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# Chinese Women: Liberated

*by Maud Russell*



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## CHINA'S WOMEN: LIBERATED!

### INTRODUCTION

A women's liberation movement is sweeping across the United States. Women are revolting against economic and sex exploitation, against the kind of marriage which for them means living vicariously for husband and children, against the trivialities which are a substitute for the expression of their full potential, against the kind of political system which napsalms populations abroad and mocks justice in the courts at home.

American women in the early years of this century fought for and got the vote, but political and economic inequalities still exist.

Equally oppressive to women is the social contempt in which they are held. An example is shown in the tone of one of the cigarette advertisements which proclaims, "You've come a long way, baby." Both the word "baby" and the "long way" - to what? smoking! are insults to womankind.

The American economic system not only exploits women as workers, but exploits and shows its contempt for them as consumers. Women are a prime target for the unloading of the products of the system, a system which depends for its survival on selling vast amounts of socially wasteful goods. This consumer drive expresses a cultural contempt for women as buyers of goods to please men: cosmetics whose application and smell will allure a man, clothes to attract men or enhance the status of the husband who provides them, and household gadgets and food to make men happy to come home at the end of the day. Women's worth and identity - in terms of the American system, the capitalist system - depends on her availability as an exploitable worker, a

second class citizen and on her accomplishment as a consumer able to attract and satisfy men.

Even in much of the current social protest and revolutionary movements in the United States women experience the patronizing and exploiting attitude of male left-liberal and radical leaders. "He will keep quiet while you speak and may even give a quick acknowledgment that some noise has occurred. He will patronize and move on...He will note your energy...and then will coopt you. You will end up working for him."(Marge Piercy Liberation 11/'69)

In much of women's struggle against these inequalities and injustices men have been seen as the "enemy" - but the struggle must be seen on a far deeper level - as the women of China have demonstrated.

The transformation of China's semi-feudal society to a socialist society is a profound revolution, striking at the age-long roots of women's inferior status in class society.

Far East Reporter presents some of the highlights of this great change in the status of women in China and believes that the process of this great change has relevance for the struggle for women's liberation taking place in the United States today.

## The Chinese Women's Struggle

If ever any women needed liberation it was the women of feudal and colonial China, the China that existed up to 1949, when a socialist China - The People's Republic of China - came into being.

### Women's Status Under the Old China

Feudal Conditions. Teng Ying-chao, an old revolutionary, one of the few women to have survived the Long March of the thirties, described the old system under which Chinese women lived: "A special feature of the feudal marriage system in China was that marriages were arbitrarily arranged by parents, and forced on their children. Marriage was a sort of bargain. Girls were usually betrothed in their early childhood by arrangements of their parents who would receive money and gifts as a betrothal marriage present. Not only was this kind of marriage not free but it was also contracted on the basis of the superiority of men over women. Many were the victims of this system. Many were the unhappy couples forced to live under the same roof with their parents while their hearts were far apart.....Women were required to 'follow their husbands no matter what their lot', as the saying went... A woman was required to wear widow's weeds for the rest of her life - 'to die faithful to one's husband and not to remarry'. A woman divorced by her husband was an object of contempt. An old Chinese saying was, 'A wife married is like a pony bought; I'll ride her and whip her as I like' - a vivid description of the position of women in old China. They were not only denied political and economic rights and held in servitude but were also stripped of the right to manage daily domestic affairs. At home their husbands could and did beat them and curse them; and the parents-in-law were free to insult them with impunity. The sufferings endured by luckless daughters-in-law were proverbial. Such miseries resulted in

unhappy family life filled with sorrow and hatred. And this in turn had its direct adverse effect on the physical and mental health of the younger generation."

To appreciate how this old China affected the life and status of even a modern and educated woman read Han Suyin's story of her life with her husband in "Birdless Summer."

Bourgeois Condition in Semi-Colonial China. In addition to China's age-long feudal society there also existed a bourgeois society in semi-colonial China; so the impact of capitalism was also present. Mary Endicott, in "Five Stars Over China" quotes a young woman Chinese friend: "If a capitalist family had wealth and a big house, then the members were always thinking about money and wanting more things. Greed and envy enter into their lives and they are constantly anxious lest they lose their money. Such a home is usually self-centered and unhappy. On the other hand, if a capitalist family has a small house, the individual members are cramped for room; there is anxiety over insufficient income, or how to meet illness and misfortune. There is no room for children to get rid of surplus energy; they disturb every one or else they go outside into the dangers of the street or anti-social gangs. The mother is worn out trying to make ends meet and maintain a happy home for her family in such surroundings. Her mind is confined to dealing with trivialities which dwarf the development of her personality. Women need to be emancipated from the drudgery and narrow confines of a small home or the boredom and parasitical position in the big house.

So China, semi-feudal and semi-colonial had two kinds of social order, both kinds subjecting women to narrow, frustrated, self-centered lives.

This semi-colonial China was a China exploited

by foreign imperialists and their native Chinese collaborators (compradores who acted as agents for the foreigners and the local Chinese capitalists). Tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of Chinese women became factory workers suffering an additional subjection to an unjust social order.

#### Women, Along With Men, Worked For A Change

Madame Sun Yat-sen writes about labor women in the struggle against the old. "During the 1st World War our industrialists were able to build many new factories. A natural accompaniment was the rise of a labor movement....China began to witness not only the outstanding deeds of individual women but also examples of heroic activity by women in the mass striving to create a better Republic....Women who during the past two years", wrote Mme Sun in 1927 "have marched down the streets of Canton, Changsha, Wuhan and scores of other cities, large and small, in south and central China, are not the same women they were two years ago. I have seen working women in China hobbling along on their bound feet in workers parades, many of them wearing union badges." (In The Struggle For New China)

And Mme Sun writes of all the kinds of women in the struggle against 'the old: "Tens of thousands of worker, peasant and student women participated in the great military campaigns for the eradication of northern war-lords in 1925-1927....In the course of the struggle large numbers of girls from field and factory grew from the status of semi-slaves and the stupor of endless toil to full human stature and leadership."

