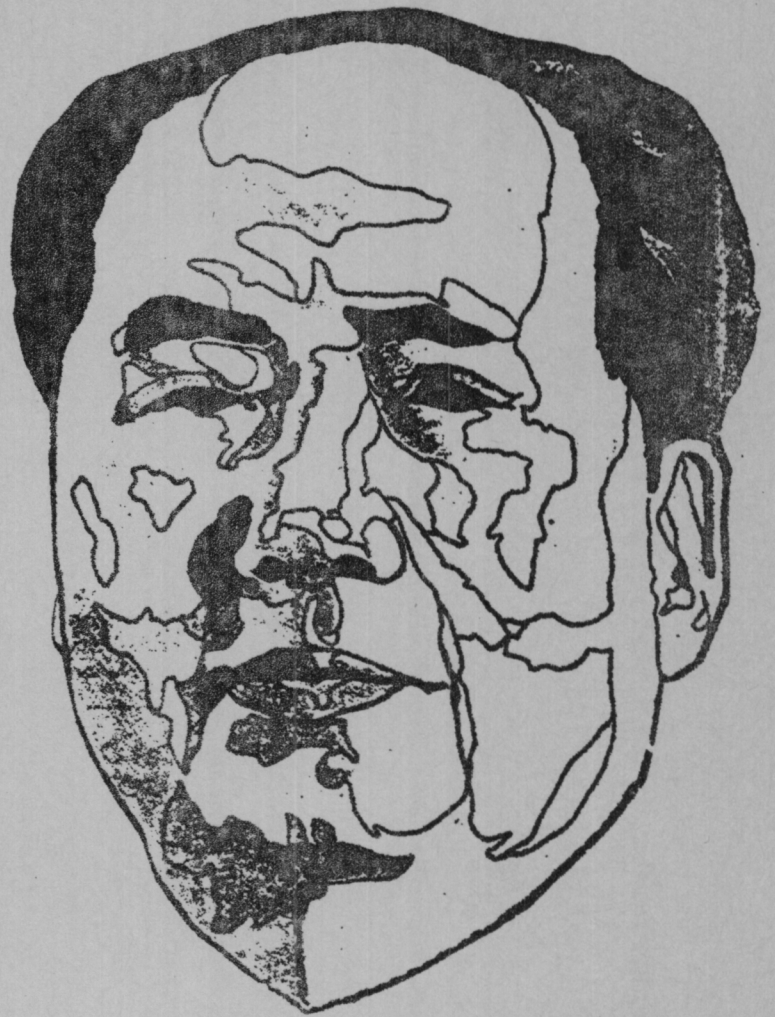


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Red Star Over China

by Edgar Snow

Vicki Garvin

(NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

SPENT SEVEN YEARS IN THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA, INCLUDING THE
TIME OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Tuesday, January 11, 1972 at 7:30p.m.

control
conflict
change

630 West Boston
Detroit, Michigan 48202
(313)-869-0043

Sponsored by the Motor City Labor League and the Black Workers Congress

RED STAR OVER CHINA

A Speech by Vicki Garvin

Vicki Garvin spent seven years in the People's Republic of China, including the time of the cultural revolution.

The subject of her speech was RED STAR OVER CHINA, by Edgar Snow, (Grove Press, Inc., 1961).

The speech was delivered to attending members of Control, Conflict and Change, on Tuesday, January 11, 1972, at Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan.

Red Star Over China was the fifth presentation of the second year program of Control, Conflict and Change, a contemporary education program sponsored by the Motor City Labor League and the Black Workers Congress.

For further information:

Control, Conflict and Change
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Detroit, Michigan
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RED STAR OVER CHINA

A DISCUSSIN by
VICKI GARVIN

Thank you Mr. Chairman, and greetings brothers and sisters in this audience.

I, too, am indebted to Ed Snow's Red Star Over China because this was my first comprehensive introduction to the struggles of the Chinese people in modern day China. My previous information had been limited to reports in bourgeois American newspapers of the severe poverty, famines, deaths and the so-called "heroic efforts" of the missionaries to bring relief, education and Christianity to the Chinese people. Although China's arts and craftsmanship were extolled the masses of its people were pictured in the bourgeois press as docile, passive and ignorant. China was described as "the sick man of Asia". And as an expression of the hopelessness of the Chinese people, which the imperialists wished to convey, a common expression was: "You don't have a Chinaman's chance". Of course, the only movies I saw in the early period before I went to China were the old Charlie Chan, Fu Manchu series in which we saw mysterious, corrupt, cunning characters. Within the United States, of course, the Chinese people lived in ghettos, confined to the restaurant and the laundry industries. They were the object of derogatory terms, subject to discriminatory immigration laws, and all that that implies. It was only later that I learned that there were also, and I use this in quotes, "yellow" John Henrys as well as black John Henrys who had helped build railroads throughout the United States, and given not only their sweat but their blood to construct part of the infrastructure upon which capitalism would develop. I knew that China had been divided up into "spheres of influence" among a number of imperialist countries and exploited as a colony: a source of raw materials and a dumping ground for manufactured products; that industries had been set up there by the imperialists which had exploited the people as cheap labor.

Because of my own position in U.S. society as a black American, a second class citizen with a heritage of slavery, and also a victim of white supremacy, I sympathized with and identified with the so-called "underdog" of China. After reading Ed Snow's book, which made clear the fact that the Chinese people were engaged in a revolution to change the nature of their semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, I followed more closely the progress of their struggle and shared their joy with every victory of the New Fourth and 8th Route armies.

Of course I already knew about the success of the October Revolution in Russia and the establishment of the Soviet Union as a socialist country. Indeed, I was inspired by this new society in which working people had acquired hegemony, abolishing the rule of a few who had controlled all aspects of their lives, and I looked forward to the day when this would happen in the United States as well. As a black person I was then more concerned with the continent of my origin, Africa, rather than Asia, which seemed remote and of which I really knew practically nothing. In the 1940's the picture in Africa seemed bleak indeed with the fight for independence at a very low level. But by 1960 the direction in Africa had begun to change, and when the opportunity arose I went to West Africa to work, live and observe developments. I stayed for three years, from 1961 to 1964, in Nigeria and Ghana, former British colonies. I also visited briefly a couple of the former French colonies: Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Togoland. It was a valuable experience, and

while subjectively, for a while, I felt good being in a country of black majority and rid of the many overt pressures of racism, it soon became clear that the achievement of a nominal political independence had not resolved the problems that the masses of the people faced. A step forward had been made from the colonial status, but these African countries had become prisoners of neo-colonialism in which their economy remained under the control of former mother countries; political rule was exercised indirectly and capitalist relationships were being fostered under which a black bourgeoisie had emerged to rule in conjunction with the imperialists. This was a relatively higher degree of black power, but for whom? Already projected on the scene was the political truth that in the final analysis, the national question was a class question, with still another revolution in the offing. Eventually the revolution for genuine independence and liberation would have to be carried through to the end, to a Socialist revolution, in Africa, in Latin America and elsewhere. The Chinese people had done just that. through a series of revolutions- the agrarian and the new democratic- so that by 1949, a People's Republic was established to enter the stage of socialist construction.

In 1964 when I heard that China was recruiting teachers for its foreign language institutes, I grasped the opportunity to apply for a job in order to learn first hand how the Chinese people had achieved their great victory. I had planned to stay but two years, but, as you know, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) began in 1966, a most momentous and historical development. I was privileged to remain and observe this until August, 1970, when I decided to return to the United States.

