

# China Policy Study Group BROADSHEET

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## EDITORIAL

The belief that imperialist aggression must be opposed by force has for many years been identified with China and Mao Tse-tung, though it was clearly the belief of Marx and Lenin too. The contrary view, that it is possible, by diplomatic or other means, to persuade imperialism to modify its aims, receives no support from events of the last 20 years. As Mao warned would be the case, the imperialists refuse to lay down their butcher's knives.

The tide of history is now seen to be flowing against imperialism. Recently the U.S. widened their aggressive war in South-east Asia, only to lead to a wider unity against them. Anti-imperialist forces, from Cambodia to Korea, are beginning to co-operate more closely.

China's policy is consistent and clear. She believes that imperialism must be fought and that socialist revolution will one day come to the whole world. But each people must make its own revolution, relying on itself, not on others. China is ready for friendship with all who sincerely desire it and will give assistance to the limit of her capacity to those who fight imperialism.

This policy is now being more widely understood. It is not an effort to gain an advantage in the sort of political game the other great powers play, where self-seeking and cynicism are ruling principles. It is a policy based on a long-term appreciation of the current of history, the world revolutionary movement, and the duties of a socialist power towards others.

Closer relations between China and progressive leaderships have not been brought about by any modification of China's policies. Less and less is it now possible for China's critics to say that she stands alone; the increasing number of her friends is plain for all to see.

*A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. 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.*

Statement by Mao Tse-tung,  
May 20, 1970

## EDUCATION

of the people, by the people

In every kind of school we must thoroughly apply the policy advanced by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

(Decision of the C.P.C. Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 8th August, 1966.)

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In China, as elsewhere, schools, colleges and universities have long been the province of the educated elite, dominated in staffing and syllabus by the ruling class in order to perpetuate and strengthen its form of society. As long as class struggle continues, education is bound to be one of the vital fields of battle. The many campaigns and measures to develop socialist man in China had in fact produced great changes in social thinking, yet before the Cultural Revolution much still remained to be done. Even now there is much to be done, for education is a field where old ideas have deep roots.

Since the Cultural Revolution the whole educational system has been turned inside out. Schools and universities shut down while students and teachers took part in revolutionary activity, breaking out of their enclosing walls into the real world. Seemingly endless discussions took place on the form and content of the new education that was needed.

## PROLETARIAN EDUCATION

School classes have now been resumed, but not with the old-style teaching. Teachers and students, with the help of teams of workers and the P.L.A., have been discussing the purpose of education and how to bring about a truly socialist educational system. There have been many reports of such debates in the Chinese press.

An article in *Red Flag* (No. 8, 1970), by the Workers and P.L.A. Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Team in Peking's technical and scientific university, Tsinghua, considers their own work in considerable detail. Its keynote is that the working class must exercise firm

leadership over the revolution. This, they say, is the fundamental guarantee for smashing the old system and establishing the new, proletarian one.

In the course of the struggle both right and 'left' tendencies have been in evidence. One held that the destruction of the former educational system would lead to lower standards and retard China's economic and material growth. The other held that those trained under the former system were tainted with reactionary ideas and should not be trusted.

## OPEN-DOOR UNIVERSITIES

On many occasions Mao has stressed that 'China needs the services of as many intellectuals as possible for the colossal task of socialist construction' (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*), and he has chided those who 'are not good at getting on with intellectuals'. At the same time he points out that intellectuals are useful in socialist society only if they are prepared to accept re-education and remoulding from workers and peasants. The original teaching staff of a school or university, the *Red Flag* article points out, is an indispensable component of the 'three-in-one' combination of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary technicians, and teaching staff. Those who say that teachers should not be used until they have been completely remoulded discount the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intellectuals and forget the necessarily protracted nature of their remoulding.

In order to combine teaching, scientific research and production, Tsinghua University is now run in an 'open-door' way, is linked with factories, and even runs its own factories and an experimental farm. This brings students and teachers into close touch with society and enables intellectuals to make wider contacts and take an active part in social practice while being re-educated. Both teachers and students find the new system highly satisfactory.

