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## Register of the Peng Shu-tse and Chen Bilan papers

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**Title:** Peng Shu-tse and Chen Bilan papers

**Date (inclusive):** 1924-1987

**Collection Number:** 92034

**Contributing Institution:** Hoover Institution Library and Archives

**Language of Material:** In English and Chinese.

**Physical Description:** 5 manuscript boxes(2.0 Linear Feet)

**Abstract:** Speeches and writings, correspondence, theses, and resolutions relating to the early communist movement in China, and to Trotskyist activities in China and elsewhere. Includes memoirs, other writings, and correspondence of Chen Bilan, the companion of Peng Shu-tse, relating to the same topics and also to the condition of women in Chinese society.  
Hoover Institution Library & Archives

**Access**

The collection is open for research; materials must be requested at least two business days in advance of intended use.

**Publication Rights**

For copyright status, please contact the Hoover Institution Archives.

**Preferred Citation**

[Identification of item], Peng Shu-tse and Chen Bilan papers papers, [Box no., Folder no. or title], Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

**Acquisition Information**

Materials were acquired by the Hoover Institution Library & Archives in 1992.

- 1895 Peng born, Hunan Province, China
- 1902 Ch'en born, Hupei Province, China
- 1920 Peng joined Chinese Communist Party
- 1921-1924 Peng student at University of Toilers of the East, Moscow
- 1922 Ch'en joined Chinese Communist Party
- 1924-1925 Ch'en student at University of Toilers of the East, Moscow
- 1925 Peng and Ch'en established household
- 1925-1927 Peng member of national Political Bureau of Chinese Communist Party and editor of *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* and *Hsin ch'ing-nien*. Ch'en member of Shanghai Region Political Bureau of Chinese Communist Party and secretary of Shanghai Region Women's Commission
- 1929 Peng and Ch'en charter members of Chinese Left Opposition. Expelled from Chinese Communist Party
- 1931 Peng and Ch'en charter members of Communist League of China
- 1932-1937 Peng imprisoned in Nanking
- 1948 Peng and Ch'en moved to Hong Kong. Charter members of Revolutionary Communist Party of China
- 1950 Peng and Ch'en moved to Vietnam
- 1951 Peng and Ch'en moved to France. Continued as leaders of exiled Chinese section of Fourth International. Peng for many years member of International Executive Committee of Fourth International
- 1975 Peng and Ch'en moved to United States
- 1983 Peng died
- 1987 Ch'en died

**Scope and Content Note**

The papers of the veteran Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse [P'eng Shu-chih] include also those of his lifelong companion Ch'en Pi-lan [Chen Bilan]. They date overwhelmingly from the post-1949 period, during which Peng, Ch'en and other Chinese Trotskyists were in exile. Many of their writings deal, however, with their early political activity, and with their participation in the early years of the Chinese Communist Party and especially in the revolutionary events of 1925-1927. The book-length memoirs of Ch'en Pi-lan are particularly notable. They, and others of her writings, are concerned not only with the Chinese revolutionary movement in general, but also with the Chinese women's movement in particular.

Material from the post-1949 period is also of value in documenting activities of the Fourth International and of its exiled Chinese section, and of Trotskyist analysis of the Maoist regime in China, the Chinese commune system, and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. More than half of the material in the collection is in English, but a sizable proportion of it is in Chinese. The papers were formerly housed in New York City in the Library of Social History, an affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. Together with other holdings of the Library of Social History, they were acquired by the Hoover

**Biographical File 1973-1987**

**Scope and Contents note**

Bibliographies, obituaries, and other biographical data, relating to Peng Shu-tse and Ch'en Pi-lan

box 1, folder 1  
box 1, folder 2

**General. Bibliographies, obituaries, and miscellany 1977-1987**

**Miller, Joseph T., "P'eng Shu-chih and the Chinese Revolution: A Tentative Political Biography," 1973**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typescript

**Speeches and Writings of Peng Shu-tse 1924-1976**

**Scope and Contents note**

Arranged chronologically

box 1, folder 3

**["The October Revolution and Leninism: For the Commemoration of the Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution"], *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* 1924 November 7**

