Chairman Mao Meets President And Lady Jawara

Peking to Lhasa
— The first of a series of articles on Tibet's big leap from feudal serfdom to thriving socialism

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Chairman Mao Meets President And Lady Jawara

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the evening of June 12 met with Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia, his wife Lady Chiel Jawara and other distinguished Gambian guests accompanying the President on his visit to China: Yaya Ceesay, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources; A.B. N’jie, Minister of External Affairs; S.M. Dibba, Minister of Economic Planning and Industrial Development; L.K. Jabang, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs; H. Lloyd-Evans, Inspector General of Police; M.M. Sosseh, Deputy Secretary General of the President's Office; Dr. A.J. Langley, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development; and M.B. Wadda, Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao shook hands with each of the distinguished guests, extending a welcome to them on their China visit, and had a cordial and friendly conversation with President Jawara, Minister Ceesay, Minister of External Affairs N’jie and Minister Dibba. Bidding them farewell, Chairman Mao asked President Jawara to convey his regards to the Gambian people when he returned home and expressed the wish that the whole of Africa will stand up.

Present at the meeting and the conversation were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and Deputy Department Directors Tang Wen-cheng and Chang Han-chih of the Foreign Ministry.
President Jawara Visits China

President Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara of the Republic of the Gambia who was on a state visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government left for other cities of China on June 14 after ending his stay in Peking.

Coming to Peking on June 11, President and Lady Jawara and his party were warmly welcomed at the airport by Chinese leaders Li Hsien-nien, Ulanfu and Wang Chen, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and several thousand people of the capital. President Jawara, accompanied by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. The crowds danced to the accompaniment of music in greeting the guests. Upon their arrival at the Guest House, the distinguished Gambian guests were cordially received by Madame Kang Ke-ching and Madame Teng Ying-chao.

Peking was filled with a warm atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Gambian peoples. The national flags of the two countries flew over the main streets and huge streamers trailing from tall buildings read: “Firmly support the Gambian people in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!” “Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and the Gambian!” “Long live the great unity of the people of the third world!” and “Long live the great unity of the people of the world!”

Chu Teh and other Chinese leaders on June 11 met with the distinguished Gambian guests. Premier Chou En-lai met in a hospital with President and Lady Jawara and other Gambian guests on the same day.

In the evening, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien hosted a grand welcome banquet in the Great Hall of the People in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. Vice-Premier Li and President Jawara spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 8-10.)

Vice-Premier Li and President Jawara in their talks in Peking exchanged views on international problems of common interest and the further development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

President Jawara gave a banquet on June 13. Li Hsien-nien and other Chinese leaders attended.

In his speech at the function the President said that the most enjoyable and useful state visit he and his party were paying to the People’s Republic of China would leave an indelible memory in their minds, that the visit was “my first opportunity to see for myself the hard and fruitful work the people of China have been doing,” and that as a result of the Chinese people’s success in their endeavours to develop their country, “China is today one of the most viable and powerful countries in the world.”

He went on to say: “The People’s Republic of China is a member of the third world, and we the rest of the developing countries are happy to have China as a partner in development, for there is a lot we could learn from your development techniques.”

President Jawara said: The long strides forward China has made “show what a developing country can do if it is determined and organized.”

The President said: “Having struggled bitterly to liberate itself, the People’s Republic of China has been doing much to support other oppressed peoples in their struggle to liberate themselves. The support China has given to African freedom fighters has been very valuable and welcome. As an African country, as a member of the Organization of African Unity and as a supporter of African freedom fighters, the Gambia is most thankful for China’s valuable moral and material support for the struggle against colonialism, and racial discrimination.

“The People’s Republic of China has also been fulfilling its role in the economic and political fields. Where colonialism or neo-colonialism has deterred economic development, the People’s Republic of China has been known to step in to save the situation. China’s participation in bilateral technical assistance to developing countries has also been commendably effective.”

He said in conclusion: “All in all, China has been playing a very important role in world affairs and I am confident that she will continue to do so in the interest of the third world and in the wider interest of world peace and stability.”

In his speech, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: The current visit of President Jawara has made an im-
important contribution towards a still better understanding between the two sides and the development of the friendship between the Chinese and Gambian peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between both countries.