Using simple methods and relying on themselves, they have set up a number of small and medium-sized factories, including a precision machine-tool plant, an experimental multi-purpose electronics factory and a motor vehicle plant. These are able to accept state assignments in research and production.

To take an example in more detail, the electronics factory was set up on the basis of an existing laboratory, using some existing equipment and making some new. It has stimulated technical progress in automatic control, radio engineering, and electronic computer technology, turning out a wide range of products. It is considered that such a factory should take into consideration the needs of teaching, not tie itself too tightly to targets, and manufacture products which are typical, varied and advanced. They should be products needed by industry and national defence, while meeting the needs of teaching. There should be a degree of mass production and research should go on at the same time, including the introduction of new techniques and prototypes of new models.

## INTERLACED STUDY

To establish the correct relationship between learning while doing, on the one hand, and systematic teaching on the other, has not been easy. But it was the integration of the two that broke down the old teaching system. Methods known as 'interlaced study' and 'concentrated study' have been devised for use in different circumstances. At one time students and staff will be engaged mainly in fulfilling production tasks and in scientific research, applying the method of doing while learning in a planned way, making a deep study of typical subjects in order to generalise from them. At another time teaching will be mainly of a theoretical nature, to raise the students' theoretical level on the basis of their practical experience.

The same issue of *Red Flag* reports a forum of students and staff from Shanghai colleges of science and engineering. One of the subjects it discussed was the Tsinghua University report referred to above; the other was the experiences of those who had been trying to carry out Mao Tse-tung's injunction to 'take the road of the Shanghai Machine-Tool Plant'.

The secretary of the Party Branch of the 'May 7' Commune of Tungchi University referred to their project for the construction of a big workshop. They learned designing and theory at the same time and found it easy to grasp the lessons. The teachers lectured at the work-site, concentrating on key points and finding that sometimes the workers were able to explain things more effectively than they could.

## FEARS UNJUSTIFIED

The teachers were at first afraid that students without previous experience in building might find it hard to attain the necessary standard. However, after a period of practice they became more confident. They considered that the requirements could be fulfilled in 18 months, but actually they were overfulfilled in only ten months.

Other examples of the efficacy of practice were given. When studying tunnelling the only printed material they had was of foreign origin and was found to be defective. If it had been followed they would have believed tunnelling to be quite impossible south of the Yangtse. But practice showed that it was perfectly possible, and now they are planning to construct an underground power station.

A teacher of physics from Fudan University said that scientific research at their university-run factory had been included in the state plan. This had spurred work in several lines, including the manufacture of semi-conductors. They had established ties with many other factories and were no longer 'cut off from the outside world'.

The forum concluded that in the last year good progress had been made. There were some problems with which they had only just begun to deal, but with further practice they would be solved.

It is clear that in China, after several years of struggle, the isolation of educational institutions from production is at last being broken down. The latest news is that over 250 Peking schools have now set up factories.

## BOOK REVIEW

**IRON OXEN: a Documentary of Revolution in Chinese Farming,** by William Hinton. *Monthly Review*, price 63s.

In June 1947 William Hinton went to southern Hopei, one of the liberated areas, to take charge of 20 tractors supplied by U.N.R.R.A.

'Crossing the line' from Kuomintang territory provided him with many surprises: the intensive cultivation of the land, the thriving commerce, the lack of begging, prostitution and crime, above all the practice of democracy among the people.

Shortly afterwards, U.N.R.R.A. was wound-up and Mr. Hinton went to teach at Northern University. There he joined a land-reform team, living through the rich experiences so unforgettably described in his earlier book, *Fanshen*.

In 1949 he went back to the tractor project, spending 16 months helping to train drivers and mechanics, plough waste land, sow wheat and then reap the first mechanised harvest in North China, all of which is described in *Iron Oxen*.