**Scope and Contents note**

Holograph English translation

box 1, folder 4

**["The Historical Significance of the Fighting Period of May 4th Movement in 1919"] 1946 May**

**Scope and Contents note**

Printed copy (in Chinese)

box 1, folder 5

**["Le caractère de classe du Parti communiste chinois et du nouveau régime"], 1951 November 8**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typed French translation

box 1, folder 6

**["Remarques supplémentaires et corrections au 'Rapport sur la question chinois'"] 1952 May 10**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typed French translation

box 1, folder 7

**"Criticisms on the Draft Resolution on the Third Chinese Revolution," 1952 June 2**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typescript

box 1, folder 8

**"An Open Letter to the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: In Protest against Persecutions of Trotskyists in China," 1953 April 14**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typescript

box 1, folder 9

**"Rise and Decline of Stalinism," 1953 June**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typescript

- box 1, folder 10      **"A Few Criticisms to Serve as Amendments on the Resolution on the Third Chinese Revolution," 1954 March**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Holograph
- box 1, folder 11      **"Letter to the Chinese Trotskyist Organization," 1954 April 4**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 12      **"A Review on Pabloism: From Pablo to Cochran, Clarke and Mestre," 1955 January 1**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 13      **"Resolution on the Parity Commission," 1955 November 7**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 14      **"Declaration on the Resolution of Solidarity with the Algerian Struggle for National Liberation," 1956 January 15**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 15      **"Draft Resolution on the Evolution of the Post-War International Situation, Its Perspectives and the Tasks of the Fourth International," 1956 December**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 16      **Article on anniversary of assassination of Leon Trotsky 1958**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 17      **Article on invitation to Nikita Khrushchev to visit the United States 1959**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 18      **"Are the Communes a 'Superior Type of Economic Organization', or an Effective Instrument for Exploiting and Controlling the Peasants by the CCP?" 1959**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 19      **"Communes Are 'Voluntary Peasant Cooperation' and 'Are Administered by Elected Councils Not by Bureaucratic Edict'?" 1959**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 20      **"'The Great Productive Increase in Farming' and 'From Enslavement for Women to Equality'," 1959**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript

- box 1, folder 21      **"The Criticism of the Several Opinions in Support of the Chinese Rural People's Communes and Our Attitude toward the Chinese Rural People's Communes," 1959**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 22      **"A Few More Words on Comrades Liang and Swabeck," 1959 August 18**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 23      **"A Supplement to 'The Criticism of the Several Opinions in Support of the Chinese Rural People's Communes and Our Attitude toward the Chinese Rural People's Communes'," 1959 September 15**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 24      **Article on situation in France 1959 December 27**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 25      **"On the Nature of the Chinese Communist Party and Its Regime: Political Revolution or Democratic Reform?" 1960 April**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 26      **"On the Suggestions and Proposals on the Unity of the World Trotskyist Movement," 1961 May 8**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 27      **"My Opinion on the Following Two Questions: The Question of the Cuban Revolution: The Question of China," 1961 June 6**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 28      **"A Draft Resolution on the Cuban Revolution and the Task of the Trotskyists," 1961 July 20**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 29      **"Where Is Burns Taking the S.L.L.? On the Peril of the Sectarian Tendency of the S.L.L.," 1962**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 30      **"Two Extreme Attitudes of the S.L.L. towards the Algerian Struggle of Liberation: From the Policy of Right Adaptation to the Policy of Left Sectarianism," 1963**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
- box 1, folder 31      **"To Continue the Split or to Re-unify the Movement?" 1963 January 14**  
                                 **Scope and Contents note**  
                                 Typescript
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- box 1, folder 32      **"The Evolution of Pabloism and the Struggle against Pabloism by SLL Leaders," 1963 January**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Typescript
- box 1, folder 33      **Article upon reading *Pravda* 1963 February 22**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 34      **Article on Pabloism circa 1964**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph
- box 1, folder 35      **Article on Chinese Cultural Revolution 1967**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph
- box 1, folder 36      **"The Relationship and Differences between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi" [interview with Antonio Farien] 1967 July 6**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 37      **Article on Chinese Cultural Revolution circa 1968**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph
- box 1, folder 38      **"The New Developments in the Chinese Situation," 1969**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Typescript
- box 1, folder 39      **["Maintain the Truth of History, or Fake History?"] 1970 June 28**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 40      **Introduction to Leon Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* [new edition] 1974**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 41      **Message to *Intercontinental Press* banquet [with Ch'en Pi-lan] 1974 April 24**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 42      ***P'ing Chang Kuo-t'ao ti "Wo ti hui i": Chung-kuo ti erh tz'u ko ming shih pai ti ch'ien yin hou kuo ho chia hsün* [A Criticism of Chang Kuo-t'ao's "My Memoirs": The Course, Consequences and Lessons of the Defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution], 1975**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Printed copy (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 43      **"Comments on the LTF Draft Resolution 'The Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution'," 1975 August 1**  
                              **Scope and Contents note**  
                              Mimeograph
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- box 1, folder 44      **"A Statement on the Slanders Circulated by the Healy Group against Hansen, Novack, and the Socialist Workers Party" [with Ch'en Pi-lan and Louis Sinclair] 1976**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Mimeograph
- box 1, folder 45      **["Questions and Answers on the Civil War in China"] undated**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Holograph (in Chinese)
- box 1, folder 46      **Articles on Chinese Cultural Revolution undated**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Holographs (in Chinese)
- box 2, folder 1      **Notes and fragments (mainly in Chinese) undated**  
**Speeches and Writings of Ch'en Pi-lan 1933-1981**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Arranged chronologically
- box 2, folder 2      **["The Evolutionist View of Sexual Selection"], *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 1933**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Printed copy (in Chinese) and typed English translation
- box 2, folder 3      **["Village Women and the Bankruptcy of Villages"], *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 1935**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Typed English translation
- box 2, folder 4      **["The Modern Family Institution and the Question of Children"], *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 1935 July-September**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Typed English translation
- box 2, folder 5      **["Examining the Problem of Women's Suicide"], *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 1936**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Typed English translation
- box 2, folder 6      **"Attitude to Life / Attitude à la vie," 1947**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Typescript (in English and French)
- box 2, folder 7      **"Looking Back Over My Years with P'eng Shu-tse," 1965 November**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Printed copy
- box 2, folder 8      **["Lies Loving No Facts"] 1968 September 16**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Printed copy (in Chinese) and holograph and typed English translations
- box 2, folder 9      **"A Criticism of 'Guerrilla Warfare: Lessons of China'," 1971 January 10**  
    **Scope and Contents note**  
    Holograph and typescript

