has served as a good education for the leadership. Through this they came to know that the idea of lacking confidence in women is wrong. Now the women workers in this factory promptly declared that we want to trample underfoot all the traditional ideas of men's superiority to women and all those Three Obediences and Four Virtues promulgated by Confucius. All this we want just to trample underfoot and we want to be able to do whatever kind of work men can take up. In the old days women were not even allowed to work, to go up to the roof of a building because they believe that once women did so then the whole building would collapse. But now women can even be trained to be pilots and fly in an aircraft. All these facts vividly proved that the idea of looking down upon women is something wrong and this can certainly be corrected by the progress and success of women in all spheres of work.

(I'd like to ask a question. I'll preface the question by saying that exceptions can be found to most rules and I'm asking this of the men or the women comrades. Is there any task or job in this society that you feel is better suited for women? Are women better at certain tasks than men? On the other hand, are there any tasks that men seem to be better suited for than women? Disregarding exceptions to the rule.)

Owing to the physical differences or physical conditions, there are certain kinds of jobs we think are more suitable for men and some other kinds of jobs which are more suitable for women. But it doesn't mean that it's a fixed rule. For example, in the docks you may also find some young women workers doing loading and

unloading. But we still think that for this kind of job maybe men are more suitable. So there are such difference and we admit these differences.

(On the other hand, what particular jobs are more suitable for women? I understand that jobs that require heavy labor, much strength perhaps possibly men are more suited to them than women. What about other types of jobs that women are suited to do?)

Well there are certain kinds of work which we think is more suitable for women to do such as nurses in hospitals or in the kindergartens. We think that perhaps women have more patience in dealing with the children or with sick persons and for this reason there are more women doing this kind of job.

Before the introduction of Marxism-Leninism into China, it took a long time for us women to seek a correct line to achieve liberation. We did not understand why there was such a phenomenon that men and women were not equal in the society. Because we had no political theory to guide us. After the victory of the October Revolution, we received the Marxist-Leninist theories and step-by-step we came to understand that the inequality between men and women is a result of the class oppression.

As Engels is quoted: "In history, the primary class oppression arises at the same time with the men's enslavement of women." I don't know whether this is the original quote because I'm translating from the Chinese. But what Engels really means is that the enslavement of women by men came into existence together with and at the same time as the emergence of class oppression. It's not a cause and effect relationship so much as they just arose at the same time.

The task of the Chinese women's movement is always under the guidance of the Party and the Party's task in struggle is entirely in conformity with the women's struggle. Ever since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, a women's department under the Central Committee was set up and the first leader of the women's department was comrade Hsiang Ching-yu. The women's movement in China under the leader-

ship of the Chinese Communist Party has always been carried out by relying mainly on the laboring women of the workers and peasants and at the same time rallying around the women of other social strata. After liberation, it's still the same. The women's federation is also formed with the laboring women as its backbone. And at the same time we rally, we unite with the women of other social strata so that they can work together in building socialism.

The general task of the women's movement has always been the same as the general task of the Party in different periods. We take the general task of the Party as the general task of the women's movement.

For example, during the period of resistance against Japanese aggression, since in that period the national contradiction came out to be the contradiction of first importance in China because in that period whether the Chinese nation can exist or not has already become a question. So to save China from the Japanese domination is the task of first importance at that stage. Our Party put forward the general line to mobilize the entire Chinese people in defeating Japanese aggressors. So a United Front was formed with the working, laboring people as the mainstay and united with all forces against Japanese imperialism. This was to ensure the defeat of the Japanese aggressors. So since this was the general line of our Party at that time, the women's movement also made this their task--to rally women intellectuals, the women of the national bourgeoisie and other social strata for achieving the aim of defeating imperialist aggression. So at that time this was also the policy of the women's movement.

During this period of the liberation war, since our main task was to overthrow the three big mountains--imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism--to seize political power from the Kuomintang reactionaries and establish the regime of the proletariat, so we women of the women's movement also made this as the primary task. We carried out many types of activities with the aim of achieving this goal. We mobilized and organized and educated the broad masses of women to take an active

part in this struggle to overthrow the three enemies. This was true also in the minority areas. In all those minority areas where the Party organizations were already formed, the women's movement there carried out the principles set by the Party. Of course in some minority areas there were no Party organizations so the situation was different.

(We've come to the end of our time limit and we still have a number of questions. We hope that during dinner and after dinner we can ask the women comrades more questions. We would like to thank them very much for coming this afternoon and discussing with us this subject which as you can see is very important to us and helping us to begin to understand the question of women in China to better promote friendship between the American and Chinese people.)

Perhaps we break up now and get ready for dinner and during dinner time we can still continue to talk with these women comrades and even after dinner we can go upstairs to your room to continue the talk if you like.

(We would like that very much--both of those things. Again, thank you for talking to us this evening.)

PEKING SPARE TIME PHYSICAL CULTURE SCHOOL

This school was founded in April 1958 following Chairman Mao's instruction: "Develop physical culture, build up the people's health." The purpose is to train the core of active young people in physical culture and to use spare time to train the broad masses of youth in different specialties. This is to contribute to the overall educational goal of developing young people morally, intellectually and physically.

All the children at this school come from primary and middle schools in Peking. They attend school during the day and come here at 3 pm. They are chosen by the teachers and coaches at their school on the basis of their all-around moral, intellectual and physical development. Also, they are expected to bring what they learn back to their schools and help the other students to develop their physical skills.