Passing on his knowledge was not a matter of formal lectures and demonstrations, but of being with the students for almost 24 hours a day, becoming involved in all their difficulties, successes, failures and self-criticism. This has enabled him to give, as he did in *Fanshen*, a very detailed and penetrating account of one aspect of life in liberated China.

There is no attempt to hide mistakes; analysis of them brought improvements in the work. The many examples of this communist style are deeply impressive and instructive.

In a Postscript, written with the hindsight of 1970, the author points out some of the errors in thinking made by him and those working with him. They did not realise that the victory of 1949 had not ended the class struggle but only transformed it.

It was easy at that time to assume that what was needed for building socialism was little more than the mastery of technique by young peasants and workers. This was not so.

All such assumptions have been proven false by the development of socialist revolution not only in China but throughout the world. Modernisation without conscious and protracted class struggle to ensure that state power remains in working class hands and that the superstructure of society, as well as its base, is transformed, can and has led back to capitalism.

There was, as Mr. Hinton says, a lot of confused thinking in 1949 about the problems of the transition to socialism. It has required the Cultural Revolution to clear it up.

Looking backward, *he says*, it is not hard to see that many of us in the tractor programme were greatly influenced by Liu's theories. Cadres and workers on state farms thought of themselves as the vanguard of Chinese agriculture, who, having mastered modern technique, would lead the entire peasantry down the high road of large-scale socialist agriculture sometime in the future. . . . Actually, it now seems clear that the advance guard of Chinese agriculture in 1949 consisted of poor peasants like those of Wang Kuo-fan's pauper's co-op, which was made up of 23 families who, beside their land, owned only a three-quarter share of a donkey.

It is unfortunate that the price of the book may prevent some from buying it. But every public library should be urged to get it. All who read it will be richer in understanding of the way in which some of the most vital history of our day was made.

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## WHEN THE TREE FALLS . . .

The *People's Daily* for August 15, 1970, reports the following words by Mao Tse-tung, which are new to us:

**However rampant they may be for the moment, the parasites who depend on imperialism will soon find out that their bosses are not reliable. The whole situation will change when the tree falls and the monkeys scatter.**

# COMMON CAUSE AGAINST AGGRESSION

The challenge of U.S. imperialism in the Pacific has drawn a firm response from East Asia; the Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples in April and Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Korea — reciprocated by high-level Korean delegations to China — bear witness to a new and massive solidarity of the peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

This strengthened solidarity also reflects a deepened awareness that the course of aggression pursued in East Asia by Washington today is a continuation of aims and policies dating back to the early days of Western imperialism in Asia. Then Britain, France, Tsarist Russia, and the United States, separately and together, sought to subjugate the peoples of Asia, exploit their labour, plunder resources, and create for themselves privileged markets for surplus goods. The U.S., a late-comer on the scene, was no less grasping than other nations of the West, though its real political and economic aims were hidden behind the politico-religious jargon of American 'liberalism'. Textbooks have long propagated a myth of U.S. anti-colonialism in the Far East; only today is history, working through the resistance of the world's peoples to U.S. imperialism, enabling the American public to sift myth from reality.

## SHARED EXPERIENCE

The strongest bond between the peoples of contemporary Asia is the shared experience of subjugation, humiliation and exploitation at the hands of the West. Continued division would be an invitation to further aggression and the resolve to stand together in the face of the main enemy is a sign that the lessons of the past have been learned.

A symbol of this sharpened militancy is to be found in the Korean Democratic Republic's *Memorandum* of June 25, 1970, outlining the long history of U.S. aggression in Korea from 1866 onwards. The first intrusion was a prelude to the armed invasion launched by the American Expeditionary Fleet in 1871. From then on Korea was under constant pressure both from the U.S. and a rising Japan.

Korea, formerly a tributary of the Manchu rulers of China, was reduced to the status of a protectorate and soon passed wholly under Japanese rule. The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 were milestones not only in the history of Korea's decline, but also of China's.