box 2, folder 10	<b>"In Memory of My Son, Yau Ming," 1971 May 28</b> Scope and Contents note Typescript
box 2, folder 11	<b>"A Statement on Portugal," 1975</b> Scope and Contents note Mimeograph
box 2, folder 12	<b>"My Experiences on Women's Movement in China," circa 1970s</b> Scope and Contents note Typescript
box 2, folder 13	<b>Article on Chinese women's movement circa 1970s</b> Scope and Contents note Holograph

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**["My Memoirs"] circa 1981**

box 2, folder 14-17	<b>Chinese text</b> Scope and Contents note Holograph
box 3	<b>English translation</b> Scope and Contents note Typescript
box 3, folder 1	<b>Chapter 1. "Childhood: At Home and at School"</b>
box 3, folder 2	<b>Chapter 2. "Life and Struggles at the College of Education for Women"</b>
box 3, folder 3	<b>Chapter 3. "'Entering the Party' and 'Cancelling the Marriage Agreement'"</b>
box 3, folder 4	<b>Chapter 4. "From Wuhan to Peking"</b>
box 3, folder 5	<b>Chapter 5. "Life and Study in Shanghai"</b>
box 3, folder 6	<b>Chapter 6. "Setback on the Journey to the Soviet Union"</b>
box 3, folder 7	<b>Chapter 7. "To the Soviet Union"</b>
box 3, folder 8	<b>Chapter 8. "Studies and Party Education in the Chinese Section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow"</b>
box 3, folder 9	<b>Chapter 9. "Studies and Party Education in the Chinese Section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow [continued]"</b>
box 3, folder 10	<b>Chapter 10. "The Outbreak of the May 30th Movement and Preparations to Return to China"</b>
box 3, folder 11	<b>Chapter 11. "My Work in Honan, " August-October 1925</b>
box 3, folder 12	<b>Chapter 12. "Work in Shanghai, " 1925-1927</b>
box 3, folder 13	<b>Chapter 13. "A Month in Canton: After Chiang Kai-shek's Coup of " March 20, 1926</b>
box 3, folder 14	<b>Chapter 14. "Back to Shanghai"</b>
box 3, folder 15	<b>Chapter 15. "The Northern Expedition and the Armed Uprising of the Shanghai Workers"</b>
box 3, folder 16	<b>Chapter 16. "The Wuhan Period and the Fifth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party"</b>
box 3, folder 17	<b>Chapter 17. "The Wuhan Government's Liquidation of Communists, and My Life"</b>
box 3, folder 18	<b>Chapter 18. "Two Months in the North"</b>
box 3, folder 19	<b>Chapter 19. "Our Life after Returning to Shanghai from the North, and Chü Ch'iu-pai"</b>
box 3, folder 20	<b>Chapter 20. "The Beginning of Our Life of Hardship"</b>