There are more than 900 students and more than 50 coaches at any one time. Students usually come for either a short course of six months or a long course of one year. After one year, those who are especially capable may continue their training and, after graduation from middle school, they may continue at the Institute of Physical Culture. The coaches receive their training either at the Institute of Physical Culture or at the coaching department of one of the Teacher's Universities.

Eight sports are taught at this school: gymnastics, wu hsu (Chinese 'boxing' which has many different forms), ping pong, basketball, volleyball, weight lifting, chess, and either ice or roller skating. All equipment and uniforms are provided by the school.

After a brief introduction to the school, we went to the gym where Ping Pong was being played. We saw students of varying abilities and some of us tried our hand against the less skilled players. The better players

showed excellent form and a high level of skill.

Following ping pong, we watched a performance of gymnastics -- floor exercises and balance beam -- and wu hsu. Considering that none of the gymnasts had more than one year of training and were aged 9-12, they were fantastic. They showed a high level of skill and poise. If they missed something in their routine, they would stop and try again until they got it right without anyone telling them to do that and without becoming nervous or upset. The boys did floor exercises as well as the girls and showed a very professional attitude. They walked onto the mat together in formation and performed their routines well.

We were amazed to learn that there were so many different forms of Wu Hsu, having seen only the old people in the park in Peking doing the form known as Tai Chi Chuan and one or two other forms using swords and spears. The youngsters performed approximately 8 or 10 different forms of Wu Hsu.

A group of 8 girls did the Tai Chi Chuan form only they did it much faster than the older people in the park. A pair of girls did a form using swords. A pair of boys did a form where one tried to take a knife away from the other. A seven-year-old boy did a solo form extremely fast. Two boys did one with spears. One very talented boy did a form using a chain that was made of several links which could be folded up into one hand or swung out like a whip. Two boys did a form using swords where if one made a mistake he would most likely have been hurt, however, their form was perfect.

After the performance we asked about Wu Hsu and were told that it is several thousand years old and the many different forms all go back that far. It is good exercise and is loved by the working people. Children from the age of 7 or 8 can learn as can old people. The movements, however, are a little different for children and old people and the children do the exercises very fast whereas the old people do it very slowly. One can

learn the basic movements in 6-8 months if you practice 2 hours per day. It does take longer to become really skillful at it, however. It requires great flexibility and some ability in tumbling and gymnastics to do many of the forms and for the older people it is a way to gain and maintain flexibility.

The children are taught that the aim of training is to develop physical culture and to build up the people's health. They come to this school to build good health for themselves but also go back to their own schools and help build good health for everyone. The school attaches great importance to understanding that improving the health of the people is in the interest of the revolution, of building socialism. Only by having good health, can the children hope to contribute their most to building socialism. Since they are clear as to the purpose, they are more conscientious in learning the sports.

We observed a very friendly atmosphere in the competition particularly among those playing ping pong, so we asked whether they had any problems of hostile rivalries developing. They explained that the principle in followed 'competition is: "Friendship First, Competition Second." This principle is stressed throughout the school system, in sports, and in the society as a whole. From childhood, children are taught to learn from the merits of others and to help each other to overcome their shortcomings. They are not training in order to win, but in order to build good health for themselves and for all the people.

In the more competitive sports, such as ping pong, friendly matches are organized among the various schools. The players attempt to bring into play their own technique and skill but at the same time not to embarrass their opponent. The aim is to exchange experiences in the course of the match. After the match is over, the children have a discussion

in order to learn what they can from each other. Both the winner and the loser cite the good points of their opponents that they can learn from and their own shortcomings which they need to improve upon in the future. Even the most skilled player is expected to make an attempt to learn from the good points of his/her less skilled opponent.

Fu Swei Ching Neighborhood in Peking
Worker's home

Chang Shu-yang, 58-year-old woman, spoke to us. Her husband and her son also live here.

The woman we spoke to is a housewife. Her husband works on a forest farm on the west side of Peking. He has worked there for 40 years and only comes home on the weekends. Her son, aged 27, is a welder.

The neighborhood is one of 9 under the West City District Revolutionary Committee. It consists of one main street and 137 lanes; 20,000 households and 77,000 people.

The house we visited had 2½ rooms for the three people. They pay 3.40 Yuan per month rent. They also pay for electricity and water. These are metered by each courtyard which has several houses. The share of water to be paid is determined by how many members there are in the family. The share of electricity is determined by how many lights are in the house and by the kilowattage of the bulbs. Electricity runs about 1.00 Yuan per month and is a little higher in the winter. Heating and cooking is done with coal which is supplied and sent by the neighborhood coal shop. It costs about 3.00 Yuan per month in the summer and about 5-6 Yuan per month in the winter.

Garbage and trash is placed in a central place in the alley where it is picked up by truck and taken to the suburbs. This is organized by the district and is free. Everything is recycled. People collect all paper, metal and glass and collection is organized in the neighborhood. The neighborhood housing management committee handles repairs to the houses free of charge.

When a person needs a house, he/she applies to the housing management committee under the municipality which distributes housing. This committee functions on the municipality, district and neighborhood levels.

Fu Swei Ching Neighborhood

Housing is assigned according to the needs of the family and according to where people work. If the family increases in size, they can apply to move to a larger place. If a family member moves out, they do not have to move to a smaller place, but they can if they wish. If family members work far away from where they live, they can apply to move or they can apply to change jobs.