On examining the Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty Theodore Roosevelt remarked, 'I fully agree with the Japanese including a paragraph on its domination over Korea . . .' and assured the Japanese envoy that 'when the time comes to discuss peace conditions I guarantee the following demands for Japan . . . Korea will be completely in the sphere of Japan's interest'. Thereafter Japan and the U.S. turned their attention more and more to China.

## POLICY OF DECEPTION

After World War I, with a great fanfare of publicity, Woodrow Wilson announced his Fourteen Points, one of which was the right of self-determination for all nations. For the peoples of Asia this was sheer humbug. The French hold on Indo-China showed no signs of loosening, the Korean people's uprising of 1919 against their Japanese overlords was ignored by the U.S. State Department on the ground that it was a Japanese internal affair. In the Ishii-Lansing talks of 1917, the U.S. conceded the substance of Japan's notorious Twenty-One Demands on China for sweeping concessions and special privi-

leges, thus sparking off a nation-wide protest of Chinese students and workers — the May 4th Movement, of 1919.

In the inter-war years the U.S., while expressing pious concern at Japanese expansionism in China, supplied Japan with all the sinews of war — oil, steel, minerals, etc. After Japan's occupation of China's north-eastern provinces (Manchuria) in 1931, forces of Korean and Chinese resistance co-ordinated their struggle against the common aggressor.

In World War II, rival Japanese and U.S. imperialist interests clashed in the Pacific, but once it was over Washington sought once more to work with Japan. U.S. occupation troops moved into South Korea, taking over from the defeated Japanese south of the 38th parallel. Similarly in North and North-east China, Japanese armies were assigned to stand fast against liberation forces until Kuomintang troops and U.S. Marines could be flown in to take over. The story was the same in Vietnam, with Japanese (and British) troops holding the line until the French could move in to restore their empire. The much-trumpeted Atlantic Charter meant no more for Asia than had Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The Korean war, the occupation of China's Taiwan, the French and U.S. wars against the Indo-Chinese peoples, and not least the re-arming of Japan, are all part of an overall bid by Washington to dominate East Asia, as a first step to the gradual conquest of the whole of Asia.

The Korean *Memorandum* not only reviews the history of U.S. aggression in Korea, it highlights the broader aims of U.S. policy. Thus an American journal is quoted as saying in 1924: 'from the military point of view, Korea is situated in such a position that anyone who enters her territory will find himself before an open door to China. . . .' And in U.S. political literature and historical documents its real aims and objectives in the Far East are set out at considerable length and with much eloquence. Senator Beveridge of Indiana (1900) affords us a sample: 'We will not retreat . . . will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God of the civilisation of the world. The power will forever be the American Republic.'

Twenty years ago the myth of U.S. invincibility was exposed, its hopes of dominating the Asian mainland shattered, when the Korean and Chinese people fought U.S. imperialism to a standstill and thus opened a new chapter in Asia's history.

## GREETINGS!

Twenty-five years ago nazism was defeated militarily. This year, three countries whose relations with China are those of mutual trust and understanding — Albania and the Democratic Republics of Korea and Vietnam — are celebrating a quarter of a century of liberation.

Each of these countries has repelled imperialist aggression, as well as the political and economic pressure of revisionism. With China, they represent the way forward for the world.

We greet these countries with warmest wishes for success in their task of socialist construction. We hail especially the heroic people of Vietnam, who with unparalleled resolution have resisted the might of the greatest imperialist power and its hangers-on. The whole world will forever be in their debt and we wish them speedy victory and reunification of their country.

## CHINA-ALBANIA TRADE

The Deputy Minister of Commerce of Albania recently revealed that more than half of Albania's external trade is with China. Visitors to Albania will confirm that China's exports contribute a great deal to the richness of life in that country. It is very doubtful whether a small country like Albania could, at its present stage of development, afford to equip (for example) a vacuum flask factory, a piano accordion factory, or a works producing railway carriages — China's trade makes all this possible. Rolling-stock from the Chinese-equipped works, the 'tren kines', beautifully air-conditioned and far superior to the Czech product, is a source of great interest and pride, particularly to the younger generation.

