WHERE DO CORRECT IDEAS COME FROM?

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice: the struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world. In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs - the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. At first, knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans, or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans, or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas
are incorrect but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans, or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth. Furthermore, the one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it. Often, a correct idea can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Among our comrades there are many who do not yet understand this theory of knowledge. When asked the source of their ideas, opinions, policies, methods, plans and conclusions, eloquent speeches and long articles, they consider the question strange and cannot answer it. Nor do they comprehend that matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life. It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty.

APPENDIX II

DETAILED IMPLEMENTATION REGULATIONS FOR THE STATE'S SECURITY LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chapter One

General Principles

Article 1. These detailed rules and regulations are drawn up on the basis of the "State Security Law of the People's Republic of China" (simply rendered as the "State Security Law" hereafter).

Article 2. The relevant regulations in these detailed rules and regulations are applicable when public security organs carry out state security missions in accordance with Section 2 of Article 2 of the "State Security Law."

Article 3. The "organizations and institutions outside the country" referred to in the "State Security Law" include the branch (representative) organizations and branch institutions which organizations and institutions outside the country have established in the PRC.

"Individuals outside the country" include people without Chinese citizenship who live in the PRC.

Article 4. The "agents of espionage institutions" referred to in the "State Security Law" refer to those people engaging in activities which endanger the PRC at the instigation of or commission of an espionage institution or its members, or with their financial support, or people who incite or instigate other people to engage in these activities.

Article 5. The "hostile institutions" referred to in the "State Security Law" refer to the institutions which are hostile to the PRC Government and socialist system
characterized by the people's dictatorship, as well as institutions which endanger state security.

The Ministry of Public Security shall identify the hostile institutions.

Article 6. Activities which endanger state security with "financial support" referred to in Article 4 of the "State Security Law" refer to the following activities carried out by organizations, institutions, or individuals outside the country.

(1) Providing funds, locales, or supplies to institutions or individuals in the country for carrying out activities which endanger state security; and

(2) Providing funds, locales or supplies to institutions or individuals inside the country for carrying out activities of endangering state security.

Article 7. The "collusion" activities of endangering state security referred to in Article 4 of the "State Security Law" refer to the following activities carried out by institutions or individuals inside the country.

(1) Plotting or carrying out activities for endangering state security together with organizations, institutions or individuals outside the country;

(2) Accepting the financial support of organizations, institutions, or individuals outside the country, or doing so at their instigation, to carry out activities which endanger state security; and

(3) Establishing ties with organizations, institutions, or individuals outside the country, and obtaining their support and assistance for carrying out activities which endanger state security.

Article 8. The following activities are the "other sabotage activities which endanger state security" referred to in Article 4 of the "State Security Law:"

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(1) Organizing, plotting, or carrying out terrorist activities which endanger state security;

(2) Fabricating or distorting facts, publishing or disseminating written or verbal speeches, or producing or propagating audio and video products which endanger state security;

(3) Carrying out activities which endanger state security through establishing social organizations or business institutions;

(4) Using religion to carry out activities which endangering state security;

(5) Endangering state security through creating national disputes or inciting national splittism; and

(6) Activities of individuals outside the country who disregard dissuasion and meet with personnel in the country who have endangered state security, or who are seriously suspected of endangering state security.

Chapter Two
State Security Organs' Authority in Carrying Out State Security Assignments

Article 9. When it is believed that an individual from outside the country may endanger state security in the PRC after he enters the country, the Ministry of State Security may decide that he be barred from entering the country for a specific period of time.

Article 10. As for the felons who have betrayed the motherland and endangered state security, state security organs may list them as wanted and may pursue and capture them in accordance with Article 6 of the "State Security Law."
Article 11. When personnel of state security organs carry out their assignments according to the law, they may check the belongings of personnel whose identity is unknown and who are suspected of endangering state security.

Article 12. Vehicles which state security organs use for carrying out emergency state security assignments may have special insignia for passage and may be equipped with lights and sirens.