II

The book which we are here to discuss covers material up to 1937. I have chosen not to concentrate in my brief remarks on the many details of this period, but rather attempt to extract in summary from a number of the basic principles and policies which have guided the Chinese Communist Party in its leadership of the country throughout the Party's history. But let me emphasize that I am not a scholar nor an authority on China, nor am I a theoretician. I am still a student of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-Tung thought, so any errors in interpretation are my own.

The key to the victories of the Chinese people does not lie in anything unique or inherent to the Chinese people as such, despite their own special characteristics and historical development. The Chinese people are not super human beings. Rather the key lies in their embrace of a scientific approach to the problems facing mankind, a philosophy openly in the interest of the working class and laboring masses- the vast majority of the world's population who are oppressed and exploited- as opposed to that of the few who own and control the wealth, while exploiting the many and appropriating the fruits for themselves. Just as there are laws which govern the development of the natural and physical sciences, so there are laws which govern social relationships. The ruling classes, from feudalism through capitalism, discovered such laws to develop their hegemony. Because nothing is static, over the years many bourgeois economists and social scientists emerged to expand upon and refine these theories to perpetuate bourgeois rule. The theories of Adam Smith are no longer the dogma of capitalism, and we know there is the Keynesian theory and many others. Under guidance of the bourgeois laws of development, capitalism developed into a higher state- that of monopoly capitalism- and in the most developed countries into imperialism.

The working class, on the other hand, had no systematized body of theories to explain or guide its development until Marx

and Engels, after intensive research, study, analysis and practice, discovered them. Here, also, these basic laws, founded on dialectics and historical materialism, were but the beginning. After the emergence of the first Socialist state, which used them as guides, we now have Marxism-Leninism because of the contribution of the great revolutionary theoretician, Lenin, in further developing these laws through actual practice. With the victory of the Chinese revolution, in a different type of country, one characterized as semi-colonial and semi-feudal, requiring additional principles, the body of working class theory has been expanded, and we are now in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. Marxism is not a dogma; it, too, must continue to grow, to meet new needs of a changing and dynamic society, or it will stagnate and die. In the future, as society progresses, to this body of revolutionary working class theory will be added still more names of those who make significant contributions. When the world moves finally to communism, a classless society, as distinct from socialism, the transitional stage, more theoreticians will be needed to guide this development.

The basic keys to the fight for socialism and its consolidation, as summarized by the Chinese Communist Party, consist of three important requisites:

- 1) A Communist Party in the service of the proletariat, closely linked with the masses, guided by revolutionary theory, with the ultimate aim the seizure of power to create a socialist state, and practicing criticism and self-criticism.
- 2) A People's Army under the leadership of the Party, under which the Party controls the gun.
- 3) A correct United Front Policy.

I would like to elaborate briefly on these three keys, as I understand them from a study of China's history.

III

Revolutionary Theory

As for revolutionary theory, the Chinese Communist Party chose the path of the October Revolution- that is socialism not capitalism- because life had demonstrated that the rising and propelling forces of history, the working masses, had entered a new era. The ideas of Marx and Lenin had become a material force which had created a new society in which the practice of democracy (which is a means of achieving something, not an end in itself) could be used to completely emancipate the working masses, remove all restraints upon their flowering and not, as under bourgeois democracy, give complete reins to the growth of its ruling class. Democracy has a class content." Whom does it serve?" we should ask. It serves either one class or the other. (As we see in the United States, when the working people attempt to use bourgeois democracy for their own ends, and when they begin to become effectively organized, this democracy is rapidly curbed, making clear for whom it is really intended.) Capitalism as the prevailing political-economic-social system was breached with the founding of the Soviet Union, introducing a higher stage of development, just as feudalism was breached with the rise of capitalism. But the theoretical recognition of this fact does not mean that automatically a correct line, policy and program are projected by a communist party in the course of revolution to obtain its goal. In the process of struggle, many ups and downs, twists and turns with severe losses due to "right" and "left" errors of conservatism and super-radicalism occur, and they plagued the Chinese Communist Party as well.

A communist party whose members come from the advanced ranks

of society are also subjected to the thinking and influences of their environment, correct and incorrect, good and bad. Bourgeois society promotes bourgeois ideology which is pervasive and often tenacious, and is expressed sometimes unconsciously by the workers themselves. Party members reflect in varying degrees different viewpoints and their ideological development is also at different levels. So the contradictions which exist in everything are also present within a revolutionary party. This must be expected. Unity on line, policy and program comes about only through ideological struggle and this must be won within the Party through patient persuasion, based on concrete reality, and not through exhortation or arbitrary and summary directives. Unity is temporary whereas struggle is constant and ever-recurring. The Communist Party of China has used the slogan "Unity-self-criticism-criticism-unity" to effectuate this and thus move to a higher level of unity at each stage. (You will note that self-criticism is placed before criticism of others, for no one is without deficiencies of one degree or another, and one is often guilty of errors of omission or commission. But in thus setting the tone, beginning with self-criticism and constructive discussion rather than with accusations and recrimination, differences can be aired and dealt with on a more principled basis, centering around issues and principles rather than individuals.)

By 1957, Chairman Mao had prepared an important essay, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" describing in detail two types of contradictions. First, those between the people and the enemy - antagonistic contradictions which must be resolutely fought through to the end, with the people victorious. Second, the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people themselves which should be resolved through education and persuasion. I think this essay merits study by those who wish to struggle correctly and effectively.

To guide the revolution successfully, the Party's line and policies must flow from an analysis of the contradictions to be resolved. The difficulty usually is the determination of the main contradiction, the solution of which will move the revolution forward and allow the solution of secondary contradictions. This is no easy job because there are many contradictions in society which press upon the people and often becloud which is primary and must take precedence. Unless the main contradiction is thoroughly grasped and understood, energy will be dispersed and the strength of the thrust will be weakened. The Chinese use the expression, "Concentrate our forces and destroy the enemy one by one." Keeping to the main orientation is the key. And so Chairman Mao's analysis of the various stages of the revolution made it possible to determine when the revolutions should be concentrated on the question of agrarian reform, that of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the establishment of a new democratic state, and more recently the fight against revisionism within the Communist Party during the GPCR. This did not mean that other contradictions were forgotten, but they had to be subordinated temporarily.

Theory can cease to be revolutionary if it loses sight of the final goal, if the ultimate objective is not kept constantly in mind though the final goal is not necessarily raised as the single popular slogan at all times. Otherwise, stopping short upon achievement of an immediate objective, can lead to reformism. This indeed did happen in China when some party leaders, notably Liu Shao-ch'i, who had joined the Party as an opportunist and careerist, never truly committed to socialism, advocated a halt in the revolution following the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, with an eye to acquiring officialdom in a government dominated by

Chiang Kai-shek. On the other hand, there were leftists during the agrarian revolution and War of Resistance Against Japan who did not accept the analysis of the nature of the revolution at the given period nor its objectives, and so projected a line which called for an immediate socialist revolution, which then was premature. The fight against "right" and left tendencies in any revolutionary party is a continuous process and those who struggle to keep the line on a consistent, stable and correctly evolving basis must have not only stamina and resoluteness but a firm grasp of reality, the existing conditions and relationship of forces. They must have ability to sum up experiences analytically, testing theory constantly through practice.

For this reason, Chairman Mao led many campaigns in the Party against 1) subjectivism, in which conclusions were drawn which were one-sided and not based on a thorough investigation of all circumstances - good and bad, negative and positive, national and international; 2) sectarianism, the organizational exclusiveness that was sometimes practiced by members of the Party, internally as factions or externally in their relations to society as a whole; 3) stereotyped writing in which the principles and policies of the Party were not expressed in simple and easily understood language and were not fully explained, but rather cloaked in cliches and so-called erudite formulations and generalizations.