He added: “We have always considered that the just struggles of the people of all countries support one another. The Gambian people are an industrious and talented people; they have much valuable experience from which we can learn with benefit. Under the leadership of His Excellency President Jawara, the Gambian people are making efforts to diversify their country’s formerly single-product economy resulting from colonial rule, attaching importance to the development of agriculture and striving for self-sufficiency in grain through self-reliance. We express our appreciation for all this and are convinced that the Gambian people will surely score new and greater successes in their struggle to consolidate political independence and win economic independence.”

Vice-Premier Li reiterated: “China is a developing socialist country. It is her bounden internationalist duty to support and assist the third world and the people of the whole world in their just cause. We have consistently maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal. We are strongly opposed to the superpowers’ hegemonism and power politics of strong nations domineering the weak, big nations bullying the small and rich nations oppressing the poor. Firmly following Chairman Mao Tsetung’s basic principle of ‘never seeking hegemony,’ we will never be a superpower and will so educate the coming generations that they will never be a superpower. Under Chairman Mao’s leadership, we Chinese people are determined, through independence, self-reliance and hard work, to strive to do a better job of our socialist revolution and socialist construction and make a greater contribution to humanity.”

**Albanian Government Economic Delegation in Peking**

The Albanian Government Economic Delegation arrived in Peking on June 15 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. It is headed by Adil Carcani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, with Petro Dode, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, as the deputy leader.

The Albanian comrades were welcomed at the airport by Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Wang Chen, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; and other comrades.

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, met in a hospital in the afternoon with Comrades Carcani and Dode and other members of the delegation.

Comrade Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet in the evening to warmly welcome all the Albanian comrades. Chinese Party and state leaders Yao Wen-yuan, Wu Kuei-hsien and Wang Chen were present.

In his speech, Comrade Li Hsien-nien warmly praised the Albanian people for the brilliant achievements they had scored in their socialist revolution and socialist construction.
under the correct leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour.

He said: The Albanian people are striving to fulfill the various fighting tasks laid down by the Sixth Congress of the Party. The Albanian comrades have embarked upon the socialist revolutionization movement on a nationwide scale and adopted measures for simplifying administrative structures and sending cadres to the lower levels, and this will give the thriving development of the cause of socialist construction a powerful impetus.

He went on to say: Adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and the heroic Albanian people have actively supported the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, firmly combated the policies of aggression and hegemonism of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and in particular have waged tit-for-tat struggles against the economic blockade, political blackmail, military pressure and subversion and sabotage by Soviet social-imperialism. The staunch revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people has won the admiration and praise of the people of various countries all over the world. The Chinese people take pride in having such heroic comrades-in-arms.

Comrade Li Hsien-nien pointed out: The current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven. The worldwide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is surging higher every day. In particular, the recent great victories won by the Cambodian and south Vietnamese peoples have tremendously inspired the revolutionary people of various countries in the world. On the contrary, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, which are scrambling more fiercely with each other for world hegemony, are encountering increasingly tough resistance from the people of all countries in the world. Beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, they are having a hard time. Imperialism is the source of war. The danger of a new world war is growing. We must heighten our vigilance and get prepared.

He said that the friendship and militant unity of China and Albania, founded by the Chinese people's great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Albanian people's great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha themselves and based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has stood the tests of storms and stress and proved unbreakable. No schemes whatever to undermine this friendship and unity can succeed, he stressed. He said that the current visit to China of the delegation is certain to further the militant friendship and fraternal co-operation between the people of China and Albania.

In his speech, Comrade Carcani said: We are especially happy that we have come to your great country at a time when China's socialist position and the proletarian dictatorship are unprecedentedly consolidated. "We feel particularly happy that immediately after landing on your soil today we were received by Comrade Chou En-lai, with whom we had a most important and unforgettable conversation. This is yet another demonstration of the indestructible great friendship and very close relations between our two Parties, countries and peoples," he said.

He said: China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have won decisive victories. The deepening movements of criticizing revisionism and studying Marxism-Leninism and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat have also made achievements. Hundreds of millions of Chinese people are with infinite enthusiasm implementing the historic resolutions adopted at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Fourth National People's Congress. The People's Republic of China today is marching forward on the road of socialist revolution.