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box 3, folder 21	<b>Chapter 21. "The Beginning of the Chinese Trotskyist Movement and Our Expulsion from the CCP"</b>
box 3, folder 22	<b>Chapter 22. "A Catastrophe Brought on by a Traitor"</b>
box 3, folder 23	<b>Chapter 23. "Peng Shu-chih's Arrest on " October 15, 1932"</b>
box 3, folder 24	<b>Chapter 24. "Life during the Five Years Following Shu-chih's Arrest"</b>
box 3, folder 25	<b>Chapter 25. "Life during the Five Years Following Shu-chih's Arrest [continued]"</b>
box 3, folder 26	<b>Chapter 26? "The Socialist Cultural Movement after the Failure of the Revolution, and the Trotskyist Faction"</b>
box 3, folder 27	<b>Chapter 27? "P'eng Shu-chih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Release from Prison and their Subsequent Separation"</b>
box 3, folder 28	<b>Chapter 28? "Leaving China: From Hong Kong to Vietnam, " 1950"</b>
box 3, folder 29	

**"A Week in Hospital," undated**

**Scope and Contents note**

Typescript

**Correspondence 1952-1981**

**Scope and Contents note**

Correspondence of Peng Shu-tse and Ch'en Pi-lan, interfiled, arranged alphabetically by name of correspondent

box 4, folder 1	<b>Barbaria, Frank 1953</b>
box 4, folder 2	<b>Barnes, Jack 1971-1976</b>
box 4, folder 3	<b>Bombaro, Natalie 1975-1978</b>
box 4, folder 4	<b>Burton, Robert A. 1966</b>
box 4, folder 5	<b>Cannon, James P. 1953-1958</b>
box 4, folder 6	<b>Charlier, Fernand 1966</b>
box 4, folder 7	<b>Cornelissen, Igor 1971-1972</b>
box 4, folder 8	<b>Dobbs, Farrell 1958-1960</b>
box 4, folder 9	<b>Dowson, Ross 1962-1973</b>
box 4, folder 10	<b>Evans, Les 1972-1975</b>
box 4, folder 11	<b>Feeley, Dianne 1974</b>
box 4, folder 12	<b>Fourth International. International Committee 1957-1958</b>
box 4, folder 13	<b>Fourth International. International Executive Committee 1967-1976</b>
box 4, folder 14	<b>Fourth International. International Secretariat, (including draft in Chinese) 1953-1954</b>
box 4, folder 15	<b>Fourth International. United Secretariat 1966-1977</b>
box 4, folder 16	<b>Frank, Pierre 1954-1976</b>
box 4, folder 17	<b>Genecin, Alvin 1972</b>
box 4, folder 18	<b>Hamilton, Betty 1957-1959</b>
box 4, folder 19	<b>Hansen, Joseph 1966-1973</b>
box 4, folder 20	<b>Hansen, Reba 1966-1969</b>
box 4, folder 21	<b>Harris, Alan and Connie 1970</b>
box 4, folder 22	<b>Healy, Gerry 1954-1962</b>
box 4, folder 23	<b>Hillery, Mary 1973</b>
box 4, folder 24	<b>Horowitz, Gus 1972-1973</b>
box 4, folder 25	<b>Hsin-ch'eng, (in Chinese) 1972</b>
box 4, folder 26	<b>Institut Léon Trotsky, 1977</b>
box 4, folder 27	<b>Japan Revolutionary Communist League 1954-1973</b>
box 4, folder 28	<b>Jarvis, Helen 1973</b>
box 4, folder 29	<b>Jenness, Doug 1978</b>
box 4, folder 30	<b>Kagan, Richard C., (partly in Chinese) 1971-1972</b>
box 4, folder 31	<b>Keil, David 1967-1979</b>

