

For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!

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GREAT HISTORIC EVENT IN LIFE OF CHINESE PEOPLE

On September 20, 1954, amid nationwide enthusiasm, the first Session of the National People's Congress unanimously adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which consolidates the results of the long years of heroic struggle waged by the Chinese people for their national independence, democracy and Socialism.

The adoption of the Constitution was preceded by a thorough-going nationwide discussion of its Draft which lasted for more than two months. Over 150 million people took part in this discussion; all the 1,197 Deputies, representing all sections of the population and all nationalities of the country, voted for the Draft Constitution submitted to the Session of the National People's Congress.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a genuinely people's constitution. Each and every Article corresponds to the interests of the people and embodies their age-old dreams of a better life, their cherished aspirations and long-entertained hopes. Only a people who had come to know the joy of victory and become completely masters of their destiny could frame and enact such a constitution. Drawn up in conformity with the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and in accordance with the experience of China and with the invaluable experience of state upbuilding in the USSR and the People's Democracies as well as the international experiences of struggle for Socialism, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China bears witness to the grandeur and vitality, to the genuinely international, all-conquering nature of the immortal ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is based on the real facts of history. These world-historic facts are the final victory scored by the Chinese people under the guidance of the Communist Party and its tried and tested leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the long years of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; the founding of a stable people's-democratic state based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class; consolidation of the firm leading position of the socialist sector in the national economy; the beginning of systematic socialist transformation and the consistent realisation of the country's transition to Socialism.

Article 1 of the Constitution reads that "The People's Republic of China is a people's-democratic state led by the working

strata to the world their creative power and immense strength.

China is no longer a country that is split and weak. She has become a unified, monolithic, multi-national state. New relations of equality, friendship and mutual aid have been established between all nationalities of the country. Linked by common struggle against imperialism and reaction and advancing along the path of socialist upbuilding, the nationalities of China represent a united family of free and equal peoples.

In keeping with the Constitution the people's-democratic state is the main lever in the historical cause of building socialist society in China. The chief task of the state during the transition period is to bring about, step by step, the socialist industrialisation of the country, to accomplish, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce, and to conduct extensive economic upbuilding in a planned way. All the measures of the people's-democratic state meet with active and effective support from the popular masses whose really titanic forces were awakened for historic creative activity by the glorious Communist Party of China. The Chinese people, with enthusiasm and energy and brimming over with initiative, direct their efforts towards the cherished goal—the building of Socialism.

Of great importance in this connection are the Articles of the Constitution proclaiming the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. Citizens have the right to work and education and the working people have the right to rest, material assistance in old age, in illness or in disability. These fundamental liberties and rights are not only proclaimed but are guaranteed by the state by the provision of the necessary material facilities and are upheld by the appropriate measures to improve these facilities. The rights and duties of citizens fully correspond. No one can have only duties and enjoy no rights, just as no one can enjoy rights without having duties.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a constitution of a socialist type. As in the other countries of people's democracy the rights and liberties of the working people guaranteed by the Constitution follow from the very nature of the state and social system of the country.

Struggle for the noble aims of world

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Preamble

The Chinese people, after more than a century of heroic struggle, finally achieved in 1949, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, their great victory in the People's Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, thereby ending the long history of oppression and enslavement and setting up the People's Republic of China, a people's-democratic dictatorship. The system of people's democracy—new democracy—of the People's Republic of China ensures that China can in a peaceful way eliminate exploitation and poverty and build a prosperous and happy socialist society.

The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society is one of transition. The central task of the state during this transition period is to bring about, step by step, the socialist industrialisation of the country and to accomplish, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. In the past few years, our people have successfully reformed the land system, resisted U.S. aggression and aided Korea, suppressed the counter-revolutionaries, rehabilitated the national economy and carried out other large-scale struggles which have provided the conditions necessary for planned economic construction and the steady transition to Socialism.

The first Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China solemnly adopted our country's first Constitution in Peking, the capital, on September 20, 1954. This Constitution is based on, and is a development of, the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 1949. This Constitution consolidates the gains of the Chinese people's revolution and the new political and economic victories since the founding of the People's Republic of China and reflects the basic needs of

the state in the transition period and the common aspirations of the masses of the people to build a socialist society.

In the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China, the people forged a broad people's-democratic united front, led by the Communist Party of China and composed of the democratic classes, parties and groups, and people's organisations. In the future, the Chinese people's-democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilising and uniting the people of the whole country in the struggle to accomplish the central task of the state in the transition period and to oppose internal and external enemies.

All nationalities in China are united, free and equal in a big family of nations. This unity of China's nationalities will steadily grow in strength on the basis of the development of friendship and mutual help among them, opposition to imperialism, opposition to the common enemies of the people within the different nationalities and opposition to big-nation chauvinism and local nationalism. In the course of economic and cultural development, the state will take care of the needs of the different nationalities and, in the matter of socialist transformation, will give full attention to the special features in the development of the various nationalities.

China has already built up an indestructible friendship with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Democracies; the friendship between our people and peace-loving people throughout the world is also growing day by day. This friendship will be continuously developed and consolidated. China's policy of establishing and developing diplomatic relations with all countries, based on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, has achieved results and will continue to be carried out unswervingly. In international affairs, our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity.

Chapter I. General Principles

Article 1. The People's Republic of China is a people's-democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

Article 2. All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level.

The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at every level and other organs of the state, without exception, practise democratic centralism.

Article 3. The People's Republic of China is a unified, multi-national state. All nationalities are equal. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality, and actions which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited.

All nationalities are free to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs and habits.

Regional autonomy applies in areas where people of the national minorities live in numbers. All the areas of national autonomy are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China.

Article 4. The People's Republic of China shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society by relying on the organs of state and the social forces, and through socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation.

Article 5. The ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at present falls mainly into the following categories: state ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; ownership by individual working people; and capitalist ownership.

Article 6. State-owned economy is socialist economy, owned by the whole people; it is the leading force in the national economy and the material basis on which the state carries out the socialist transformation. The state ensures priority for the development of the state-owned economy.

All mineral resources and waters, as well as forests, undeveloped land and other

The state guides and helps individual handicraftsmen and other non-agricultural individual working people to improve the management of their affairs and encourages them to organise producer co-operatives and supply and marketing co-operatives on a voluntary basis.

Article 10. The state protects the right of capitalists to the ownership of the means of production and other capital according to law.

The policy of the state towards capitalist industry and commerce is: use, restrict and transform. Through control by administrative organs of the state, leadership by the state-owned economy and supervision by the workers, the state uses the positive qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; restricts the negative qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are not beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; encourages and guides the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state-capitalist economy, step by step replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people.

The state forbids capitalists to endanger the public interest, disturb the social-economic order or undermine the national economic plan by any kind of illegal activity.

Article 11. The state protects the right of citizens to the ownership of lawful incomes, and of savings, houses and the means of life.

Article 12. The state protects the right of citizens to inherit personal and private property according to law.

Article 13. The state may, in the public interest, buy, requisition or nationalise land and other means of production in both cities and countryside in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 14. The state prohibits any person from using his private property to undermine public interests.

Article 15. The state, by means of economic planning, directs the development and transformation of the national economy to increase the productive forces constantly, thereby improving the material and cultural life of the people and consolidating the independence and security of the country.

Chapter I. General Principles

Marxist-Leninist teaching, and in accordance with the experience of China and with the invaluable experience of state upbuilding in the USSR and the People's Democracies as well as the international experiences of struggle for Socialism, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China bears witness to the grandeur and vitality, to the genuinely international, all-conquering nature of the immortal ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is based on the real facts of history. These world-historic facts are the final victory scored by the Chinese people under the guidance of the Communist Party and its tried and tested leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the long years of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; the founding of a stable people's-democratic state based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class; consolidation of the firm leading position of the socialist sector in the national economy; the beginning of systematic socialist transformation and the consistent realisation of the country's transition to Socialism.

Article 1 of the Constitution reads that "The People's Republic of China is a people's-democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

Thus, the Constitution confirms in law the immutable historic fact that the valiant revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party against foreign imperialism and Chinese feudalism has ended in complete victory. The great and just cause of national liberation and social regeneration of China has triumphed. The Chinese people have forever rid themselves of the colonial bondage and oppressive yoke of the feudal relations which kept the great country in the iron chains of full dependence on international imperialism, of disunity, backwardness and stagnation and have founded the powerful, free, independent People's Republic of China, republic of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The People's Republic of China is a genuinely people's-democratic state. Article 2 reads that "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level."

The general elections to the people's congresses at all levels, right up to the National People's Congress, were brilliant testimony to the active participation of the Chinese people in running their people's-democratic state. By adopting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China the Chinese people, who have outstanding successes to their credit in political, economic and cultural construction, demon-

strated the Communist Party of China. The Chinese people, with enthusiasm and energy and brimming over with initiative, direct their efforts towards the cherished goal—the building of Socialism.

Of great importance in this connection are the Articles of the Constitution proclaiming the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. Citizens have the right to work and education and the working people have the right to rest, material assistance in old age, in illness or in disability. These fundamental liberties and rights are not only proclaimed but are guaranteed by the state by the provision of the necessary material facilities and are upheld by the appropriate measures to improve these facilities. The rights and duties of citizens fully correspond. No one can have only duties and enjoy no rights, just as no one can enjoy rights without having duties.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a constitution of a socialist type. As in the other countries of people's democracy the rights and liberties of the working people guaranteed by the Constitution follow from the very nature of the state and social system of the country.

Struggle for the noble aims of world peace and human progress is the bedrock of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. China's foreign relations are being built upon a basis of equality, mutual benefit and respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity. The People's Republic of China is an indispensable part of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union. The great Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy of Europe and Asia are the truest friends of the People's Republic of China. The indestructible and fraternal friendship between China and the USSR is a solid bastion of peace and security of the peoples in the Far East and all over the world.

Only the obtuse and short-sighted U.S. politicians and their myrmidons who are blinded by class hatred and afraid to look the facts of history in the face can persist in their "non-recognition" of the 600 million-strong People's Republic of China and hinder the enjoyment of her inalienable rights in Uno. But the wheel of history cannot be reversed and no intrigues of American aggressors can prevent the People's Republic of China from taking her lawful place—that of a great power—in the entire system of international relations.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, People's Democracies and the world democratic public wholeheartedly greet and congratulate the Chinese people on the adoption of the Constitution and wish them fresh success in the struggle for the glory and prosperity of the people's Chinese state.

Article 1. The People's Republic of China is a people's-democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

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Regional autonomy applies in areas where people of the national minorities live in numbers. All the areas of national autonomy are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China.

Article 4. The People's Republic of China shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society by relying on the organs of state and the social forces, and through socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation.

Article 5. The ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at present falls mainly into the following categories: state ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; ownership by individual working people; and capitalist ownership.

Article 6. State-owned economy is socialist economy, owned by the whole people; it is the leading force in the national economy and the material basis on which the state carries out the socialist transformation. The state ensures priority for the development of the state-owned economy.

All mineral resources and waters, as well as forests, undeveloped land and other resources which the state owns by law, are the property of the whole people.

Article 7. Co-operative economy is socialist economy collectively owned by the working masses, or it may be semi-socialist economy in part collectively owned by the working masses. Partial collective ownership by the working masses is a transitional form through which individual peasants, individual handicraftsmen and other individual working people organise to go on to collective ownership by the working masses.

The state protects the property of the co-operatives, encourages, guides and helps the development of co-operative economy and regards the development of co-operative production as the chief means for the transformation of individual farming and individual handicraft production.

Article 8. The state protects the right of the peasants to own land and other means of production according to law.

The state guides and helps individual peasants to increase production, and encourages them to organise producer co-operatives, supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives on a voluntary basis.

The policy of the state towards the rich peasant economy is one of restriction and gradual elimination.

Article 9. The state protects the right of handicraftsmen and other non-agricultural individual working people to own the means of production according to law.

Chapter II. The State Structure

SECTION I

The National People's Congress

Article 21. The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China is the highest organ of state power.

Article 22. The National People's Congress is the sole organ exercising the legislative power of the state.

Article 23. The National People's Congress is composed of Deputies elected from provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, the armed forces and Chinese resident abroad.

The number of Deputies to the National People's Congress and the manner of their election, including the number of national minority Deputies and the manner of their election, are prescribed by the Electoral Law.

Article 24. The National People's Congress is elected for a term of four years. Two months before the expiry of the term of office of the National People's Congress, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress must carry to completion the election of Deputies to the succeeding National People's Congress. Should exceptional circumstances arise, making elections impossible, the term of office of the National People's Congress may be prolonged until the first session of the succeeding National People's Congress.

Article 25. The National People's Congress meets once a year, convened by its Standing Committee. The National People's Congress may be convened at any time should its Standing Committee deem it necessary or one-fifth of the Deputies propose it.

Article 26. The National People's Congress, when it meets, elects a presidium to conduct its sittings.

Article 27. The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) Amends the Constitution;
- (2) Enacts laws;
- (3) Supervises the enforcement of the Constitution;
- (4) Elects the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China;
- (5) Decides on the appointment of the Premier of the State Council on the nomination of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and of the membership of the State Council on the nomination of the Premier of the State Council;

The state guides and helps individual handicraftsmen and other non-agricultural individual working people to improve the management of their affairs and encourages them to organise producer co-operatives and supply and marketing co-operatives on a voluntary basis.

Article 10. The state protects the right of capitalists to the ownership of the means of production and other capital according to law.

The policy of the state towards capitalist industry and commerce is: use, restrict and transform. Through control by administrative organs of the state, leadership by the state-owned economy and supervision by the workers, the state uses the positive qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; restricts the negative qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are not beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; encourages and guides the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state-capitalist economy, step by step replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people.

The state forbids capitalists to endanger the public interest, disturb the social-economic order or undermine the national economic plan by any kind of illegal activity.

Article 11. The state protects the right of citizens to the ownership of lawful incomes, and of savings, houses and the means of life.

Article 12. The state protects the right of citizens to inherit personal and private property according to law.

Article 13. The state may, in the public interest, buy, requisition or nationalise land and other means of production in both cities and countryside in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 14. The state prohibits any person from using his private property to undermine public interests.

Article 15. The state, by means of economic planning, directs the development and transformation of the national economy to increase the productive forces constantly, thereby improving the material and cultural life of the people and consolidating the independence and security of the country.

Article 16. Work is a matter of honour for every citizen of the People's Republic of China who is able to work. The state encourages the initiative and creative activity of citizens in their work.

Article 17. All organs of the state must rely on the masses of the people, constantly maintain close contact with them, heed their opinions and accept supervision by them.

Article 18. All persons working in organs of the state must be loyal to the people's-democratic system, observe the Constitution and the law and devote all their energy to serving the people.

Article 19. The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's-democratic system, suppresses all kinds of treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

The state, in accordance with the law, deprives feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists of political rights for a specified period; at the same time it provides them with means of existence in order to enable them to reform themselves by work into citizens who earn their livelihood by their own labour.

Article 20. The armed forces of the People's Republic of China belong to the people; the duty of the armed forces is to defend the gains of the people's revolution and of national construction, and to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the country.

(6) Decides on the appointment of the Vice-Chairman and members of the National Defence Council on the nomination of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China;

(7) Elects the President of the Supreme People's Court;

(8) Appoints the Procurator-General;

(9) Decides on the national economic plan;

(10) Examines and approves the state budget and financial report of the state;

(11) Ratifies the status and boundaries of Provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority;

(12) Decides on general amnesties;

(13) Decides on questions of war and peace;

(14) Exercises all other functions and powers which the National People's Congress considers necessary.

Article 28. The National People's Congress has the right to remove from office the following:

(1) The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China;

(2) The Premier and the Vice-Premiers, the Ministers, the Chairmen of Commissions and the Secretary-General of the State Council;

(3) The Vice-Chairman and members of the National Defence Council;

(4) The President of the Supreme People's Court;

(5) The Procurator-General.

Article 29. Amendments to the Constitution must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the Deputies of the National People's Congress.

Laws and other resolutions must be passed by a simple majority of the Deputies of the National People's Congress.

Article 30. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent body of the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the following members elected by the National People's Congress:

The Chairman of the Standing Committee;

The Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee;

The Secretary-General;

Members.

(Continued on page 2)

FIRST SESSION OF NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF CHINA

From September 17 to 20 the Session of the National People's Congress continued to discuss Liu Shao-chi's report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Altogether 89 Deputies, representing all sections of the population and all nationalities of the country, took part in discussion. All of them wholeheartedly supported and approved the Draft Constitution.

On September 20 the first Session of the National People's Congress unanimously adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. All the 1,197 Deputies present at the meeting voted for the Draft Constitution.

The Deputies listened with close attention to messages of greeting from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the National Assembly of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Albanian People's Republic and the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.

On September 20 and 21 the Session discussed and adopted decisions on the second item of the agenda.