Article 13. When, during inspections, state security organs discover electronic telecommunications equipment or facilities incompatible with the needs for safeguarding state security, they may, in accordance with Article 11 of the "State Security Law," instruct relevant institutions and individuals to handle them with the necessary technical measures, and in the event they refuse to do so, or when they do not have the technical capacity to do so, the state security organs may keep the equipment and facilities in custody after sealing them, and then handle them according to the relevant law and administrative regulations.

Article 14. When personnel of state security organs carry out their assignments according to the law, they should show their inspection identification cards issued by the Ministry of State Security, or other relevant identification cards.

While carrying out their state security assignments, state security organs and their personnel shall strictly abide by the law, and they may not overstep or abuse their authority, or violate the legitimate rights and interests of any institutions or individuals.

Chapter Three
Obligations and Rights of Citizens and Institutions in Safeguarding State Security

Article 15. Government organizations, groups, and other institutions shall accept state security organs' coordination and guidance when educating their personnel on
safeguarding state security, or when they mobilize and organize their personnel to guard against and stop conduct that endangers state security.

Article 16. Whenever a citizen discovers an act that endangers state security and reports the act to the institution where he works, the institution shall promptly report the discovery to state security organs. There shall be no delay.

Article 17. Citizens and institutions shall support and assist the maintenance of state security, and they have the right to demand that state security organs and public security organs take effective measures to prevent and stop all acts that infringe upon their legitimate rights and interests.

Article 18. The following acts are the "major contributions" described in Article 5 of the "State Security Law:"

1. Acts of providing major clues for state security organs to uncover and crack criminal cases which seriously endanger state security;

2. Acts of providing major information for state security organs to guard against the occurrence of acts that will seriously endanger state security;

3. Working in close coordination with state security organs in carrying out state security assignments, and the performance is outstanding;

4. Acts of safeguarding state security and struggling against criminal elements who endanger state security, and the performance is outstanding;

5. Acts of educating, mobilizing, and organizing personnel of one's own units in guarding against and stopping acts which endanger state security, and the success is remarkable.

Article 19. The "illegal possession of documents, information, and other items which are state secrets" referred to in Article 20 of the "State Security Law" means:
(1) the possession or holding of documents, information, and other items which are state secrets by personnel who should not have knowledge of the secrets; or

(2) The private possession or holding of the documents, information, and other articles which are state secrets by personnel who may know the secrets but who failed to undergo the formalities to possess them.

Article 20. The "specialized espionage equipment" referred to in Article 21 of the "State Security Law" refers to the following equipment which is essential for carrying out espionage activities.

(1) Hidden audio and photography equipment;

(2) Receivers and transmitters for contingencies, secret codes for one-time use, and tools for writing secret messages;

(3) Electronic equipment for monitoring and intercepting intelligence; and

(4) Other specialized espionage equipment.

The Ministry of State Security is in charge of identifying specialized espionage equipment.

Chapter Four

Legal Responsibilities

Article 21. State security organs may seal, hold in custody, and freeze the tools, money, and articles used to carry out activities which endanger state security, or the budgets, locales, and supplies listed in Article 6 of these detailed rules and regulations, and in light of different situations, state security organs shall confiscate the money and articles that have been sealed, held in custody, or frozen, or refer them to judicial authorities for disposal according to the law.
All the money and belongings which state security organs have confiscated shall be delivered to the state.

All the money and goods acquired through the leaking of state secrets shall be handled according to Article 34 of the "Procedures for Implementing the PRC Law Governing the Preservation of State Secrets."

Article 22. When an act which endangers state security constitutes a crime, the one who committed it shall have his criminal responsibilities investigated, and when the act does not constitute a crime, the unit where he works or the higher competent authorities shall mete out disciplinary actions against him, and the state security organs may also warn and admonish him and instruct him to sign a written repentance.

Article 23. The following acts are the "performance of meritorious services" described in Article 24 of the "State Security Law"

(1) Acts of exposing and reporting other criminal elements who endanger state security, and the reports are factual;

(2) Acts of providing important clues and evidence which endanger state security;

(3) Acts of assisting state security organs and judicial organs in capturing criminal elements who endanger state security, and

(4) Other acts which are important in assisting state security organs in safeguarding state security.