Of the struggle against Japan in 1939 Mme Sun wrote "Our Chinese women are taking a full part in our country's fight for survival. On every front there are thousands of girls in uniform; some have engaged in actual fighting. Others perform auxiliary

duties in the line of fire. In the rear our women have shouldered the tremendous task of providing care for our wounded, winter clothing for our armies, shelter and education for our war orphans, and cultural activities to teach our people the meaning of their struggle." (The Struggle For A New China)

When Anna Louise Strong asked one of these cultural activities workers, "What do you tell peasant women?" the answer was, "Our work is to organize the women. We explain first the difference between the northern troops and our revolutionary forces. We tell them we come to save them from oppression and to bring a new way of thinking. We explain that men and women are equal now, that even though you are a woman you are still a person. We say they have a duty to society and not only to husbands. (Emphasis added.,ed) It is a good thing to ask advice of your parents about your marriage, but not to let the parents decide everything concerning it. We explain the the new doctrine of free choice in marriage, that young folks have the right to select their own life partners. We also explain that, by the new law, women may inherit property; and we say that the feet of young girls must not be bound."(China's Millions)

Already these young patriots were beginning to see some of the details of the new life.

### Women Were Betrayed

Though women had participated militarily and culturally in the struggle against Japan for national survival and against the domestic war-lord system, they were betrayed by the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang Government, a more centralized war-lord government, which was established in 1928. Women had fought and helped the soldiers not only for national survival but also for a new and more just social order. But the Kuomintang rulers persisted in the feudal and the bourgeois attitude toward and treatment of women.

Mme Sun writes of some of this betrayal by the Kuomintang Government: "In the summer of 1940 women who had worked faithfully since the outbreak of the war (against Japan), carrying on through repeated evacuations, bombings and war-time economic earthquakes, began to feel once more the weight of the old pre-war type of discrimination. The post-office for instance declared that it would no longer employ married women. Educational projects of the YWCA in the countryside were closed. A meeting of all women's organizations in the capital, Chungking, was called to devise measures of self-protection and immediately attracted the attention of the secret police and pressure-group political manipulators...A wave of arrests throughout the country took in many workers in women's organizations." (In The Struggle For A New China)

Mme Sun gives an illustration showing the old attitude; early in 1941 the Kuomintang called a conference of women's work leaders."The official convening message had this to say: 'It is harmful for every woman to strive to take part in politics; work in the woman's movement should be concerned with general education, vocational training, women's services and welfare and family problems. The women's movement will have succeeded when women reach the level of men in character, knowledge, physical condition and technical abilities.'

Women were learning the bitter lesson that mere reforms, even though they had helped to bring them about, would not liberate them from an unjust society.

### Women Were Becoming Politically Educated

These women who participated in the patriotic military struggles against old conditions and for the survival of their country, women who joined in labor struggles, women who experienced frustration in public and political activity were never to be

the same. They were inflamed by the attitude of the then current ruling forces and at the same time educated about the nature of their society.

### The Need For REVOLUTIONARY Change

Mme Sun, herself an early revolutionary, noted at the time: "The fighting record of our women does not permit us to believe that they will ever allow themselves to be enslaved, either by a national enemy or by social reaction at home. One of the principal tasks of the Revolution in China is the emancipation of over two hundred million women from the bondage of semi-feudal and medieval social ideas and customs. As long as this great human mass - it is half the population of China - is not liberated, a real revolutionary change, not only in the institutions of the country but in the general life and thought of the people, will not be effected."

Mme Sun had noted that none of the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries that took place in England, France and America had resulted in the emancipation of women. They did not change the class nature of society.

Chinese women were not to be content with revolution which meant men simply putting power into the hands of some other group of men. What they needed was the kind of revolution that would involve all of society and would change the very nature of that society; abolish the feudal-bourgeois social order and create a people's order.

### A New Social Order

In 1949 the old feudal, chauvinistic, bureaucratic-capitalist order was ended and a People's Government came into being. Mao Tze-tung said, "The Chinese people have stood up; we will never again be an insulted people" - and this included the status of women.

### The New Marriage Law

Within seven months of the establishment of the new Government the formal charter for the liberation of women was promulgated - The Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China.

The new law was no document arbitrarily put on the law books. Preparation for it had begun before 1949; it had taken seventeen months to draft, with the drafting done under the direction of the law-drafting organs and women's organizations, assisted by various departments concerned. All these bodies repeatedly studied and discussed marital data collected in cities and rural areas, the past marriage laws of the Liberated Areas (which had preceded the establishment of the new social order for the whole of China and had a population of ninety million), as well as the marriage laws of the other and older socialist countries.

After the first draft had been prepared, forums were held to ascertain the views of the various political parties (there were ten political parties including the leading Communist Party) and the people's organizations (there were over a dozen).

The draft underwent final amendments in two forums participated in by members of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, members of the Central People's Government and members of the Government's Administrative Council. It was then submitted to the Central People's Government Council and approved at its 7th meeting, and officially promulgated on May first 1950.

This Marriage Law was no pre-conceived idealistic document thrown as a sop to women or pushed through by a feminist lobby; it was the fruit of years of struggle, the experience of the 90,000,000 people in the Liberated Areas, of thorough discussion and study of relevant data by a wide cross-section of the population and by official and popular bodies.



THE MARRIAGE LAW  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chapter 1  
General Principles

The feudal marriage system which is based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and the superiority of man over woman and ignores the children's interests shall be abolished.

Article 2

Bigamy, concubinage, child betrothal, interference with the remarriage of widows, and the exaction of money or gifts in connection with marriages shall be prohibited.

Chapter 2  
The Marriage Contract

Article 3

Marriage shall be based on the complete willingness of the two parties. Neither party shall use compulsion and no third party shall be allowed to interfere.

Article 4

A marriage can be contracted only after the man has reached 20 years of age and the woman 18 years of age.

Article 5

No man or woman shall be allowed to marry in any of the following instances:

- a) Where the man and woman are lineal relatives by blood or where the man and woman are brother and sister born of the same parents or where the man and woman are half-brother and half-sister. The question of prohibiting marriage

between collateral relatives by blood (up to the fifth degree of relationship) is to be determined by custom.

- b) Where one party, because of certain physical defects, is sexually impotent.

- c) Where one party is suffering from venereal disease, mental disorder, leprosy or any other disease which is regarded by medical science as rendering a person unfit for marriage.

Article 6

In order to contract a marriage, both the man and the woman shall register in person with the People's Government of the district or hsiang in which they reside. If the marriage is found to be in conformity with the provisions of this Law, the local people's government shall, without delay, issue the marriage certificates.

If the marriage is found not to be in conformity with the provisions of this Law, registration shall not be granted.

Chapter 3  
Rights and Duties of Husband and Wife

Article 7

Husband and wife are companions living together and shall enjoy equal status in the home.