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box 4, folder 32	<b>Kerry, Carolyn 1966-1967</b>
box 4, folder 33	<b>Lee, Shee, (partly in Chinese) 1956-1975</b>
box 4, folder 34	<b>Lequenne, Michel undated</b>
box 4, folder 35	<b>Lesnik, Rich 1971-1972</b>
box 4, folder 36	<b>Mandel, Ernest 1973-1979</b>
box 4, folder 37	<b>Mandel, Gisela 1970-1971</b>
box 4, folder 38	<b>Meyer, Roger 1966</b>
box 4, folder 39	<b>Miller, Joseph T. 1972-1976</b>
box 4, folder 40	<b>Nabata, Hisashi, (partly in Chinese) 1966-1972</b>
box 4, folder 41	<b>Nakajima, Mineo 1969-1971</b>
box 4, folder 42	<b>Nishi, Kyoji 1960-1965</b>
box 4, folder 43	<b>Novack, George 1952-1973</b>
box 4, folder 44	<b>Peng family, (in Chinese) 1967-1973</b>
box 4, folder 45	<b>Petros undated</b>
box 4, folder 46	<b>Pinot, Jean-Christian undated</b>
box 4, folder 47	<b>Polan, Tony 1970</b>
box 4, folder 48	<b>Reed, Evelyn 1953-1963</b>
box 4, folder 49	<b>Revolutionary Communist Party [China], (in Chinese with English translation) 1954</b>
box 4, folder 50	<b>Riddell, John 1970-1972</b>
box 4, folder 51	<b>Roberts, Demila 1964-1967</b>
box 4, folder 52	<b>Sakai 1973</b>
box 4, folder 53	<b>Seabold, Mr. and Mrs. 1966-1967</b>
box 4, folder 54	<b>Sharon, Art 1966-1967</b>
box 4, folder 55	<b>Socialist Workers Party [U.S.] 1971</b>
box 4, folder 56	<b>Stone, Betsey 1981</b>
box 4, folder 57	<b>Tam, Jane 1953-1954</b>
box 4, folder 58	<b>Tilak, S. 1952-1957</b>
box 4, folder 59	<b>Unidentified, (mainly in Chinese) 1958-1964</b>
box 4, folder 60	<b>Vergeat, G. 1970-1973</b>
box 5, folder 1	<b>Wataru, Yakushiji 1972-1973</b>
box 5, folder 2	<b>Waters, Mary-Alice 1973-1976</b>
box 5, folder 3	<b>Weissman, George 1955</b>
box 5, folder 4	<b>Whitney, W. J. 1962-1963</b>
box 5, folder 5	<b>Wong, W. H. 1952</b>
box 5, folder 6	<b>Wu, Chung-hsin, (in Chinese) 1973</b>
box 5, folder 7	<b>Yamanishi, Eiichi 1952-1971</b>
box 5, folder 8	<b>Yin, (in Chinese) 1969</b>

**Socialist Workers Party Correspondence 1953-1981****Scope and Contents note**

Letters exchanged between members of the Socialist Workers Party (U.S.) relating to Peng Shu-tse and Ch'en Pi-lan, arranged chronologically. Includes discussion of assistance to Peng and Ch'en, their writing projects, and their move to the United States

box 5, folder 9	<b>1953-1974</b>
box 5, folder 10	<b>1975</b>
box 5, folder 11	<b>1976-1981</b>

**Fourth International Subject File 1930-1975****Scope and Contents note**

Circulated letters, reports, discussion documents, resolutions, declarations, minutes, and bulletins, relating to political discussions within the Fourth International. Arranged alphabetically by country under discussion

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**General**

box 5, folder 12	<b>1953-1955</b>
box 5, folder 13	<b>1961-1966</b>

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General

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box 5, folder 14                    **1971-1973**  
box 5, folder 15                    **Undated**

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**China**

box 5, folder 16                    **(partly in Chinese) 1949-1959**  
   **Scope and Contents note**  
   Includes 1953 appeal of Trotskyists in Shanghai

box 5, folder 17                    **(partly in Chinese) 1966-1975**  
   **Scope and Contents note**  
   Includes 1972 document in Chinese on Chinese Trotskyist military struggle

box 5, folder 18                    **Undated**  
box 5, folder 19                    **Wang, Fan-hsi. Letters, memoirs, and other writings 1966-1973**  
box 5, folder 20                    **Printed articles from Chinese Trotskyist press, (in Chinese) 1955-1967**

box 5, folder 21

**India 1930-1973**

box 5, folder 22

**Japan, (partly in Chinese) 1953-1960**

box 5, folder 23

**Sri Lanka 1954-1967**