The "performance of major meritorious services" refers to services which fall under the aforementioned categories and which are especially significant for safeguarding state security.

Article 24. He who refuses to provide information - when evidence proves that he knows other people have committed the crime of endangering state security, or when
state security organs are questioning him about the situation and collecting evidence after having been informed that other people have committed the crime of endangering state security - shall be handled in accordance with the provisions prescribed in Article 26 of the "State Security Law."

Article 25. When state security organs carry out state security assignments according to the law, citizens and institutions are legally obliged to facilitate their carrying out their duties or to provide other assistance, and those who refuse to do so - and whose acts constitute a deliberate attempts to obstruct state security organs from carrying out their state security assignments according to the law - shall be punished according to the provisions prescribed in Section Two of the "State Security Law."

Article 26. Those who deliberately obstruct state security organs from carrying out state security assignments according to the law and who cause bodily harm to personnel of state security organs or financial losses are liable for compensation according to the law, and judicial authorities shall punish them according to the provisions prescribed in Section Two of Article 27 of the "State Security Law."

Article 27. Personnel of state security organs shall have their criminal responsibilities investigated according to the law when their negligence of duty, practicing of favoritism, illegal detention, and extortion of confessions by torture constitute a crime.

APPENDIX III

A 1979 Chinese Declaration of Human Rights

The Chinese Human Rights Alliance was formally founded in Peking on January 1, 1979. The Alliance discussed and adopted the Human Rights Declaration. The Tian An Men Incident, which took place in 1976, has become, in the final analysis, a human rights movement, for its importance in terms of human rights is much broader, much more profound, and it has been a continuing awakening process for the Chinese people, as an inevitable development of contemporary history. This year, the human rights movement in China, with its enriched content and daring spirit, has won universal support and acclaim. It has helped to accelerate and promote the normalization of Chinese-American relations, further the development of our country's socialist production and enhance world peace and progress. We offer the following 19 articles at this historic juncture:

1. The citizens demand freedom of expression and the release of all political prisoners. It is equally absurd to write an individual's thought into the Constitution as it is absurd to include the name of an heir apparent in the Party and State Constitutions. This is in violation of the principle of freedom of expression, in violation of a person's thinking processes, and in violation of the fundamental principle of the "multi-faceted nature of matter" in materialism. The people of the country deeply detest an ingratiating attitude, because they know there is nothing in the world that is sacred and inviolable. The citizens demand the uprooting of superstitious deification and idol worship, the removal of the crystal coffin and the conversion of the mausoleum to a memorial hall, the construction of Premier Zhou's memorial hall and the annual solemn observance of
the April 5 Movement (that is, the Tian An Men Incident), in order to free faith from superstition.

2. The citizens demand that the Constitution guarantee the right to criticize and evaluate Party and State leaders. In order to spare this generation and succeeding ones further misery, to uphold truth and justice and to promote productivity, the citizens demand the complete abolition of the feudal and despotist standards now in force which equate opposition to certain individuals with counter-revolution; the citizens further demand that Chinese society be genuinely built on the foundation of democracy.

3. The citizens demand that minority nationalities be given broad autonomy. It is important to realize that China is not only a multi-national country, but also a multi-party country. In marching down the road of socialism, our country must face the multi-party reality, allowing representation of all parties in the National People's Congress. It is absurd that although according to the law the highest organ of the state is the National People's Congress, other parties are barred from participating in it. It is against the principle of democratic centralism to replace the Government with the Chinese Communist Party and to merge the Government and the Chinese Communist Party into one; for the result of such a merging is the inevitable continuation of rampant bureaucratism. The citizens of our country do not want a "window dressing" Constitution.

4. The citizens demand that nationwide general elections be held to choose state and local leaders by direct balloting. Delegates to neither the Fourth nor the Fifth National People's Congress were popularly elected. This not only made a laughing-stock of our country's socialist democracy, but also represented a fraud perpetrated on the human rights of the 970 million citizens of China. The citizens demand that a "Citizens'
"Committee" or "Citizens' Board" be elected as a permanent organ of the People's Congress to participate in the national decision-making process and to supervise the government. The citizens further demand that party and state leaders violating the law be brought to justice and that party and state leaders be always under the purview of the law.