On September 23 the Session heard a report on the work of the Government by Comrade Chou En-lai.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Continued from page 1)

Article 31. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) Conducts the election of Deputies to the National People's Congress;
- (2) Convenes the sessions of the National People's Congress;
- (3) Interprets the laws;
- (4) Enacts decrees;
- (5) Supervises the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Procurator-General's Office;
- (6) Annuls decisions and orders of the State Council when these contravene the Constitution, laws or decrees;
- (7) Revises or annuls unsuitable decisions of the state organs in provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority;
- (8) Decides on the appointment and removal of any individual Vice-Premier, Minister, Chairman of a Commission and the Secretary-General of the State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session;
- (9) Appoints and removes the Vice-Presidents, judges and members of the Court's Committee of the Supreme People's Court;
- (10) Appoints and removes the Deputy Procurators-General, procurators and members of the Procurator's Committee of the Procurator-General's Office;
- (11) Decides on the appointment and recall of Plenipotentiary Envoys to foreign states;
- (12) Decides on the ratification and abrogation of treaties with foreign states;
- (13) Establishes military, diplomatic and other special titles and ranks;
- (14) Establishes and decides on the award of orders and medals and titles of honour of the state;
- (15) Decides on pardons;
- (16) When the National People's Congress is not in session, decides on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack against the state or in fulfilment of international treaty obligations concerning mutual defence against aggression;
- (17) Decides on general or partial mobilisation;
- (18) Decides on the enforcement of martial law throughout the country or in certain areas;
- (19) Exercises all other functions and powers vested in it by the National People's Congress.

Article 32. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises its functions and powers until the succeeding National People's Congress elects a new Standing Committee.

Article 33. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it.

The National People's Congress has the right to recall members of its Standing Committee.

Article 34. The National People's Congress establishes the Nationalities Committee, the Bills Committee, the Budget Committee, the Credentials Committee and other necessary committees.

The Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee are under the direction of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress when the National People's Congress is not in session.

Article 35. Committees for the investigation of specific questions may be organised by the National People's Congress, when it considers them necessary, and, when the National People's Congress is not in session, by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress as it considers them necessary.

All state organs, people's organisations and citizens concerned are obliged to supply necessary information to these committees when they conduct inquiries or investigations.

Article 36. Deputies of the National People's Congress have the right to address questions to the State Council or to the Ministries and Commissions of the State Council, which have the obligation to answer.

Article 37. No Deputy of the National People's Congress may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the National People's Congress or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, without the consent of its Standing Committee.

Article 38. Deputies of the National People's Congress are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them. These electoral units have the right to recall and to replace their elected Deputies at any time according to the procedure prescribed by law.

SECTION 2

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China

Article 39. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress. Any citizen of the People's Republic of China who has reached the age of 35 and has the right to elect and be elected may be elected Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

The term of office of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China is four years.

Article 40. In accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China promulgates laws and decrees, appoints or removes the Premier, Vice-Premiers, Ministers, Chairmen of Commissions and the Secretary-General of the State Council; appoints or removes the Vice-Chairman and Members of the National Defence Council; awards orders and medals and titles of honour of the state; proclaims general amnesties and pardons; proclaims martial law; declares a state of war; and orders mobilisation.

Article 41. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China represents the People's Republic of China in relations with foreign states, receives foreign Envoys and, in accordance with decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, appoints and recalls Plenipotentiary Envoys to foreign states and ratifies treaties concluded with foreign states.

Article 42. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China commands the armed forces of the country and presides over the National Defence Council.

Article 43. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China has the right to grant and

(15) Ratifies the status and boundaries of the autonomous chou, counties, autonomous counties and municipalities;

(16) Appoints or removes administrative personnel according to the procedure laid down by law;

(17) Exercises all other functions and powers as vested in it by the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

Article 50. The Premier directs the work of the State Council and presides over meetings of the State Council.

The Vice-Premiers assist the Premier in his work.

Article 51. The Ministers and the Chairmen of the Commissions direct the work of their respective organisations. The Ministers and the Chairmen of the Commissions may issue orders and directives within the jurisdiction of their organisations and in accordance with the laws and decrees, and the decisions and orders of the State Council.

Article 52. The State Council is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

SECTION 4

The Local People's Congresses and the Local People's Councils at All Levels

Article 53. The administrative division of the People's Republic of China is as follows:

(1) The country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority;

(2) Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous chou, counties, autonomous counties and municipalities;

(3) Counties and autonomous counties are divided into hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns.

Municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority and other large municipalities are divided into districts.

Autonomous chou are divided into counties, autonomous counties and municipalities. Autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties are all areas of national autonomy.

Article 54. Provinces, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, counties, municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns establish people's congresses and people's councils.

Autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties establish self-government organs. The organisation and functions of the self-government organs are specified in Section 5 of Chapter II of the Constitution.

Article 55. Local people's congresses at every level are the local organs of state power.

Article 56. Deputies of the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, counties and municipalities divided into districts are elected by the people's congresses of the next lower level; Deputies of the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns are directly elected by the voters.

The number of Deputies of the local people's congresses at every level and the manner of their election are prescribed by Electoral Law.

Article 57. The term of office of the provincial people's congresses is four years. The term of office of the people's congresses of municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, counties, municipalities, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns is two years.

Article 58. The local people's congresses at every level in their administrative areas ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development and for public works; examine and approve local budgets and financial reports; protect public property; maintain public order; safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of the national minorities.

Article 59. The local people's congresses at every level elect, and have the right to recall, the members of the people's councils of the corresponding levels.

The people's congresses of counties and higher levels elect, and have the right to recall, the presidents of the people's courts of the corresponding levels.

Article 60. The local people's congresses at every level, within the limits of the powers vested in them by law, adopt and issue decisions.

The people's congresses of nationality hsiang, within the limits of the powers vested in them by law, may adopt specific measures suited to the characteristics of the nationalities concerned.

The local people's congresses at every level have the right to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the people's councils of the corresponding levels.

The people's congresses of county and higher levels have the right to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the people's congresses and people's councils of the level immediately below them.

Article 61. The Deputies of the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, counties, municipalities divided into districts, are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them; the Deputies of the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns are subject to the supervision of their electorates. The electoral units and electorate which elect the Deputies of the local people's congresses at every level have the right to recall and to replace their Deputies at any time according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 62. The local people's councils, that is, local people's governments, at every level are the executive organs of the local people's congresses of the corresponding levels; they are the local administrative organs of the state.

Article 63. The local people's councils in provinces, municipalities, counties, districts,

The people's councils of county and higher levels have the right to suspend the carrying out of unsuitable decisions by the people's congresses of the level immediately below them, and to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of their subordinate departments and of the people's councils of lower levels.

Article 66. The local people's councils at every level are responsible to the people's congresses of the corresponding levels and to the higher state administrative organs and report to them.

The local people's councils at every level throughout the country are state administrative organs under the unified leadership of, and subordinate to, the State Council.

SECTION 5

Local Autonomous Organs of the Areas of National Autonomy

Article 67. The local autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties are organised in accordance with the basic principles governing the organisation of local organs of state power as laid down in Section 4 of Chapter II of the Constitution. The form of each autonomous organ may be determined by the wishes of the majority of the people of the nationality exercising autonomy in the area.

Article 68. In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality should have an appropriate number of representatives on the local autonomous organs.

Article 69. The autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties exercise the functions and powers of local organs of state power as laid down in Section 4 of Chapter II of the Constitution.

Article 70. The autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties exercise autonomy within the limits of the powers vested in them by the Constitution and the law.

The autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties administer their own local finances within the limits of the powers vested in them by law.

The autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties organise their local public security forces in accordance with the military system of the state.

The autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties may draw up rules governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations, suited to the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the local nationality, and submit these rules and regulations to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

Article 71. In performing their functions, the autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties use the spoken and written language (languages) commonly used in the locality.

Article 72. The higher organs of the state should fully safeguard the right of the autonomous organs of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties to exercise autonomy and assist the various national minorities in their political, economic and cultural development.

SECTION 6

The People's Courts and the People's Procurators' Office

Article 73. The Supreme People's Court, the local people's courts at every level and the special courts established by law in the People's Republic of China exercise judicial authority.

Article 74. The term of office of the President of the Supreme People's Court and the presidents of the local people's courts at every level is four years.

The organisation of the people's courts is prescribed by law.

Article 75. The system of people's assessors applies in the people's courts at every level, as prescribed by law.

Article 76. In the people's courts at every level cases are tried in public unless otherwise provided for by law. The accused has the right to defence.

Article 77. Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in all court proceedings. The people's courts should provide interpretation for persons who do not know the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In areas where peoples of the national minorities live in numbers or where a number of nationalities live together, all court proceedings are conducted by the people's courts in the language commonly used in the locality. Judgements, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in the written language commonly used in the locality.

Article 78. The people's courts at every level are independent in the exercise of their judicial authority and subject only to the law.

Article 79. The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ. The Supreme People's Court supervises the judicial work of the local people's courts and of the special people's courts. The people's courts of higher levels supervise the judicial work of the people's courts of lower levels.

Article 80. The Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee. Local people's courts at every level are responsible to the local people's congresses of corresponding levels and report to them.

Article 81. The people's courts at every level have the right to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the people's courts of the level immediately below them.

Article 82. The people's courts at every level have the right to recall and to replace their presidents at any time according to the procedure laid down by law.

which have the obligation to answer.
Article 37. No Deputy of the National People's Congress may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the National People's Congress or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, without the consent of its Standing Committee.

Article 38. Deputies of the National People's Congress are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them. These electoral units have the right to recall and to replace their elected Deputies at any time according to the procedure prescribed by law.

SECTION 2

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China

Article 39. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress. Any citizen of the People's Republic of China who has reached the age of 35 and has the right to elect and be elected may be elected Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

The term of office of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China is four years.

Article 40. In accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China promulgates laws and decrees, appoints or removes the Premier, Vice-Premiers, Ministers, Chairmen of Commissions and the Secretary-General of the State Council; appoints or removes the Vice-Chairman and Members of the National Defence Council; awards orders and medals and titles of honour of the state; proclaims general amnesties and pardons; proclaims martial law; declares a state of war; and orders mobilisation.

Article 41. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China represents the People's Republic of China in relations with foreign states, receives foreign Envoys and, in accordance with decisions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, appoints and recalls Plenipotentiary Envoys to foreign states and ratifies treaties concluded with foreign states.

Article 42. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China commands the armed forces of the country and presides over the National Defence Council.

Article 43. The Chairman of the People's Republic of China convenes a Supreme State Conference whenever necessary and presides at its meetings.

The Supreme State Conference is attended by the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Premier of the State Council and others concerned.

The views of the Supreme State Conference on important state matters are submitted by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China to the National People's Congress, its Standing Committee, the State Council or other organs concerned, for discussion and decision.

Article 44. The Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China assists the Chairman in his work. The Vice-Chairman may exercise such part of the functions and powers of the Chairman as the Chairman entrusts to him.

The provisions of Article 39 of the Constitution governing the election and the term of office of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China apply also to the election and term of office of the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Article 45. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China exercise their functions and powers until the new Chairman and Vice-Chairman elected by the succeeding National People's Congress take office.

Article 46. Should the Chairman of the People's Republic of China for reasons of health be unable to work for a prolonged period, the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China exercises the functions and powers of the Chairman on his behalf.

Should the office of Chairman of the People's Republic of China fall vacant, the Vice-Chairman succeeds to the office of Chairman.

SECTION 3

The State Council

Article 47. The State Council of the People's Republic of China, namely, the Central People's Government, is the executive body of the supreme organ of state power and is the highest administrative organ of the state.

Article 48. The State Council is composed of the following:

- the Premier;
- the Vice-Premiers;
- the Ministers;
- the Chairmen of the Commissions;
- the Secretary-General.

The organisation of the State Council is laid down by law.

Article 49. The State Council exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) Formulates administrative measures, proclaims decisions and orders and verifies their execution, in accordance with the Constitution, laws and decrees;
- (2) Submits proposals to the National People's Congress or to its Standing Committee;
- (3) Co-ordinates and leads the work of the Ministries and Commissions;
- (4) Co-ordinates and leads the work of the local state administrative organs throughout the country;
- (5) Revises or annuls unsuitable orders and directives issued by the Ministers or by the Chairmen of the Commissions;
- (6) Revises or annuls unsuitable decisions and orders of the local people's councils at every level;
- (7) Carries out the national economic plan and the state budget;
- (8) Controls foreign and domestic trade;
- (9) Directs cultural, educational and public health work;
- (10) Directs work concerning the nationalities;
- (11) Directs work concerning the Chinese resident abroad;
- (12) Protects the interests of the state, maintains public order and safeguards the rights of citizens;
- (13) Directs the conduct of relations with foreign states;
- (14) Directs the building up of the armed forces of the country;

Article 59. The local people's congresses at every level elect, and have the right to recall, the members of the people's councils of the corresponding levels.

The people's congresses of counties and higher levels elect, and have the right to recall, the presidents of the people's courts of the corresponding levels.

Article 60. The local people's congresses at every level, within the limits of the powers vested in them by law, adopt and issue decisions.

The people's congresses of nationality hsiang, within the limits of the powers vested in them by law, may adopt specific measures suited to the characteristics of the nationalities concerned.

The local people's congresses at every level have the right to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the people's councils of the corresponding levels.

The people's congresses of county and higher levels have the right to revise or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the people's congresses and people's councils of the level immediately below them.

Article 61. The Deputies of the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, counties, municipalities divided into districts, are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them; the Deputies of the people's congresses of municipalities not divided into districts, municipal districts, hsiang, nationality hsiang and towns are subject to the supervision of their electorates. The electoral units and electorate which elect the Deputies of the local people's congresses at every level have the right to recall and to replace their Deputies at any time according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 62. The local people's councils, that is, local people's governments, at every level are the executive organs of the local people's congresses of the corresponding levels; they are the local administrative organs of the state.

Article 63. The local people's councils in provinces, municipalities, counties, districts, hsiang and towns are composed of chairman, vice-chairmen and members.

The term of office of a local people's council at any level is the same as that of the people's congress of the corresponding level.

The organisation of the local people's councils at every level is laid down by law.

Article 64. A local people's council at any level directs the administrative work of its area within the limits of the powers vested in it by law.

A local people's council at any level carries out the decisions of the people's congress of the corresponding level and the decisions, circulars and orders of the state administrative organs of higher levels.

A local people's council at any level issues decisions and orders within the limits of the powers vested in it by law.

Article 65. The people's councils of county and higher levels direct the work of all subordinate departments and of the people's councils of the level immediately below them, as well as appoint and remove administrative personnel within the limits and according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 85. All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

Article 86. All citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of 18 have the right to elect and be elected irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property status and length of residence, except insane persons and those who are by law deprived of their right to elect and be elected. Women have equal rights with men to elect and be elected.

Article 87. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. The state provides the necessary material facilities to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms.

Article 88. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief.

Article 89. The freedom of the person of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. No citizen may be placed under arrest except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of a people's procurators' office.

Article 90. The homes of citizens of the People's Republic of China are inviolable, and privacy of correspondence is protected by law.

Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of residence and change of residence.

Article 91. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to work. The state guarantees this right by planned development of the national economy, by increasing employment step by step, improving working conditions and raising real wages.

Article 92. The working people of the People's Republic of China have the right to rest. To guarantee to working people the enjoyment of this right, the state prescribes working hours and institutes vacations for workers and office employees and steadily expands the material conditions for the working people to rest and build up their health.

Article 93. The working people of the People's Republic of China have the right to material assistance in old age, in illness or in disability. To guarantee to working people the enjoyment of this right, the state provides social insurance, social relief and public health services and, step by step, expands these facilities.

Article 94. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of this right the state establishes and step by step expands the various kinds of schools and other cultural and educational institutions.

Article 104. The national flag of the People's Republic of China is a red flag with five stars.

Article 105. The state emblem of the People's Republic of China is: in the centre, Tien

The organisation of the people's courts is prescribed by law.

Article 75. The system of people's assessors applies in the people's courts at every level, as prescribed by law.

Article 76. In the people's courts at every level cases are tried in public unless otherwise provided for by law. The accused has the right to defence.

Article 77. Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in all court proceedings. The people's courts should provide interpretation for persons who do not know the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In areas where peoples of the national minorities live in numbers or where a number of nationalities live together, all court proceedings are conducted by the people's courts in the language commonly used in the locality. Judgements, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in the written language commonly used in the locality.

Article 78. The people's courts at every level are independent in the exercise of their judicial authority and subject only to the law.

Article 79. The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ. The Supreme People's Court supervises the judicial work of the local people's courts and of the special people's courts. The people's courts of higher levels supervise the judicial work of the people's courts of lower levels.

Article 80. The Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee. Local people's courts at every level are responsible to the local people's congresses of corresponding levels and report to them.

Article 81. The Procurator-General's Office of the People's Republic of China exercises supervisory power over all the departments subordinate to the State Council, local administrative organs of the state at every level, the personnel of state organs, and citizens to ensure observance of the law. The local people's procurators' offices and special people's procurators' offices exercise their supervisory power within the limits prescribed by law, procurators' offices exercise their supervisory power within the limits prescribed by law. Local procurators' offices and special procurators' offices are subordinate to the procurators' offices of the higher level, and all are subordinate to the Procurator-General's Office.

Article 82. The term of office of the Procurator-General is four years. The organs of the procurators' office are formed as prescribed by law.

Article 83. Local organs of the procurators' office at every level are independent in the exercise of their authority of local organs of state power.

Article 84. The Procurator-General's Office is responsible to the National People's Congress and reports to it or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

Chapter III.

Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

The state gives special attention to the physical and mental development of youth.

Article 95. The People's Republic of China safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. The state encourages and assists citizens who are engaged in scientific, educational, literary, artistic and other cultural pursuits in their creative work.