In developing a correct line and policy, Chairman Mao also conducted struggles for the Marxist-Leninist concept of knowledge as expressed in the pamphlet, "Where do Correct Ideas Come From", in which it was explained that the masses are the motive force of history; it is the people as a whole who make history, not any revolutionary Messiah, whatever his intentions may be. It is the experiences of the masses that are the source of correct ideas. Also, it is necessary that the vanguard always be closely linked with the masses, that each cadre must learn to be a pupil before assuming the role of "leader", so as to accumulate knowledge to be subsequently summarized and systematized into theories to guide the masses.

The continuous practice of the mass line is basic. The Chinese call it "from the masses to the masses." An elite, however well-informed or intentioned, cannot alone wage a successful war. The handful of imperialist elite know this and they have always conscripted the masses for their battle fronts. Although in the past they have won temporary victories, they have reaped the harvest of ever-growing discontent and disillusionment among their conscripts because they have used the masses to fight unjust wars. A revolutionary elite likewise cannot themselves wage revolution alone, but must have a big contingent to do the fighting, with and without guns. If revolution is meant for the reform and the liberation of the masses, why should the theoreticians fear the input of the masses, their contribution to and mastery of theory? The creativity and initiative of the masses, long engaged in class struggle in many forms, is boundless. How much better will they fight for themselves under their own banner? Need I mention the current war against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam, the victories of a small nation correctly led, and where the people are inspired to win victory for themselves?

It follows then, that revolutionaries must have faith in the masses, trust and respect them and base themselves on them. Any missionary attitude will not produce favorable results. Revolutionary intellectuals, in particular, who have had more opportunity to study and acquire book knowledge, but who generally lack long and sustained practice in the real class struggle, should always

be conscious of their limitations, alert to manifestations of arrogance, condescension, bureaucracy, commandism. The remoulding of attitudes and style of work is a difficult and long term process. As the Chinese say, in the fight for the whole, one must truly and unreservedly immerse oneself as a part, struggle against self and individualism, thus becoming in a sense a target of the revolution ideologically and individually while serving to make revolution. In the process of changing society one must also change oneself. It is in this sense that Chairman Mao's essay, "Serve the People", serves as a yardstick against which to measure one's true motivation and contribution.

Another essential principle of the Communist Party of China is the practice of democratic centralism, and you will note the sequence of the words, "democratic" and then "centralism." Unless democracy is permitted, whereby full discussion, debate and airing of views take place, there can be no true discovery of the facts, the problems, reservations, hesitations, and uncertainties among the cadres who must execute policy, and hence, no unified understanding can flow to guide the whole. Arbitrary decision-making by a few, docile acceptance by the many, and blind following without full understanding produce half-hearted efforts at best, or at worse, defeat. But after democracy and democratic discussion, centralism must become operative. A line, once agreed upon, must be followed and given leadership by persons responsible to check its implementation and to correct deviations.

Like everything else, democratic centralism is not always practiced according to theory. There is uneven development among the people who try to apply it, with one aspect or the other over-emphasized. But the correct formulation of this practice or procedure does serve as a guideline. With experience and maturity, more and more people practice it properly.

IV

UNITED FRONT

The united front is a cardinal principle in waging struggles. The bourgeoisie practices it and so also must the revolutionaries. This, too, involves a thorough understanding of classes and their relationships.

We have seen in the U.S. that it has always been the policy of the ruling class to divide and rule, pitting skilled workers against the unskilled, race against race, men against women, employed against unemployed, organized against the unorganized, etc, keeping natural friends and allies at each others' throats. It is not by accident that the first chapter in Book I of Mao Tse-tung's Works is "The Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society" to make clear who are the friends and who are the foes.

Having accepted the proletariat as the main force of the revolution, all efforts must be made not to isolate it in a go-it-alone approach, but to surround it with friends and allies. While recognizing the latter's limitations and/or vacillations, but also aware of their contradictions with the main enemy, and pursuing a correct approach, method of work and policy, many of the people in these categories can be won over or at least neutralized. A narrow exclusion policy on the part of the "left" merely gives room for the enemy to co-opt such forces to its side. In the United States where there is a large petty-bourgeois class of intellectuals, professionals, small businessmen, etc, who also have contradictions with monopoly capital, many can be won over to many struggles which weaken the main enemy.

But at the same time, in a united front, a revolutionary party must guard its own independence and initiative, fight for and retain its leading role, forging ever closer ties with its allies and friends in concrete struggles and educating them, and not submerge itself opportunistically within the united front. This is best described in a slogan used by the Chinese, "Consolidate the left, win over the middle and isolate the enemy."

V

THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

History has amply demonstrated that in the final analysis, the struggle for seizure of power takes armed form. The bourgeois engaged in armed struggle in order to set up a capitalist society and extend its rule over those who resisted it, setting up colonies in the process. The working masses must also face this prospect. There is too much at stake for the capitalists to give up their rule through any other method. When the ruling class can no longer control the rising revolutionary tide through peaceful means, it resorts to repression and suppression through its various organs of government and eventually calls in the armed forces for massive assaults upon its own population, as it has done against others. The only effective response to counter-revolutionary violence has been revolutionary violence, and hence the rise of a people's army. Such has been the history of every country, including China, where the people have fought to establish a new society. And I might add, that despite some victories, the story of Chile is not yet complete.

VI

GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

This evening, it would take me a tremendous amount of time to sum up the achievements that the Chinese people have attained since liberation. But just let me enumerate a few without elaborating. Famine of course has been wiped out, and agriculture and industry are prospering. Productivity is going up constantly. I have been to the Chinese Trade Fair in Canton and have seen tradesmen from many countries, (none from the U.S., who would like to come) and other imperialist countries, coming there to buy because Chinese products are equal in quality and in many instances surpass so-called international standards. The Chinese have made outstanding advances in science, medicine and military defense. Need I mention the short period of time in which China's exploration of atomic energy has moved forward to a significant level? China has one of the most stable currencies in the world. There is no problem of inflation, and prices are generally falling, not rising. There is no income tax in China. The People's Republic of China has no debts, foreign or domestic. Housing rents are approximately 2-3% of one's income. In the cultural field as well there have been tremendous strides, with the Chinese people developing a people's culture, replacing that of pre-liberation days, of the old Peking Opera and other forms which extolled the emperors, generals, warlords and others of the past, today placing the workers and peasants and the People's Liberation Army on the stage as the Heroes. But most important is the high level of unity which has developed in China, particularly following the GPCR, where theory is now the property of the masses who, to use a Chinese expression, have learned to swim by swimming, grasping theory through practice. During the GPCR, the entire Party apparatus was suspended, except for the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group so that there could be a momentum of the entire people making revolution. Obviously there were many things that were going wrong

in China. Bourgeois ideology was moving the revolution back to the stage that could have approximated that now existing in the Soviet Union. For the masses to rebel thoroughly against reactionary forces it was necessary to release their energies and not restrain them with a Party structure through which leading cadres could say, "you can go only this far but no farther. A little bit of rebellion is good, but now stop it and let us take care of things." This did not mean, however, that the Chinese people were without leadership. On the contrary, Chairman Mao issued directives regularly as he observed the direction of the GPCR, defined issues that were being raised and the lines of struggle that were being projected, to guide the revolution, to place it on its right path when it was being misdirected. During that time, everybody raised the Red Book claiming, "We are the true followers of Chairman Mao. We are the great Marxists," and the people were often confused. Some spoke in the name of the Party when the Party had not issued statements and there were all kinds of conflicting directives. This cultural revolution was truly the most magnificent expression of faith in the masses, permitting them to discover the true line, expose renegades, criminal elements, enemy agents, and all others who naturally come into a big movement once it gets under way in hope of diverting it, raising the Red banner falsely, abusing and misleading the people and trying to pit them against each other. In this process, more and more Chinese have learned what revolutionary theory really means. They have had a chance to study Chairman Mao's writings and learn through acute struggle their essence. Liu Shao-ch'i's book How to be a Good Communist had been reprinted several times and distributed throughout the world as a guide, but Chairman Mao's writings had been suppressed. There were very, very few copies available to the Chinese people. The story then was, "Wait until Chairman Mao dies and then we will evaluate and study his writings. Let's just concentrate on Marx and Lenin now," and other such excuses. During the GPCR, Chairman Mao's volumes were at last made available to the people en masse. They began to understand theory en masse and to create new theory rising out of their own experience. This paid off tremendously. And so we have in China now a consolidation of socialism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and great strides towards the development of a truly "new" man and woman, a dream we have long had.