Comrade Chang told us that she herself does not participate in any special physical fitness programs because she gets enough exercise doing housework and going shopping. She does participate in recreation organized through the neighborhood, such as, going to the theatre or the cinema. And she listens to the radio.

She participates in study which is organized through the neighborhood. There are many study groups, each with about 15-16 people. They meet twice a week for about 2 hours each time. They are now studying the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. They read editorials in People's Daily and articles in newspapers as well as selections from Chairman Mao's works.

We asked her to explain about life before liberation. Her husband was a rickshaw driver and she worked as a personal nurse for rich people. They had a miserable life. Rickshaw drivers earned their money each day according to how many riders they had. Some days he earned some money, other days he earned nothing. That meant they led a hand-to-mouth life and were always hungry. The family had little income and it was hard to survive in the city. She used to search in the garbage at night for food and coal dust. Inflation was terrible. After liberation, life changed. Her husband had never been able to buy a mattress or a quilt. Because he earned money day-to-day, he could never save for a major

Fu Swei Ching Neighborhood

item such as these. Now they are able to buy all the clothing they need; they are never hungry; they ^{have} mattresses and quilts, a radio, clock and sewing machine.

We asked about how she came to know about the Communist Party of China. Before liberation, she had heard of the Communist Party but didn't have a good understanding. She only knew that the Communist Party was working to benefit poor people. She was very happy at the founding of the People's Republic of China because from then on people could stand on their own feet and the economy was improved.

At the time of liberation both Comrade Chang and her husband were illiterate. They later learned the policies of the Communist Party and of Chairman Mao through learning to read and through study. She learned that the Communist Party is leading the country to build socialism, that there will be no more exploitation of poor and working people. And she wants to contribute her own share to building socialism.

Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant
Apartments Nearby Where Workers Live
Workers Home

Han, a 38-year-old woman did most of the talking, but her husband, Hao, also participated.

Han and Hao live in a 2½ room apartment with their two youngest sons who are twins. These two sons are in school. One son has moved out altogether and another comes home on the weekends. Both Han and Hao work in the Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant, Han in the coil workshop. This factory was built in 1958 as a result of the Great Leap Forward. It was constructed by the workers themselves; there are 5,700 workers of whom 1,800 are women and 2,00 are young. The factory produces steam turbines, turbo-generators and large motors. Han has worked in factories since the age of 12 in the old society. Hao is a graduate of the workers university; he studied electric machinery in Tientsin. They have lived in their apartment since it was built in 1963.

They get up in the morning and eat breakfast at home before going to work. They have a 1-hour lunch break and eat at the factory canteen (lunch costs 15-20 fen or about 8-10¢). They finish work at 4 pm and then study from 4-5 pm. Either adult cooks dinner. They can buy food at a shop right in the apartment development and they buy it every day or less frequently depending on what their needs are -- there is no refrigeration available. Some examples of prices are: 1 catty (1.1 lb.) cabbage = 3 fen; 1 catty cauliflower = 15 fen; 1 catty apples = 30 fen; 1 catty meat = approximately 90 fen. These prices are all set by the state and they are stable -- occasionally they are lowered but not raised.

Family income is 200 Yuan per month and comes from 3 people (the parents and the son who comes home on weekends). They have been able to save to buy furniture and other necessities as well as a sewing machine and a television. They explained that a TV costs about 314 Yuan

Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant
Workers Home

and a sewing machine about 130-140 Yuan. Their wages are paid once a month and the average wage for a worker at the plant is 50 Yuan per month. (The highest is 110 and the lowest 34 Yuan per month throughout the factory.)

Both Han and Hao receive free medical care because they are workers; their children pay half the fees which are extremely low (the most serious operations cost approximately 30 Yuan). There is a clinic in the factory to handle minor illness and injury and hospitals in Peking for major problems.

The family can buy books in the bookshop in the area and also have access to a library in the factory which contains technical, political and literary books.

Han and Hao are members of the trade union as are all workers at the factory. It is a mass organization under the leadership of the factory party committee. Its main task is to organize the masses of workers to take part in class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. Its other tasks include organizing the workers to study political theory and learn to manage the factory as well as looking after the welfare of the workers. The Party members should do more work; they should have more advanced political consciousness; their duty is to unite workers around doing better work. Party members receive the same pay as anyone else doing the same work -- Party work is extra and they receive no pay for that.

Han told us about her life before and since liberation. At the age of 12, in 1948, she was forced to go to work in a match factory. This was before China was liberated. Her family was very poor. They lived in Shenyang where her father worked in a factory by day and as a rickshaw driver at night. Even with both jobs, he couldn't earn enough to support

Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant
Workers Home

his family. His monthly income was equivalent to 30 catties of rice. He had to support 9 people. Since this was impossible on his income, he sent Han to work as soon as she was old enough.

Before liberation, Han's family consisted of 9 members: her parents, five girls and two boys. Her father became a cadre in his factory after liberation and then earned 140 Yuan per month. Now that he is retired he earns 97 Yuan per month.

Before liberation, they had only 3 beds for 9 people. They often did not have any grain, but had to gather wild vegetables and roots. Now prices are stable and they never lack for food. Before, they had no furniture to speak of and never had shoes or enough clothes to wear. Now they have many pieces of furniture as well as some luxuries such as the sewing machine and TV. They can all afford to buy shoes and they have sufficient clothing and quilts to keep warm in winter.