Article 96. Women in the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life.

The state protects marriage, the family, the mother and child.

Article 97. Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to make written or oral charges to any state organ at any level against any government worker for transgression of law or negligence of duty. Persons who sustain loss by reason of infringement of their rights as citizens by government personnel have the right to compensation.

Article 98. The People's Republic of China protects the proper rights and interests of Chinese resident abroad.

Article 99. The People's Republic of China grants asylum to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in the peace movement or for scientific activities.

Article 100. Citizens of the People's Republic of China must abide by the Constitution and the law, preserve labour discipline and public order and respect social ethics.

Article 101. The public property of the People's Republic of China is sacred and inviolable. It is the duty of every citizen to respect and safeguard public property.

Article 102. It is the duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to pay taxes according to law.

Article 103. It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the People's Republic of China to defend the homeland.

It is the honourable duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to perform military service according to law.

Chapter IV.

National Flag, State Emblem, Capital

An Men under the light of five stars, framed with ears of grain, and with a cog-wheel at the base.

Article 106. The capital of the People's Republic of China is Peking.

On Draft Constitution of People's Republic of China

Report by Comrade LIU SHAO CHI

at First Session of First National People's Congress, Peking, September 15

Fellow Deputies,

The framing and adoption of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an event of enormous historic significance in the political life of our country. The most important task of the first Session of the first National People's Congress is the adoption of the Constitution of our country.

The Draft Constitution now submitted to the Congress has emerged after much serious preparation.

The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, was formed by the Central People's Government Council on January 13, 1953. In March 1954, this Committee accepted the first draft of the Constitution submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Serious discussions of this draft were then organised in Peking and all other principal cities in the country, in which more than 8,000 persons, representative of the various democratic parties and groups, people's organisations and people of all sections of society, took part over more than two months. That means to say, all

these 8,000 or so persons actually took part in the drafting of the Constitution. The Draft Constitution which emerged from revision of the aforementioned draft was made public by the Central People's Government Council on June 14, 1954, for people all over the country to discuss. Discussions lasted for more than two months and more than 150 million persons took part. The broad masses of people expressed their warm support of the Draft Constitution, and at the same time put forward many suggestions for amendment and revision. In the light of these suggestions, the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China made further revisions of the original draft, which were later discussed and adopted at the 34th meeting of the Central People's Government Council on September 9, 1954; hence this Draft Constitution now submitted to the Congress.

I am now going to make a report to the Congress on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China on behalf of the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution.

1. The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an Epitome of Historical Experience

In drawing up the Constitution, we have worked on the basis of facts. But what are these facts? They are: that we Chinese people have won complete victory in our long-drawn-out revolutionary struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; that our people's-democratic state, led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, has been solidly established; that the socialist sector in China's economy has now assumed a position of vigorous leadership; that our country has embarked on its systematic socialist transformation, and is in gradual transition towards socialist society.

From these facts it naturally follows that our Constitution cannot but be a people's-democratic constitution. It is a constitution of the socialist type, not of the bourgeois type.

The Draft Constitution which we have submitted is an epitome of the historical experience of more than a hundred years of heroic struggles waged by the Chinese people; it also epitomises historical experience on the question of the Constitution and the constitutional movement in modern China.

The Chinese people had lived for long years under the dark rule of imperialism and feudalism. Over a hundred years ago foreign capitalism began to invade China, which fact revealed the utter incapacity of China's feudal rulers at that time to defend the country. The more serious aggression and oppression from outside grew, the more despotic domestic politics became. From then on, China, great nation though she was, practically lost her status as an independent state in her foreign relations and the broad masses of the Chinese people were subjected to untold suffering. Yet it was at this time that the Chinese people began to wage a valiant revolutionary struggle against foreign capitalism and domestic feudalism. To save China and reshape her destiny, many enlightened people tried their best to seek the truth. They

The revolutionary group headed by Sun Yat-sen insisted on the realisation, through revolution, of the democratic constitutionalism they hoped for, that is, democratic constitutionalism of a bourgeois character. Judging by the historical conditions of that time, they were correct in pursuing that line which represented the demand of the masses of the people. It was under their leadership that the revolution of 1911, which was of great historic significance, broke out.

The revolution which broke out on October 10, 1911, overthrew the rule of the Manchu dynasty, put an end to China's feudal monarchy which had lasted for more than two thousand years, brought into being the Republic of China and the revolutionary provisional government in Nanking headed by Sun Yat-sen, and introduced a "provisional constitution" which had the character of the constitution of a bourgeois republic and had a progressive significance. This revolution implanted the idea of a democratic republic into people's minds. It made the people recognise that any word or deed which ran counter to this idea was utterly impermissible. The revolutionaries at that time, however, had their shortcomings. They did not have a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, nor did they broadly mobilise and organise popular forces on which they could rely. As a result, they could not win complete victory over imperialism and feudalism. Finally the revolution failed, and the reactionaries led by Yuan Shih-kai seized power. From then on China entered a period when she was successively controlled by various cliques of the Peiyang warlords. The provisional constitution was torn to shreds. The "Republic of China" became merely an empty name. The revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen carried on their struggle against the Peiyang warlord government, but without any result.

Under the rule of the Peiyang warlords, the situation in China went from bad to worse. All the principal imperialist countries in the world scrambled for pickings in China.

He reorganised the Kuomintang and formed an alliance with the Communist Party to fight against imperialism and feudalism. Thus, a new phase of revolutionary struggle began.

In 1927 when the revolutionary Northern Expedition carried out jointly by the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party was advancing towards victory, the Kuomintang dominated by Chiang Kai-shek renounced Sun Yat-sen's policy and betrayed the revolution. Since then, the responsibility for leading the Chinese revolution has been taken over completely by the Chinese working class and its party, the Communist Party of China. Subsequently, the Chinese revolution has manifested a depth, thoroughness and a mass scale absolutely unparalleled in all previous revolutionary movements. In the course of the agrarian revolutionary war, the war of resistance to Japanese aggression and the people's war of liberation, the Chinese people gradually created their powerful people's-revolutionary army and vast revolutionary bases, where they established the people's-democratic power based on a united front and carried through various social reforms, reaping a wealth of revolutionary experience. Revolutionary struggles across the years prove that the path from new democracy to Socialism as pointed out by the Chinese Communist Party is the only path leading to the salvation of China. This path won very high prestige among the people of the whole country. After the conclusion of World War II, the Chinese people finally defeated the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique which was supported by American imperialism and, in 1949, achieved a great victory in the People's Revolution.

The Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek was the last of the reactionary governments that had successively ruled China in the past. That government never even wanted a constitution. But when it was at its last gasp, it, too, attempted to save itself with the help of a bogus constitution. The constitution concocted by the Kuomintang government in 1946 was resolutely opposed by the Chinese Communist Party, the various democratic parties and groups of China and the Chinese people as a whole; and like other reactionary governments in the past, Chiang Kai-shek's regime finally collapsed less than three years after promulgation of this bogus constitution. Meanwhile, the Young China Party, the Democratic Socialist Party and other counter-revolutionary parties and groupings that had supported this bogus constitution were discarded by the people. This is something that must still be fresh in the memories of all Deputies.

For the last hundred years and more, the struggle between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces in China has never stopped for a single day. On the question of the state system, this bitter struggle reflected itself in the demand of three different kinds of forces for three different kinds of constitutions.

Firstly, the bogus constitutions concocted by the Manchu dynasty, the Peiyang warlords and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. These reactionary rulers of the feudal and comprador class were opposed even to bourgeois democracy and never really wanted a constitution at all. Therefore, only when their reactionary regimes were tottering to collapse under the impact of revolutionary forces, when their own doom was in sight, did they hastily concoct fraudulent "constitutions" in the hope that by so doing they

That is why we say that the Draft Constitution which we now present is an epitome of the historical experience of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle for more than a hundred years as well as an epitome of the historical experience of Chinese constitutionalism in modern times.

And, of course, our Draft Constitution is also an epitome of the new historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

In 1949, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference adopted a Common Programme which has served as a provisional constitution. This Common Programme summed up the experience of the revolutions in the past, especially the experience gained in the people's revolutionary bases. It proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. It defined the basic policies that the People's Republic of China would carry out in different fields of activity.

The Common Programme has been persistently carried through by the Central People's Government and the local people's governments of all levels.

Although the People's Republic of China has been in existence only five years, our country has undergone vast changes.

Firstly, our country is no longer in the position of a colony or dependency under the domination of foreign imperialism. It has become a really independent state. At the opening session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly declared: "the Chinese, who comprise one quarter of humanity, have stood up". For more than a hundred years, the Chinese people made untold sacrifices to free themselves from domination by foreign imperialism. Their aspirations have been realised. The really nation-wide movement to resist American aggression and to aid Korea conducted since 1950 has further strengthened the position of our country as an independent state. She has assumed her place as a great power in the international arena. Together with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, China has become a strong bulwark of world peace.

Secondly, the age-old grip of feudalism on our country is now ended. The system of feudal exploitation, which was once the cause of China's stagnation, backwardness and humiliation, has, by a nation-wide mass movement of our people, been completely uprooted in most parts of our country.

Thirdly, our country has put an end to the long period of chaos. It has achieved internal peace and an unprecedented unification of the entire mainland. The various nationalities in China, no longer discriminated against and mistrustful of each other as in the past, are closely united in common struggle against the imperialists and the public enemies of the people found among them, as well as on the basis of national equality, friendship and mutual assistance.

Fourthly, our country has to a great extent put an end to the situation in which the people had no political power. It has attained a high degree of democracy. The masses of the people have organised themselves through the great mass movements like agrarian and other social reforms, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, resistance to American aggression and aid to Korea. An enormous number of people who used to care nothing about the affairs of the state are now taking an active part in the

The American imperialists and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique tell us that China should return to its old path of colonial yoke and feudal control. They say that our people are "living a grim life", and that they must come back to "liberate" us, overthrow the People's Republic of China and resurrect their reactionary rule. That is to say, our people must again be placed under the sanguinary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. As we know, the people of China, who have been liberated only after more than a hundred years of struggle, will never allow our country to revert to this old and tragic path. But United States imperialism, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique and the special agents and counter-revolutionary elements on the mainland insist that our country should go back to the old path. Now the American imperialists are still occupying Taiwan and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique are still holding out in Taiwan, riding rough-shod over the people, all the time plotting their return to the mainland. We are still facing a real danger of reactionary comeback. It would be a mistake for anyone to overlook this danger. The people throughout China, therefore, must be ever on their guard, make great efforts to strengthen our national defence, and carry out a resolute struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and to wipe out the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique once and for all.

Is it still possible for China to take the capitalist road and develop capitalism so that China may become a capitalist state? Some backward people may perhaps entertain such an illusion; but it is a most mistaken and very dangerous illusion. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The bourgeois republic is something which has existed in foreign lands but could not exist in China." The Chinese people, led by the working class, today will not allow capitalism to flood this country; and still less will they permit the people's-democratic dictatorship led by the working class to be turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. World capitalism is already on the decline and all the most developed capitalist countries have now reached a dead end, while the socialist Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have become prosperous and strong. Our people, led by the working class, are building Socialism, the face of our country is changing, and the people's material and cultural life is being improved step by step. This being the internal situation, will the Chinese people give up their bright and prosperous future of Socialism and take the capitalist path which leads to suffering and privation? Of course, they will not. Therefore, those who have such illusions must quickly get rid of them. Those who do not wish to stop dreaming and who stick to their illusions face the possibility that they will swerve to the dangerous path pointed by the imperialists. This is because those who insist on China taking the road to capitalism are bound to link up with the imperialists. But the imperialists would never allow China to become an independent capitalist country; they would merely turn China into a colony under imperialist, feudal and comprador rule. That was the

sufficient: why should we have a constitution? In the last few years, we have often heard talk about "consolidation of the new-democratic order". This kind of talk reflects the idea of maintaining the status quo. But is this possible at all? It is impossible for the two conflicting relationships of production under Socialism and capitalism to develop side by side in a country without interfering with each other. "China will either change into a socialist state, or a capitalist state; to keep China from changing means to halt the movement of all things — and this is absolutely impossible. As I have already said, the road along which China could change into a capitalist state is barred. Therefore, the road to Socialism is the only bright road for her to take. Moreover, she has to take this road, because this is the law of China's historical development.

It can therefore be seen that China's advance along the road to Socialism is fixed and unalterable. There is no other road for China to take.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, China has been travelling along the road to Socialism. The Preamble to the Draft Constitution states:

"The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society is one of transition. The central task of the state during this transition period is to bring about, step by step, the socialist industrialisation of the country and to accomplish, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce."

Since 1953 China has already entered the period of planned economic construction with Socialism as its goal. It is, therefore, essential for us now to take another step forward on the basis of the Common Programme, to adopt a constitution like the one now submitted to you, in order to set down in legal form the central tasks of our country in the transition period.

To bring about socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of our country is an extremely arduous and complicated task. To carry out such a task we need to mobilise the forces of the people of the whole country, develop the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses and overcome all kinds of difficulties under a correct and highly centralised leadership. Therefore we need, on the one hand, to bring the people to take an ever fuller part in democracy, and to extend the scope of people's democracy; on the other hand, we need to bring about a highly unified leadership of the state. For this purpose, there is every necessity for us to adopt a constitution much more comprehensive than the Common Programme, such a one as is now being submitted to you.

While it was under discussion, the people heartily acclaimed the Draft Constitution because it correctly summed up the historical experience of our country. This Draft Constitution is born of the people's will and reflects their interests. It is also a product of the enormous changes that have occurred in our country.

The people also acclaim this Draft Constitution because it has correctly drawn

...but be a people's-
democratic constitution. It is a constitution
of the socialist type, not of the bourgeois
type.

The Draft Constitution which we have submitted is an epitome of the historical experience of more than a hundred years of heroic struggles waged by the Chinese people; it also epitomises historical experience on the question of the Constitution and the constitutional movement in modern China.

The Chinese people had lived for long years under the dark rule of imperialism and feudalism. Over a hundred years ago foreign capitalism began to invade China, which fact revealed the utter incapacity of China's feudal rulers at that time to defend the country. The more serious aggression and oppression from outside grew, the more despotic domestic politics became. From then on, China, great nation though she was, practically lost her status as an independent state in her foreign relations and the broad masses of the Chinese people were subjected to untold suffering. Yet it was at this time that the Chinese people began to wage a valiant revolutionary struggle against foreign capitalism and domestic feudalism. To save China and reshape her destiny, many enlightened people tried their best to seek the truth. They made great efforts to study the bourgeois politics and culture of the West, thinking that these Western bourgeois ways could save China. Having done so, they attempted to model the state structure and social system of our country on the pattern of the Western capitalist countries.

One of these attempts was the reform movement which followed China's defeat by Japan in 1894. This was conducted by a group of reformers headed by Kang Yu-wei, who wanted China to have a constitution that would allow capitalism to develop without fundamentally changing her feudal system. Their principles won the approval and support of many people at the time. Though they were reformists, their reform movement was progressive, judged by the standards of those times. That was why it incurred the enmity of the reactionary clique. In 1898 their activities came to naught because of repression by the reactionary clique headed by the Empress Dowager Tse-hsi.

China's defeat in 1894 roused a broad mass movement. Simultaneously with the reform movement of Kang Yu-wei group, there developed a movement of other revolutionary groups, including one headed by Sun Yat-sen. After the failure of the Kang Yu-wei group, they organised the "Tang Meng Hui" (Revolutionary League) in 1905. Unlike the reformers, these people cherished the idea of establishing a bourgeois-democratic republic and they waged a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of Manchu rule. To that extent they were a great stride ahead of the reformers.

The Manchu regime was hard put to it to hold out in face of the rapid expansion of the revolutionary forces. In an attempt, however, to maintain their sway, to deceive the people and head off their revolution, the Manchu rulers about fifty years ago announced a "preparatory period for constitutionalism" and in 1908 promulgated "the principles of the constitution". The main aim of "the principles of the constitution" was the maintenance of feudal, absolute rule, although making a show of acceding to some of the people's demands. The people, however, put no trust in these promises, nor did they believe that this sort of "constitution" could improve the conditions of their country. In fact, they rejected this fraudulent "constitutionalism". While the revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen took a resolute stand against it, the reformers headed by Kang Yu-wei came out in its support. As a consequence, the latter met with opposition from the revolutionary group and were thrown overboard by the people.

...years, brought into being the Republic of China and the revolutionary provisional government in Nanking headed by Sun Yat-sen, and introduced a "provisional constitution" which had the character of the constitution of a bourgeois republic and had a progressive significance. This revolution implanted the idea of a democratic republic into people's minds. It made the people recognise that any word or deed which ran counter to this idea was utterly impermissible. The revolutionaries at that time, however, had their shortcomings. They did not have a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, nor did they broadly mobilise and organise popular forces on which they could rely. As a result, they could not win complete victory over imperialism and feudalism. Finally the revolution failed, and the reactionaries led by Yuan Shih-kai seized power. From then on China entered a period when she was successively controlled by various cliques of the Peiyang warlords. The provisional constitution was torn to shreds. The "Republic of China" became merely an empty name. The revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen carried on their struggle against the Peiyang warlord government, but without any result.