In the protracted battle to get rid of selfishness, greed and concentration on one's self and own family, this Cultural Revolution has struck all Chinese, as they say, to the heart, to the core. Greater class consciousness has emerged with the removal of a lot of the bourgeois ideology and its replacement with proletarian ideology of the collective good. That, I think, is most significant. Wherever one travels in China, speaking to people who are literate and illiterate, one finds the same orientation and expression, maybe not in the precise language of Peking Review or Red Flag, but the concepts are the same and completely understood. People know where they are at and where they want to go. The GPCR deserves a full-scale analysis. I did not come prepared to do this today. It would take a long, long session to do that, but for those of you who are interested, I would suggest that at some future date a speaker be invited with that as the sole subject. The few comments I can make tonight are much too condensed and may raise more questions than I have time to respond to. The GPCR is one of the most momentous and historic developments that have taken place since the October Revolution, because it has taken place under socialism within the superstructure, where ideology, if it slips backwards, can change the economic base. Without this mass upheaval, China, instead of remaining "Red", would have retrogressed into a form of state capitalism. This struggle within the Party against the top party persons in authority who were taking the

capitalist road, who were trying to change the direction of China's society, dealt them a severe blow. The Chinese masses were aroused and educated as never before. In acute struggles they understood what had gone wrong, and distinguished between the contending lines within the Party. They are now better equipped to assess people politically and detect deviations as they crop up. Any high-level administrative action to remove leading cadres would not have done the job. Without mass understanding it would have been easy for similar minded persons to replace them. It is not simply a question of individuals and personalities; it is a question of ideology which is projected by individuals.

In the course of the GPCR, the youth have been tempered in struggle. Many of the Chinese youth who have grown up since the advent of the People's Republic of China in 1949, knew about the revolution only through books or through stories they had heard from revolutionaries who are still alive. Many young people had not yet themselves participated consciously in concrete class struggles. These youth, especially those from families of intellectuals, have learned the content of the demand upon them to commit themselves to becoming revolutionary, not bourgeois, successors to the revolution. This alone has been a significant achievement.

The cadres, those holding positions in the Party and in the government, were also tested. Most of those initially removed from power had to undergo deep self-criticism of the errors they had made one way or another, whether they had been servilely following a line without examining what it meant and what its implications were, or whether they consciously did things which were not correct. Such persons were brought before the masses for serious criticism and had to submit themselves to serious self-criticism. The masses did not consider any off hand, routine explanation sufficient. These cadres were asked to go back, think about their problems in more depth and return with a more penetrating analysis. If they hadn't really touched their souls, and just mouthed an excuse, the people demanded, "Go back. We're not satisfied with this." As for cadres who did come through this process of genuine self-criticism and accepted remoulding - reeducation, mainly by associating themselves with the masses on the communes and in industry, working and studying with them, and learning from them - they have been reinstated in the Party and given work. They may not all hold their former posts but they are given responsibility. In the Revolutionary Committees that exist throughout China, cadres are one of the three components. The three components of the "three in one" revolutionary committees consist of representatives of the working masses in whatever organization it may be - factory, commune, school, hospital, etc, plus the Party cadres, and in large units, representatives of the People's Liberation Army. This gives the People's Liberation Army further exposure to learn from and educate the masses. The PLA in China has a very high level of political development, acquired in the tremendous struggles and sacrifices they made over the years, long imbued with correct theory which impelled them to fight as they did. Today they are an integral part of the new leadership of all important units in the total society. The Party is being reconstructed, stage by stage, in every province, and on all levels on a new basis, with new cadres who have proven themselves in the revolution admitted to membership. This has helped release the initiative and the competency of the masses and has led to an upsurge in production everywhere.

In conclusion, I would like to say, and I am speaking of myself personally, that I am greatly indebted to the Chinese

people and to their great leader Chairman Mao who issued two statements, as you know, in support of the American blacks' struggle for liberation. This was no small thing. At a time in 1963 when the situation in the U.S. was fairly acute, it was Robert Williams who called for support from heads of state of several governments. Only Chairman Mao came through with a statement. In 1968, he issued a second one, in the midst of the very complicated Cultural Revolution. Though involved with their internal developments, the Chinese people were concerned about the struggles of revolutionary people elsewhere.

If you permit me, I would like to read just a couple of pages of a speech I made in Shanghai following the issuance of the 1968 statement. I had only a matter of three hours in which to prepare it, after receiving a hasty translation into English over the telephone. My remarks on that occasion may require some updating, but they still represent my point of view. I quote in part:

"It is of major import, therefore, that at this crucial period Chairman Mao saw fit to issue his second statement of support to the American black people. Within hours of its release, I saw hundreds of thousands of Chinese shouting and singing along the streets of Shanghai alone, in the downpour of heavy rain, enthusiastically responding to their helmsman's call to join forces with us. This heart-warming scene was duplicated throughout China, including Tibet, now liberated from the dark rule of serfdom.

"Throughout the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's instructions to the Chinese masses, which they resolutely followed at every stage, have kept them to the correct orientation, and have resulted in victory after victory. His timely advice as to the correct orientation for the U.S. revolutionary movement merits close study of its applicability to our present situation.

"Chairman Mao's forthright call for international support is a great contribution to the repudiation of the disgusting, nauseating display of crocodile tears by the American bourgeoisie, its counterparts and lackeys over the criminal murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, which the vicious system itself instigated, of its most effective Afro-American reformist leader. The vulgar haste with which the ruling class attempted to sheath its sharpened sword with another tawdry civil rights cloth deceives no one.

"Let the black people of the United States take fresh heart in the knowledge that they are not alone, not without friends and allies at home and abroad. Although the class awakening of the whitemasses within the United States is yet manifested on a relatively small scale in concrete actions, the day is approaching when they, too, will join the ranks in force against reactionary monopoly rule, the common exploiter of black and white alike.

"American society is rife with contradictions and racial discrimination has always been ruthlessly used by the ruling class as one of its most effective tools to divide the people. But as Chairman Mao once said, 'Racial discrimination is found in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world. The racial question is in essence a class question. Our unity is not one of race; it is the unity of comrades and friends. We should strengthen our unity and wage a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and their lackeys to attain complete and thorough national independence and liberation.'

"We are living in the historic era of the approaching victory of world-wide socialism and the complete downfall of the imperialist system, temporary set-backs notwithstanding. The armed liberation struggles of peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the protracted process of overthrowing the colonial or neo-colonial rule of the French, Portuguese, Belgian, British and American imperialists and their lackeys have accelerated the internal contradictions within the "mother" countries and helped to heighten working class consciousness and resistance. It is not surprising but rather inevitable that those who have suffered most are at the core of revolution. No one can deny the depth of exploitation and oppression forced upon the black people in the United States from the era of slavery to date. The black liberation movement is now serving as the spark to great internal upheaval and revolutionary change for all Americans, its own momentum having been sped up by another people's war for peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity - waged by the indomitable Vietnamese. The black masses are beginning to play their historic role as part of the total U.S. revolution. The correct long-term perspective and strategy which links our struggle with the dominant trend in the world today will guarantee final victory for black Americans and a United States free of all exploitation.