Article 8

Husband and wife are in duty bound to love, respect, assist and look after each other, to live in harmony, to engage in productive work, to care for the children and to strive jointly for the welfare of the family and for the building up of the new society.

Article 9

Both husband and wife shall have the right to

free choice of occupation and free participation in work or in social activities.

#### Article 10

Both husband and wife shall have equal rights in the possession and management of family property.

#### Article 11

Both husband and wife shall have the right to use his or her own family name.

#### Article 12

Both husband and wife shall have the right to inherit each other's property.

### Chapter 4

#### Relations Between Parents and Children

#### Article 13

Parents have the duty to rear and to educate their children; the children have the duty to support and to assist their parents. Neither the parents nor the children shall maltreat or desert one another.

The foregoing provision also applies to foster-parents and foster-children. Infanticide by drowning and similar criminal acts are strictly prohibited.

#### Article 14

Parents and children shall have the right to inherit one another's property.

#### Article 15

Children born out of wedlock shall enjoy the same rights as children born in lawful wedlock. No person shall be allowed to harm them or discriminate against them.

Where the paternity of a child born out of wedlock is legally established by the mother of the

child or by other witnesses or by other material evidence, the identified father must bear the whole or part of the cost of maintenance and education of the child until the age of 18.

With the consent of the mother, the natural father may have custody of the child.

With regard to the maintenance of a child born out of wedlock, in case the mother marries, the provisions of Article 22 shall apply.

#### Article 16

Husband and wife shall not maltreat or discriminate against children born of a previous marriage.

### Chapter 5

#### Divorce

#### Article 17

Divorce shall be granted when the husband and wife both desire it. In the event of either the husband or the wife alone insisting on divorce, it may be granted only when mediation by the district people's government and the judicial organ has failed to bring about a reconciliation.

In cases where divorce is desired by both husband and wife, both parties shall register with the district people's government in order to obtain divorce certificates. The district people's government after establishing that divorce is desired by both parties and that appropriate measures have been taken for the care of children and property, shall issue the divorce certificates without delay.

When only one party insists on divorce, the district people's government may try to effect a reconciliation. If such mediation fails, it shall, without delay, refer the case to the county or municipal people's court for decision. The district



people's government shall not attempt to prevent or obstruct either party from appealing to the county or municipal people's courts. In dealing with a divorce case, the county or municipal people's court must, in the first instance, try to bring about a reconciliation between the parties. In case such mediation fails, the court shall render a verdict without delay.

In the case where, after divorce, both husband and wife desire the resumption of marital relations they shall apply to the district people's government for a registration of remarriage. The district people's government shall accept such a registration and issue certificates of remarriage.

#### Article 18

The husband shall not apply for divorce when his wife is with child. He may apply for divorce only a year after the birth of the child. In the case of a woman applying for divorce, this restriction does not apply.

#### Article 19

The consent of a member of the revolutionary army on active service who maintains correspondence with his or her family must first be obtained before his or her spouse can apply for divorce.

Divorce may be granted to the spouse of a member of the revolutionary army who does not write to his or her family for a subsequent period of two years from the date of the promulgation of this Law. Divorce may also be granted to the spouse of a member of the revolutionary army who has not maintained correspondence with his or her family for over two years prior to the promulgation of this Law and who fails to correspond with his or her family for a further period of one year subsequent to the promulgation of the present Law.

### Chapter 6 Maintenance and Education of Children After Divorce

#### Article 20

The blood ties between parents and children do not end with the divorce of the parents. No matter whether the father or the mother acts as guardian of the children, they still remain the children of both parents.

After divorce both parents still have the duty to support and educate their children.

After divorce, the guiding principle is to allow the mother to have custody of a baby still being breast-fed. After the weaning of the child, if a dispute arises between the two parties over the guardianship and an agreement cannot be reached, the people's court shall render a decision in accordance with the interests of the child.

#### Article 21

If, after divorce, the mother is given custody of a child, the father shall be responsible for the whole or part of the necessary cost of the maintenance and education of the child. Both parties shall reach an agreement regarding the amount and duration of such maintenance and education. In the case where the two parties fail to reach an agreement, the people's court shall render a decision.

Payment may be made in cash, in kind, or by tilling the land allocated to the child.

Such agreement reached between parents or a decision rendered by the people's court in connection with the maintenance and education of the child shall not prevent the child from requesting either parent to increase the amount decided upon by agreement or by judicial decision.

#### Article 22

In the case where a divorced woman remarries and her husband is willing to pay the whole or part

of the cost of maintaining and educating the child or children by her former husband, the father of the child or children is entitled to have such cost of maintenance and education reduced or to be exempted from bearing such cost in accordance with the circumstances.

Chapter 7  
Property And Maintenance After Divorce

Article 23

In case of divorce, the wife shall retain such property as belonged to her prior to her marriage. The disposal of other family properties shall be subject to agreement between the two parties. In cases where agreement cannot be reached, the people's court shall render a decision after taking into consideration the actual state of the family property, the interests of the wife and the child or children, and the principle of benefiting the development of production.

In cases where the property allocated to the wife and her child or children is sufficient for the maintenance and education of the child or children, the husband may be exempted from bearing further maintenance and education costs.

Article 24

After divorce, debts incurred during the period of their married life together shall be paid out of the property jointly acquired by husband and wife during this period. In cases where no such property has been acquired or in cases where such property is insufficient to pay off such debts, the husband shall be held responsible for paying these debts. Debts incurred separately by the husband or wife shall be paid off by the party responsible.

Article 25

After divorce, if one party has not remarried and has maintenance difficulties, the other party shall render assistance. Both parties shall work out an agreement with regard to the method and duration of assistance; in case an agreement cannot be reached, the people's court shall render a decision

Chapter 8  
By-Laws

Article 26

Persons violating this Law shall be punished in accordance with the law. In cases where interference with the freedom of marriage has caused death or injury, the person guilty of such interference shall bear responsibility for the crime before the law.

Article 27

This Law shall come into force from the date of its promulgation. In regions inhabited by national minorities, the people's government (or the Military and Administrative Committee) of the Greater Administrative Area or the provincial people's government may enact certain modifications or supplementary articles in conformity with the actual conditions prevailing among national minorities in regard to marriage. But such measures must be submitted to the Government Administrative Council for ratification before enforcement.

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Four years later, in September 1954, the constitution of the People's Republic of China was promulgated. It too explicitly affirmed the equality of women.

Article 96 of the Constitution states: "Women in the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. The State protects marriage, the family and the mother and child."