Under the rule of the Peiyang warlords, the situation in China went from bad to worse. All the principal imperialist countries in the world scrambled for pickings in China. Civil wars between warlord cliques backed by their respective imperialist masters continued for years on end. Utter confusion prevailed. One warlord after another seized the reins of government in Peking. In order to maintain the warlord control, the nominal president Tsao Kun, the last of the Peiyang warlords, proclaimed in 1923 a sham "Constitution" which the people promptly rejected. The Kuomintang, led by Sun Yat-sen, and the Communist Party of China, were against this "constitution" and regarded it as a fake. The government of Tsao Kun collapsed one year after the proclamation of this fake constitution.

In the years before and after the revolution of 1911 those who wanted to save the country could try to find a way out for China only along capitalist lines. It was only after the first world war and the October Socialist Revolution in Russia (that the Chinese people) began to see the steady decline of Western capitalism and the rise of the great sun of Socialism. On May 4, 1919, a great revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism broke out in China. The working class movement in China began to surge up. Then, advanced elements among the Chinese people became firmly convinced that it was Socialism, rather than capitalism, that would solve the Chinese question.

This well-founded belief held by the advanced elements was soon accepted by the masses. In 1921 the Communist Party of China—the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Chinese working class—was founded, thus creating a new situation for the Chinese revolution. Since then the Chinese revolution has become a people's-democratic revolution led by the working class, that is, the new-democratic revolution, which forms part of the world socialist revolution and receives the support of the socialist Soviet Union.

At this time Sun Yat-sen, great revolutionary that he was, came to understand from his experience gained in long years of struggle that, in order to realise the aim of saving China, "we must bring about a thorough awakening of our people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality". He boldly adopted a three-point policy of uniting with the Soviet Union, uniting with the Communist Party and giving assistance to the workers and peasants.

...tely opposed by the Chinese Communist Party, the various democratic parties and groups of China and the Chinese people as a whole; and like other reactionary governments in the past, Chiang Kai-shek's regime finally collapsed less than three years after promulgation of this bogus constitution. Meanwhile, the Young China Party, the Democratic Socialist Party and other counter-revolutionary parties and groupings that had supported this bogus constitution were discarded by the people. This is something that must still be fresh in the memories of all Deputies.

For the last hundred years and more, the struggle between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces in China has never stopped for a single day. On the question of the state system, this bitter struggle reflected itself in the demand of three different kinds of forces for three different kinds of constitutions.

Firstly, the bogus constitutions concocted by the Manchu dynasty, the Peiyang warlords and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. These reactionary rulers of the feudal and comprador class were opposed even to bourgeois democracy and never really wanted a constitution at all. Therefore, only when their reactionary regimes were tottering to collapse under the impact of revolutionary forces, when their own doom was in sight, did they hastily concoct fraudulent "constitutions" in the hope that by so doing they could prolong their moribund reactionary rule by the decorative facade of a bourgeois constitution. Naturally, they failed.

Secondly, the sort of constitution yearned for by the Chinese national bourgeoisie for many years in the past, that is, the constitution of a bourgeois-democratic republic. The provisional Constitution which came out of the bourgeois 1911 revolution and which was immediately scrapped by Yuan Shih-kai, was the only one of this kind in Chinese history.

Although many nations in the world did establish bourgeois republics after having got rid of feudalism, a bourgeois republic in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China was mere illusion. The reason is that, because the Chinese bourgeoisie was incapable of leading the people to defeat the combined forces of foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries, it could not turn China into a bourgeois republic, and consequently could not bring forth a bourgeois constitution in China.

Thirdly, the constitution of a people's republic led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants; that is the Constitution we are going to enact.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago pointed out that after the victory of the people's revolution led by the working class, the republic to be established would not be a bourgeois dictatorship, but a people's-democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This people's republic, led by the working class, would lead China to Socialism and not to capitalism. The truth is this: the bogus constitutions drawn up on several occasions by the reactionary ruling cliques of the feudal and comprador class without exception failed to hoodwink the people and were rejected by the people; and those who had a hand in these bogus constitutions and those who supported them were cast aside by the people. As a matter of fact, successive reactionary rulers collapsed soon after they produced their bogus constitutions, and their so-called "constitutions" all became mere scraps of paper. Moreover, for scores of years, despite all kinds of efforts by different people in China to bring into being a bourgeois constitutional government nothing was accomplished. Any genuine constitution for China can only be a people's-democratic and socialist constitution. Only such a constitution conforms to the interests of the vast majority of the people and enjoys their support.

...place as a great power in the international arena. Together with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, China has become a strong bulwark of world peace.

Secondly, the age-old grip of feudalism on our country is now ended. The system of feudal exploitation, which was once the cause of China's stagnation, backwardness and humiliation, has, by a nation-wide mass movement of our people, been completely uprooted in most parts of our country.

Thirdly, our country has put an end to the long period of chaos. It has achieved internal peace and an unprecedented unification of the entire mainland. The various nationalities in China, no longer discriminated against and mistrustful of each other as in the past, are closely united in common struggle against the imperialists and the public enemies of the people found among them, as well as on the basis of national equality, friendship and mutual assistance.

Fourthly, our country has to a great extent put an end to the situation in which the people had no political power. It has attained a high degree of democracy. The masses of the people have organised themselves through the great mass movements like agrarian and other social reforms, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, resistance to American aggression and aid to Korea. An enormous number of people who used to care nothing about the affairs of the state are now taking an active part in the political life of the country. On the basis of their own experience the masses throughout the country have keenly realised that the people's congresses are the best form of political organisation for the people to administer their own country.

Fifthly, thanks to the boundless enthusiasm and initiative shown by the people in their work since liberation and thanks to the aid from our great ally, the Soviet Union, our country has, within a very short time, rehabilitated the national economy which had been ruined by the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, and entered upon socialist construction and socialist transformation. Socialist economy has in real life proved beyond all doubt its vast superiority to capitalist economy. It has become increasingly strong and is daily consolidating its position of leadership in the national economy. The practical steps and concrete measures towards Socialism taken by our state have won the support of the masses of our people. Since 1953 we have been carrying out, in line with our objective of building Socialism, the first Five-Year Plan to develop the national economy, and successes have already been achieved.

This shows that our country has taken big strides ahead during the last five years; that once state power is in the hands of a people who are organised and given proper leadership, it creates an invincible force that will free the people from a life of misery, enable our country to advance rapidly and improve the material and cultural life of the people. It also explains why our state and Government enjoy the support and confidence of the entire people as well as the sympathy and support of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Modern Chinese history shows that our people have long debated a fundamental problem: which is China's way out, capitalism or Socialism? The tremendous changes that have taken place in our country over the last five years provided an illuminating answer. Life in the past five years has fully proved that the only correct path which our country can take is to pass from the present society with its complex structure to a society with a unified socialist economic structure, that means transition from the present new-democratic society to a socialist society.

Is there any other way out for China, in the light of events of today?

...country will not allow capitalism to flood this country; and still less will they permit the people's-democratic dictatorship led by the working class to be turned into a bourgeois dictatorship. World capitalism is already on the decline and all the most developed capitalist countries have now reached a dead end, while the socialist Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have become prosperous and strong. Our people, led by the working class, are building Socialism, the face of our country is changing, and the people's material and cultural life is being improved step by step. This being the internal situation, will the Chinese people give up their bright and prosperous future of Socialism and take the capitalist path which leads to suffering and privation? Of course, they will not. Therefore, those who have such illusions must quickly get rid of them. Those who do not wish to stop dreaming and who stick to their illusions face the possibility that they will swerve to the dangerous path pointed by the imperialists. This is because those who insist on China taking the road to capitalism are bound to link up with the imperialists. But the imperialists would never allow China to become an independent capitalist country; they would merely turn China into a colony under imperialist, feudal and comprador rule. That was the path taken by the traitor Chiang Kai-shek.

Is there any other course for China to take? Some people may perhaps think of maintaining the status quo, taking neither a capitalist road nor a socialist road, but preserving a situation containing both socialist and capitalist elements — which means continuing the existing conditions in which we live. It is well known to all of us that China is now in a transition period, building a socialist society. This period is also called in our country the new-democratic period, a period during which our economy is characterised by both socialist and capitalist elements. Some people hope that this condition can be maintained permanently and that it would be best not to make any change at all. They say that the Common Programme is quite

II. Some Explanatory Remarks About the Basic Content of the Draft Constitution

Now I should like to give some explanation of the basic content of the Draft Constitution under the following four headings:

1. THE CHARACTER OF OUR STATE

Article 1 of the Draft Constitution lays it down that "the People's Republic of China is a people's-democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants". The Preamble and many Articles of the Draft Constitution clearly indicate that a broad people's-democratic united front still exists under our country's system of people's democracy.

The truth that only by relying on the leadership of the working class is it possible for the Chinese people to win liberation from the oppression of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism has long since been proved by historical facts over a long period. After the people had won victory, a new problem cropped up, that is, would the working class continue to be as capable and confident in leading national construction as it had been in the past?

If some people adopted a wait-and-see attitude on this question in the beginning, facts during the past five years have fully proved what unusual talent the working class possesses in leading the state. To secure the fruits of victory already won by the Chinese people, it is necessary to fur-

...Common Programme, to adopt a constitution like the one now submitted to you, in order to set down in legal form the central tasks of our country in the transition period.

To bring about socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of our country is an extremely arduous and complicated task. To carry out such a task we need to mobilise the forces of the people of the whole country, develop the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses and overcome all kinds of difficulties under a correct and highly centralised leadership. Therefore we need, on the one hand, to bring the people to take an ever fuller part in democracy, and to extend the scope of people's democracy; on the other hand, we need to bring about a highly unified leadership of the state. For this purpose, there is every necessity for us to adopt a constitution much more comprehensive than the Common Programme, such a one as is now being submitted to you.

While it was under discussion, the people heartily acclaimed the Draft Constitution because it correctly summed up the historical experience of our country. This Draft Constitution is born of the people's will and reflects their interests. It is also a product of the enormous changes that have occurred in our country.

The people also acclaim this Draft Constitution because it has correctly drawn upon the experience of other countries. While drafting the Constitution the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution referred to all the constitutions, past and present, of the Soviet Union, as well as to the Constitutions of the People's Democracies. It is obvious that the experience of the advanced socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, has been of great help to us. Our Draft Constitution embodies both the experience of our own country, and that of other countries. It is not only the product of the people's-revolutionary movement in China but also a product of the international socialist movement.

That is the historic significance of our Constitution.

ther consolidate and strengthen the working class leadership of the state. Success in our cause of socialist construction and socialist transformation would be unthinkable without such leadership.

Continuous consolidation and strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance is the basic guarantee of successful leadership by the working class. This is as true in the revolutionary wars of the past as in the national construction of today. The worker-peasant alliance of our country, tempered in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, has been strengthened, not weakened, since the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the course of gradual transition to Socialism, the peasants are bound to change, and have, in fact, begun to do so. The change takes the form of gradual transformation of individual peasants leading a precarious life into socialist, co-operative farmers. Only when the working class leads the peasantry to advance along this path of co-operation can the peasants' livelihood be steadily improved and the worker-peasant alliance made closer and firmer.

(Continued on page 4)

On Draft Constitution of People's Republic of China

Report by Comrade LIU SHAO CHI
at First Session of First National People's Congress, Peking, September 15

(Continued from page 3)

Among the working people of our country, besides workers and peasants, there is a large number of urban and rural individual workers engaged in handicraft or non-agricultural labour. They rely for their living entirely or mainly on their own labour. The working class must do its best to unite with these working people in the common task of building Socialism as it does with the peasantry. To unite with them is part of the task of the worker-peasant alliance.

The fact that our state is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance shows the fundamental character of our state. It shows that China is a people's-democratic state. People's Democracies are entirely different in character from capitalist countries. In capitalist countries, no matter how much they prate about "democracy", it is, after all, the bourgeoisie who rule, although they constitute only a tiny fraction of the population. Here in our country, the true masters of the state are the people, comprising the overwhelming majority of the country's population.

The intellectuals of our country played a very important part in the revolutionary movement of the past, and they will play a still more important role in building Socialism. Coming from different social classes, intellectuals cannot by themselves form an independent social class. They can, however, when they align themselves with the working people, become working class intellectuals, or, when they align themselves with the bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals; and, to the extent that they align themselves with the overthrown feudal and comprador class, a handful of them have become reactionary intellectuals. Our state must take care to rally all intellectuals, except the handful of reactionary intellectuals who hold fast to their reactionary position and carry on their activity against the People's Republic of China. It must help them to remould their ideology and devote their ability to the cause of building Socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago said: "All intellectuals who have distinguished themselves in the service of the people must be respected as valuable assets to the state and society."

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution points out: "In the future, the Chinese people's-democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilising and uniting the people of the whole country in the struggle to accomplish the central task of the state in the transition period and to oppose internal and external enemies." This signifies the important role to be played in the transition period by the people's-democratic united front led by the working class and composed of the various democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and people's organisations. This united front means an alliance based on, and broader than, the worker-peasant alliance, an alliance between the working people and all non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. It is a mistake for some people to believe that, since we are building Socialism, it is no longer possible and necessary for such an alliance to continue.

Our country in the transition period still has its national bourgeoisie. It is known

that in any society where exploiting and exploited classes exist, the class struggle always persists. But owing to special historical circumstances in our country—that she was formerly a nation oppressed by foreign imperialism—there was not only a conflict between the Chinese working class and the national bourgeoisie; there was also an alliance between them which still exists. The national bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the working class, joined the national and democratic revolution in the past. In the last five years, led by the state, it also took part in patriotic movements and in economic rehabilitation. Since the serious struggle of the San Fan movement (against corruption, waste and bureaucratism) and Wu Fan movement (against the bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for private speculation) many capitalists have raised the level of their political understanding and demonstrated their willingness to accept socialist transformation. This makes it possible for our state to adopt the policy of step-by-step socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. And we are at present carrying out such a transformation. In the transition period the national bourgeoisie still plays an important role in our national economy. It can still make a definite contribution to the state in such fields as expanding production, improving management of enterprises and production techniques, and training skilled workers and technicians, as well as by accepting socialist transformation. In the transition period, the national bourgeoisie has a definite status in political life.

In the society of our country, and especially among the national minorities, there are people of other classes who love their country, and the state should make special efforts to rally them.

This shows that the present united front of our country still has a broad basis.

The Communist Party of China has long pointed out that the great revolutionary unity of the people of the entire country under the leadership of the working class is essential not only to the people's-democratic revolution of our country, but also to the realisation of Socialism. For imperialism still confronts us. At the same time, in our country there are actually only two roads for the people to choose: either to be enslaved again by imperialism, or to bring about Socialism. Only by advancing towards Socialism can China achieve independence, bring about democracy and attain prosperity and strength. In such a situation, it is possible for all patriots who are unwilling to accept colonial slavery to unite under the leadership of the working class and to accept the socialist path. Provided that the leadership of the working class and the alliance of workers and peasants are continually strengthened, the broader the possibilities for unity among the people become, the greater will be the benefit to the cause of Socialism. Therefore, our Constitution must be a constitution within the framework of which the people of the entire country unite to build a socialist society.

social change, the working class and the rest of the labouring people must proceed by way of a revolution to overthrow the state system of bourgeois dictatorship. But the existing political and economic conditions in our country are entirely different from those of the capitalist countries. Our country has set up the state system of people's democracy led by the working class. Our country already possesses an ever-growing socialist state-owned economy, which has become the leading force of the entire national economy, while capitalist economy is no longer dominant in our country. Consequently, the socialist revolution in our country differs from that in the capitalist countries. In our country, the question of overthrowing the state system of the bourgeoisie does not arise. We can proceed with our step-by-step socialist transformation by means of the existing machinery of state and social forces. Moreover, as I have mentioned earlier, we have in our country a relationship of alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie. For this reason, in eliminating the system of capitalist exploitation in our country, we do not have to adopt the methods used in carrying out the land reform in 1950-52, when we launched a broad mass movement over a short period of time and eliminated the feudal land system at one stroke. Socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce by the state will be gradually realised over a relatively long period of time, through various forms of state capitalism. We shall give the capitalists the necessary length of time so that they may accept the transformation step by step, under the leadership of the state and the working class. Of course, struggles are bound to occur. There are struggles now, and there will be struggles in the future. Even now some capitalists are still engaged in unlawful pursuits and some of them have gone as far as to set their faces against socialist transformation. For this reason, the Draft Constitution provides that "the state forbids capitalists to endanger the public interest, disturb the social economic order or undermine the national economic plan by any kind of illegal activity". The idea that there is no longer class struggle in our country is completely wrong. Punishment will have to be meted out to those capitalists who engage in unlawful pursuits or disruptive activity. It is inconceivable that there should be no complicated struggle as we pass from the process of restricting capitalist exploitation to that of eliminating it. But the aim can be achieved by peaceful struggle through the control of the administrative bodies of the state, the leadership of the state-owned economy, and the supervision by the mass of the workers. The capitalist, provided he realises the march of events, provided he is willing to accept socialist reform, and provided he does not act against the law or wreck the property of the people, can enjoy the concern of the state and will have proper arrangements made for his life and work in the future; nor will he be deprived of political rights. There is a great difference between this and our policy towards the class of feudal landlords. The leadership of the working class in the state and the solid alliance of workers and peasants, the leading position of socialist economy in the national economy as a whole, the united front within the

restricted. In our country it is therefore possible to eliminate capitalism in the countryside step by step through the building of co-operatives and restrictions on the development of rich peasant economy. Struggle is of course unavoidable. Disruptive activity by the rich peasants cannot be overlooked. In many areas, rich peasants are known to have opposed unified purchase and distribution by the state and to have undermined the mutual-aid and co-operative movement. Such rich peasant elements who are guilty of disruption must be punished. However, in view of the entire political and economic situation of our country, it will not be necessary to start a special movement, as was the case in the land reform, to eliminate the rich peasants. In the future, those rich peasants who have already given up exploitation may be allowed to join co-operatives on certain conditions and continue to reform themselves, provided the agricultural producer co-operatives have been consolidated and the agreement of the peasants is obtained.