"For a time, a proportion of white Americans who have enjoyed and taken for granted their pseudo-freedom and material benefits may be disoriented by the black rebellion. Many have been oblivious or paid only lip service to the plight of the "under-privileged." But vast numbers of them in the course of struggle, will face up to reality that they are living in a false insecure and bankrupt society, in need of drastic change. Their new understanding and political awakening can be transformed into a material force. This development can and must ensue provided it is based on principled unity, equality and mutual respect. The black revolutionaries, guided by Marxism-Leninism theory and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, have the capacity and ability to provide leadership in this respect, but their white counterparts must assume major responsibility in exposing the source and eradicating the effect of poisonous, divisive white chauvinism which impedes unity.

"Let all heed the wise words of Chairman Mao that the Afro-American people's struggle is bound to merge with the working class movement if complete victory is to be achieved. The joint struggle of all U.S. workers and progressive Americans in a united front with all other anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist elements is an invincible force, the decisive combination which the U.S. imperialists fear most and are exerting all efforts to prevent. Such might, welded through the correct handling of contradictions among the people, on all sides, will lead to a victorious solution to the main over-riding antagonism between the monopoly capitalist enemy and the people. The final form of the status of the black people, of course, is for them to decide. The key question at stake today is that of unity of all friends and allies against enemy number one. This, I believe, is the winning strategy of every revolutionary struggle."

VII

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: WOULD YOU EXPLAIN OR COMMENT ON THE QUESTION OF RACISM IN TERMS OF THE CONTRADICTIONS, ANTAGONISTIC OR NON-ANTAGONISTIC, PRIMARY OR SECONDARY AMONG THE PEOPLE OR OTHERWISE.

A: It is my impression that racism is an auxiliary tool of the bourgeoisie to divide the workers and that this is usually non-antagonistic. But it is possible under certain conditions that racism can become an antagonistic contradiction if it is permitted to develop to such a point that people cannot bring any rational thought to people at a given time.

But it is a temporary one that can be solved among the workers and the non-antagonistic classes through constant education. It is a long-term process. If we had socialism tomorrow, racism would continue tomorrow and a long time thereafter. Male-supremacy would continue for a long time thereafter. And so would a lot of other contradictions because you cannot erase overnight all these backward attitudes simply by setting up a new flag and a new state. Many long entrenched ideas, habits and thoughts of people cannot disappear just by writing a declaration. If that were the case, with all the civil rights laws and amendments to the U.S. Constitution, we should have wiped out racism a long time ago. But it is a contradiction that basically can be resolved under Socialism. I know that the Chinese people view as friends the people of all races and countries, including the United States. The term "people" excludes all ruling classes. The Chinese regard race on the basis of class and common interest, although they recognize that a lot of people may be misled, ignorant and manifest racism and chauvinism which are inherent in bourgeois ideology, simply because they don't understand. Certainly one case in point is the lauding of Norman Bethune in one of Chairman Mao's three well read articles. Bethune was a Canadian who came to work in China as a physician during the anti-Japanese war. He is extolled, known and respected throughout China as an example of international friendship, and he obviously was white.

Q: THERE ARE SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE STATUS OF LIN PIAO

A: I wish I could answer this. The Chinese have not issued any official statement. I have heard rumors just as you have, but I can't confirm them. However, I would think that the fact that his name has disappeared in link with that of Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution and up to a fairly recent period, official publications referred to Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Lin Piao. The fact that this is no longer the case implies to me that he may be in disrepute. I don't know whether he has made some very serious mistakes or what has happened to him. I don't want to repeat rumors, I came to give you facts and on this matter I have none. I only know what I've read in the papers, and I don't know whether all that is true. I read many times that Chairman Mao was dead; that news comes through regularly, until he finally makes an appearance and they discover he is still alive. But I would think that there is some serious problem. If it was just a question of health, Lin Piao's name would certainly be included in some of the usual statements and communiques.

Q: AT THE BEGINNING OF YOUR TALK, YOU SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION WAS ACHIEVED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS. WASN'T IT ACTUALLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY WITH THE MASS PEASANT ARMY IN THE MAIN THAT DID THE JOB IN WINNING THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION?

A: Well, it was certainly true, as Chairman Mao would tell you, and I hope I don't misrepresent him, that because China is basically an agricultural country and the peasants form 80% of the population, they were in the main the people who were in the army. You have to recruit an army from whatever your base may be as long as it is from a revolutionary class. So it is certainly true, if you count numbers, that the majority of the people in the liberation army, the Red Army, were peasants. But the question is, under whose leadership? It was under the leadership of the proletariat. The peasants' main demand was for land reform, not seizure of state power, the setting up of a new government and liberation of the entire country. The peasants could not lead a socialist revolution; they were contingents of the revolution, and in terms of numbers, certainly were the majority. But there were workers also. At that particular time, the industrial proletariat in China was relatively small. Capitalism had not expanded there and so the proletariat it had produced was quite small. But included in the army were workers and revolutionary intellectuals with the ideology of the proletariat. This ideology arises from a class that owns absolutely nothing, that is the most resolute, and can carry a revolution all the way through. Its labor power is decisive in the economy. And so it was under proletarian leadership, with the peasants as allies, having their demands for land satisfied, that the Chinese revolution was won. Right now in China there are collective farms called communes. They are owned by the peasants collectively, whereas industry is owned by the entire people, not by the workers alone. Workers don't own the individual factories the way the peasants own the land. That is the present stage of socialist development. Eventually, the communes will become also the property of the state, although simultaneously, state farms are flourishing.

Q: THERE ARE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT NIXON AND HIS TRIP TO CHINA.

A: I think a lot of you have ideas about that. I think the visit of Nixon is a reflection of the bankruptcy of his policy. He has seen the trend, in the struggle to restore China to the U.N., for example, that many countries have begun to recognize that the People's Republic of China is the real government of the entire country, that Taiwan is a province of China and has always been recognized as such, that Chiang Kai-shek's government does not represent the Chinese people. Many countries have established diplomatic relations with the P.R.C. in recognition of this fact. Nixon doesn't want to be isolated in opposing this. He is trying to jump the gun, hoping to make political propaganda this year by going to China, trying to deceive the people. I don't think Nixon has any real hope that the Chinese are going to desert their principles. This is not the first time the Chinese have negotiated with America. You remember General Marshall came there when there were negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek at the end of the War of Liberation. He played his role. There certainly have been meetings with American representatives in Warsaw and Geneva on the question of Taiwan. No

progress has been made because the Chinese remain adamant as to what they consider a principled position. China has no fear of meeting with others. But that doesn't mean a sellout, simply because meetings take place. China will establish relations with any country which accepts it as an equal, and accepts what they call the five principles: equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, territorial independence, and non-interference in internal affairs. If the U.S. is prepared to do this, I believe China will establish relations with the U.S. just as it has with France, Great Britain and other countries. This is a state relationship, and doesn't mean a sellout of anything. I can't predict what is going to happen, but I have confidence, on the basis of new China's history, that the Chinese are going to be firm as to their principles. What Nixon will try to do is another thing. But it won't be long, there will be communiques issued and I would urge you not only to study what Nixon and the U.S. issue but study the releases of the other side, too, and then you will be able to make your own judgment.