### The New Family Life

The socialist home is based on the Marxist-Leninist maxim that the measure of liberation in society is the standard of life of the women. In socialist society everybody works, for Communists believe the basis of life is creative labor. The care of small children is organized and thus the mother is able to take part in the building of the new society - in activities outside her home. She is freed from the narrow life in which she was dominated by the family - first by her father, then by her husband, and, after his death by her son.

### Husband and Wife

Teng Ying-chao writes: "We hold that both husband and wife should be united and live in harmony and should love and respect each other. Of course we are not talking about unity and harmony without principle. Criticism and self-criticism should apply in the relationship between husband and wife. Unity is possible only when one side wages the essential and proper struggle against the mistakes committed by the other. The Marriage Law stipulates that both husbands and wives should have the freedom to choose occupations and to participate in social activities. But in order to 'secure' their marriage some couples try to limit each other's social activities; such restrictions in fact cannot bring about real stability in marital relationships. On the contrary, both husband and wife should allow each other to choose freely his or her occupation and to take part freely in social activities. This will enable them to improve themselves through work, and to have wide contacts with people and to be good companions in their

marriage. Of course it is not easy to do this. Nevertheless, it can be realized step by step if both husband and wife cultivate the new social morality."

On the question of love, Teng Ying-chao writes, "It must be pointed out that love and marriage are private affairs of the individuals and should not be interfered with by others. If viewed more positively they are a part of the make-up of social life. The smooth course of the love and marriage of the individuals is essential to satisfactory social life; nevertheless, we oppose the ideas that 'love is supreme' just as much as we oppose those who trifle with love."

Edgar Snow notes "A new usage which indicates change in status and feeling between men and women in the word 'ai-jen'. It has replaced the exalted 'fu-jen' and 'tai tai' formerly correct when a member of the gentry referred to another person's wife, as well as such terms as 'lao po' meaning 'old stick' when a person hypercritically disclaimed any distinction in his own wife. 'Ai-jen' means 'beloved'. It is now nearly universal among young people when either spouse speaks of the other." (The Other Side of the River)

Anna Louise Strong writes of "Women whose husbands had grown away from them because they were tied to house-hold chores, but who now have gained a new companionship in studying and going to meetings together ... One feels the yearning of many women who in the past were unable to keep up with their husbands in knowledge and development, and so lost contact, but who are now free to study as well as to work." (The Rise of the People's Communes)

### Children

Edgar Snow tells of special studies made by Dr Denis Lazure, the distinguished Canadian child psychiatrist. Dr Lazure was making a special study of

changes in child attitudes toward the family and state as a result of twelve years of revolutionary orientation. There seems 'to be a remarkable capacity in these subjects to sublimate their aggressive impulses to hard work and for personal improvement and for the advancement of the country'. Parental figures 'are constantly perceived as affectionate and supportive, in marked contrast to North American adolescents'.....What Dr Lazure described as his 'most significant conclusion' about Chinese youth was that 'their leaders have very effectively accomplished the revolution of transferring the emotional investment formerly reserved for the family to society as a whole and to the role which the individual will play in building his society.'" (The Other Side of the River)

#### No Weakening of Family Ties

"Dr Lazure dismissed the belief that 'the mass exodus of women to the factories and fields' is a 'principal factor in weakening family ties'. He observed that the mother is now 'able to devote herself entirely to her children when she arrives home from work....The children and the teen-ager appear more concerned with socio-political themes than with the conflicts which would exist with their parents'." (Snow)

In December 1958 Anna Louise Strong talked with some of the 2000 women attending a congress in Peking. "Women were annoyed at the comments made by Mr Dulles and other foreigners about communes 'destroying the home'. They insisted that 'home life is better now' since so many sources of friction are removed. They insisted that community dining rooms, nurseries, and kindergartens were conveniences that made home life easier instead of destroying it. They insisted firmly that they had 'freedom'." (The Rise of the People's Communes)

#### The Basic Condition For Equality

In the rural areas the basic condition for equality, economic independence, was early provided in the land reform program; land was divided and women received their share as individuals, not as members of some man's family.

William Hinton in "Fanshen" describes what this meant for women. "The right to own land and property was the key to the liberation of women.....On one issue they all agreed: women should be able to get and keep a share in the land. In Chao Chen village many women said, 'When I get my share I'll separate from my husband. Then he won't oppress me any more.'"

"In Chingtsun the work team found a woman whose husband thought her ugly and wanted to divorce her. She was very depressed until she learned that under the Draft Law she could have her own share of land. Then she cheered up immediately. 'If he divorces me never mind' she said 'I'll get my share and the children will get theirs. We can live a good life without him'. Another woman in the same village had already been deserted once; her second husband was a local cadre, but he oppressed her. When a member of the team visited her, she wept. 'Chairman Mao is alright, but women are still in trouble' she said; 'We have no equality. We have to obey our husbands because our life depends on them'. After the new law was explained to her she said, 'This is really fine; I can have my own share now'. Many women said, 'After we get our own share we will be masters of our own fate'. Some were afraid they could not do the field work necessary, but others said, 'What difference does that make? Women depend on men but so do men depend on women. What women do around the house is also labor and they can swap that for labor in the fields'. One woman said 'Always before when we quarreled my husband said 'Get out of my house' Now I can give it right back to him. I can say, 'Get out of my house yourself'.

"Land reform had broken the patriarchal rigidity of the family by granting property rights to women." (Hinton)

## The First Stage in the New China

A new China had begun to emerge - an ending of feudalism and colonialism. This was the national democratic stage in which important steps had been taken for the new society: the status of women and the land reform. In this first stage the economic goal was "land to the tillers", the complete end of colonialism, and, regarding the relatively small native capitalism, - its use, control and final elimination. The land-ownership power which gave freedom to women as individuals was expanded as private-ownership gave way to social-ownership through successive stages - mutual aid teams, cooperatives, collectives and finally, in 1958, to people's communes. Less and less could a man dictate to a wife as women more and more participated as full members of a socialized society.

Women in both urban and rural areas, with their new-won freedom proceeded to undergird and expand their economic freedom by the creation of new conditions - nurseries, kindergardens, schools, packaged food in the stores, ready-made clothing, electricity, piped water, public health measures, literacy and job-training technical classes

### Liberation: An Ongoing Process

The remnants of a feudal outlook - the legacy of two thousand years - naturally could not be eliminated in a short time. The new Government realized this: one of its very first regulations was "Men and women are to be equal"; note the verb is "are to be", not "are". Equality comes not come by Government fiat but only by a social process - in which all, women and men, would participate.