During the nation-wide discussion of the Draft Constitution, not a few people asked: the Draft Constitution lays it down, on the one hand, that the state protects capitalist ownership of means of production and other capital according to law. On the other hand, it also says that the state will carry out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and step by step replace capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people. Is this not a contradiction?

Whatever contradiction there is simply reflects the contradiction existing in real life. During the transition period in our country, we have not only Socialism but also capitalism. The contradiction between these two different kinds of ownership is a contradiction which exists objectively. In the present stage, capitalist industry and commerce have qualities which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood; at the same time, they also have qualities which are not beneficial to them. Therein lies the contradiction—in the very existence of capitalist industry and commerce itself. Our policy, which aims at resolving the contradictions between Socialism and capitalism, consists, on the one hand, in recognising the existence of capitalist ownership and utilising the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood, and on the other hand, in restricting the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are not so. Transitional forms will be employed to create conditions for the replacement, step by step, of capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people. Some of the concrete steps concerning the transition to a socialist society laid down in the Draft Constitution are aimed at correctly solving this contradiction.

In the actual conditions of our country, the policy and methods which we have adopted to build Socialism are correct. The truth of this can be proved, too, by the clamour of our enemies and by the comments in the foreign capitalist press.

The imperialists and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan very much dislike seeing us build Socialism in China. They are slandering us every day,

because it helps the people to exercise their own power and participate constantly in running the state through this political system, thereby bringing into full play their initiative and creativeness. Clearly, if there is no suitable political system that enables the masses to use their abilities in running the state, it is impossible to mobilise and organise them effectively for the building of Socialism.

Our people's congresses at all levels are based on universal franchise. The Draft Constitution states that all citizens on reaching the age of 18 have the right to elect and be elected, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, educational level, property status, or length of residence. Owing to various circumstances that still prevail, in the elections in our country it is still necessary, in accordance with law, to deprive feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists for a given period of their right to elect and be elected; to specify that the number of Deputies relative to population differs in proportion as between cities and villages; to adopt a multi-level electoral system; and to use the show-of-hands method in most basic level elections. Our electoral system will be gradually improved and, when conditions are ripe, our country will adopt the system of completely universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. The present electoral system, however, is appropriate to present conditions in our country and the most convenient for the people. It takes into special consideration the national minorities and various democratic classes by providing for appropriate quotas of Deputies to represent them. People's congresses at all levels created by such elections are fully representative of the people's will, and are thus people's representative organisations of a highly democratic character.

According to the provisions of the Draft Constitution the exercise of supreme state power is completely unified in our National People's Congress, while all our state administrative bodies, from the State Council to the people's councils at local levels, are created from and supervised by the bodies exercising state power, that is, the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels, and may be removed by them. Our state administrative bodies, therefore, can in no circumstances act independently of the people's congresses or against the will of the people's congresses. The functions and powers of the head of state in our country are jointly exercised by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China elected by the National People's Congress. This conforms to the actual situation of our country and is based on our experience in the building up of the highest bodies exercising state power since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Ours is a collective head of state. Neither the Standing Committee nor the Chairman of the People's Republic of China has powers exceeding those of the National People's Congress.

No important affairs of our state are to be determined by any single person or small number of persons. Since the people's congresses are instituted as the basic political system of our country, all important questions must be submitted to them for discussion and decision. Important questions affecting the whole nation must be discussed

combined. They think that where there is democracy there cannot be centralism, and where there is centralism there cannot be democracy. When they see the political unanimity of the people in our state bodies and find a highly unified leadership throughout the country, they try to show that "there is no democracy" here. The trouble with them is that they simply do not understand people's democracy, and consequently have no idea what centralism on the basis of people's democracy means.

The common interests of the people and their unity of will are the starting point of the work of the people's congresses and all state bodies. Therefore, it is possible in all state bodies to arrive at political unanimity of the people based on democracy. But political unanimity does not mean a lessening or elimination of criticism and self-criticism. On the contrary, criticism and self-criticism is a most important expression of our democratic life. In the work of all state bodies in our country there are bound to be defects and mistakes. Therefore, self-criticism must be given to criticism and self-criticism at sessions of the National People's Congress, at sessions of local people's congresses at all levels, and at meetings of all state bodies and in their daily activities. We must use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to drive forward the work of the state bodies, constantly correcting defects and mistakes and fighting against bureaucratism, which spells departure from the masses, so that the state bodies can maintain regular and close contact with the masses and correctly reflect their will. If there is not full criticism and self-criticism, political unanimity of the people can neither be achieved nor maintained. Suppression of criticism in our state bodies is a legal offence.

From a bourgeois viewpoint, it is impossible to understand the political system of our country. Many foreign bourgeois papers have commented on the political system provided in our Draft Constitution. Some people have shown surprise at the broad power of our people's congresses, saying "one cannot but feel surprised, in particular, at the formidable functions and powers of the National People's Congress". Others argue whether the role of Chairman of the People's Republic of China is comparable to that of a French or an American President. These commentators invariably try to judge our system by the political system of the bourgeois countries, or make all sorts of statements based on their own warped imagination. The pity is that they miss the greatest and most fundamental thing. They still fail to see the tremendous change that has occurred in Chinese history. This change is that the Chinese people, led by the working class, have become the masters of their own country.

Still other foreign bourgeois commentators attack our system of centralism and the collective spirit of our people. On these grounds they allege "there is no individual freedom" in our country and that we "ignore personal interests". I therefore wish to say a few words on the question of whether a high degree of centralism and the collective spirit of the people impair the personal interests and the personal freedom of the masses.

Many Articles in the Draft Constitution provide for the enjoyment by our citizens

people's-democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilising and uniting the people of the whole country in the struggle to accomplish the central task of the state in the transition period and to oppose internal and external enemies." This signifies the important role to be played in the transition period by the people's-democratic united front led by the working class and composed of the various democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and people's organisations. This united front means an alliance based on, and broader than, the worker-peasant alliance, an alliance between the working people and all non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. It is a mistake for some people to believe that, since we are building Socialism, it is no longer possible and necessary for such an alliance to continue.

Our country in the transition period still has its national bourgeoisie. It is known

2. STEPS TO BE TAKEN IN THE TRANSITION TO A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Article 4 of the Draft Constitution states: "The People's Republic of China shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society by relying on the organs of state and the social forces and through socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation."

To ensure the thorough implementation of the policy laid down in Article 4, many provisions are made in other Articles under the heading of General Principles. These provisions define both the general object of building a socialist society and the concrete steps towards building such a society.

In the transition period of our country there are still many different economic sectors. The ownership of the means of production in our country at present falls mainly into the following categories: state ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; ownership by individual working people; and capitalist ownership. The task of the state is to strive to strengthen and develop the first two categories, that is, the socialist sector of our economy, and bring about step by step socialist transformation of the latter two categories, that is, the non-socialist sector of our economy. Consequently, the state "ensures priority for the development of state-owned economy" and pays special attention to the step-by-step building of heavy industry, the main economic foundation of Socialism. At the same time, the state "encourages, guides and helps the development of co-operative economy" and encourages and guides "transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state-capitalist economy, step by step replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people."

These provisions in the Draft Constitution are, of course, not based on imagination but on changes in social and economic relations that have actually taken place since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and on the experience of the masses. All of them are therefore practicable. With regard to these provisions, I would like to talk on the following questions:

The first is the question of forms of transition. As we are aware, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce is a very arduous task. We cannot hope to accomplish this transformation overnight. We must proceed step by step in the light of the experience and political consciousness of the masses and in accordance with what is possible in the actual situation. Our experience has proved that socialist transformation, either of agriculture and handi-

crafts or of capitalist industry and commerce, may have its transitional forms and that it is utterly necessary that the transitional forms we adopt be flexible and varied. The chief transitional form for the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts is the co-operative based on the partial collective ownership of the working masses, such as, for example, the agricultural producer co-operative which has begun to develop in our countryside in the past few years and which is characterised by the fact that land is invested as shares by the members and that operation is unified. In the historical circumstances of China, by gradual and widespread employment of this transitional form, the masses of individual working people can proceed more smoothly, through a semi-socialist co-operative economy of this kind, to collective ownership by the working masses. The transitional form for the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is state capitalism. In the historical circumstances of China, we can carry out the gradual socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce through various forms of state capitalism. State capitalism under the control of a state led by the working class is different in nature from state capitalism under bourgeois rule. As Lenin said: "State capitalism is capitalism which we shall be able to restrict, the limits of which we shall be able to fix." In state capitalist economy, on the one hand, capitalist ownership is not yet abolished and capitalists can still make profits; but on the other hand, they can no longer, with impunity, pursue profit as their only aim. Through the transitional form of state capitalism, favourable conditions can be created for the eventual replacement of capitalist ownership by the ownership of the whole people.

The fact that these transitional forms are specifically laid down in the Draft Constitution is of immense significance to socialist transformation of our country. Next, I shall speak on the question of building a socialist society in a peaceful way. During the nation-wide discussion of the Draft Constitution, not a few people asked: why does the Preamble to the Draft Constitution state that the system of people's democracy of our country can ensure that China will eliminate exploitation and build a socialist society in a peaceful way? In our country, excepting for a very few areas, the system of feudal exploitation has been eliminated in the course of the revolutionary war and the land reform. But in order to build a socialist society, it is also necessary to eliminate the system of capitalist exploitation. This is a step further in social change. In a capitalist country, in order to carry through this

country is completely wrong. Punishment will have to be meted out to those capitalists who engage in unlawful pursuits or disruptive activity. It is inconceivable that there should be no complicated struggle as we pass from the process of restricting capitalist exploitation to that of eliminating it. But the aim can be achieved by peaceful struggle through the control of the administrative bodies of the state, the leadership of the state-owned economy, and the supervision by the mass of the workers. The capitalist, provided he realises the march of events, provided he is willing to accept socialist reform, and provided he does not act against the law or wreck the property of the people, can enjoy the concern of the state and will have proper arrangements made for his life and work in the future; nor will he be deprived of political rights. There is a great difference between this and our policy towards the class of feudal landlords. The leadership of the working class in the state and the solid alliance of workers and peasants, the leading position of socialist economy in the national economy as a whole, the united front within the country, together with the favourable international situation, are the necessary conditions which will enable our country to eliminate exploitation in a peaceful way and build a socialist society.

So far as socialist transformation in various areas inhabited by national minorities is concerned, full attention must be paid to the peculiarities of development of the nationalities concerned. I will deal with this question later.

Then, about the question of the rich peasant. During the nation-wide discussion of the Draft Constitution, many people asked: "The Draft Constitution lays it down that 'the state policy towards rich peasant economy is one of restriction and gradual elimination'—how shall we understand this?"

We all know that rich peasant economy is capitalist economy in the countryside; the rich peasants are the last remaining exploiting class in the countryside. In our country, rich peasant economy has never been well developed; that portion of the land rented out by the rich peasants was redistributed in the land reform. Since this reform, rich peasant economy is also greatly restricted as a result of the development of producer co-operatives, supply and marketing co-operatives, and credit co-operatives, as well as by the policy of unified purchase and distribution by the state of grain and other main agricultural products. Though a small number of new-type rich peasants emerged in the countryside, rich peasant economy, generally speaking, has not grown but declined. The average holding of the rich peasant at present is only twice as big as that of the ordinary peasant. Most rich peasants who formerly hired labour now no longer do so, or do so very seldom. Those who practise usury are decreasing; those who engage in trade are also greatly

3. OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Article 2 of the Draft Constitution lays it down that: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level." This provision and those contained in other Articles specify that the political system of our country is that of people's congresses. In the light of long experience of political construction in our people's-revolutionary bases and with the experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies as reference, our Common Programme five years ago decided on this kind

of political system for our country. Now, summing up the experience of the work of our state organs and the experience of all levels of the people's representative conferences of all circles in the past five years, the Draft Constitution makes more complete provision for the political system of our country. This political system which we have adopted is bound up with the fundamental nature of our state. It is this political system which we, the Chinese people, are adopting to ensure our country's advance toward Socialism.

The system of people's congresses is the proper political system for our country,

one hand, in recognising the existence of capitalist ownership and utilising the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood, and on the other hand, in restricting the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are not so. Transitional forms will be employed to create conditions for the replacement, step by step, of capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people. Some of the concrete steps concerning the transition to a socialist society laid down in the Draft Constitution are aimed at correctly solving this contradiction.

In the actual conditions of our country, the policy and methods which we have adopted to build Socialism are correct. The truth of this can be proved, too, by the clamour of our enemies and by the comments in the foreign capitalist press.

The imperialists and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan very much dislike seeing us build Socialism in China. They are slandering us every day. And no wonder! It is all because we have done the right thing.

Some bourgeois newspapers in foreign countries have discovered to their disappointment that the road our country will take, as laid down in our Draft Constitution, is "the road that the Soviet Union has traversed". True, the road we shall take is the road traversed by the Soviet Union. About this we have not the slightest doubt. The Soviet road is the road all humanity will eventually take, in accordance with the laws of the development of history. To bypass this road is impossible. We have always believed that Marxism-Leninism is universal truth.

In order to undermine the cause of building Socialism in our country, our cunning enemies hired certain people who—like the Trotskyists and Chen Tu-hsiu-ites—pretend to be "left" but attack our practical steps and measures in carrying out the socialist transformation of our country. They say that we have "not made a thorough job of it", that we are "too compromising" and that we have "departed from Marxism". With such nonsense they try to confuse the people. They suggest that we sever our alliance with the national bourgeoisie and immediately deprive them of all they have got. They also complain that our agricultural policy is going "too slow". They want us to break up our alliance with the peasants. Aren't such ideas sheer nonsense? If we did what they want, it would please only the imperialists and traitor Chiang Kai-shek.

The Chinese people have not only set themselves the goal of building Socialism but mapped out practicable steps to achieve it. This inevitably causes great displeasure to our enemies. But it is all too plain that what our enemies dislike most is precisely the best thing for the Chinese people.

While people are themselves still subjected to oppression, they cannot fully concentrate their will and strength. It is precisely for this reason that the Chinese people in the past were ridiculed as being like "loose sand". The revolution concentrated the people's will and strength and, having liberated themselves and set up their own state, the people have naturally concentrated their whole will and strength on building up their state apparatus, making it a powerful weapon. The stronger the people's state apparatus, the more powerfully it can defend the people's interests, protect the people's democratic rights and assure the building of Socialism.

When Comrade Mao Tse-tung discussed the political system of our country in his work "On Coalition Government", he stated clearly: "it is at once democratic and centralised, that is, centralised on the basis of democracy and democratic under centralised guidance". That is our principle.

Not a few people often mistakenly assume democracy and centralism to be two absolutely antagonistic things which cannot be

ies, therefore, in no circumstances, act independently of the people's congresses or against the will of the people's congresses. The functions and powers of the head of state in our country are jointly exercised by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China elected by the National People's Congress. This conforms to the actual situation of our country and is based on our experience in the building up of the highest bodies exercising state power since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Ours is a collective head of state. Neither the Standing Committee nor the Chairman of the People's Republic of China has powers exceeding those of the National People's Congress.

No important affairs of our state are to be determined by any single person or small number of persons. Since the people's congresses are instituted as the basic political system of our country, all important questions must be submitted to them for discussion and decision. Important questions affecting the whole nation must be discussed and decided upon by the National People's Congress, or by its Standing Committee when the National People's Congress is not in session, while important questions of a local character must be discussed and decided upon by the local people's congresses. Thus the people's congresses of our country are bodies exercising state power, capable of making decisions on important questions and supervising their implementation.

The second paragraph of Article 2 of the Draft Constitution declares: "The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at every level and other organs of the state, without exception, practise democratic centralism." Our system of democratic centralism is explained by the fact that the exercise of state power is unified and concentrated in the system of people's congresses. A reactionary publication issued in Hong Kong asserted that our "system of people's congresses is a system of extreme concentration of power". These reactionaries seem to think they have found something to attack us with. However, we Marxist-Leninists have long since publicly declared that we stand for centralism. The question is what kind of centralism—the despotic centralism of a handful of big feudal lords and capitalists, or the democratic centralism of the mass of the people led by the working class? These two systems of centralism are poles apart. In the Draft Constitution, we have combined a high degree of centralism with a high degree of democracy. Our political system has a high degree of centralism but it is based on a high degree of democracy.

While people are themselves still subjected to oppression, they cannot fully concentrate their will and strength. It is precisely for this reason that the Chinese people in the past were ridiculed as being like "loose sand". The revolution concentrated the people's will and strength and, having liberated themselves and set up their own state, the people have naturally concentrated their whole will and strength on building up their state apparatus, making it a powerful weapon. The stronger the people's state apparatus, the more powerfully it can defend the people's interests, protect the people's democratic rights and assure the building of Socialism.