Comrade Carcani said: China resolutely opposes the policies of hegemonism of the two superpowers and unreservedly supports the people of the world in their struggles for freedom and national independence. The people of the world take the great People's China as the unswerving fighter and the powerful supporter of the people of various countries in their struggles for national and social emancipation, independence, progress and prosperity and against imperialism, social-imperialism, hegemonism, neo-colonialism and reaction.

He said: The unbreakable and eternal friendship and unity founded
on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have linked the Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour with the great Chinese people and their glorious Communist Party of China. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour rejoice at the brilliant achievements and victories scored by the Chinese people and take them as their own.

Comrade Carciani said: We are visiting China at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union, the two imperialist superpowers which are the biggest and most vicious enemies of mankind, are meeting with heavy blows from the struggle of the people of all countries and suffering serious defeats. In their desperate fight for life, the two superpowers are trying to impose their will upon the people of the world through their scramble as well as collaboration. However, their attempts will never succeed, just as they never did in the past.

He said: The Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour are proud of fighting in the same trench with the great Chinese people and the glorious Communist Party of China in the great struggle against imperialism and revisionism and contributing to the just cause of the people of the world and to the victories of socialism and revolution. The fraternal friendship and close mutual help and co-operation between our two peoples, Parties and countries have been daily strengthened and developed along the Marxist-Leninist road charted by our two Parties and our great leaders Chairman Mao Tsetung and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our friendship, as bright as the sunlight, warms the hearts of every Albanian and every Chinese and fills our friends everywhere in the world with joy but strikes terror into those who try to eradicate this friendship.

Message of Congratulations To Vietnamese Leaders

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, on June 9 cabled Comrades Ton Duc Thang, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong congratulating them on their re-election to the respective posts of President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the D.R.V.N. and Premier of the Government of the D.R.V.N.

The message reads: "The Chinese people sincerely wish the fraternal Vietnamese people new and still greater victories in the revolutionary cause of building a peaceful, independent, reunified, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

"May the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples last for ever:

"May you achieve new successes in your future work."

Greeting Philippine Independence Day

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, on June 12 sent a message to President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Republic of the Philippines extending warm congratulations on the occasion of Philippine Independence Day. The message reads:

"Your Excellency's successful visit to China and the normalization of relations between China and the Philippines add an important page to the annals of China-Philippines relations. We fully believe that the friendly relations between China and the Philippines will grow stronger and develop continuously on a new basis.

"May the Republic of the Philippines enjoy prosperity and her people well-being. May Your Excellency enjoy good health."

Premier Chou Meets Aichiro Fujiyama

Premier Chou En-lai on June 12 met in a hospital with Aichiro Fujiyama, Chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Dietman's League and President of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade; Kazutsura Kawase, Vice-President of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade; and other Japanese friends. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien had met them the previous day.

Aichiro Fujiyama arrived in Peking on June 6 after presiding over the opening ceremony of the Japanese Electronics Industry and Calculating and Measuring Instruments Exhibition in Shanghai.
THERE are friendly ties between China and Gambian. The Gambian people are industrious and talented people with a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. In the past, the Chinese and Gambian peoples, who sympathized with and supported each other in the protracted common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, forged a profound friendship. With the formal establishment of diplomatic relations last year, the relations between China and the Gambia entered a new stage. In January this year, the Honourable Alieu Badara N’jie, Minister of External Affairs of the Gambia, visited China. Shortly afterwards, Vice-Minister Chiang Hui-lien visited the Gambia as the representative of the Chinese Government. And now His Excellency the President and Lady Jawara have come to China on a friendly visit, which marks a new development in the friendly relations between our two countries. This important visit by His Excellency the President will add a new page to the annals of China-Gambia relations.