Many feudal attitudes and thinking about women still remained. It was not possible for a feudal-minded population to quickly change to socialist ideas, habits, customs, relationships. The old hangs on - as any observation of radio and TV religious programs in our highly scientific and materially advanced United States witnesses.

There were men quite socialist in their public life, but retaining feudal ideas, habits, attitudes in the home; there were home women clinging to feudal ways because they knew no other.

In 1953 a nation-wide socialist education movement dealt with this situation - making a major attack on the old concepts of relationships between men and women, old ideas about women's place in society, old concepts men had of themselves.

Men and women, both, had to understand the necessity for ending feudal ideas and relationships, ideas and relationships which if persisted in could slow up the achieving of the new society. A man tied down by a feudal-minded wife could not give his fullest energies to the building of the new; a mother still imbedded in feudal ideas could hamper the development of her children as citizens of a socialist China. A man still clinging to feudal relationships could block the entry of his women-folk into the new activities - and so lessen the constructive potential of his country. To build the new China - all - men, women and children - must bring to this task their fullest potential. Feudalism which curbed the full potential of individuals must be ended socially as well as economically and politically. The 1953 socialist education drive was not limited to being carried out in terms of the individual man-woman relationship, but was in terms of the larger concept: building the new socialist society.

### Society's Stake In The Marriage Relationship

The Marriage Law is explicit about the stake of society in the marriage relationship. Article 8 states "Husband and wife are in duty bound to strive jointly for...the building up of the new society." Even divorce has to conform in terms of its impact on the well-being of society.

In 1950 the Vice-President of the People's Supreme Court wrote: "The new Law serves as an important and sure guarantee for social emancipation and paves the way for the wholesome development of our future generations."

## The Significance of Women's Labor

In meeting the gigantic construction problems of the new China men and women are mobilized. Labor activity results not only in material advantages for women but also in a social and citizenship status never before experienced. Transient foreign observers, visiting great construction projects involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of workers, delight in stressing the presence of women workers; often they impute "a break-up of the Chinese family" to this participation of women. But here are women contributing their labor to tasks that will benefit them as they never were benefitted before. For example, take what floods have meant in old China.

The nature of the old society gave the feudal ruling class, the landlords, the opportunity to enrich themselves when floods came; they acquired the land of the peasants who were dispossessed by the flood which meant loss of homes, tools, animals. Whole families became refugees, fleeing to the cities as beggars, often selling their children for a few days relief from starvation. But today: there is a new China; the people stay on the land and with the full strength of their new Government they are tackling the whole problem of water control. As Mme Sun writes - "Flood - for centuries China has been afflicted with this menace...now the situation is realistically met with the full strength of the People's Government...They mobilized 4,600,000 men and women and members of the People's Liberation Army...They especially drew workers from among those hardest hit by the flood... Meetings were held at every level, from small groups to huge area mass gatherings." Every detail was carefully discussed: "the job to be accomplished, why they were mobilized, how they would get paid, what their work would mean to their future and the future of the country. The result was inspired creative work." (The Struggle For New China)

These were women and men not just working, but through participation and discussion developing their

citizenship and political consciousness; no longer are politics, economics and ideology the sole province of the male citizen.

Anna Louise Strong writes: "The organization of the communes has probably added close to a hundred million women to China's available labor force.. To many American women these jobs will not only seem unwomanly, even degrading, no road to Utopia, but to the breakdown of health. As for health they think they are better protected than when they came as child-brides to the rule of their mothers-in-law... The rules to protect women's health are devised by the women's own committees. Three universally accepted rules are - that women shall work in no wet places during menstruation time, that expectant mothers shall have light work, and working mothers shall have work near their homes. The women in China's communes can point not only to maternity leave on pay but also to the rapid growth of a system of maternity care no country in history has set up in such a short period, if indeed, at all." And as to the charge that labor for women is "degrading" Miss Strong continues, "Chinese women will reply that women have always done the hard, unrewarding jobs of the world and that they now seek no special privilege but recognition of the dignity of their labor and equality with men in all the choices of life." (The Rise of the People's Communes)

China is a socialist country - a worker's society. "The dictatorship of the proletariat" means that the workers, and not any bourgeois technical elite, are the rulers. Every one is a worker. There is no place for parasites in a socialist society. Chinese women, freed from the old, will never take second place in any social order; they, with men, will have the dignity of labor as socialist citizens.

## The Struggle For Liberation: The "Enemy"?

Women's protests and struggles against the inequalities, injustices and oppressions of society

if they are to give women their rightful place must be directed at the kind of society which produces exploitation, frustration and chauvinistic men.

Mme Sun clearly recognized the enemies against which the women's liberation movement had to strive. "These enemies are foreign imperialism and the resulting colonialism and the home-grown feudalism." In other words, the enemy was the kind of society that oppresses people, men as well as women. "We apprehended long ago that the women of Asia cannot expect sympathy from the imperialists in their fight to liberate themselves...You have but to witness how the imperialists treat women in their own countries"

Mme Sun goes on: "From the very start our women fought not under the banner of a barren feminism but as part and parcel of the democratic movement as a whole." (The Struggle For A New China) "The Woman's Movement must be closely linked with the movement for national liberation. Isolated it will get nowhere. Without national independence and national liberation it is impossible for women to liberate themselves." (Teng Ying-chao) (Emphasis added.....ed)

William Hinton writes in "Fanshen": "It would be very one-sided to imply that the only goal of the Woman's Association was equality for women. Without the successful transformation of society, without the completion of the land reform, without the victorious defense of the Liberated Areas against the probing attacks of the Nationalist Army it was impossible to talk of the liberation of women. Many women realized this as if by intuition, and they made the Woman's Association an instrument for mobilizing the power of women behind the revolution in all its aspects..... All their activities were intimately linked up with the struggle for equality, with the demand on the part of the women that they should no longer be treated as chattels.....If this demand alarmed the men the all-out support the women gave to the over-all revolutionary goals disarmed them and won from them a grudging admiration. In their hearts they had to admit that they could not win without the help of 'half China'."

## A People's Society Emerges In China

There have been two stages in the building of the new China. the **first** was the **national democratic stage** - freedom from the old, from foreign domination and the establishment of a democratic order. This stage gave women the basis for political and economic liberation and full social participation. China is now in the **second stage** of her heroic and gigantic struggle - the building of a **socialist China**.