Q: ARE THE WISHES OF THE MINORITY PROTECTED UNDER DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN CHINA?

A: Well, I'm not too sure what is meant by the term minority. What the Chinese have always fought for among the people is unanimity on a position rather than a simple majority vote, and they really carry on struggles for a long, long time until they can get as high a majority vote as possible. But whenever that decision is made through collective decision, everybody is expected to accept it and to follow it through. There is provision for the minority to reserve its opinion because, as Chairman Mao said, on some occasions the minority may be right. The majority is not always right, as we see in many of the elections in America. For example, people should know better by now who the Republicans and Democrats are. The minority has the right to raise its differences again. If it can muster enough facts to support its position, the majority decision may be reversed.

Q: CAN YOU BRIEFLY DESCRIBE YOUR PERSONAL ENCOUNTERS WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE DURING YOUR EXPERIENCE IN CHINA?

A: Let me say very briefly, that I taught at a foreign language institute that had over a thousand Chinese students. My classes were relatively small in size, certainly never above 20. I taught five days a week, so I was in constant contact with my Chinese students, as well as with the teachers and other students and with any administrative intellectuals who happened to be around. But the Chinese did arrange for me and other foreigners to make many visits to all types of factories where we would meet with the workers for three, four, five hours, and sometimes even longer than that; at which time they would talk, through an interpreter, of course, and answer whatever questions one needed to know. The same was true in visiting other places -- universities, museums, and also the communes. We made visits to the communes in many provinces, and I was privileged to live on one for several weeks, staying in the home of peasants, eating, sleeping, and working with them as part of the total family. So to that degree, and certainly in the Shanghai hotels where I lived, I was in constant touch with Chinese, some of whom knew English. The Americans and British had been there before and in order to live under them,

many Chinese had to learn some English. Their knowledge of the language may not have been perfect, but there was the possibility of communication. There wasn't complete isolation. But my not knowing the Chinese language made it impossible to me to just walk around, talk to anybody. A few foreigners even worked in factories for awhile, some during a part of the Cultural Revolution when their regular jobs were suspended.

Q: WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON KHRUSHCHEV REVISIONISM?

A: Just let me say flatly, I oppose revisionism whether it is Khrushchev's or any other.

Q: PLEASE COMMENT: I HEARD THAT ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SIGNS ARE BEING TAKEN DOWN IN THE CITIES WHERE NIXON IS GOING TO VISIT.

A: I don't know if this is true. I'm not saying that it isn't true. I simply haven't heard this. But I do know from people who have come back from China in the last couple of weeks that the Chinese people know about this visit through all of their publications. The Chinese are extremely polite and quite friendly. If you are going to invite a guest to your house, you don't put a sign up which says, "Well, you're a son-of-a-bitch, bastard, get out, I hate you!" You don't do that kind of a thing. But that doesn't mean that you may not think it. The Chinese people know who Nixon is, whom he represents. They have had long experience with U.S. imperialists, since 1846, not to mention with the guns and ammunition supplied by them to Chiang Kai-shek and the armed surrounding of Taiwan and other Chinese islands, etc. They know whom they are dealing with. They are not neophytes, I assure you. They're not coming off the wall.

Q: WHY WAS THERE SUCH A MUTED REACTION BY THE CHINESE TO THE RECURRING BOMBING BY THE UNITED STATES?

A: I don't know what you mean by a muted reaction. Maybe there was some expectation that there should have been a blistering press release or some statement issued. Well, the Chinese were the first to make clear where they stood on the struggle against American imperialism in Viet Nam, long before the Soviet Union even issued a statement and long before the Soviet Union gave even one gun or any aid. Khrushchev didn't want to get involved with the war for fear that this might create a situation in which the Soviet Union would risk attack. I do know that there have been articles, published even in the American press, reporting that Chou En-lai has had many meetings with the leadership of North Viet Nam and of the Liberation Front in South Viet Nam, reassuring them for the fifteenth or more time that China is their reliable rear area, that the Chinese are prepared to make any sacrifice that is necessary if the Vietnamese call upon them to do so, and that the Chinese are providing more aid and arms and whatever is needed than they did in the past. I don't know that speech-making and resolutions on paper are the determinant as to whether a position is worth anything. I think concrete action, material support and commitment to the people in serious terms demonstrate this rather than simply a big clamor that can mean nothing. We have had enough resolutions and statements that are followed up by nothing, and so shouldn't be carried away by that form of reaction.

Q: CAN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BE CONSIDERED ANTI-PARTY?

A: The Cultural Revolution was pro-party. That was what the whole thing was about, to clear out revisionist leadership within the party, to make a purer party that was following proletarian politics. A lot can be said about this in a more prolonged discussion.

Q: HOW DO THE CHINESE PEOPLE DEAL WITH THEIR DISSIDENTS? ARE THERE ANY IN JAIL? WERE THERE EXECUTIONS OR OTHER CASUALTIES DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

A: You have to define "dissidents." Dissidents can reflect the contradictions among the people who have been misled, who are not sure what the correct line is, whom they should follow. Nobody would come out openly and say, "I am anti-Mao." But some cadres pretended that they were following Chairman Mao; they would raise the Red flag to fight the Red flag. For the people it was a question of determining who among them was projecting the line and who was not. As for enemies of the Party and socialism, the Chinese exposed and repudiated them.

Someone asked me about Lui Shao-ch'i. So far as I know, he is still under house arrest. He is provided with necessities for a livelihood but he is finished, absolutely finished, politically, and such is the case with a few other top people. If you are referring to dissidents among the people, people who have made mistakes, who have done wrong things, whether they are workers, peasants, or intellectuals, such dissidents who have recognized their mistakes, have all been given a chance, I assure you. Even Lui Shao-ch'i had an opportunity to make self-criticism as he had done in the past. During previous rectification campaigns when he followed wrong policies, he came forth and said, "I was wrong, I was guilty of bourgeois thinking; I did this and that," and the Party said, "Alright, if you have thoroughly understood this and corrected it, continue in your post." He was unable to get away with it this time because the chips were down.

The Chinese deal with the people who have made minor, serious and even very serious mistakes, on different bases. They set up all kinds of categories, because they believe the historic role of the proletariat is to liberate all mankind and try to save people who make mistakes through education. Mistakes are inevitable, but if they can be cleared up through education and persuasion, by a person examining his own errors with a genuine desire to repent, well, you accept his repentance, you don't beat the dead dog. The Chinese say, "Cure the illness and save the patient," and this is what has been done. These people are given an opportunity to work, to earn a living. They may not retain the same post; in case of very serious mistakes they may be placed under the supervision of the masses, who can watch to see that they don't commit the same mistakes. Cadres, in particular, are given an opportunity to go among and identify themselves with the workers and peasants and learn through manual labor not to have contempt for those who produce their rice, food and clothing; to know the problems entailed in being workers and peasants. This is particularly true among intellectuals, who often thought that their hands were only to be used to hold chopsticks to feed themselves, to hold brushes with which to paint and write. Such contempt for manual labor was a hangover of old feudal attitudes. Such persons are given a chance to do manual work and remold their thinking.

During the Cultural Revolution, there emerged a few people who actually were criminal elements; hoodlums who committed robbery; a few who even committed rape; those who stole from the state and committed acts of arson and sabotage. The criminal element in China has not been completely wiped out. You can't transform everyone overnight into a good, sweet, loving socialist. There are people who fall in this criminal grouping, who having committed these crimes, have been brought to trial. Many of them have been sentenced to five, 10, 15 years or life, in cases where there have been repeated crimes of this kind. In some instances, some with a long history of crime, including murder, have actually been executed, by state decision.