Before liberation, it was unimaginable for any of her family to go to school. Han never entered a school before liberation, but afterwards she went to night school and completed junior middle school. Her sisters and brothers went to school after liberation.

In the old society, as a result of imperialism and oppression, workers had no political or economic rights. Since liberation in 1948, the Shenyang workers have been able to stand up. Living conditions have improved greatly. Before liberation, women were especially oppressed, not only by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, but also by old ideas. They had no political rights or economic status in the family. Now women can do the same work as men and receive equal pay for equal work. Han is now a respected veteran worker in the factory and is a member of the Communist Party of China which she joined in 1955 (at the

Peking Heavy Electric Machinery Plant
Workers Home

age of 19)

Since liberation, Han has always followed Chairman Mao's teaching. She was transferred from one workshop to another because she wanted to learn all kinds of work for the revolution.

Han was very active in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because she understands the importance of "keeping China red." She said it was important to follow Chairman Mao's teaching in all phases of work but that before the Cultural Revolution, work in China was interfered with by Liu Shao-chi's line. The workers had to rise up and play an active role in order to prevent counter-revolution. Han explained that hidden enemies still exist and that is why Chairman Mao always stresses that people should remember class struggle.

Red Star Commune
Peasant Home

Comrade Liu Shu Chen, male, did the talking. Other members of the family include: his mother, his wife, 1 daughter and 3 sons.

Liu works in a small factory at the commune which makes materials for electricians. His wife and daughter take part in the labor of the production brigade. Two sons are in middle school and the youngest son is in primary school. Liu makes 500 Yuan per year; his wife and daughter together make 700 Yuan per year for a total of 1200 Yuan per year. Liu is paid a regular wage on a monthly basis; his wife and daughter are paid once a year on the basis of work points. Work points are assigned by the production team at the time of work and a meeting of the brigade at the end of the year decides the value of the points according to the finances of the whole brigade and then those doing agricultural work get paid.

The family owns its own house which was built in 1968. It has three rooms -- two bed-sitting rooms and one room for cooking, etc. There is a courtyard area outside with pens for pigs and chickens and a plot for growing vegetables. These are for his own use but he can sell the excess if he has any to the state at stable prices. The land the house is on is owned by the brigade which gave it to the family according to need; they built the house with the help of the other commune members. They did not have to pay for the land or the materials and they pay no rent.

The family is able to save some money and so far has bought such things as a bicycle, sewing machine, clock, radio as well as clothing, quilts, dishes, etc. Savings is put in a bank. It is family savings, not individual, and any member of the family can draw the money out.

The household chores are shared among the family members and Comrade Liu pointed out that he does some of the housework and cooking.

Liu's daughter has graduated from Middle School and his sons are all in school. However, before liberation neither Liu nor his wife had any education at all. Before liberation, the family was very poor. They worked for the landlords as farm hands or tenants. When they were tenants they had to turn over $\frac{1}{2}$ of all produce to the landlord as rent. They didn't have enough food or clothing. Improvements on the land such as irrigation were impossible because the landlord wouldn't organize it and the separate tenants didn't have the resources or energy or the power to do anything like that.

After liberation during the land reform movement, this family got the land they had previously been tenants on which consisted of 24 mou. Later they formed mutual aid teams and eventually cooperatives. Living conditions steadily improved. In the late fifties they formed a people's commune: Red Star Commune. During the period before the Cultural Revolution, the small factory where Liu works was established and his production brigade decided to send him to work there. He had no special role in the Cultural Revolution but changes have been implemented since then, for example, his house was built in 1968.

Liu explained that the brigade was organized on the principle of democratic centralism. For example, he said that the brigade should discuss and decide on expenditures. Everyone has the right to select the members of the leading body and also to be selected into the leading body. Liu told us that he is a member of the Communist Party of China and that he joined in 1954.

We asked him about his study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. His study is organized through his factory (his wife and daughter are organized to study through the brigade and his sons through their schools).

He says he has not done his studying well. Study is centered on movements and campaigns, for example, the current campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. He thinks that the present campaign is developing well. They have been criticizing old ideas and habits in the countryside and new attitudes are being formed among the people. He said that study is carried out during spare time before and/or after work and that they study newspaper articles in order to learn about national and international affairs as well as Marxist-Leninist works.

We asked him what he thought of the world situation. He replied, "The world situation is excellent." He said that insofar as China itself is concerned, the situation in foreign affairs is excellent. China has established diplomatic relations with many countries. Liu himself follows what is happening in the world through reading newspapers and listening to the radio. He added that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist country.

Constitution of Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PROGRAMME

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Through more than fifty years of arduous struggle, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future.

The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for

production and scientific experiment; lead the people in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and lead them in preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The Communist Party of China has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines. Comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practising Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigues and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handling them, must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, and must train millions of successors for the cause of proletarian revolution, so as to ensure that the Party's cause will advance forever along the Marxist line.

The future is bright; the road is tortuous. Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

CHAPTER II

MEMBERSHIP

Article 1 Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2 Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3 Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism;

(2) work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;

(3) be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party

and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist-revolutionaries;

(4) consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Article 4 When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures—warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who does not change despite repeated education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE PARTY

Article 5 The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses

or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members have the right to criticize organizations and leading members of the Party at all levels and make proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and

democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Article 6 The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organizations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels. The convening of Party congresses in the localities, in army units and in various departments and their elected Party committee members are subject to

approval by the higher Party organizations.

Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

Article 7 State organs, the People's Liberation Army and the militia, labour unions, poor and lower-middle peasant associations, women's federations, the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards, the Little Red Guards and other revolutionary mass organizations must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party.

Party committees or leading Party groups may be set up in state organs and popular organizations.

CHAPTER IV

CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

Article 8 The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 9 The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee.

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political

Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day-to-day work of the Party, the government and the army in a centralized way.

CHAPTER V

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE LOCALITIES AND THE ARMY UNITS

Article 10 Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they

may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries

CHAPTER VI

PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

Article 11 Party branches, general Party branches or primary Party committees shall be set up in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary struggle and the size of the Party membership.

Party branches and general Party branches

shall hold elections once a year and primary Party committees shall hold elections every two years. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

Article 12 The main tasks of the primary organizations of the Party are:

(1) to lead the Party members and non-Party members in studying Marxism-Leninism-

Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and criticizing revisionism;

(2) to give constant education to the Party members and non-Party members concerning the ideological and political line and lead them fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) to propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) to maintain close ties with the masses,

constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) to take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

[Peking, September 1, 1973 (Hsinhua)]

Proclamation of National People's Congress of People's Republic of China

THE Draft Revised Text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China," which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China submitted to the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress for its deliberation, was unanimously adopted by the Congress on January

17, 1975. The new "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" is hereby promulgated.

Presidium of the First Session of the
Fourth National People's Congress
of the People's Republic of China

January 17, 1975
Peking

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Adopted on January 17, 1975, by the Fourth
National People's Congress of the
People's Republic of China at its First Session)

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PREAMBLE

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a victory gained only after the Chinese people had waged a heroic struggle for over a century and, finally, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by a people's revolutionary war.

For the last twenty years and more, the people of all nationalities in our country, continuing their triumphant advance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have achieved great victories both in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and have consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

We should consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and develop the revolutionary united front. We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them. We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; we should build socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and we should be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people.

In international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism. China will never be a superpower. We should strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and all oppressed people and oppressed nations, with each supporting the other; strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers.

January 24, 1975

The Chinese people are fully confident that, led by the Communist Party of China, they will vanquish enemies at home and abroad and surmount all difficulties to build China into a powerful socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

People of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation.

ARTICLE 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the people's congresses at all levels, with deputies of workers, peasants and soldiers as their main body.

The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

Deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are elected through democratic consultation. The electoral units and electors have the power to supervise the deputies they elect and to replace them at any time according to provisions of law.

ARTICLE 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

All the nationalities are equal. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages.

ARTICLE 5

In the People's Republic of China, there are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production at the present stage: Socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people.

The state may allow non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement by neighbourhood organizations in cities and towns or by production teams in rural people's communes. At the same time, these individual labourers should be guided on to the road of socialist collectivization step by step.

ARTICLE 6

The state sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy.

All mineral resources and waters as well as the forests, undeveloped land and other resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize urban and rural land as well as other means of production under conditions prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 7

The rural people's commune is an organization which integrates government administration and economic management.

The economic system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage generally takes the form of three-level ownership with the production team at the basic level, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit.

Provided that the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune are ensured, people's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household side-line production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs.

ARTICLE 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state shall ensure the consolidation and development of the socialist economy and prohibit any person from undermining the socialist economy and the public interest in any way whatsoever.

ARTICLE 9

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The state protects the citizens' right of ownership to their income from work, their savings, their houses, and other means of livelihood.

ARTICLE 10

The state applies the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war; promotes the planned and proportionate development of the socialist economy, taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and bringing the initiative of both the central and the local authorities into full play; and improves the people's material and cultural life step by step on the basis of the constant growth of social production and consolidates the independence and security of the country.

ARTICLE 11

State organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, firmly put proletarian politics in command, combat bureaucracy, maintain close ties with the masses and wholeheartedly serve the people. Cadres at all levels must participate in collective productive labour.

Every organ of state must apply the principle of efficient and simple administration. Its leading

body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

ARTICLE 12

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Culture and education, literature and art, physical education, health work and scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labour.

ARTICLE 13

Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters are new forms of carrying on socialist revolution created by the masses of the people. The state shall ensure to the masses the right to use these forms to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ARTICLE 14

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

ARTICLE 15

The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China; they are the armed forces of the people of all nationalities.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is at all times a fighting force, and simultaneously a working force and a production force.

The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

Section I. The National People's Congress

ARTICLE 16

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government, and the People's Liberation Army. When necessary, a certain number of patriotic personages may be specially invited to take part as deputies.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Its term of office may be extended under special circumstances.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

ARTICLE 17

The functions and powers of the National People's Congress are: to amend the Constitution, make laws, appoint and remove the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, approve the national economic plan, the state budget and the final state accounts, and exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

ARTICLE 18

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. Its functions and powers are: to convene the sessions of the National People's Congress, interpret laws, enact decrees, dispatch and recall plenipotentiary representatives abroad, receive foreign diplomatic envoys, ratify and denounce treaties concluded with foreign states, and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and other members, all of whom are elected and subject to recall by the National People's Congress.

Section II. The State Council

ARTICLE 19

The State Council is the Central People's Government. The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

The State Council is composed of the Premier, the Vice-Premiers, the ministers, and the ministers heading commissions.