The distinguished Gambian guests come from vigorous, united and militant Africa. The great African people are continuing to advance victoriously in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemonism. The many independent African states are marching forward on the road of consolidating national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty and developing their national economy and culture. At the recent Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the West African Countries held in Lagos, the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States was signed. It shows that in the struggle to safeguard political independence and win economic independence, the West African states, and indeed all African states, have the common desire to get united to combat control, plunder and exploitation by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the superpowers and defend their national economic rights and interests. It also shows that in their fight against the imperialist attempt to shift off the economic crisis and for the establishment of a new international economic order, the African peoples share the common wish to rely on their own strength and to unite and co-operate on the basis of equality and mutual benefit to promote the economic prosperity of the African countries.

In the non-independent territories in southern Africa, the armed struggles and mass movements against white racism waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania with the vigorous support of the independent African states are continuing to deepen and deal steady and heavy blows at the reactionary Vorster and Smith regimes. At the instigation and with the support of the imperialists, the superpowers and the reactionary Vorster regime, the Rhodesian racist regime recently used counter-revolutionary violence to brutally massacre members of national liberation forces and patriots of Zimbabwe while craftily talking about “reconciliation” and “dialogue.” This harsh fact fully explodes its “reconciliation” as a hoax and further reveals its ferocious features as a bunch of ruthless butchers. The perverse action of the reactionary Smith regime will only arouse the Zimbabwean and other African peoples to stronger hatred for imperialism, colonialism and racism and urge them to carry the armed struggle for national liberation through to the end. We believe that the courageous Zimbabwean people, relying on their own strength, reinforcing their unity and persevering in struggle, will surely win final victory in their struggle for national independence with the vigorous support of other African countries.

The Chinese and African peoples have gone through common historical experiences, and we all belong to the third world. At present, we face a common fighting task. Following Chairman Mao Tsetung’s consistent teachings, the Chinese people will always stand together in mutual support and march forward shoulder to shoulder with the great African people in the third world’s united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

We are very glad that the current visit to China by His Excellency President Jawara has provided an opportunity for an exchange of views on questions of common interest and on further developing the relations between our two countries. We have no doubt that His Excellency the President’s visit will make a beneficial contribution to the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding between our two peoples and of friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries.
President Jawara’s Speech
(Excerpts)

We are very happy to be here to spend a few days with you all, and to consolidate the friendship and close co-operation recently established between our two countries and peoples. I am even more confident now that our two Governments and peoples, though separated by a great distance, will, during the near future, develop even closer ties of friendship and co-operation as our newly established but cordial relations get consolidated and expanded. The People’s Republic of China is a great country and a land of progress, peace and stability. These qualities alone constitute a great attraction to any peace-loving country which believes in world peace and international friendship, co-operation and understanding.

For years, the industrious people of China have dedicated themselves under the wise and selfless leadership of Chairman Mao to the task of developing your country, improving the economy and raising the standard of living. Independent observers have commented favourably on the achievements you have made in this direction. They have commented on your successful socialist form of government, established since the great liberation, which guarantees the peace and stability prevailing, thereby facilitating unimpeded development of the country.

I feel very encouraged by your achievements, for we, too, have been striving for the past ten years to improve the lot of our people. As the Gambia is an agricultural country, my Government has naturally concentrated a lot of effort on agriculture. As a result, our agricultural products have increased steadily during the past few years. A major step has been the nationalization of our groundnut industry, the main agricultural activity in the Gambia. New crops and farming methods have been introduced, and the results have been quite favourable. As there is still a lot to be done, however, we will seize every opportunity during our visit to know as much as possible about your agricultural methods with a view to adopting some of them or adapting some to our own requirements and circumstances. This is in fact one of the important aspects of our visit.

With regard to foreign relations, our policy is to establish friendly relations with as many countries as possible; for we follow a policy of peaceful coexistence between nations, on the basis of mutual respect for each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, which accords fully with your own well-known five principles, a cornerstone of your foreign policy. I am glad that this peaceful policy we have in common has led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries. This is also the guiding policy of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity. I have great faith in both organizations and my Government will continue to give them full support.

The two main objectives of the Organization of African Unity are, in the first place, to achieve the freedom of the rest of Africa still under foreign domination, and, secondly, to achieve greater African unity. After many years’ struggle by African freedom fighters, with the support of independent Africa and certain freedom-loving countries, including China, great strides have been made towards the first objective. Portugal has abandoned her colonial wars and recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the rights of the people of Mozambique and Angola to independence. There still remain, however, the problem of the illegal regime in Zimbabwe, the unlawful occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the problem of apartheid in South Africa itself.