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that of a French or an American President. These commentators invariably try to judge our system by the political system of the bourgeois countries, or make all sorts of statements based on their own warped imagination. The pity is that they miss the greatest and most fundamental thing. They still fail to see the tremendous change that has occurred in Chinese history. This change is that the Chinese people, led by the working class, have become the masters of their own country.

Still other foreign bourgeois commentators attack our system of centralism and the collective spirit of our people. On these grounds they allege "there is no individual freedom" in our country and that we "ignore personal interests". I therefore wish to say a few words on the question of whether a high degree of centralism and the collective spirit of the people impair the personal interests and the personal freedom of the masses.

Many Articles in the Draft Constitution provide for the enjoyment by our citizens of many freedoms and rights. The Draft Constitution provides for freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration, and lays down that the state shall provide the necessary material facilities to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms. The Draft Constitution also declares: "The freedom of the person of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. No citizen may be placed under arrest except by decision of a people's court or with the sanction of the People's Procurator's Office." It declares that "the homes of citizens of the People's Republic of China are inviolable, and privacy of correspondence is protected by law", and that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of residence and change of residence".

The Draft Constitution also lays down that citizens have the right to work and to education, and that the working people have the right to leisure and to material assistance in old age, illness or disability. Furthermore, it provides that the state shall, step by step, extend the material conditions, which are now still inadequate, to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these rights; and the Draft Constitution also provides that citizens have freedom of religious belief. Our state is able to concern itself with the freedoms and rights of every citizen. This is, of course, because of the state system and the social system our country has. The mass of the people of no capitalist country enjoy, or can enjoy, as broad a measure of personal freedom as do our people.

Some foreign commentators find it strange that while we strive to safeguard the people's-democratic liberties and rights, we also suppress all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and severely punish all traitors and counter-revolutionaries. Of course anyone who expects our Constitution to ensure freedom for the activities of traitors and counter-revolutionaries is bound to be disappointed. As for the foreign imperialists and their hangers-on who would like to enslave us, our Constitution and laws will never give them the slightest loop-hole. Is it not precisely because we have deprived the traitors and counter-revolutionaries of their freedom that the people have genuine freedom?

Other foreign commentators find it strange that while we safeguard freedom of religious belief for our citizens, we punish those imperialist elements and traitors who don the cloak of religion but in effect engage in counter-revolutionary activities. Of course anyone who expects us to protect the freedom of imperialist elements and traitors who

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On Draft Constitution of People's Republic of China

Report by Comrade LIU SHAO CHI
at First Session of First National People's Congress, Peking, September 15

(Continued from page 4)

carry out subversive activities against the Chinese people's-democratic power are likewise bound to be disappointed. As provided in the Draft Constitution, our state will, as it has done in the past, effectively safeguard freedom of religious belief for its citizens. But safeguarding freedom of religious belief is quite a different matter from safeguarding freedom of counter-revolutionary activities; these two just cannot be mixed up. Nor, similarly, will our Constitution and laws ever provide the slightest facility for those elements who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion. There is nothing difficult to understand in this reasoning.

Under the capitalist system, the state safeguards the interests and freedom of only the tiny exploiting class minority, and takes away those of the exploited, the overwhelming majority of the people. Here in our country things are just the opposite. We permit no one to impair the interests and freedom of the majority, the public interests of the state and society, for the sake of the interests and freedom of any individual or individuals. For this reason Article 14 of the Draft Constitution declares: "The state forbids any person to use his private property to undermine the public interest." Here in our country, the so-called "freedom" to impair the public interest is, of course, restricted or prohibited. But our state does fully concern itself with and cares for the interests of the individual. The common interest of our state and society cannot be separated from the interests of the individual. Socialism and collectivism cannot stand aloof from individual interests. Our state gives every protection to the public interests of the country and society. These public interests are the very foundation on which the individual interests of the mass of the people can be satisfied.

Ours is a state which is able to inspire the mass of the people to take an active part in the public life of the country and society. It enables the masses to take a collective viewpoint and voluntarily fulfil their obligations to society and the country in their public life. This is proof that our

4. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution and many of its Articles define the relations of equality, friendship and mutual help between all nationalities within the country and safeguard the right of all national minorities to self-government.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the system under which nationalities were oppressed has been abolished. A new relationship has been set up among the nationalities within the country—one of equality, friendship and mutual help. Political, economic and cultural work has begun to develop in the national minority areas. The people's life has begun steadily to improve. Our country has already become a great family of free and equal nationalities. The Draft Constitution incorporates experience in this field and makes provisions, going beyond those of the Comprovisional Programme, on regional autonomy for the nationalities and on the political, economic and cultural development of the national minorities.

system of people's democracy corresponds to the interests of the people. Can the mass of the people possibly lose as far as their personal interests and individual freedom are concerned because they have a collective spirit and fulfil their obligations to society and the country? Of course not! Under the system of people's democracy and Socialism, the mass of the people can see for themselves that personal interests are indivisible from the public interest of the country and society; they are one and the same. Under the system of people's democracy and Socialism, the people enjoy full democratic rights and have at the same time full obligations. Since it is the people who fully exercise state power, they fulfil their obligations as the masters of the state.

In our country, the people's rights and duties are in complete harmony. No one has duties without enjoying rights, and no one enjoys rights without duties. The Draft Constitution provides that all citizens must abide by the Constitution and the law, observe labour discipline and public order and respect social interests. It also provides that all citizens have the duty to respect and safeguard public property, to pay taxes and perform military service according to law. The Draft Constitution also provides that "it is the sacred duty of every citizen of the People's Republic of China to defend the homeland". All the duties laid down in the Draft Constitution must be performed by every citizen without exception. These provisions heighten their splendid sense of duty toward their great motherland. Since ours is a country of the people, and the interests of the state and the people are completely at one, naturally the people consider their duty to the state as something which they must carry out. No one who shirks these duties can avoid public censure.

The people of our country want to devote their energy to defending our motherland, to constantly strengthening the system of people's democracy and to participating in the great cause of building Socialism. This is because the more prosperous and powerful our motherland, the stronger our system of people's democracy, the more developed our socialist cause, the more secure and broader will become the freedoms and rights of the people.

must heighten their vigilance and give the imperialists no opportunity of carrying out their schemes, must strengthen and consolidate the unity of the motherland and unite closely in a common effort to build the great motherland. The Draft Constitution declares the People's Republic of China to be a unified, multi-national state and all national autonomous areas to be inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China. Obviously, a provision of this kind is essential and fully corresponds to the common interests of all nationalities in our country.

Through its various provisions, the Draft Constitution ensures that all national minorities are genuinely able to exercise their right to autonomy in areas wherever they live in any number. The organs of self-government in the national autonomous areas not only exercise the general functions and powers of ordinary local organs of state power, but also administer their

fore, very important for the Han nationality to help them. The Han people must give their sincere and devoted assistance in the economic and cultural fields to their brother nationalities. Furthermore, the Han cadres sent to help work in national minority areas, in particular, must devote every thought to development of national minorities' economy and culture and raising of their living standards. They must wholeheartedly serve national minorities, help consolidate their internal unity and patiently help cadres of the nationalities in these areas to grow in stature, so that they themselves can assume the leadership of all work in the area. Influenced by ruling class reaction of the past, some people, even cadres, of the Han nationality, still have vestiges of a big Han chauvinist way of thinking—showing disrespect to the customs and habits of the national minorities; not respecting their spoken and written languages; refusing to acknowledge the fact that the national minorities have religious freedom and the right to administer their internal affairs; not respecting cadres of the national minorities, even though working in the national minority areas, and omitting to consult them about work; not believing that, through practical work, they will be able to improve their ability to handle various matters; and so on. There is no doubt that this way of thinking and behaving is bound to have a destructive influence on the unity of the nationalities. It is impermissible under our state system. The people and cadres of the Han nationality must constantly strive to overcome Han chauvinism. On the other hand, there exists among the national minorities a kind of local nationalist outlook. This local nationalism, like Han chauvinism, is another relic of the past. It needs to be pointed out that this local nationalist outlook and behaviour, too, is harmful enough to unity among the nationalities, but totally destructive of the interests of the nationality itself. Therefore, it must also be overcome.

The building of a socialist society is the common objective of all nationalities within our country. Only Socialism can guarantee to each and every nationality a high degree of economic and cultural development. Our state has a duty to help all nationalities within the country step by step to take this path to happiness.

But each nationality has a different historical background. It certainly cannot

III. Views on the Draft Constitution Submitted During the Nation-Wide Discussions

During the nation-wide popular discussions of the Draft Constitution, many suggestions have been made and a number of questions raised. I have already answered some of these questions. I now wish to deal with another part of such suggestions and questions.

The many suggestions made by the people have all been duly considered by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution. The questions touched upon by some of them fall within the province not of the Constitution but of various laws. Such suggestions will be dealt with when drawing up other laws.

be assumed that all the nationalities within the country can arrive at Socialism at the same time and by the same means. The Preamble to the Draft Constitution says: "In the course of economic and cultural development, the state will take care of the needs of the different nationalities and, in the matter of socialist transformation, will give full attention to the special features in the development of the various nationalities." This means that the question of when and how the socialist transformation will be carried out will vary because of different stages in their development. In all these matters, the mass of the people of the various nationalities and their public leaders who are in close contact with the mass of the people must be permitted to take their time to think it over and make their decisions in accordance with their own desires.

Socialist transformation among certain national minorities will begin rather later and may take more time than in areas where the Han people live. By the time socialist transformation is under way among these national minorities, socialist transformation will probably have achieved big successes in most parts of the country. By then conditions for socialist transformation among these minority nationalities will be more favourable, because by that time the state will have still greater material strength to help them. The mass of the people of the national minorities will also be willing to take this path once they see the benefits of the victory of Socialism throughout the country. Even if there may still remain a small number of people who are worried lest socialist transformation should jeopardise their personal interest, the state will adopt the necessary policy to safeguard their livelihood. Thus the socialist transformation may take a longer, gentler, more gradual course in areas inhabited by national minorities. In such areas where democratic reforms have not yet been completed, certain moderate measures can be taken to complete them, so that these areas may advance gradually towards Socialism. Everyone in our country and among the national minorities who supports the people's-democratic system and is united in the big family of the motherland has his own bright future and has his prospects in the socialist society. That is certain.

The above is an elaboration of the basic content of the Constitution.

if the word "mainly" were not added to the original text of this Article.

The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution is of the opinion that this proposal conforms to the situation actually existing in our country. That situation is that feudal ownership and forms even more backward than feudal ownership exist in a number of areas of our country inhabited by national minorities. Article 70, the fourth paragraph, of the Draft Constitution provides that the self-government bodies of all autonomous regions "may draw up rules governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations suited to the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the local

to read: "The state protects the right of capitalists to the ownership of the means of production and other capital according to law." The term "other capital" in this paragraph denotes other forms of capital apart from the means of production owned by capitalists, such as commercial capital. With these revisions, repetition in the provisions of the preceding and following Articles is avoided.

4. The first paragraph of Article 23 in the original text of the Draft Constitution lays down: "The National People's Congress is composed of Deputies elected from provinces, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, national minorities, the armed forces and Chinese resident abroad." It has now been amended to read: "The National People's Congress is composed of Deputies elected from provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly subordinate to the central authority, the armed forces and Chinese resident abroad." The amendment was made because in the election of Deputies to the National People's Congress the national minorities do not constitute an electoral unit; it is the autonomous regions, like provinces and municipalities coming immediately under the central authority, which are regional electoral units.

Since, however, Deputies from the national minorities to the National People's Congress are elected not only from the autonomous regions but also, and in greater numbers, from provinces and municipalities coming immediately under the central authority, attention must be paid to ensuring adequate representation of national minorities in the elections of Deputies to the National People's Congress from the provinces and such municipalities. For this reason, we have also amended the second paragraph of Article 23 to make it explicit that the electoral laws must lay down the number of national minority Deputies and the manner of their election. In fact provisions to this effect have already been made in the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels promulgated by the Central People's Government in February 1953.

5. Amendments are also made to Articles 34 and 35 of the Draft Constitution relating to the various committees to be established by the National People's Congress. According to Article 34, the National People's Congress establishes a Nationalities Committee, a Bills Committee, a Budget Committee, a Credentials Committee and such other committees as are necessary. All these organisations are of a permanent nature. Their task is to help the work of the National People's Congress, but, by the nature of their work, the Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee will have to assist in the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress when the National People's Congress is not in session, while the Budget Committee and the Credentials Committee will work only when the National People's Congress is in session. To show this difference in the work of the two kinds of committees, the second paragraph of Article 34 is amended to read: "The Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee are under the direction of the Stand-

to help correct possible obstacles in judicial work, it is quite appropriate to apply the system of supervising the judicial work of the people's courts of lower levels by the people's courts of higher levels, judging by the experience in our courts since the founding of the People's Republic of China and by present conditions in our country.

7. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution has made relatively important revisions to the provisions relating to the institution of Procurator, chiefly in the four Articles 81 to 84. It will be seen from the revised provisions that the machinery of Procurator's Office in our country consists of the Office of the People's Procurator-General, the Local People's Procurators' Offices of every level and the Special People's Procurators' Offices. In the People's Procurators' Offices there will be the Procurators' Committees in addition to Chief Procurators, Deputy Chief Procurators and Procurators. The Procurators' Committees are bodies for settling, under the leadership of the Chief Procurators, major problems relating to the work of the Procurators. The establishment of such bodies for joint discussion in the People's Procurators' Offices will ensure collective discussion of problems and enable the People's Procurators' Offices to proceed with their work more efficiently. We believe that the adoption of this system in the work of the institution of Procurators is suited to existing conditions in our country.

The foregoing are the more important amendments to the Draft Constitution which we have made after considering the suggestions of the masses.

I want to mention here, too, the proposals which have been considered by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution but have been found unacceptable. Needless to say it is impossible to enumerate them all. I shall only touch upon one or two points.

(1) Some people propose that the Preamble should go into detail in narrating the history of the Chinese Revolution. For example, more should be said about the role of the Communist Party of China, the part played by the worker-peasant alliance and by the united front in the history of Chinese Revolution, about the struggles of the revolutionary martyrs in the past hundred years or so, and about achievements scored in various spheres since the founding of the People's Republic of China and so on and so forth. These suggestions have not been accepted by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution.

Others put forward two contradictory sets of proposals in regard to the Preamble. One is that the prospect of Communist society should be mentioned; the other maintains that no mention should be made of things which have not yet been realised. These two sets of opinions have also not been accepted.

Why should these opinions not be accepted?

It is necessary for the Preamble to make clear that the Draft Constitution is the result of the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution. But the more important reason for the Preamble to the Constitution is that it has to explain the historical aspect—that our country is now in a period of transition from the old to the new, the central task of the

society. It enables the masses to take a collective viewpoint and voluntarily fulfil their obligations to society and the country in their public life. This is proof that our

4. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY

The Preamble to the Draft Constitution and many of its Articles define the relations of equality, friendship and mutual help between all nationalities within the country and safeguard the right of all national minorities to self-government.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the system under which nationalities were oppressed has been abolished. A new relationship has been set up among the nationalities within the country—one of equality, friendship and mutual help. Political, economic and cultural work has begun to develop in the national minority areas. The people's life has begun steadily to improve. Our country has already become a great family of free and equal nationalities. The Draft Constitution incorporates experience in this field and makes provisions, going beyond those of the Common Programme, on regional autonomy for the nationalities and on the political, economic and cultural development of the national minorities.

Our country is a people's-democratic state led by the working class, and is, therefore, now moving towards the goal of a socialist society. Our country is therefore able to apply the spirit of thorough-going democracy and national equality to solving the national question and bringing about genuine co-operation among the nationalities within the country. We firmly believe that it is imperative to enable them to take an active part in the political life of the entire country, while granting them, in accordance with the principle of regional autonomy for the nationalities, the right to be their own masters, so that they may administer their own internal affairs. Only by so doing can the long-established barriers and discrimination between the nationalities inherited from the past be broken down, only so can the ties of mutual trust and unity be progressively strengthened.

The Draft Constitution clearly states that irrespective of nationality or race all citizens of our country enjoy equal rights. It also declares it illegal in our country to discriminate against or oppress any nationality. It affirms that all nationalities are free to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and habits. The Draft Constitution thus confirms in legal form those principles of people's democracy and Socialism which our country already applies to the nationality question, and specifies the concrete measures to be taken in accordance with them.

The Draft Constitution reflects the identity of interests among all nationalities in our country. For more than a hundred years, these nationalities, both the Han and the brother nationalities, suffered common oppression by foreign imperialism. The imperialists resorted to all sorts of intrigues to disrupt the ties between the nationalities of our country formed over the long course of history. They tried to carry out their aggressive policy of "divide and rule". The establishment of the People's Republic of China freed all the nationalities of China from imperialist oppression. But the imperialists are still vainly scheming in every way they can to split the nationalities, so as once again to enslave them. In the face of these aggressive plots of imperialism, all nationalities in our country

must heighten their vigilance and give the imperialists no opportunity of carrying out their schemes, must strengthen and consolidate the unity of the motherland and unite closely in a common effort to build the great motherland. The Draft Constitution declares the People's Republic of China to be a unified, multi-national state and all national autonomous areas to be inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China. Obviously, a provision of this kind is essential and fully corresponds to the common interests of all nationalities in our country.