ARTICLE 20

The functions and powers of the State Council are: to formulate administrative measures and issue decisions and orders in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees; exercise unified leadership over the work of ministries and commissions and local organs of state at various levels throughout the country; draft and implement the national economic plan and the state budget; direct state administrative affairs; and exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

Section III. The Local People's Congresses And the Local Revolutionary Committees At Various Levels

ARTICLE 21

The local people's congresses at various levels are the local organs of state power.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of prefectures, cities and counties are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of rural people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 22

The local revolutionary committees at various levels are the permanent organs of the local people's congresses and at the same time the local people's governments at various levels.

Local revolutionary committees are composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members, who are elected and subject to recall by the people's congress at the corresponding level. Their election or recall shall be submitted for examination and approval to the organ of state at the next higher level.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to the people's congress at the corresponding level and to the organ of state at the next higher level.

ARTICLE 23

The local people's congresses at various levels and the local revolutionary committees elected by them ensure the execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in their respective areas; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; maintain revolutionary order; and safeguard the rights of citizens.

Section IV. The Organs of Self-Government Of National Autonomous Areas

ARTICLE 24

The autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas; their organs of self-government are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified in Chapter Two, Section III of the Constitution, may

exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

The higher organs of state fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Section V. The Judicial Organs and the Procuratorial Organs

ARTICLE 25

The Supreme People's Court, local people's courts at various levels and special people's courts exercise judicial authority. The people's courts are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses and their permanent organs at the corresponding levels. The presidents of the people's courts are appointed and subject to removal by the permanent organs of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of procuratorial organs are exercised by the organs of public security at various levels.

The mass line must be applied in procuratorial work and in trying cases. In major counter-revolutionary criminal cases the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 26

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China.

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression. It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service according to law.

ARTICLE 27

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election, with

January 24, 1975

the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

Citizens have the right to work and the right to education. Working people have the right to rest and the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability.

Citizens have the right to lodge to organs of state at any level written or oral complaints of transgression of law or neglect of duty on the part of any person working in an organ of state. No one shall attempt to hinder or obstruct the making of such complaints or retaliate.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all respects.

The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state protects the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese.

ARTICLE 28

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes shall be inviolable. No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a public security organ.

ARTICLE 29

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific activities.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATIONAL FLAG, THE NATIONAL EMBLEM AND THE CAPITAL

ARTICLE 30

The national flag has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem: Tien An Men in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital is Peking.

Speech by Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of Delegation of People's Republic of China

The Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly to study the problems of raw materials and development opened on the afternoon of April 9 at the U.N. Headquarters in New York. It has been announced that among those attending the special session are heads of state or ministers of some 60 countries, mainly the Third World countries.

At the opening meeting, President of the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador was re-elected President of this special session. All the Vice-Presidents of the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, including China, were also re-elected Vice-Presidents of the session.

General debate began on April 10. President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of Algeria was the first to speak that day. Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, addressed the meeting on the afternoon of the same day. Full text of his speech follows. — Ed.

Mr. President,

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development is successfully convened on the proposals of President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and with the support of the great majority of the countries of the world. This is the first time in the 29 years since the founding of the United Nations that a session is held specially to discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and effecting a change in international economic relations. This reflects that profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The Chinese Government extends its warm congratulations on the convocation of this session and hopes that it will make a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries, safeguarding their national economic rights and interests and promoting the struggle of all peoples

against imperialism, and particularly against hegemonism.

At present, the international situation is most favourable to the developing countries and the peoples of the world. More and more, the old order based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is being undermined and shaken to its foundations. International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. The situation is one of "great disorder under heaven," as we Chinese put it. This "disorder" is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. It is accelerating the disintegration and decline of the decadent reactionary forces and stimulating the awakening and growth of the new emerging forces of the people.

In this situation of "great disorder under heaven," all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are vainly seeking world hegemony. Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength.

The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today. They are the source of a new world war. They both possess large numbers of nuclear weapons. They carry on a keenly contested arms race, station massive forces abroad and set up military bases everywhere, threatening the independence and security of all nations. They both keep subjecting other countries to their control, subversion, interference or aggression. They both exploit other countries economically, plundering their wealth and grabbing their resources. In bullying others, the superpower which flaunts the label of socialism is especially vicious. It has dispatched its armed forces to occupy its "ally" Czechoslovakia and instigated the war to dismember Pakistan. It does not honour its words and is perfidious; it is self-seeking and unscrupulous.

The case of the developed countries in between the superpowers and the developing countries is a complicated one. Some of them still retain colonialist relations of one form or another with Third World countries, and a country like Portugal even continues with its barbarous colonial rule. An end must be put to this state of affairs. At the same time, all these developed countries are in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by the one superpower or the other. Some of them have in fact been reduced by a superpower to the position of dependencies under the signboard of its so-called "family." In varying degrees, all these countries have the desire of shaking off superpower enslavement or control and safeguarding their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty.

The numerous developing countries have long suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. They have won political independence, yet all of them still face the historic task of clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence. These countries cover vast territories, encompass a large population and abound in natural resources. Having suffered the heaviest oppression, they have the strongest desire to oppose oppression and seek liberation and development. In the struggle for national liberation and independence, they have demonstrated immense power and continually won splendid victories. They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.