5. Every citizen of the People's Republic of China must have the right to demand that the government make public the following information: state budget and gross national income, gross industrial and agricultural production, military expenditures, government administrative expenditures, investments and revenues, total number of industrial workers and cadres, total wages, size of armed forces, unemployment figures, workers' insurance, welfare and relief statistics, retail price index, foreign trade volumes and foreign economic and military aid (including aid to parties not in power or involved in armed struggles), production figures in various sectors of the national economy, current population and population growth, deaths and injuries from industrial accidents, diplomatic agreements, budgetary deficits, domestic and foreign debts.

6. The National People's Congress shall not hold any secret sessions. The citizens shall have the freedom to attend the National People's Congress, and the meetings of its Standing Committee and the Preparatory Committee.

7. There must be a gradual abolition of the system of state ownership of the means of production and a gradual transition to the system of ownership by all of society, under which the citizens must have the right to supervise the control and distribution of the surplus labor of all citizens by the state. This is to prevent further wanton exploitation by feudal-socialist swindlers like Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, so that the citizens will be spared further miseries which were brought about by such campaigns as
the slogans: "counter-attacking of the rightists," "the maladjustment of ratios," "the tearing up of agreements," "the all-our civil war", "the economic stagnation" and the one called "bordering on collapse". The citizens demand a voice in setting industrial, agricultural and commercial taxes and the amount of industrial profits going to the state.

8. The Chinese Communist Party has revised its perception of Comrade Tito and the theory and practice of his Yugoslav socialism, realizing that a backward theory inevitably goes together with backward productivity. The perception follows the theory of "turning revisionist". After a 10-year tragedy involving everyone in the country, the Chinese national economy reached the brink of collapse. Ironically, what Zhang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan called "democratic factions turning into capitalist-roaders" and "the Soviets turning into revisionists", actually share the same theoretical base. In view of the major changes in our domestic and foreign policies and lines, the allegation of "turning revisionist" has totally collapsed both in theory and practice. The objective basis on which the Sino-Soviet ideological differences once existed is now lacking. The citizens demand detente. The Soviet people are a great people. There should be everlasting friendship between the Chinese and American people, between the Chinese and the Japanese people, and between the Chinese and Soviet people as well.

9. The citizens demand adherence to the teachings of Marxism that socialism leads to a society which insures individual freedom and that the model of a regime of any socialist country is inherited from the traditional model of a capitalist regime. Divorced from the capitalist materialistic civilization, socialist democracy and freedom cannot survive. This is the basic ideology in Marxist classics; it is also an important lesson learned by the Chinese people after wandering more than 20 years. We need to borrow not only from Western science and technology, but also from Western democratic,
cultural traditions. The citizens demand that the government continue to open up previously closed doors, so as to allow ideological shackles to come down and freedom to sweep over the land, to allow intelligent Chinese people to share in the treasures of mankind, to allow the much-abused present generation to have a taste of freedom and the younger generation to be spared the same past misery, to eradicate class prejudices and to end deceptive propaganda.

10. Chinese citizens shall have the freedom to enter foreign embassies to obtain information materials, to hold press conferences with foreign newsmen and to publish their works abroad. The citizens demand access to "internal reading material" and "internal motion pictures" in order that there may be equality in cultural life. The citizens shall have the freedom to subscribe to foreign newspapers and journals and to watch foreign television stations. The citizens demand that the state give them the right of publication according to the Constitution.

11. The practice of life-time affiliation with a work unit should be completely abolished. The citizens demand freedom of employment, attire and movement; they demand that a solution be provided for the problems of husbands and wives working and living in different locations. Cadres demand the freedom to switch jobs; security workers should have freedom in their love life and marriage; and middle-school graduates should have the freedom not to go to the production brigades in the countryside. We oppose coercive enforcement of birth control programs by the government and the use of government administrative power to enforce any kind of clarion call. The unemployed citizens demand that they have the right to receive state compensation.
12. The citizens demand that the state guarantee the peasants basic kou-liang (grain rations) in order to eliminate the need to beg.