Through its various provisions, the Draft Constitution ensures that all national minorities are genuinely able to exercise their right to autonomy in areas wherever they live in any number. The organs of self-government in the national autonomous areas not only exercise the general functions and powers of ordinary local organs of state power, but also administer their own local finances according to the Constitution and within the limits of the powers prescribed by law; they can organise their local public security forces in accordance with the military system of the state, and draw up rules governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations to suit the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the local nationalities. The form of each self-government/body in each national autonomous area may be determined by the wishes of the majority of the people of the nationality or nationalities which exercise autonomy in that area. In their work, the self-government bodies shall use the spoken and written language or languages in common use in the locality. Where people of national minorities live in any number in an area the size of a hsiang, while it is impossible and unnecessary to establish a self-government body to exercise all the aforementioned autonomous rights, nevertheless a nationality hsiang should be similarly set up to meet the special needs of the nationality or nationalities living there.

It must be pointed out that dominant-nation outlook and local nationalism are both wrong. Both ways of thinking are harmful to the unity of the nationalities of our country and to the practice of national regional autonomy. From the Preamble to the Draft Constitution it is clear that not only imperialism and the common enemies of the people within the different nationalities, but also dominant-nation outlook and local nationalism must be opposed if the unity of the nationalities is to be strengthened as never before.

The Han nationality makes up the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. For historical reasons, the Han nationality has a comparatively higher political, economic and cultural level than the others. But this by no means entitles it to any special privilege or to put on airs towards its brother nationalities. On the contrary, it has a special obligation to help all the brother nationalities in their development. Although all the national minorities have won their right to national equality, they cannot immediately overcome their original economic and cultural backwardness simply by their own strength and in their present circumstances. It is, there-

fore, it must also be overcome.

The building of a socialist society is the common objective of all nationalities within our country. Only Socialism can guarantee to each and every nationality a high degree of economic and cultural development. Our state has a duty to help all nationalities within the country step by step to take this path to happiness.

But each nationality has a different historical background. It certainly cannot

III. Views on the Draft Constitution Submitted During the Nation-Wide Discussions

During the nation-wide popular discussions of the Draft Constitution, many suggestions have been made and a number of questions raised. I have already answered some of these questions. I now wish to deal with another part of such suggestions and questions.

The many suggestions made by the people have all been duly considered by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution. The questions touched upon by some of them fall within the province not of the Constitution but of various laws. Such suggestions will be dealt with when drawing up other laws.

By adopting suggestions made by the masses, a number of changes have been made in the Draft Constitution, some in content, others in wording.

It is not necessary to specify here every revision in this Draft Constitution now submitted to you. I shall cite only the following few, relatively more important revisions, and elaborate on them.

1. Revision of the third paragraph of Article 3 of the Draft Constitution. This paragraph originally read: "All the nationalities are free to develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs, habits and religious beliefs."

This was originally adapted from a provision of similar content in the Common Programme. Some people suggested that it should be provided in this Article that all nationalities shall be free not only to develop, but also to use their own spoken and written languages. Others suggested that, since Article 88 of the Draft Constitution provides: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief", the provision in this Article to preserve or reform religious beliefs was redundant and should be deleted. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution considered these suggestions to be correct. It has therefore altered the third paragraph of Article 3 to read: "All nationalities are free to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs and habits."

2. Revision of Article 5 of the Draft Constitution. Set forth in this Article is the existence of various kinds of ownership of the means of production in our country. The suggestion has been made that it should be clearly formulated that the four categories of ownership enumerated in this Article—state ownership, co-operative ownership, ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership—represent only the main forms of ownership now existing in our country, but not all. Those who propose this revision maintain that apart from these four categories of ownership there are still some others in our country and it would therefore be a defect

if the word "mainly" were not added to the original text of this Article.

The above is an elaboration of the basic content of the Constitution.

The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution is of the opinion that this proposal conforms to the situation actually existing in our country. That situation is that feudal ownership and forms even more backward than feudal ownership exist in a number of areas of our country inhabited by national minorities. Article 70, the fourth paragraph, of the Draft Constitution provides that the self-government bodies of all autonomous regions "may draw up rules governing the exercise of autonomy and other special regulations suited to the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the local nationality (nationalities)". The "economic characteristics" mentioned here embrace all the various special forms of ownership in areas inhabited by national minorities. Of course, these form only a tiny part of the national economy as a whole. Moreover, in Taiwan Province, which has yet to be liberated, American imperialism and the group of Chiang Kai-shek traitors are now ruthlessly oppressing and exploiting the people in Taiwan. In that Province, foreign imperialist ownership, bureaucrat-capitalist ownership and landlord ownership not only exist but predominate. None of these forms of ownership is included in the four categories enumerated in Article 5.

For this reason, the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution has accepted this proposal and added the word "mainly" to Article 5.

Another revision in Article 5 clearly specifies that co-operative ownership is collective ownership by the working masses. The revision makes the definition of co-operative ownership clearer.

3. Revisions have been made in the first paragraphs of each of Articles 8, 9 and 10 of the Draft Constitution. The original text of these paragraphs separately provides that the state protects the right of the peasants, handicraftsmen and other non-agricultural individual working people, as well as of capitalists, to own the means of production and other property according to law. These provisions in the original Draft Constitution overlap the provisions of Article 11. For Article 11 declares: "The state protects the right of citizens to the ownership of lawful incomes, and of savings, houses and the means of life." This includes all citizens and embraces the right to ownership of all property other than the means of production. We have now altered the first paragraph of Article 8 to read: "The state protects the right of the peasants to own land and other means of production according to law"; the first paragraph of Article 9 to read: "The state protects the right of handicraftsmen and other non-agricultural individual working people to own the means of production according to law"; and the first paragraph of Article 10

that these areas may advance gradually towards Socialism. Everyone in our country and among the national minorities who supports the people's-democratic system and is united in the big family of the motherland has his own bright future and has his prospects in the socialist society. That is certain.

5. Amendments are also made to Articles 34 and 35 of the Draft Constitution relating to the various committees to be established by the National People's Congress. According to Article 34, the National People's Congress establishes a Nationalities Committee, a Bills Committee, a Budget Committee, a Credentials Committee and such other committees as are necessary. All these organisations are of a permanent nature. Their task is to help the work of the National People's Congress, but, by the nature of their work, the Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee will have to assist in the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress when the National People's Congress is not in session, while the Budget Committee and the Credentials Committee will work only when the National People's Congress is in session. To show this difference in the work of the two kinds of committees, the second paragraph of Article 34 is amended to read: "The Nationalities Committee and the Bills Committee are under the direction of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress when the National People's Congress is not in session."

Article 35 provides for committees to be organised by the National People's Congress for the investigation of specific questions. Such provisional committees are formed to enable the National People's Congress to supervise the work of other state bodies. They are, therefore, different in character from the committees provided for in Article 34. Since the original Article does not make clear the nature and tasks of this kind of committee, it is amended accordingly. Moreover, according to Article 31 of the Draft Constitution, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is responsible for supervising the work of other state bodies. To perform this supervision, the Standing Committee, too, should have the power to organise committees of this kind to investigate specific questions. The original wording in Article 35: "the various committees established by the National People's Congress", is therefore changed to: "Committees for the investigation of specific questions may be organised by the National People's Congress, when it considers them necessary, and, when the National People's Congress is not in session, by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress as it considers them necessary." This brings out the difference between the two kinds of committees provided for in Articles 34 and 35 and the supplementary provision gives the Standing Committee, too, the power to organise committees of this kind.

6. In the second paragraph of Article 79 of the Draft Constitution, a provision is added that reads: "The people's courts of higher levels supervise the judicial work of the people's courts of lower levels." In view of the vastness of our country and our huge population, and the fact that communications in many areas are still far from convenient, to lay down that only the Supreme People's Court has the power to supervise the judicial work of the local people's courts at every level and of the special people's courts would be out of keeping with the actual situation. In order

Preamble should go into detail in narrating the history of the Chinese Revolution. For example, more should be said about the role of the Communist Party of China, the part played by the worker-peasant alliance and by the united front in the history of Chinese Revolution, about the struggles of the revolutionary martyrs in the past hundred years or so, and about achievements scored in various spheres since the founding of the People's Republic of China and so on and so forth. These suggestions have not been accepted by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution.

Others put forward two contradictory sets of proposals in regard to the Preamble. One is that the prospect of Communist society should be mentioned; the other maintains that no mention should be made of things which have not yet been realised. These two sets of opinions have also not been accepted.

Why should these opinions not be accepted?

It is necessary for the Preamble to make clear that the Draft Constitution is the result of the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution. But the more important reason for the Preamble to the Constitution is that it has to explain the historical aspect—that our country is now in a period of transition—to lay stress on the central task of the state during the transition period and the domestic and international prerequisites for carrying out this task. Though tribute must be paid to the whole of the revolutionary history of the Chinese people, it is not appropriate to add in the Preamble a historical account that is not needed.

Ours is a constitution for a transition period and cannot therefore fail to differ from a constitution for a period when socialist society has already been built. On the one hand, we have not yet built a socialist society and, on the other hand, it is a living reality that Socialism is already being built in our country and socialist construction is proceeding daily. The Constitution does not describe conditions after the attainment of Socialism; but to reflect the real conditions of the present time, it should reflect the changes which are taking place in real life and the goal toward which these changes lead. If this goal is not pointed out, many things in real life will be incomprehensible. This is why some of the Articles of our Constitution are in the nature of a programme.

Therefore, it would be incorrect not to mention the objective of building Socialism in the Preamble merely because Socialism has not yet been built. But there is no necessity to include in the Preamble both the objective of building socialist society and the prospect after Socialism has been reached—that is of striving for Communism.

(2) Some people have suggested that in Article 5, in which the present categories of ownership of the means of production in our country are listed, state capitalism should be mentioned. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution did not accept this suggestion. This is because in our country at present there are various forms of state capitalist economy which represent the economic alliance of state ownership and capitalist ownership in various complicated forms. But state capitalism cannot itself be a distinct kind of ownership. Therefore it should not be enumerated in Article 5 where the various categories of ownership are listed.

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On Draft Constitution of People's Republic of China

Report by Comrade LIU SHAO CHI

(Continued from page 5)

(3) Some people suggested listing the names of different ministries and commissions of the State Council in Chapter 2, Section 3 of the Draft Constitution. This suggestion was also not accepted by the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution. This is because certain changes will in certain circumstances have to be made in the structure of the State Council as the work of national construction develops. In this Section, therefore, the names of the various departments of the State Council are not specified, to obviate the need to revise the Constitution whenever any changes are made. The names of the different ministries and commissions of the State Council can be set out in the Organic Law of the State Council.

(4) Some people have suggested revisions dealing with local state bodies. The suggestion is that the local people's congresses should set up standing committees in the same manner as the National People's Congress. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution did not accept this suggestion.

Certainly the work of the National People's Congress is incomparably heavier than that of the local people's congresses at all levels. The National People's Congress exercises the legislative power of the state, while the local people's congresses at all levels have no such functions and powers. Moreover, the lower the level of the people's congress, the easier it is for it to meet, because of the smaller size of the area. So it is unnecessary for the local people's congresses at all levels to establish standing committees in addition to the people's councils. The local people's council at each level is itself the executive body of the local people's congress at that level and, at the same time, exercises the functions and powers of the standing committee of the people's congress. To set up another standing body of the people's congress would create a superfluity of organisations and cause unnecessary inconvenience.

(5) Some people have proposed that the status and tasks of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference should be specified in the Preamble. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution considers that there is no need to make such an addition to it.

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is the organisational form of our people's-democratic united front. It exercised its functions and powers on behalf of the National People's Congress and will, of course, no longer be required to exercise them in the future. It will, however, continue to play its role in the political life of our country as the organisa-

tion of the united front. Since it is a united front organisation, the parties and organisations in the united front will, in consultation, themselves work out all the provisions concerning it.

(6) Other people have proposed the addition of an Article to the Constitution establishing the territorial boundaries of our country. The Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution regards the addition of such an Article to the Constitution as unnecessary. The fundamental task of the Constitution is to set down the social and state system in legal forms. It is not its proper task to describe the country's territorial boundaries. In the Constitution of a federal state all the federal units must necessarily be listed. But ours is not a state of this kind. In a unitarian state, of course, all the administrative areas can be listed in the Constitution if it is considered necessary to fix the boundaries and status of existing administrative areas. But since our country's economic construction is only beginning, its boundaries and the status of its administrative areas of the country cannot be said to have been definitely established. For instance, certain provincial administrative units have recently been amalgamated by decision of the Central People's Government Council. It is, therefore, inappropriate to list the names of all the administrative areas in the Constitution on the basis of present conditions. Of course, the boundaries and status of administrative areas should not be changed without good cause. The Draft Constitution, therefore, provides that only the National People's Congress has the power to revise the status and boundaries of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities coming immediately under the central authority. The status and boundaries of the autonomous chou (districts), counties, autonomous counties and municipalities should also be submitted to the State Council for ratification.

Those who have proposed that an Article be added concerning territorial boundaries have done so with the idea and object of affirming in the Constitution that Taiwan is an inseparable part of our territory. This shows a good intention. But the Constitution does not need Articles to be added for this purpose. That Taiwan is China's inviolable territory has never been questioned. It is the task of the Chinese people—and they are certain to carry it out—to liberate Taiwan from the rule of American imperialism and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek group and so complete the unification of our country.

These are brief comments on the various suggestions put forward by the masses regarding the Draft Constitution.

IV. Conclusion

Fellow Deputies, It has been demonstrated during the nation-wide discussion that our Draft Constitution represents the interests of all nationalities in China and is based on facts. When the masses of the people were discussing the Draft Constitution, they expressed such opinions as the following: "The Draft Constitution has recorded what all the Chinese people have done under the guidance of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it has also set down what has been started and what should and can be done in the future"; "How we should go on to Socialism is clearly shown in the Articles of the Draft Constitution"; "The Draft Constitution means greater political, economic and cultural

become our country's fundamental state law. This Constitution expresses the personal experience and long-cherished hopes of the people. It will, therefore, certainly be able to play a tremendous, dynamic role in the life of our state and inspire the masses of the people in their struggle to defend and increase the fruits of our victories; crush all enemies who try to wreck our social and state system, promote the healthy and stable development of our work of construction and accelerate the building of our country.

Every person and every state body, without exception, must observe the Constitution. The Deputies of the National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at all levels and all government workers are especially so. All the state bodies must

only lead them to undertake heavier responsibilities. The members of the Communist Party of China must set an example by observing the Constitution and all other laws. All Communist Party members should maintain close contact with the masses and act in unity with all the democratic parties and groups and the masses of the people outside the Party to strive energetically for the implementation of the Constitution.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China will bring elation and inspiration not only to the people throughout the country, but also joy to our friends in all countries of the world. People's China has many friends in the world. The great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are our close friends. The peace-loving peoples of all lands, too, are our friends. The support they have given to our cause is one of the prime factors in our victory. It is understandable that our friends rejoice at our victory. The victory of the Chinese Revolution is of great world-wide historic significance. The victory of socialist construction and socialist transformation in China will also be of great world-wide historic significance. Our Constitution has already laid down the fundamental policy of our country in international affairs, which is to work for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity. All the achievements that have been or will be made by our country contribute to the common cause of all peoples of the world, the cause of peace and progress. To fight for lasting world peace is indispensable if our country is to carry out socialist construction.

The promulgation of our country's Constitution is a result of the great victory which crowned the long, common struggle waged by all nationalities in our country. But this is not to say that, once the Constitution is introduced, all its Articles will automatically be observed. No. On the one hand, the Constitution is an epitome of our past struggle and, on the other, it provides us with a fundamental law as a basis on which to proceed with our present struggle. It specifies what is legal or legally obligatory and what is illegal or prohibited as regards the most important aspects of our national life. After the promulgation of the Constitution, things which contravene its provisions will not disappear of themselves. But the Constitution provides us with a powerful weapon and enables us to wage an effective struggle to wipe them out. The Constitution decrees that our country shall be transformed into a socialist society. This of course does not mean that socialist society will come ready-made or that we can wait for it with folded arms. A long road still stretches before us, one that is inevitably beset with difficulties and full of twists and turns. It will surely not all be easy going. The significance of the Constitution is great, and greater still the task it entrusts to us. Only by arduous struggle, persevering work, and persistent and conscientious study to overcome the various kinds of difficulties in our path, shall we be able to reach our goal. Therefore we must not, even in the smallest degree, be conceited and complacent over such achievements as we already have. Conceit and complacency do nothing but harm to any individual, class, political party or nation. While extolling the enactment and promulgation of the

The ninety years that have passed since the foundation of the First International at an international working men's meeting held in London on September 28, 1864, have revealed all the historic significance of this outstanding event for the struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

The fact that the First International—the International Working Men's Association—came into being was no accident. It resulted from the broad development and great upsurge of the working-class movement in Europe and the U.S.A. at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, and particularly after the world economic crisis which broke out in 1857. It was the result of the growing consciousness of the advanced workers and of the untiring work for the elaboration and propaganda of the ideas of scientific Socialism carried out by its founders, Marx and Engels, the result of the struggle waged by them for a truly revolutionary party of the working class, beginning with the setting up of the "Communist League" and the publication of "The Communist Manifesto".