Since the two superpowers are contending for world hegemony, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. Their compromise and collusion can only be partial, temporary and relative, while their contention is all-embracing, permanent and absolute. In the final analysis, the so-called "balanced reduction of forces" and "strategic arms limitation" are nothing but empty talk, for in fact there is no "balance," nor can there possibly be "limitation." They may reach certain agreements, but their agreements are only a facade and a

deception. At bottom, they are aiming at greater and fiercer contention. The contention between the superpowers extends over the entire globe. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention, where they are in constant tense confrontation. They are intensifying their rivalry in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Every day, they talk about disarmament but are actually engaged in arms expansion. Every day, they talk about "detente" but are actually creating tension. Wherever they contend, turbulence occurs. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there definitely will be no tranquillity in the world, nor will there be "lasting peace." Either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution. It is as Chairman Mao Tsetung has said: **The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.**

The two superpowers have created their own antithesis. Acting in the way of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor, they have aroused strong resistance among the Third World and the people of the whole world. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been winning new victories in their struggles against colonialism, imperialism and particularly hegemonism. The Indochinese peoples are continuing to press forward in their struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation. In the 4th Middle East war, the people of the Arab countries and Palestine broke through the control of the two superpowers and the state of "no war, no peace" and won a tremendous victory over the Israeli aggressors. The African people's struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination are developing in depth. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was born in glory amidst the flames of armed struggle. The armed struggles and mass movements carried out by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against Portuguese colonial rule and white racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are surging ahead vigorously. The struggle to defend sea rights initiated by Latin American countries has grown into a worldwide struggle against the maritime hegemony of the two superpowers. The 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, the 4th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Arab Summit Conference and the Islamic Summit Conference successively voiced strong condemnation against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, demonstrating the developing countries' firm will and determination to strengthen their unity and support one another in their common struggle against the hated enemies. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people, advancing wave upon wave, have exposed the essential weakness of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, which are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, and dealt heavy blows at their wild ambitions to dominate the world.

The hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers have also aroused strong dissatisfaction among the developed countries of the Second World. The struggles of these countries against superpower control, interference, intimidation, exploitation and shifting of economic crises are growing day by day. Their struggles also have a significant impact on the development of the international situation.

Innumerable facts show that all views of overestimating the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimating the strength of the people are groundless. It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful; the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win. Since numerous Third World countries and people were able to achieve political independence through protracted struggle, certainly they will also be able, on this basis, to bring about through sustained struggle a thorough change in the international economic relations which are based on inequality, control and exploitation and thus create essential conditions for the independent development of their national economy by strengthening their unity and allying themselves with other countries subjected to superpower bullying as well as with the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. President,

The essence of the problems of raw materials and development is the struggle of the developing countries to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and combat imperialist, and particularly superpower, plunder and control. This is a very important aspect of the current struggle of the Third World countries and people against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

As we all know, in the last few centuries colonialism and imperialism unscrupulously enslaved and plundered the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Exploiting the cheap labour power of the local people and their rich natural resources and imposing a lopsided and single-product economy, they extorted superprofits by grabbing low-priced farming and mineral products, dumping their industrial goods, strangling national industries and carrying on an exchange of unequal values. The richness of the developed countries and the poverty of the developing countries are the result of the colonialist and imperialist policy of plunder.

In many Asian, African and Latin American countries that have won political independence, the economic lifelines are still controlled by colonialism and imperialism in varying degrees, and the old economic structure has not changed fundamentally. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, have adopted neo-colonialist methods to continue and intensify their exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. They export capital to the developing countries and build there a "state within a state" by means of such

international monopoly organizations as "trans-national corporations" to carry out economic plunder and political interference. Taking advantage of their monopoly position in international markets, they reap fabulous profits by raising the export prices of their own products and forcing down those of raw materials from the developing countries. Moreover, with the deepening of the political and economic crises of capitalism and the sharpening of their mutual competition, they are further intensifying their plunder of the developing countries by shifting the economic and monetary crises on to the latter.

It must be pointed out that the superpower which styles itself a socialist country is by no means less proficient at neo-colonialist economic plunder. Under the name of so-called "economic co-operation" and "international division of labour," it uses high-handed measures to extort superprofits in its "family." In profiting at others' expense, it has gone to lengths rarely seen even in the case of other imperialist countries. The "joint enterprises" it runs in some countries under the signboard of "aid" and "support" are in essence copies of trans-national corporations. Its usual practice is to tag a high price on out-moded equipment and sub-standard weapons and exchange them for strategic raw materials and farm produce of the developing countries. Selling arms and ammunition in a big way, it has become an international merchant of death. It often takes advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. In the recent Middle East war, it bought Arab oil at a low price with the large amount of foreign exchange it had earned by peddling munitions, and then sold it at a high price, making staggering profits in the twinkling of an eye. Moreover, it preaches the theory of "limited sovereignty," alleges that the resources of developing countries are international property, and even asserts that "the sovereignty over the natural resources is depending to a great extent upon the capability of utilizing these resources by the industry of the developing countries." These are out-and-out imperialist fallacies. They are even more undisguised than the so-called "inter-dependence" advertised by the other superpower, which actually means retaining the exploitative relationship. A socialist country that is true to its name ought to follow the principle of internationalism, sincerely render support and assistance to oppressed countries and nations and help them develop their national economy. But this superpower is doing exactly the opposite. This is additional proof that it is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

Plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism, and particularly by the superpowers, are making the poor countries poorer and the rich countries richer, further widening the gap between the two. Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to their progress. It is entirely right and proper for the developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder, sweep away these obstacles and take all necessary

measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests.