China is not making the mistake of exchanging an oppressive feudal system for an oppressive capitalist system. The new, the socialist, system is liberating both men and women from the oppressions of the old and releasing the potentials of all her people. Socialism, not capitalism nor any reforms within the capitalist system, offers the possibility of a social order that brings out the highest creative potential of all its members.

Let two of China's leading revolutionary women tell what the struggle - of men and women - has achieved. Mme Sun: "In my opinion, the greatest change in China since the historic date of October first 1949 is that for the first time in our entire existence the title by which our country is known has the word 'people' in it." Mme Chou En-lai (Teng Ying-chao): "Our struggles have established on a nation-wide scale the people's democratic dictatorship. The people's democratic republic has been founded. Today the people's state places the interests of the people - and this includes the interests of women - in the first place."

In October 1969 China celebrated twenty years of the new China. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the three previous years had affirmed the strength of the socialist nature of her new society. China's socialism had matured and advanced to a stage where the forces and factors that would lead her off the socialist path had been clearly exposed and challenged by the might of the people - men and women who have been liberated from the old society. No one, women nor men, want ever to go back to the old.



## APPENDIX

Something of the carrying out of the new relationship between men and women is seen in the conduct of divorce proceedings. No longer is divorce the exclusive prerogative of the man; the woman can not only attend and protest the proceedings; she can now also initiate divorce proceedings.

The writer, in 1959, attended court divorce cases in the coast city of Shanghai and in the inland city of Hankow. There was a striking absence of the legalities, wrangling, bitterness, lies and innuendoes that so often characterize such proceedings in capitalist society.

There was real effort on the part of the court, assisted by neighbors and fellow-workers of the couple, to preserve the human dignities and values of the marriage. Not only is the intimate family relationship recognized but the family has a socially and legally recognized duty to be a contributor to the well-being and progress of the new society.

Here is a verbatim account of proceedings taken as the writer listened to two divorce cases. Each attendance took the better part of a morning or afternoon. The court consisted of a regular judge, two people's assessors (people's judges), a prosecutor, a recorder, and a policeman. Any of the public interested in the case attend and are called upon to express their views or give facts about the case. Court opens with the judge introducing the court personnel, explaining the function of each member of the court and the technique of the court procedure. The judge then addresses himself to the parties in the case, making clear to them all their rights in the matter.

## A DIVORCE CASE: THE WOMAN APPLIES FOR A DIVORCE

This case took place in Shanghai in the District People's Court, in a fairly small court room, in which the Court personnel (Judge, two Assessors, and a Recorder) sat on a low dais about a foot above the floor level. One of the assessors was a woman. The litigants were a couple, with the woman applying for the divorce. After the usual formalities of identifying the court personnel, explaining the court procedure, the Judge asked the woman to step forward from the front bench on which the couple was seated. I sat on a rear bench with the audience. The Judge then questioned the woman:

*Question:* How did you get to know your husband?

*Answer:* I'm a native of Hangchow; in 1948 my father died and I went to live with my sister. My husband was a neighbor and we got to know each other. Then I made a trip to ——— to try to find my foster mother; I failed to find her, and this man who was then living in that town, took me to the home of one of his friends to live. One day he told me the house was too small, and asked me to live in a hotel. He deceived me, and later we were married. We never got along; he was very strict and demanded a husband's prerogatives. He gambled; he treated me like a child; he suspected me when I came in late from work or when I went out to an evening party. For a time we didn't live together. In 1958 we came to Shanghai; our families tried to reconcile us. My husband's brother said he would try to help if we would agree to be reconciled. I agreed; I tried to reason with my husband—but he refused. Our relationship got no better. So I want a divorce. Now we don't even speak to each other, though we live in one room.

*Question:* When did you first ask for a divorce?

*Answer:* In Nanking. But his mother and elder brother had feudal ideas—they were against divorce. I was influenced by them so I did not bring the case to the court. Then in Shanghai I had new neighbors and fellow-workers and I got new ideas: one of these new ideas was that it was not necessary for me to suffer like this.

*Question:* Have you any children- and where are they?

*Answer:* Yes, two boys, one eight and one five. The elder one is in Tsinan with my sister. The younger one is in the nursery run by our office.

*Question:* What did your office do about this matter?

*Answer:* They tried to mediate several times; but there is not the slightest hope. I have waited a year for him to change. The situation is now affecting my work.

*Question:* What is your main request to this Court?

*Answer:* A divorce and the custody of the two children. The present situation is no good for us or for our children.

*Question:* Have you thought this through thoroughly? What do you think about it now? To get a divorce is not a trifle. You must think seriously about this. If there is any hope, you should reconsider. What will you do about the children?

*Answer:* Even now the children are looked after by *me*. Everything concerning them is arranged by myself. The elder one is away with my sister, but the father never asks about him. The elder one writes to me. They will be happy with me and I am willing to bring them up. The elder one is getting on well with my sister. The younger one is a lovely boy, in the nursery, and I keep in touch with the nursery. After the boy is old enough to leave the nursery he will go to school and the neighbors will help me look after him.

*Question:* Aside from the children, are there any other problems? How do you get along economically?

*Answer:* We would be better off if my husband would move. If he doesn't, I will. About the furniture—I don't care; he has already sold a lot of it for gambling. I hope he will pay something toward the expenses of the children.

The Judge then asked the husband to step forward and began questioning him:

*Question:* When were you married?

*Answer:* August 1948.

*Question:* How did you get along?

*Answer:* Quite all right.

*Question:* When did you start to have trouble?

*Answer:* Since 1953 we haven't got along well.

*Question:* What is the real cause for the break? What are your thoughts about it? You said you married from choice.

*Answer:* We are both responsible. I admit that I have exercised "a husband's prerogatives"—but I have tried to overcome such old ideas. My wife has looked down on me and she has always been very strict with me. We are both responsible, but since it has developed to such an extent, it is of no use to try to keep her with me.

*Question:* Do you agree to a divorce?

*Answer:* I hope we can make up.

*Question:* What will you do to achieve a reconciliation? What will you do about the children if there is a divorce?

*Answer:* I know we are both responsible for the children. I would put them in a nursery.

*Question:* But your sons will be too old for a nursery?

*Answer:* I will try to solve the problem.

*Question:* What about the furniture?

*Answer:* That is unimportant; that is secondary. That could be settled by consultation between the two of us.

*Question:* What is your opinion now?