13. Educated youths on state farms shall have the right to receive profit distributions. All educated youths in agriculture demand that the state abolish their inhuman treatment, accord them political equality, improve their living conditions and raise their wages.

14. The citizens demand that the state prohibit deceptive recruiting practices. Units and cadres involved in deception must be brought to justice, particularly in cases involving the offering and taking of bribes.

15. In working whole-heartedly for the four modernizations, the government must also wholeheartedly and realistically serve the interests of the people. It must heed the demand for improving the shang-fang system ("upward appeal") by the victims of fabricated, unjust and mistaken cases, assuring that the upper echelons will handle the appeals directly and swiftly.

16. The secret police and the party secretary of a unit shall not have the right to arrest and to interrogate citizens. The secret police system is extremely incompatible with socialist democracy and the citizens demand that the secret police be abolished.

17. The citizens demand the abolishment of slums, the practice of "three generations living under the same roof" and the custom of grown sons and daughters living in the same room. The practice of organizations controlling admission tickets should be abolished. All exhibitions must be opened up to free admission. Censorship must be abolished and there must be a guarantee of the freedom of writing and freedom of the press. Political review in college entrance examinations must be abolished to insure equality based on examination scores alone.
18. We are the "citizens of the world" and as such, we demand the opening of borders, an active trade, cultural exchanges, export of laborers, the freedom to go abroad on work-study programs, and to work and travel abroad.


Revised on January 17, 1979, Peking, Chinese Human Rights Alliance.

Duplication and posting on walls are welcome.


Following the 1948 Berlin riot, the 1956 Hungarian episode, the 1968 Prague Spring, and the 1977 Czech Charter Movement, 1980 saw the eruption of the independent trade union movement in Poland. This movement differs from previous ones in that the others were suppressed by the joint forces of their own bureaucratic privileged class and Soviet socialist imperialism. But this time the Polish independent trade union has not yet been suppressed but has gained "legal recognition." Is this because the bureaucratic privileged class has "dropped its cleaver and become a Buddha," as the Chinese saying goes, or are there other reasons?

It is obvious that the bureaucratic privileged class has not become a Buddha and can never become one. On the contrary this bureaucratic privileged class, whose true nature is killing and lying while speeding up the concentration of all reactionary venom of centuries of exploiting classes within itself, is also speeding up its own decomposition. The contemporary bureaucratic privileged class surpasses all previous exploiting classes in its deceptiveness - in the guise of serving the people and struggling in the interests of the people, it engages in unscrupulous, monstrous deeds. But deceptions do not last long. For thirty years, facts written in blood and tears have finally enabled the honest people to recognize them as wolves wearing the skin of sheep! "The workers now understand that their wages are thirty times as much as the minimum wages of workers. They see special cars taking sophisticated daily necessities to the mansions of these dignitaries." "We ordinary people often die in the corridors, but the bureaucrats live in single rooms in hospitals, cared for by good doctors. The dignitaries also have special
shops and exclusive sanatoriums." On average one out of six of the over 3 million party members in Poland engage in seeking privileges. "A manager of a small import/export company received a bribe of over US $1 million just from his company's trading partner in the West, and the embezzled DM 473,370 and over $310,000. He had a bank account and a flat in London, where he lived with a mistress. He also built a luxurious villa, disguised as a training center for the building industry, for the Minister of Construction."
The funny thing is that "when vice-premier Pyka represented the government to negotiate with the striking workers in Gdansk and the workers asked him how many country villas he had, he gave evasive answers and was very embarrassed." As its counterpart in China, where the economy is about to collapse after the fall of the Gang of Four, it has become common practice for the bureaucracy to build private villas! At the same time that there is not enough food for farmers and not enough housing for the people, not only are mansions built for party secretaries and generals, mansions are also built for the sons, in easy conscience! The people are obliged to ask: How did they obtain high-class villas and luxurious cars, these bureaucrats and sons of bureaucrats who never created any wealth? Is this the principle of distribution in socialism - "to each according to his ability"? When this whole lot of "red dignitaries," while boasting of the superiority of socialism, are unrestrained in corruption, wasteful spending, and privilege-seeking, can their wolf nature under the sheep skin remain unrevealed? Can the people whose blood is sucked and whose flesh is stripped not rise and defend their right to live? The primary reason for the victory of the independent trade union in Poland is the sped-up decomposition of bureaucratic privileges and the general awakening and true solidarity of the masses.
Moscow's tanks have rolled over Berlin, Budapest, and Prague. But the Soviet Union, which is militarily stronger, cannot roll into the headquarters of its military Pact - Warsaw. Not only is this because it is bogged down deep in Afghanistan and is held down by young brothers like Vietnam and therefore lacks the material strength to influence the situation. More importantly it has lost the moral strength of holding together allegiance, for who in the world now does not look upon the Soviet Union with hatred - the main camp where human rights are strangled? In scrambling for world resources and markets, the Soviet Union seems to be on an aggressive stance and is indeed threatening for its imperialist opponents. But the system and the class represented by Soviet socialist imperialism have been relentlessly spurned by the people! The bureaucratic privileged class has lost all popularity. The moral support for the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class has entirely crumbled. Unquenchable, fiery flames to bring down the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class are already been alight!