The doings of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, can in no way check the triumphant advance of the developing countries along the road of economic liberation. In the recent Middle East war, the Arab countries, united as one, used oil as a weapon with which they dealt a telling blow at Zionism and its supporters. They did well, and rightly too. This was a pioneering action taken by developing countries in their struggle against imperialism. It greatly heightened the fighting spirit of the people of the Third World and deflated the arrogance of imperialism. It broke through the international economic monopoly long maintained by imperialism and fully demonstrated the might of a united struggle waged by developing countries. If imperialist monopolies can gang up to manipulate the markets at will, to the great detriment of the vital interests of the developing countries, why can't developing countries unite to break imperialist monopoly and defend their own economic rights and interests? The oil battle has broadened people's vision. What was done in the oil battle should, and can be done, in the case of other raw materials.

It must be pointed out further that the significance of the developing countries' struggle to defend their natural resources is by no means confined to the economic field. In order to carry out arms expansion and war preparations and to contend for world hegemony, the superpowers are bound to plunder rapaciously the resources of the Third World. Control and protection of their own resources by the developing countries are essential, not only for the consolidation of their political independence and the development of their national economy, but also for combating superpower arms expansion and war preparations and stopping the superpowers from launching wars of aggression.

Mr. President,

We maintain that the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy. In achieving political independence, the people of a country have only taken the first step, and they must proceed to consolidate this independence, for there still exist remnant forces of colonialism at home and there is still the danger of subversion and aggression by imperialism and hegemonism. The consolidation of political independence is necessarily a process of repeated struggles. In the final analysis, political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Without political independence, it is impossible to achieve economic independence; without economic independence, a country's independence is incomplete and insecure.

The developing countries have great potentials for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along

the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture. The ideas of pessimism and helplessness spread by imperialism in connection with the question of the development of developing countries are all unfounded and are being disseminated with ulterior motives.

By self-reliance we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, strive hard to increase food production and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. The policy of independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be divorced from the actual conditions of a country; instead it requires that distinction must be made between different circumstances, and that each country should work out its own way of practising self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. At the present stage, a developing country that wants to develop its national economy must first of all keep its natural resources in its own hands and gradually shake off the control of foreign capital. In many developing countries, the production of raw materials accounts for a considerable proportion of the national economy. If they can take in their own hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for an early emergence from poverty and backwardness.

Self-reliance in no way means "self-seclusion" and rejection of foreign aid. We have always considered it beneficial and necessary for the development of the national economy that countries should carry on economic and technical exchanges on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and the exchange of needed goods to make up for each other's deficiencies.

Here we wish to emphasize the special importance of economic co-operation among the developing countries. The Third World countries shared a common lot in the past and now face the common tasks of opposing colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism, developing the national economy and building their respective countries. We have every reason to unite more closely, and no reason to become estranged from one another. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, are taking advantage of temporary differences among us developing countries to sow dissension and disrupt unity so as to continue their manipulation, control and plunder. We must maintain full vigilance. Differences among us developing countries can very well be resolved, and should be resolved, through consultations among the parties concerned. We are glad that, on the question of oil, the developing countries concern-

ed are making active efforts and seeking appropriate ways to find a reasonable solution. We, the developing countries, should not only support one another politically but also help each other economically. Our co-operation is a co-operation based on true equality and has broad prospects.

Mr. President,

The Third World countries strongly demand that the present extremely unequal international economic relations be changed, and they have made many rational proposals of reform. The Chinese Government and people warmly endorse and firmly support all just propositions made by Third World countries.

We hold that in both political and economic relations, countries should base themselves on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We are opposed to the establishment of hegemony and spheres of influence by any country in any part of the world in violation of these principles.

We hold that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The people of the developing countries have the right to choose and decide on their own social and economic systems. We support the permanent sovereignty of the developing countries over their own natural resources as well as their exercise of it. We support the actions of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly transnational corporations under their control and management, up to and including nationalization. We support the position of the developing countries for the development of their national economy through "individual and collective self-reliance."

We hold that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal, and that international economic affairs should be jointly managed by all the countries of the world instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers. We support the full right of the developing countries, which comprise the great majority of the world's population, to take part in all decision-making on international trade, monetary, shipping and other matters.

We hold that international trade should be based on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the urgent demand of the developing countries to improve trading terms for their raw materials, primary products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, to expand their market and to fix equitable and favourable prices. We support the developing countries in establishing various organizations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient

countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the extortion of any special privileges or excessive profits. Loans to the developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest and allow for delayed repayment of capital and interest, or even reduction and cancellation of debts in case of necessity. We are opposed to the exploitation of developing countries by usury or blackmail in the name of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficient, economical and convenient for use. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the obligation to pass on conscientiously technical know-how to the people there and to respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not make special demands or ask for special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

Mr. President,

China is a socialist country, and a developing country as well, China belongs to the Third World. Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. This is our bounden internationalist duty. China is not a superpower, nor will she ever seek to be one. What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony. If capitalism is restored in a big socialist country, it will inevitably become a superpower. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has been carried out in China in recent years, and the campaign of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius now under way throughout China, are both aimed at preventing capitalist restoration and ensuring that socialist China will never change her colour and will always stand by the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. If one day China should change her colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.

Mr. President,

History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is the irresistible trend of history. We are convinced that, so long as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, ally themselves with all forces that can be allied with and persist in a protracted struggle, they are sure to win continuous new victories.

STATEMENT BY COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG, CHAIRMAN OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA,
IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLENT REPRESSION
(April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reaction-

ary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people". I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.