*Answer:* I don't think she will live in the present house; I hope to go on living in the house. I agree to divide the furniture—I have no objection to her suggestion—we will be reasonable. I agree to a divorce, but I want the children.

At this point the wife spoke up: "He has told lies about our relationship. When I first had relations with him I was a virgin; now he insults me by telling that I was not a virgin. I will not give him the children." Then the husband spoke up: he blamed his wife, saying that the children are indifferent to him and that this is her fault. The Judge then went on questioning the couple. First he addressed the woman:

*Question:* In speaking of the children, think what is most beneficial for them—isn't it for the mother to look after them?

*Answer:* I want the children. But I pledge I will not cut them off from him. I will not treat him as an enemy. I have never said they could be without a father. They are afraid of him because of his treatment of them; he never shows any concern for them—only when he is in high spirits. I pledge I will not keep them from meeting their father. I hope the Court will consider the problem in the interest of the children. And I hope the Court will not think it well to let the father have them. I ask the Court to so decide.

The Judge then turned to the husband and asked:

*Question:* Do you agree to let her have the children?

*Answer:* No, it would be a burden on my mind.

The Judge again questions the wife: "How much responsibility for the children do you want him to have?"

*Answer:* Only for one child—the one in the nursery. It would be about 20 yuan a month. It costs 23 yuan—but I know he has debts. I don't know how much. The Court can investigate his debts.

The Judge then asked members of the audience to speak on the case. A man, a fellow worker in the office where the husband worked, spoke up:

"The disputing between these two started in 1956. I tried to mediate. At first both were confident they could make up and forget the past—but this attitude lasted only a day or two. In 1957 there was a reconciliation that lasted one week. The relations got worse and worse, and they wouldn't even speak. They were always quarreling and it affected their work. Both their offices tried to bring them together. According to present estimate there is no hope; it is better to grant the wife a divorce.

Then a woman, a fellow worker in the office where the wife worked, spoke up:

"They haven't got along since 1956; she asked for a divorce then; we tried to mediate; she brought the case to court in 1957; the Court mediated but the situation got worse and worse. She is not in good health—the situation is an extra burden on her health. Recently they have quarreled worse and at length. We think a divorce is good. Now about the children—generally speaking, each could have one child; but there are other factors—we don't know if the husband could look after a child. In my opinion, let the wife have the children during this period; and then when the children are older, the parents can negotiate about them.

The Judge then asked the wife, "What is your opinion about this and—about your husband wanting the children?" The wife replied that she agreed with the suggestion from the audience concerning negotiating about the children at a later period. Then there was a fifteen minute recess during which the Court retired to discuss the case. When the Court returned the Judge made a statement:

"Before this case was called, the Court itself made a thorough investigation. Now we have heard the two parties and the audience expressions, and we have discussed the case. The Marriage Law states that marriage is founded on mutual understanding and common work, and that it must be based on a voluntary relationship, that there should be respect for each other and equality, and that both should be responsible for the children.

"In this case the woman was 18 and in middle school; she went to look for her relative when she was in a state of confusion, with no one to turn to; she had had correspondence with the man and went to call on him for help in finding her relative; it was mainly due to her having to turn to him that

they were married. Due to objective factors, it was a hurried marriage. Therefore there was not a solid basis for the marriage; they didn't know each other well enough to know if they couldn't get along after marriage. They could have cultivated a good relationship—but they failed to do this; due to the man's idea about a husband's prerogatives he did not treat her as an equal. He looked down on her as some one who knew nothing and he did not want her to be in touch with outside circles. And the wife did not do her best to create good relations. So they quarreled over trifles.

"The reasons for the bad relations, as the Court sees it are: 1) the husband did not change his 'prerogatives' idea; 2) he had worked as an agent for capitalists and so was influenced by bourgeois ideas; 3) they had different ways of doing things. As for her—she didn't do enough to help him change his old habits; she was not patient enough; she thought he was not as good as she was and she looked down on him. They had differences over finances. They lived separately, one upstairs and one downstairs. They had been married for eleven years and have two children—but no solid foundation for marriage before and no getting along after marriage.

"The authorities where they work have been concerned with the problem and have tried to mediate. Her office tried to help her respect him but in spite of the efforts of her office she didn't take it seriously, so there was no improvement in relations. On her part she was mentally distressed and her health got worse and her work was affected. In spite of the efforts of the two offices, there were no results.

"If they remain together as man and wife it is not good. Both have agreed to a divorce.

"As to the children, opinions differ; both want them. According to the Marriage Law the children are not private property to belong to one or the other after divorce. Even if one parent gets custody the other can see them and has to fulfill obligations to them. So, the crux of the matter is—settlement in the interest of the children.

"According to the Court's investigation, the father did not pay attention to the children. The mother did. She found a way to arrange for their care in case of a divorce; the father, on the other hand, could not give us any concrete measures he would arrange for their care in case of a divorce; he only says he 'would arrange.' The Court feels the wife is better suited to care for the children. This does not mean the two belong to her. The father has the right to see them and even

to bring them to his home at times. Also, there is a time limit—negotiations about the children can take place after a certain period. And, the children will grow up and conditions will change and the parents can reconsider the situation. The time may come when the father will be in a better position, so that he can look after them. Even reconciliation can be considered.

“The Court agrees: the wife is to look after the children. As to the expenses for the children, each is responsible for one child. How much—that is to be decided. The 23 yuan a month for the nursery is too much, though a child in a nursery needs more than he will later on in primary school.”

The Judge then rendered the verdict:

“According to the Marriage Law the divorce is granted. The children for the time being are to be with the mother. The father is to pay 16 yuan a month for the child in the nursery. The father can have a say about their education. As to the furniture: the wife gets the bed and two chairs; the husband gets the balance of the furniture and the house.

The Judge announced that an appeal to a higher court could be made within ten days.

#### A DIVORCE CASE: THE HUSBAND APPLIES FOR A DIVORCE

This was a case in Hankow, with the husband applying for a divorce. The Court, consisting of the Judge, two People's Assessors, one a woman, and the Recorder, sat at tables facing several rows of benches. The couple sat on the front row on one side of the aisle and I and my companions on the other side of the aisle. Previous to going into the small court room a court official had received us, given us tea and some information about the court. There were four or five people in the audience, besides the four of us who were visiting observers. The Judge, as usual, named the Court personnel, describing the function of each, and explained the court procedure. He then asked the two parties to the case if their friends were represented in the audience, receiving affirmative answers. The Judge then asked the husband to stand before the Court and began the questioning:

*Question:* What is the reason for this divorce proceeding?