During the Cultural Revolution, some innocent people were also killed, murdered by the counter-revolutionaries, who thought that now was their chance to "come back," to re-establish the old regime and overthrow socialism. They killed persons who supported Mao and who were exposing them. That happened -- murder by counter-revolutionaries and enemy agents --- that did happen on a limited scale.

Q: IS THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALITY FOSTERED IN CHINA?
HOW AND IN WHAT WAYS?

A: This question is not exactly clear to me, but let me try to say this. In China, as any place else, all people are individuals. They have their own likes, dislikes, and points of view. They're individuals. You just can't merge everybody into a big mass. People are members of a class with their own ideology, work and preferences. Individualism, however, is a petty bourgeois attitude, characterized by self-interest, as opposed to the collective interest. That is opposed in China because it is a carryover from the system of capitalism and also feudalism, where "me and mine," private ownership and acquisition -- to the detriment of others -- are accepted values, concepts of dog-eat-dog and stepping on each other, of "I'm going to make my way and you be damned." That kind of individualism is fought against in China which seeks to build a society of socialism and eventually communism, in which all people are equal and have an opportunity to develop culturally, educationally, morally and physically; a society which is not competitive, but one which permits all people to advance, enjoy the fruits of their labor and contribute whatever they can on the basis of their ability. This is how the Chinese view the question, as I see it.

Q: CAN YOU DESCRIBE IN A BRIEF, SIMPLE AND PRACTICAL MANNER, AN EXAMPLE OF THE WORKERS' POWER IN A FACTORY IN CHINA?

A: Well, during the Cultural Revolution, revolutionary committees were set up in all organizations to run their operations. In the factories, workers are represented in this top policy-making body. The revolutionary committees, as I think I reported, include workers, party cadres and, in very large units, PLA representatives. Through their representatives, the workers can raise their problems, needs and points of view. All address themselves to questions of overall policy, help determine production quotas, make recommendations for working conditions, etc. In a factory of 5,000 people, it is not always feasible to hold big meetings on all issues; committees exist through which the workers' point of view can be expressed to those on top. Before the Cultural Revolution, some bad practices existed in many

places, encouraged by Liu Shao-chi and a few other top people in the Party. Some incorrect policies were introduced when China suffered a three-year period, from 1959 through 1961, of very serious calamities -- severe drought, rainfalls and floods -- and there were serious differences as to how to handle production because of them. This was the period when Khrushchev, then in power, withdrew all the Soviet technicians, tore up all the contracts, didn't fulfill orders for supplies, equipment, etc. And at the same time the Soviet Union demanded immediate payment for arms which China got from the Soviet Union to fight in the Korean war against the United States. During this period, the revisionists and the enemies of China were saying, "Now that the people are facing all kinds of difficulties, we have a chance to change the political situation." They began to make all kinds of proposals. Thousand upon thousand of collective farms were split up under the pretext that the people did not have enough agricultural equipment to carry on collective production at that time; that the peasants weren't politically oriented enough to cope with all the difficulties. They argued that if the collective farms were redivided into private plots, and other practices permitted, the peasants would have an incentive to produce more. In some factories, there were incentive payments to workers, the reliance mainly on experts, especially bourgeois experts who had contempt for the workers and believed the workers had no ability to become technicians. "Why should we waste time? We can get things done more quickly without involving the workers." Such things had to be combatted, because this was not putting proletarian politics in command and would have reversed the trend of consolidating socialism. These are some of the issues aired during the Cultural Revolution and traced to their source. These malpractices were thoroughly discussed and for the most part overcome.

Q: WERE THERE ANY EXCESSES IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

A: Yes, there were some excesses, but mainly by the young Red Guards. They were the first ones who were called into the Cultural Revolution. At that particular time much of the political leadership of the workers in the trade unions, in most of the big areas of China, was under the domination of Liu Shao-chi. The Organizational Secretary of the Party, Tung Shao Ping, who was in colleague with Liu Shao-chi, had placed his own people in positions of responsibility in these areas, and it was very difficult to break through. Many directives of Chairman Mao were never passed on to lower party levels. But workers joined the G.P.C.R. in 1966. Some young people because of a misinterpretation of the slogan to fight against "the four olds" -- old customs, habits, culture and ideology -- in their immaturity, did many incorrect things. For example, in the garden of the hotel where I lived were several stone statues of Chinese lions with curly manes, reproductions of those produced in the old feudal days. They must have had some kind of symbolic meaning, I guess. At any rate, the interpretation of some students was, "They are old, so we must get rid of them," and the statues were destroyed. In the early stage of the G.P.C.R., a few museum pieces and other forms of old art were also destroyed as the result of the same reasoning. For awhile the PLA placed guards around some special sites. It became clear to the youth that, "We're getting rid of certain olds, but we don't want to destroy cultural relics from our history. Some of them are extremely valuable and they are useful as education so that the people can see what the situation was in the past. Most of these things had been created by the workers. You can be sure that the emperors and the bourgeoisie didn't

make them." And so that kind of excess -- of damaging or destroying -- took place in some cases.

Then there were a few occasions when some arrogant youth, thinking that they knew it all, would go into factories saying, "Why aren't you making revolution? We're going to be the vanguard." They barged in and criticized people without knowing what the issues were and caused difficulties. In some instances, youth were utilized as provocateurs. A few insisted, "We want to work here and you must pay us equal pay for our labor." But the youth played a positive role. This is how Mao always estimates things: Everything divides into two. Nothing is absolutely perfect, nothing is absolutely bad. There is a seed of something good in things that are bad which must be extracted and properly directed and used. At the same time, nothing is wholly good. And so the contributions of the Red Guards on an overall basis far exceeded the minor things they did that were wrong. The encouragement of students to travel extensively gave them for the first time a chance to see their country, the diverse developments of various regions, some exposure to reality apart from their comfortable life of going to school, being fed, studying, and often rote mouthing of phrases. And when they began to search places, in many instances they came across buried deeds to property formerly owned by old landlords who anticipated the return of Chiang Kai-shek and hoped to use these deeds as proof to reclaim land they once owned. The youth came across hidden Kuomintang flags, gold and silver that should have been turned in, badges that had been given as awards by the old regime. Their owners expected that one day the former rulers were going to come back into power. These discoveries were important. The Red Guards traveled around and checked on questionable people to find out their backgrounds.

China is a vast country where communication and transportation were not of the best. And during the course of the many wars which covered a long, long period, some landlords traveled from one place to another, often claiming they were of peasant descent in order to escape punishment during land reform and the problems inherent in their family background. Some people even claimed that they were members of the Party. Because of the war situation, there was often a problem of proof. When you're fighting, you can't always carry documents around with you. And so the Red Guard performed the service of making investigations of people of whom they were suspicious, of visiting the countryside or wherever such persons were born or lived and checking up on them. They unearthed a lot of information that was extremely valuable to the country. So, in analysing their contributions, the excesses were certainly minor.

In every revolution, some people are killed, including innocent ones. This can't be avoided. Sometimes it's a question of people settling old grievances that they've had with each other. That must have happened during the Civil War in the U.S. When our country has another war, a lot more grievances are going to be settled that nobody can control. Some have already said, "You're going to be my man when the time comes." No matter what a Party decrees, it cannot stop every such individual slaughter. The Party can and must have a policy, but it cannot control the acts of every individual.

Q: HOW DIRECTLY ARE THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE REFLECTED IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE?