The present problem is: With what are we going to replace the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class? Can we replace the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class by restoring the economic basis of capitalist private ownership or depending on ideologies like Catholicism? The answer is this would be absolutely wrong. As the rule of the bourgeoisie should absolutely not be replaced by the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class, the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class must not be replaced by the rule of the bourgeoisie (although the rule of the bourgeoisie is, compared with the rule of the bureaucratic privileged class, more moderate to the people at present). The only correct outlet is to build a system of proletarian democracy suitable for this particular transitional period in history, organically and firmly linking up true public ownership
with true democracy, so that they will complement and guarantee each other in the forward stride on the road to true socialism.

At this time no so-called socialist country can ignore the existence of the independent trade union in Poland. This shocks the bureaucratic privileged ruling class, but it inspires the people. The evaluation and attitude to this historic event have been clear criteria in examining the political position of different social groups. We now find the CCP, sensibly enough, still faithfully reporting the truth about the Polish events. Of course, the truly sensible thing to do is not to alleviate the decomposition of the bureaucratic privileged ruling class but rather to stand for the people's rights and carry out fundamental reforms to the present so-called socialist political and economic system. A revolution must be waged against the feudal bureaucratic system, which was stubbornly ruled China for over two thousand years; reformism of any type is futile. Considering that He Qiu and others of the China National Unofficial Publications Association who had been illegally detained have been released, that the Changsha student movement has been fairly handled, and that no savage intervention has been imposed on the free electoral activities of people's deputies now vigorously unfolding in some universities, we do not entirely give up hope on the party in power. China may gain radical transformations without going on Poland's road, but there is also the possibility that "the longer the suppression, the speedier the eruption," and China would accomplish radical revolution by a road more chaotic than Poland's. This will depend on whether the party in power will accomplish it by adopting a superior way or an inferior way, thus incurring blame to itself. The people, having suffered decades of hardships, do not want to repeat the same historical pattern unless there is no other way out. We hope that the party will not let the people down again on what hope they still
harbor, will go with the tide of historical development, will advance society to progress, and will truly take up the task of bettering the world and carrying through to the end this proletarian democratic revolution that has started with reforms.

The death knell for the bureaucratic privileged class has tolled!

Let us closely unite under the banner of proletarian democracy and fight to eliminate all class rule, class exploitation, and class repression, and help advance China's overall modernization!

"The people can float the boat but can also overturn the boat!" Long live the people!

APPENDIX-V

HUNGER STRIKE STATEMENT OF THE BEIJING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

We commence our hunger strike in the lovely May sunshine. In the full bloom of youth, however, we leave beautiful things behind, but with great reluctance.

Yet the condition of our country is one of rampant inflation, economic speculation by officials, extreme authoritarian rule, serious bureaucratic corruption, a drain of products and people to other countries, social confusion, and an increase in the number of criminal acts. It is a crucial moment for the country and its people. All compatriots with a conscience, please heed our call:

The country is our country
The people are our people
The government is our government
If we do not cry out, who will?
If we do not take action, who will?