V. I. Lenin pointed out that the First International laid the foundation of the international organisation of the workers in order to prepare for their revolutionary onslaught on capital. The aim of the International Working Men's Association was to weld together the disconnected forces of workers in all countries to wage a joint struggle for improved living standards, for their economic and political emancipation, with the object of becoming, as Marx and Engels put it, the live expression of the community of interests which unites the workers.

Karl Marx was the founder of the International Working Men's Association, the author of all its programme documents, the leader of its entire political and organisational activity. "The Inaugural Address" of the First International, written by Marx, is a programme of the international working-class movement in the true sense of the word. It contains a profound analysis of the working-class movement after the 1848 revolution, of the chief contradictions and antagonisms of capitalist society, the growing impoverishment of the proletariat on the one side and increasing wealth on the other. With the clarity of genius it points to the false base of capitalism, as a result of which every fresh development of the productive forces must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Marx prophesied in this document that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters exploiting the labour of hired workers; that the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of domination over, and of exhortation against, the labouring man himself. This document once again solemnly proclaims that to conquer political power has become the great duty of the working class. "The Inaugural Address" defined in detail the international nature of the working-class organisation and the tasks of the working class. Real and urgent is the principle that a highly important duty of the working class in all countries is "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power".

The entire history of the First International (1864-1872) is a history of tenacious and passionate struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their supporters, whose numbers were few at the beginning, to imbue the working-class movement with the principles of scientific Socialism, to set up a genuine, militant working-class organisation for revolutionary battle, of struggle against all varieties of

OUTSTANDING HISTORIC DATE

(90th Anniversary of Founding of the First International)

M. Mitin

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At the same time Marx had to overcome great difficulties and opposition from people who understood neither the tasks of the International, the nature of the events that were taking place, nor the independent nature of the political tasks of the working class.

The first volume of Marx's "Capital" came out in 1867, a great politico-economic work which revealed the laws of the origin, development and decay of capitalist society. The Brussels Congress of the First International (1868), which took place shortly afterwards, recommended workers of all countries to begin to study "Capital".

The appearance of the Paris Commune, the first instance in history of the dictatorship of the working class, and its entire activity are bound up with the history and activity of the First International. The Paris Commune was the real off-spring of the First International. It is not surprising that Karl Marx, the leader and organiser of the First International, although he was in London at the time, with characteristic energy took a most vigorous part in the struggle of the Paris proletariat. He gave advice to the members of the International who were playing a leading role in the activities of the Commune (unfortunately some of this most valuable advice was never put into effect). To the workers and working people of all countries he explained the great historical meaning of the events in Paris which, at that time, were far from clear even to the very creators of these events. Marx sent several hundred letters about the revolutionary events in France to all corners of the globe.

When the Franco-Prussian war began the General Council, in the July 23 and September 9, 1870, Addresses written by Marx analysed in detail the reasons for the war and its nature at different stages.

The July 23 Address of the International welcomes the actions of the French and German workers at that time against this war and the internationalist sentiments reflected in these actions. The following splendid words from this Address, which resound particularly powerfully in the light of the whole of Europe's subsequent history and in the light of present events, cannot but be cited: "...in contrast to the old society with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up whose International rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labour! The Pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association."

"The Civil War in France", the immortal creation of Marx's genius in which vivid light is thrown upon the dramatic events of 1870-1871 and a profound analysis given of the great historical significance of the Paris Commune, was written by Marx as an Address of the First International to the working people of the whole world.

As is known, for some months before the proclamation of the Commune Marx warned the Paris workers against an uprising, pointing out that this would be folly. When the uprising in Paris broke out he followed with the closest attention the broad movement of the Paris working people because, above all, he valued the creative initiative of the revolutionary masses. Although it did not achieve its aim, was short-lived and impermanent, Marx saw in the revolutionary movement of the Paris workers the immense importance of the new historical experience of the masses, a step forward in the world liberation movement of the working class. On the basis of the

fear of the European bourgeoisie in the face of the first dictatorship of the proletariat known to history aroused in the bourgeoisie an extreme hatred towards the First International and Marx, its ideological guide and leader. In many countries sections of the International were subjected to persecution; in some countries they were banned and it was declared reasonable to take part in their activity. None of this persecution by European reaction, however, none of these bans and violence could bear fruit, because the working-class movement could not be stamped out or prohibited. On the contrary, even when the glorious activity of the First International came to an end, the working-class movement continued to grow and strengthen. Broad sections of the working masses became more and more deeply imbued with Marxism.

The activity of Marx and Engels in the First International is a model of the tactics of proletarian revolutionaries in rallying the entire forces of the working class and in the struggle for ideological and political education of leading cadres of the working-class movement in the spirit of scientific Socialism. Marx and Engels set a pattern in the extensive political activity of the international working-class organisation which responded to all the momentous events of the epoch, thus demonstrating the independent political role which the working class is called to play in political affairs.

It is interesting to note that there was also a Russian section in the First International, which was formed from a group of Russian emigres, followers of Chernyshevsky. At its request Karl Marx represented it on the General Council. The Russian section greatly helped Marx in the struggle against the Bakunists.

The world historic significance of the First International was that this was the first international organisation of the working class, which was of a sufficiently mass nature for that epoch and which placed as its goal the struggle for working-class emancipation. The First International played an inestimable role in disseminating the ideas of scientific Socialism among the European and U.S. working-class movement. The struggle carried on by Marx and Engels in the period of the First International against the multifarious forms of petty-bourgeois socialism and anti-proletarian trends among the workers resulted in significant success in establishing the hegemony of Marxism in the working-class movement.

By its activity, its influence among the workers and its experience the First International provided conditions for the future organisation of independent proletarian parties in all countries. Lenin highly praised the historic significance of the First International. He wrote: "It is unforgettable, it is eternal in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation."

Having accomplished its historic cause the First International gave way to a still bigger growth of the working-class movement in all countries and by the organisation of mass working-class parties in the main countries of the world.

Speaking on the Second International, Lenin pointed out that it increased only in breadth and that this entailed a drop in the revolutionary level of its activity, an extreme growth of opportunism and social chauvinism within its ranks, which, in the end, led to its shameful collapse.

Developing the revolutionary traditions of the First International in new historical conditions—the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the Third Communist International, whose entire history is inextricably bound

al form of our people's-democratic united front. It exercised its functions and powers on behalf of the National People's Congress and will, of course, no longer be required to exercise them in the future. It will, however, continue to play its role in the political life of our country as the organisa-

IV. Conclusion

Fellow Deputies,

It has been demonstrated during the nation-wide discussion that our Draft Constitution represents the interests of all nationalities in China and is based on facts. When the masses of the people were discussing the Draft Constitution, they expressed such opinions as the following: "The Draft Constitution has recorded what all the Chinese people have done under the guidance of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; it has also set down what has been started and what should and can be done in the future"; "How we should go on to Socialism is clearly shown in the Articles of the Draft Constitution"; "The Draft Constitution means greater political, economic and cultural development for the national minorities." The masses of the people consider that the Constitution we have drafted is "a guarantee of a happy life" and that "every Article" of it "is in the interests of the people". This is the conclusion which the masses of the people draw from the Draft Constitution, and it is obviously the correct one.

Our Draft Constitution, after its adoption by the National People's Congress, will

be a rule of American imperialism and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek group and so complete the unification of our country.

These are brief comments on the various suggestions put forward by the masses regarding the Draft Constitution.

become our country's fundamental state law. This Constitution expresses the personal experience and long-cherished hopes of the people. It will, therefore, certainly be able to play a tremendous, dynamic role in the life of our state and inspire the masses of the people in their struggle to defend and increase the fruits of our victories; crush all enemies who try to wreck our social and state system, promote the healthy and stable development of our work of construction and accelerate the building of our country.

Every person and every state body, without exception, must observe the Constitution. The Deputies of the National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at all levels and all government workers are servants of the people. All the state bodies are at the service of the people. They have, therefore, a special responsibility in the matter of observing the Constitution and ensuring its observance.

The Communist Party of China is the core of the leadership of our country. The position the Party occupies can never entitle Party members to enjoy any special privileges in the life of the state. It can

of the Constitution, things which contravene its provisions will not disappear of themselves. But the Constitution provides us with a powerful weapon and enables us to wage an effective struggle to wipe them out. The Constitution decrees that our country shall be transformed into a socialist society. This of course does not mean that socialist society will come ready-made or that we can wait for it with folded arms. A long road still stretches before us, one that is inevitably beset with difficulties and full of twists and turns. It will surely not all be easy going. The significance of the Constitution is great, and greater still the task it entrusts to us. Only by arduous struggle, persevering work, and persistent and conscientious study to overcome the various kinds of difficulties in our path, shall we be able to reach our goal. Therefore we must not, even in the smallest degree, be conceited and complacent over such achievements as we already have. Conceit and complacency do nothing but harm to any individual, class, political party or nation. While extolling the enactment and promulgation of our Constitution, all nationalities must strengthen their bonds of unity, be modest and conscientious, guard against arrogance and impatience and, taking the path mapped out by the Constitution and under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, make further efforts to strive to ensure the fullest implementation of the Constitution and the building up of our country into a great socialist land.

production on a large scale, and in accord with the bests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters exploiting the labour of hired workers; that the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of domination over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself. This document once again solemnly proclaims that to conquer political power has become the great duty of the working class. "The Inaugural Address" defined in detail the international nature of the working-class organisation and the tasks of the working class. Real and urgent is the principle that a highly important duty of the working class in all countries is "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power".

The entire history of the First International (1864-1872) is a history of tenacious and passionate struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their supporters, whose numbers were few at the beginning, to imbue the working-class movement with the principles of scientific Socialism, to set up a genuine, militant working-class organisation for revolutionary battle, of struggle against all varieties of utopian, petty-bourgeois and other forms of Socialism, against the Proudhonists, Bakunists and Lassalleans who deflected the working-class movement in different European countries from its central tasks.

An intricate situation then obtained in the working-class and general democratic movement in the principal European countries. The English trade unions, in their overwhelming majority, followed the Liberals. In Germany the work of the First International came up against the resistance of the Lassalleans who at that time headed the "German Workers' Association". In France the workmen's organisations were influenced either by bourgeois elements or by the Proudhonists. In Italy the working-class movement was making its first steps—the separate and disconnected workers' societies there were under the influence of the ideas of the bourgeois revolutionary Mazzini. After the abolition of serfdom in 1861 Russia took the path of capitalist development. In Russia this development proceeded rapidly and the working class grew in number. There was great activity in the democratic movement in the country, the mighty voice of Chernyshevsky thundered out his conceptions, secret revolutionary circles and organisations sprang up.

In the complex and varied conditions which existed in different countries the establishment of a truly militant, international working-class organisation, guided by the principles of scientific Socialism, required enormous efforts on the part of Marx and Engels.

With a view to consolidating the International Working Men's Association in all respects, making no concessions whatsoever to opportunism and revolutionary phraseology, and waging a bitter struggle against sectarian sentiments, Marx worked out the tactics and organisational principles of the First International.

Marx and Engels held that in the interests of achieving unity of the working class the International would not shut the door on the English trade unions, the Proudhonists and the Lassalleans nor on the representatives of other trends in the working-class movement. These tactics were original and essential. They fully justified themselves and anticipated the tactics of the struggle for working-class unity which are of such vital importance in the present historical period.

Under Marx's leadership the General Council of the First International responded to all the most important European and world events, bringing out the position of the proletariat in relation to these events.

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On May 30, 1871, two days after the Paris Commune fell, Marx read his work to the General Council where it was unanimously adopted without debate. At first it appeared above the signatures of the General Council. Subsequently, however, when the bourgeois and feudal reactionaries in Europe launched a venomous attack of execration, base calumnies and hypocrisy against the Paris Commune and the First International, Marx publicly declared that he was the author of this document.

Of great interest is the July 11, 1871, Address of the General Council of the First International to the New York Central Committee of the United States sections of the International, regarding the conduct of Washburne, the American Ambassador, during the civil war in France. This address throws merciless light on the criminal activities of that gentleman, the predecessor of the modern Bullets and Lodges, who, under the flag of "mediation" between the Versailles-ites and the Communards, hampered the latter and helped the Versailles-ites. The result of American interference, as the Address points out, was that the defence of the Commune was paralysed for two days at the most crucial moment. The Address calls on all members of the sections to bring these facts to the notice of the American people with a request that they should say whether a person of this kind was worthy of being the representative of the American Republic which at that time enjoyed the prestige of a democratic country in the world.

The fervent appeals of the First International in support of the Paris Commune, the world-wide campaign initiated by the International after the fall of the Paris Commune in protest against the bloody terror of the French bourgeoisie, and the deadly

workers and its experience the First International provided conditions for the future organisation of independent proletarian parties in all countries. Lenin highly praised the historic significance of the First International. He wrote: "It is unforgettable, it is eternal in the history of the workers' struggle for their emancipation."

Having accomplished its historic cause the First International gave way to a new epoch which was characterised by an infinitely bigger growth of the working-class movement in all countries and by the organisation of mass working-class parties in the main countries of the world.

Speaking on the Second International, Lenin pointed out that it increased only in breadth and that this entailed a drop in the revolutionary level of its activity, an extreme growth of opportunism and social chauvinism within its ranks, which, in the end, led to its shameful collapse.

Developing the revolutionary traditions of the First International in new historical conditions—the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the Third Communist International, whose entire history is inextricably bound up with the great names of V. I. Lenin and the continuer of his cause, J. V. Stalin, played a great part in the uniting and strengthening of the Communist Parties in the majority of countries throughout the world, which came into being under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the training of leaders of the working-class movement and in the propaganda of the ideas of Communism. However, in view of the growth of these Parties, the immense scope of their work and the diverse conditions in which their activity was taking place, the guidance of the Parties from one centre became impossible and new forms of communication between them were called for.

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The entire history of the past decades illustrates the great triumph and victorious march of the immortal teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

Now that the world democratic public is celebrating the 90th anniversary of the foundation by Karl Marx of the First International, there is in the world a mighty and indestructible stronghold of the struggle of the working class for its emancipation—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has successfully erected the edifice of Socialism and is triumphantly advancing towards Communism.

The 90th anniversary of the First International coincides with such a momentous event of the day as the adoption of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China by the National People's Congress. The great victory of the Chinese people and the successes of the People's Republic of China are fresh striking proof of the mighty and inspiring force of the undying ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

Now a powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism has come into being. It unites over 900 million people, liberated, once and for all, from the yoke of capitalism and rallied around the working class of these countries, which is guided by the ideas of scientific Socialism.

Unusual and great is the path traversed by the working-class movement during the 90 years that have elapsed since the foundation of the First International. During this period of history the ideas of scientific Socialism have won tremendous victories. The great and vital force of Marxist-Leninist theory is confirmed by history. And nothing can prevent its approaching victory all over the world!

EDITORIAL BOARD

SESSION OF BUREAU OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The session of the Bureau of the World Peace Council took place in Vienna between 13th and 15th of September.

The Bureau has resolved to convene on November 18 a session of the World Peace Council. The Bureau will suggest that the following questions be placed on the agenda for discussion:

1. Co-operation between European countries in building their common security.
2. Situation created in various parts of Asia as a result of foreign pressure and the establishment of a system of blocs and war coalitions.
3. Situation created in Latin America due

to foreign interference in domestic affairs of countries.

4. The struggle of the peace forces for disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

5. Preparations for holding in the first half of 1955 an assembly of representatives of peace forces from all countries.

85th Birthday of Marcel Cachin

On September 20 the French people, the working people and democrats the world over marked the 85th anniversary of Comrade Marcel Cachin, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, one of the oldest leaders of the French and international working-class movement. At the ceremonial reception in Paris members of the C.C. of the French Communist Party and leaders of democratic organisations greeted the veteran of the struggle for freedom, democracy and peace.

Numerous messages of greeting were sent to Marcel Cachin from all parts of the world. The message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reads:

"On the occasion of your 85th birthday, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union conveys to you, dear Comrade Cachin, its warm fraternal greetings.

"As the oldest leader of the French and international working-class movement, one of the founders of the French Communist Party, you have selflessly served the in-

terests of the French people and the high ideals of the working people of the world for many years.

"We wish you good health and fresh successes in your noble patriotic struggle for the cause of the working class and the entire French people, for the national interests of your homeland, for world peace."

The message of greeting sent by the C.C. of the French Communist Party reads:

"Your historic service is that 34 years ago at the Tours Congress you showed the working class of France the pathway charted by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the path which it must inevitably take in order simultaneously to carry out its national mission and achieve its aim of emancipation.

"You played a decisive role in the founding of the French Communist Party and then to a large extent helped to mould this Party, the working-class party of a new type, which under the firm and clear-sighted leadership of Maurice Thorez, has become the first party in France, the hope of France.

"Dear Comrade Marcel Cachin!

"May you long be with us, taking part with us in battles, sharing our hopes and

our confidence, and witness the final victory of the great cause to which you devoted all your life."

Messages of greeting were also sent by "Pravda"; the Polish United Workers' Party; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party; the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party; Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic; Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party; the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; the Communist Party of Germany; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland; Comrade Jean Terfve, Secretary of the Belgian Communist Party; the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria; and other Communist and Workers' Parties, and newspapers, democratic organisations and individuals.