In assessing the trade relationship between one country and another, however, one needs to go beyond such obvious advantages as these. Two questions, in particular, must be asked. The first is, are equal values being exchanged? The essence of imperialist trade relations is that they are founded upon the exchange of unequal values. A colonial product — for example, a given quantity of tea, taking perhaps 20 man-hours to produce — is exchanged against some manufactured product of the metropolitan country which may have cost no more than one or two hours' labour. Such trade as this must clearly impoverish the one country (the colony or neo-colony) and enrich the other.

The second question is, whether the more economically backward country is being supplied with (a) consumer goods, (b) the means of production, or (c) the means of production of the means of production. A country that merely receives consumer goods will always remain in a position of dependency upon its supplier and, failing to make use of its own resources, will also remain poor.

As regards trade between China and Albania, figures for prices and man-hours involved in production are not available. However, People's China has always laid great stress on the labour theory of value when fixing prices — within the country itself, this has helped to reduce the disparity between town and rural areas. It has also made China a valued trading partner to some less advanced countries; to Ceylon, for example, it supplies rice at prices below the world market levels, while purchasing rubber at the world market price. There is a contrast here, with Britain's tea trade; in order to produce tea at rock bottom prices, plantation owners were forced to expand acreage ruthlessly, and denuded Ceylon's hilltops, causing soil erosion and flooding.

As regards the second question, a thriving Sino-Albanian trade in consumer goods and raw materials certainly exists. But, in addition, China has been supplying Albania with what can only be described as a massive 'do-it-yourself' kit for the complete industrialisation of the economy. The list includes: a metallurgical works for processing 800,000 tons of iron ore per annum; a refinery for processing 1,000,000 tons of crude oil per annum; a 400,000 kW. hydro-electric power station on the River Drini; new capacity for nitrate fertiliser production which will double the aggregate capacity of the industry; an extension of the existing superphosphate plant; a polychlorovinilite plant; a caustic soda plant; a large printing works; a plastic goods factory; plants for treating chromium, copper and asbestos ores, and coal; a textile combine; an electric bulb plant; a sewing thread factory; and a precision instrument factory.

Again, all this is in glaring contrast with the typical overseas trade of Britain and other industrialised imperialist powers, which drains dependent countries of their resources in return for a few motor vehicles, cigarettes, and manufactured textiles.

Mention should also be made of the Chinese technicians seen everywhere in Albania going quietly about their work — installing the equipment supplied and training operators. There is an instructive comparison to be made with the Soviet and East

European technicians who were withdrawn from Albania — as they were from China — by Khrushchev. When the Russian and East European experts left Albania and the Chinese experts came in the average wage in Albania had a purchasing power of about £30 per month, by British standards, and the highest wage was worth about £100. The Russians and East Europeans all took the highest wage and the best in living conditions. The Chinese, in accordance with their normal practice, refused to take more than the average wage and stayed in ordinary quarters — not luxury hotels.

From all this, it can be seen that trade between China and Albania has nothing in common with imperialist-type relationships such as are seen elsewhere.

From May 1969, Albanian imports from China have consisted essentially of equipment and machinery for strengthening the country's industry, heavy industry in particular. Economic aid from China has ensured that all equipment and machinery vital for the industrial installations already constructed or in course of construction will be available when required.

It is China's policy to support any people struggling against imperialism or trying to build socialism, for both of which self-reliance is crucial. The tiny country of Albania under Enver Hoxha's gifted leadership not only liberated itself but has maintained its independence and is successfully building the only truly socialist society in Europe. The relationship between the two countries is an outstanding example of proletarian internationalism.

## NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The changeover to decimal currency in Britain in February, 1971, and increased charges which the British Post Office proposes to introduce in January, make it necessary for us to revise BROADSHEET subscription rates, which have remained unchanged since January 1967. With the support of readers, we have always held our rates down as far as possible, and we intend to continue this policy. Despite increased printing costs, we are therefore not making any change in the charge for BROADSHEET itself, except that the 9d. price of single copies, equivalent to 3½p (new pence), will become 4p.

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