Our bodies are still tender and not full grown, and the prospect of dying frightens us all, but history calls us, and we must go.

Our purest and patriotic love and our most generous sentiments have been called "turmoil" with "ulterior motives", which is "manipulated by a handful of people".

We ask every Chinese citizen with a sense of justice, every worker, peasant, soldier, intellectual, celebrity, government official, policeman, and even our accusers, to look into their hearts and ask what crime has been committed. Is it a "rebellion" to strike, to demonstrate, and to go on a hunger strike? Why must we hide ourselves away? Our feelings have been treated too lightly. We live in miserable conditions as we search for truth and then are beaten up by the police. Students representatives kneel to request...
democracy, and are ignored. Our request for an equal dialogue is repeatedly ignored, and the student leaders are put in a very dangerous position.

What shall we do?

Democracy is a desire intrinsic to the human condition. Freedom is an inherent human right. We now must sacrifice our lives for them. Is this something that the Chinese race should be proud of?

The hunger strike was forced upon us as a last resort. We face death resolutely, although we are fighting for life. We are still very young. China, our mother! Look closely at your sons and daughters. Hunger is ravaging their youth, and death is near. Can you stand unmoved?

We do not want to die. We have a passionate desire to live on in the prime of our lives. We want to live and to learn. Our motherland is poor, and we do not want to leave her so. No, we are not seeking death, but if death could lead to improved conditions and prosperity for our country, then we ought not shun it.

Though we are starving, dear parents, do not despair. When we bid farewell to life, dear uncles and aunts, do not be unhappy. We hope only that you will live better. Remember always that we were not looking for death and that democracy is not the product of a few, nor the accomplishment of a single generation.

Death awaits. Farewell. To our colleagues who share our loyalties. To our loved ones, whom we would rather not leave, but whom we must. To our mothers and fathers, for whom we cannot be both patriotic and filial at the same time. To the people of our country, from whom we ask permission to pursue this final act of loyalty.

We make a commitment with our lives, to make the sky of the republic clear and bright.
Reasons for the Hunger Strike: First to protest against the casual attitude of the government toward the demonstration of the Beijing students. Second to protest the government's continued refusal to engage in a dialogue with the representatives of Beijing's institutions of higher education. Third to protest against the government's condemnation of the patriotic movement as "turmoil" and the distortions of the media.

Demands of the Hunger Strike: First that the government quickly enter into equal, concrete discussion with the Dialogue Group of the Beijing institutions of higher education. Second that the government retract its statements concerning the nature of the Student Movement, and evaluate it fairly and honestly as a patriotic and democratic movement.


APPENDIX-VI

BEIJING WORKERS AUTONOMOUS FEDERATION PROVISION
MEMORANDUM

Based on the initial guiding principles, prepared by the preparatory committee of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation, issued on May 25, 1989.

Preamble: In the entire People's Patriotic Democracy Movement, led by the students in mid-April, the majority of the Chinese workers have demonstrated a strong wish to take part in politics. At the same time, they also realize that there is not yet an organization which can truly represent the wishes expressed by the working masses. Therefore we recognize that there is a need to set up an autonomous organization that will speak for the workers and that will organize the realization of the workers' participation and consultation in political affairs. For this purpose, we put forward the following preparatory guiding principles:

1. The organization should be an entirely independent, autonomous organization, built up by the workers on a voluntary basis, through democratic processes, and it should not be controlled by other organizations.

2. The fundamental principle of the organization should be to address political and economic demands, based on the wishes of the majority of workers, and it should not remain solely a welfare organization.

3. The organization should possess the function of monitoring the party of the proletariat - the Chinese Communist Party.

4. The organization should have the power, through every legal and effective means, to monitor the legal representatives of all state and collective enterprises. In other enterprises, through negotiation with the owners and other legal means, the organization should be able to safeguard the rights of the workers.
5. Within the bounds of the constitution and the law, the organization should be able to safeguard all legal rights of its members.

6. The organization's membership should come from individuals on a voluntary basis and also group or collective membership in branches of various enterprises.