A: This is a question involving the whole process of democratic centralism. I think meetings are held to discuss all important issues on a Party basis. Discussions on a local basis are reported up through the regional or provincial level up to the Central Committee. And the people on the Central Committee often themselves go around and make investigations. And so they keep in close touch with the masses, they know their thinking. Chairman Mao himself made several tours of the country during the course of the Revolution. He does not rely solely on reports from others. Incidentally, I'm sure I saw Chairman Mao, but didn't know it at the time, one night when I was looking out my window and he had come to Shanghai. His visit wasn't announced, of course, because wherever he appears, he's immediately surrounded by crowds. He had been traveling incognito in the middle of the night, I was told. And he was going around reading some of those big posters that had been placed all over the city, on the walls, so that he could see for himself what opinions were being expressed. I saw someone who looked like Chairman Mao. Later, after he had completed his tour, I heard that it was that very night he was on that street and it was undoubtedly he I had seen.

I did have a chance to meet Premier Chou En-lai on several occasions, one of which was a birthday party which was given for Anna Louise Strong.

Q: OUR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS HAVE BEEN DEHUMANIZED BY THEIR WORK. HOW HAS CHINA BEEN ABLE TO OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM AND YET INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY?

A: One of the first things is that the Chinese workers know that society belongs to them. It's one thing if you are working for a boss under capitalism where he's sweating you to death in order to make profit and another thing when you own your own country and know that there are no big people on top getting all the rewards. And so it's through motivation, political motivation, the desire to build one's country because it's one's own, that impells people to work hard. And it's not speed-up. In fact when I visited some factories, I said to myself, "It's amazing that the Chinese produce so much. In comparison to the speed-up of workers in America, they seem lazy, they're slow, they're not even working fast." There is none of that Charlie Chaplin motion, seen in "Modern Times," but found on U.S. assembly lines. Their work is paced. The Chinese love their workers; they don't want to kill them. But when the need demands, through political motivation, the people work very hard and fast. I'm sure all of you have had many such experiences when a job needs to be done. If you really believe in it, you can put in more than eight hours, you can put in more than twelve. If need be, you can put in twenty. It depends on the motivation. The Chinese are not dehumanized. They have something to fight and work for.

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A: One of the first things is that the Chinese workers know that society belongs to them. It's one thing if you are working for a boss under capitalism where he's sweating you to death in order to make profit and another thing when you own your own country and know that there are no big people on top getting all the rewards. And so it's through motivation, political motivation, the desire to build one's country because it's one's own, that impells people to work hard. And it's not speed-up. In fact when I visited some factories, I said to myself, "It's amazing that the Chinese produce so much. In comparison to the speed-up of workers in America, they seem lazy, they're slow, they're not even working fast." There is none of that Charlie Chaplin motion, seen in "Modern Times," but found on U.S. assembly lines. Their work is paced. The Chinese love their workers; they don't want to kill them. But when the need demands, through political motivation, the people work very hard and fast. I'm sure all of you have had many such experiences when a job needs to be done. If you really believe in it, you can put in more than eight hours, you can put in more than twelve. If need be, you can put in twenty. It depends on the motivation. The Chinese are not dehumanized. They have something to fight and work for.

Q: THERE ARE SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO PAKISTAN, CEYLON AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

A: I am not competent to answer all of them, I'm sure, to the satisfaction of everybody. Actually, I don't know all the answers. I do know what kind of principles China has. And I do know on the question of Pakistan in particular, that China believes in the territorial integrity of a country; that the people of a country should resolve their own internal difficulties, and should not have the intervention of anybody else. That there are exploiters in West Pakistan, the Chinese know. They live in Asia. They have diplomatic and other relations with the Pakistani people and they know how to make a class analysis of Pakistan's society. They also know there are opportunists in East Pakistan who want a separate state so that they can exploit the population for their own ends. I think that we've seen that the new Bengali State has come into being through the intervention of India. It was not just a civil revolutionary war, as some people think, that was in the interest of establishing genuine independence for the people. This war was won, waged and financed mainly by the Indians who are doing this for an imperialist reason. I think China knows much more about this than we do; I'm pretty sure they know what's going on. And so they took a position supporting non-interference in Pakistan's territorial integrity. All revolutionary wars are not for the people. They can be led by opportunists who want to use the people, establish their own rule in order to exploit. And so we have to be careful in analyzing what is a genuine liberation war. This does not mean that the people don't need liberation. But who is leading them, and where. As for Ceylon, I don't know anything about that situation but I do hope if you invite another speaker, more qualified than I, with more facts, that you will raise this question and get more information.

Q: IS MONOGAMY PRACTICED IN CHINA? DO YOU FEEL THE PRACTICE OF MONOGAMY IS ANTI REVOLUTIONARY IF ONE IS WORKING TOWARD A MORE COLLECTIVE OR SOCIALIST SOCIETY?

A: Monogamy is practiced in Chinese society. China used to have a polygamous society because of feudalism. In many areas there were concubines. As for my opinion, well, I hold a pretty strong position that one man for one woman, and vice versa, ought to be enough. This is my point of view. I think there are a few women who agree with me, a few men, too.

Q: DOES THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS TO WHICH YOU AND SNOW SPEAK EXTEND THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY? WHAT TYPES OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT EXIST BETWEEN CITIES VIS-A-VIS RURAL? HOW DID YOU LIVE, WHERE, HOW WIDELY DID YOU TRAVEL?

A: China is unevenly developed. It's a country with many national minorities who live in the coastal areas around the Northeast and in the West in thinly populated areas. There are vast areas which are almost virgin territory, with people at various levels of development. They were once oppressed not only by the Han people who are the majority nationality, but by their own feudal rulers. Whether it's a question of the type of life they led, as pastoral people, herdsmen or whatever, here is uneven development just as there is in all countries. In most countries industry is basically concentrated in one region, whereas agriculture is in another. With uneven

economic development, revolutionary consciousness is not uniform. Even within Shanghai itself, which has long been an advanced industrial city in China, everyone is not at the same high political level. It depends upon how much the people study, how much they learn, what their background is and what their commitment is. I'm sure within this room, or among those living in the same house there is not the same level of revolutionary consciousness. This is true among the Chinese people as well, though theirs is way beyond ours. It's a continuing process of helping the slow to catch up, to become advanced. It's going to take time to achieve universality of a high level of revolutionary socialist consciousness anywhere.

I lived in Shanghai for a while. The Chinese had set aside several floors in a big hotel, for the hundreds or so foreigners, teachers from Africa, Europe and Latin America, who were teaching many foreign languages. We lived removed physically from the Chinese by-and-large, though Chinese occupied the remaining floors of this hotel. By that time, Liu Shao-ch'i had introduced a policy in which there were no political criteria as to who should come as teachers. Just let anybody come who wanted to. And it turned out having some negative features because a couple of enemy agents and other questionable persons came as well as people who were genuinely interested in China and some who were Marxist-Leninists. To avoid certain problems we were put together where there wouldn't be any difficulty of centralizing interpreters, administrative assistance, feeding, transportation and other such arrangements. If foreigners were scattered into individual homes, they would need individual interpreters on all occasions, cooks, separate arrangements for transportation to come back and forth to work, etc., and so we lived there in a kind of a collective life. I also lived in Peking. While I was there, I worked as a polisher for Peking Review, and lived in a Chinese compound. I had a small apartment there, certainly more than adequate for a single person, and much more than I should have had in view of the fact the Chinese also have a housing problem. I did not have maid service as was provided in the hotel. I went out into the compound yard to get my own hot drinking water and did my own cleaning. I also had a kitchen where I could do my own cooking, or I could go to a restaurant. I traveled fairly widely to many of the big cities, but I didn't get to the Northeast or any of the minority areas because the Cultural Revolution broke out before I left. However, I did make the long trip through the areas of the Chingchang Mountains and visited Yen-an, as well as Tachai, the site of the famous model commune. I enjoyed it all and learned a lot.