*Answer:* We were married in 1956; and we got along all right; there were some differences in customs and speech; at first we

quarreled lightly and then seriously. Because of the quarreling at home I sometimes worked three shifts—so I didn't work very well. The cadres in our factory tried to help us, help us understand each other; then we criticized each other—but when we got home we quarreled again. So I think divorce is the only way out.

*Question:* What is the main reason for the quarreling?

*Answer:* It has to do with health and the children. When I want to sleep she doesn't keep the children from making noise. On Sundays and rest days I don't want to stay home—there is no rest there. And: last year she got a letter; I gave it to her unopened; she said it was from her brother. I doubted her. Sometimes I received a letter from a friend, who had a name like a girl's name; but it was a schoolmate of mine; she suspected me. So we suspected each other. We quarreled and for three months I ignored her and the children. Our factory comrades tried to reconcile us, but our quarreling was endless.

The Judge then turned to the wife and asked:

*Question:* Your husband has given his reasons for wanting a divorce; what do you say?

*Answer:* We fell freely in love with each other. There was no forcing in our marriage. Recently—for the last two or three years—we quarreled seriously. Cadres tried to reconcile us but afterwards we quarreled. I did suspect him—he always came home late and gave me no reasons. For the last several months he has had no concern for the children—spent no money on them.

Another reason for the quarreling is that my mother-in-law treats my sister-in-law better than she treats me. And—the letter my husband suspected was from a schoolmate. And he did not let me see the letters he got. We didn't talk to each other except to say ironic things.

I do not agree to a divorce. We fell in love freely; the contrasts between us were small. I want him to do away with his shortcomings; everything will be all right if he overcomes them.

And we must think of the children—divorce would not be good for them.

The Judge returns to questioning the husband:

*Question:* Your wife doesn't agree to a divorce; she says you two can understand each other.

*Answer:* It is better to divorce; it is the final way. I want the children. No matter what, I want a divorce—then I will not worry over quarreling; keeping on living together we will keep on quarreling.

*Question:* What if your wife overcomes her shortcomings?

*Answer:* Of course divorce is an unhappy thing. Both of us are responsible for this. I feel sick about this.

*Question:* Your wife's reasons are small things. If you both overcome, there can be reconciliation.

*Answer:* I have thought about this for a long time. Our factories have tried—even called a special meeting. But still we quarrel—seriously. We are happier now if we don't see each other—we have come to this. It is difficult for her to overcome her shortcomings.

The wife spoke out: "I will never agree to a divorce."

The Judge asked the wife: "What is the outlook for overcoming your shortcomings?"

The wife replied: "In the future we can discuss, with neither insisting on his or her own opinion."

The Court then took a five-minute recess to retire and discuss the question. When the Court returned the Judge made a statement:

The Court made an investigation before the case was called. We found that relations inside the family and between these two had shortcomings. So something must be wrong and we want to settle this question of a reconciliation.

The husband broke in: "I do not want a reconciliation; the factory comrades have already tried for that."

The Judge responded to this outbreak: "Your contradictions are small; if you can change your opinions and overcome your shortcomings, this case can be resolved. Shortcomings exist in you, the husband; and you must think of your children." Then the wife broke in: "I still cannot agree to a divorce; there are some fellow-workers of ours who understand this. I want to hear from them."

Two fellow workers, both men, spoke from the floor. The first one said:

"After the marriage their relationship was good. But the children do make a lot of noise—and the grandmother shouts at them. My opinion is that the relationship between these two and between the parents and the children is hurt because of the old parents. The old folks are not good cooks and they are disorderly—and this is the irritation the young folks face when they come home from work. The relationship between the young couple is basically good but the older relatives cause the trouble."

Then the second worker spoke from the floor:

"I have worked for several years with them and I know they fell freely in love. The problem is not serious, except for what is happening to the children. Our trade union tried to reconcile them; we think the main thing is to understand and forgive each other—and to understand and forgive the older ones too—they have difficulties too."

The husband broke in again; he repeated his reasons for wanting the divorce and said, "Maybe we will quarrel again."

The Judge spoke to the husband: "Your wife has confessed her shortcomings and you have admitted that 'divorce is an unhappy thing'. So—think about the future and how to improve relations. Fellow workers who have worked with you for several years and know the facts about your relationship and about the children say that you can each overcome your shortcomings; and think about your work. Try to rethink this problem. The Court is trying to solve this question; we think the feelings you both have are not so seriously broken that you must divorce." The husband again broke in: "We will still quarrel." The Judge continued, "If you still think this way you don't believe in your wife. You must believe in her and help her overcome her shortcomings; think about the beginning of your relationship when you fell in love with each other; you should be seeing the good parts of your relationship, not just the shortcomings." The husband replied: "I hope this Court hearing will be of some help; will help her see; I want to know what she will do."

The Judge then asked each to give their suggestions. The husband said: "We should both acknowledge the suspicions we had of each other and try to overcome them. And we can send the children to a nursery." The wife offered her suggestion: "We will send the eldest to the nursery, but not the youngest; the old parents can take care of the youngest. I ask my husband not to pay too much attention to the shortcomings of the old parents—we can't ask too much of these older ones."

The Judge then turned to the question of money. "The wife has raised the question of money; you each have saved money in the bank, but didn't tell each other."

To this question the husband replied, "I can now speak of the economic aspects. We do have income enough, but we need to plan our spending. And about the children—we will send both of them to the nursery. If my wife has different ideas from mine we will now talk more openly about these differences. But I do need rest when I come home from work." For her part the wife

said, "In the future I will not let the children make noise. And I agree to send both of the children to the nursery."

So the case was resolved; the Judge said, "Yes, send both of the children to a nursery—this will be good for the education of the children. And now you both understand each other better. And as to your old parents—you should respect them and talk over things with them." The session ended with the husband and the wife each signing their names to the agreement—no divorce and the children to go to a nursery.

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Chinese Design

3 1/2" x 4 1/4"

75¢ per dozen



Red Ink

Combination Offer for Note Cards

A. Circle of Children pattern (red) package of 12 cards	75¢
B. Bamboo spray pattern (green) " " 12 "	\$1.25
C. 12 of each of the above patterns	24 " \$1.80
D. 24 " " " " " "	48 " \$3.50
E. 36 " " " " " "	72 " \$5.00

(All with envelopes and post paid)