With regard to these remaining problems, however, there have been important developments and moves in the right direction. I refer to the comparatively recent negotiations which led to the release of some nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe and to the initial talks in Lusaka. It is unfortunate, however, that the talks were suspended before they reached their logical conclusion. They were, nevertheless, a good sign. As soon as the illegal regime in Zimbabwe is ready, the talks should be resumed. In the meantime, the courageous freedom fighters have no alternative but to continue and intensify the armed struggle. The Gambia and all other African countries will continue to give moral and material support to the freedom fighters until they gain their freedom and independence. It is our hope that peace-loving countries outside Africa, of which the People’s Republic of China is a prominent one, will continue to give moral and material support to the freedom fighters and to observe the United Nations sanctions against the illegal regime in Zimbabwe, and to condemn South Africa’s unlawful occupation of Namibia and its apartheid policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the black majority by the white minority. The People’s Republic of China has been one of the greatest supporters of the African struggle and I wish to thank the Chinese Government and people for this valuable support.

The freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, with the support of the Organization of African Unity and all peace-loving countries in the world, demand the right to independence on the basis of majority rule, the immediate release of their political leaders and other detainees still in custody, and the full restoration of all human rights denied them for so long in their own country.

June 20, 1975
The situation is similar in Namibia. The O.A.U. and U.N. policies on Namibia also are identical. The continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa is unlawful, and South Africa must surrender jurisdiction over the territory to the United Nations. Until the South African Government does so, the freedom fighters will have no alternative but to continue the armed struggle.

The political problems I have mentioned are, however, not our only problems. We have economic and social problems as well: but it is only after the political problems have been solved that we will be able to devote all our energy and resources to the task of solving our remaining problems and consolidating African unity. China’s assistance to developing African countries in these economic and social fields are very much appreciated. The Gambia in particular is most grateful to the People’s Republic of China for the long-term, interest-free loan granted to it under the Economic and Technical Agreement Between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of the Gambia, signed here in Peking during the official visit of my Foreign Minister the Hon. A.B. N’Jie in February this year.

In conclusion, I wish to assure you that whatever our problems may be, my Government and I will continue to pay great attention to the development of the friendly relations which now bind our two countries together.

Always Keep the Workers, Peasants And Soldiers in Mind

In the heat of the nationwide, conscientious study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ministry of Culture this year has sponsored in Peking two theatrical festivals featuring programmes from nine provinces and one autonomous region following last year’s two festivals. The latest festivals are significant for keeping more firmly to the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, carrying forward the proletarian revolution in literature and art, and bringing about a blossoming of socialist literary and art creations.

In his Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, Chairman Mao pointed out: “All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.” Chairman Mao’s instruction clearly indicates the orientation for the proletariat to carry out a revolution and exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the field of literature and art and to develop revolutionary literature and art in the service of workers, peasants and soldiers.

To create literature and art for the workers, peasants and soldiers and for their use, it is necessary to be clear about their fundamental interests in the first place. In the historical period of socialist society, the fundamental interests of these masses lie in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a component part of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, revolutionary literature and art should, without doubt, mirror the struggle by the workers, peasants and soldiers to consolidate this dictatorship. Judging from the good programmes at the latest festivals, including adaptations from the model revolutionary works and new creations, we can see that the basic reason they are welcomed by the worker-peasant-soldier audience is because they are modelled with great warmth on the images of proletarian heroes fighting vigorously for the seizure of political power and the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. They suit the times and answer the needs of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in their struggles. Literary and art workers should seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, guided by the Party’s basic line, create more works that will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers centring on the question of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way, the militant role of revolutionary literature and art will be brought into fuller play.

To ensure that their works are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use, literary and art workers must go among them and learn from them. Chairman Mao has pointed out: “Since their task is to serve the masses of workers and peasants, the intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work and ideas.” Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, vast numbers of literary and art workers have become more conscious of the need to go into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The good programmes at the latest festivals represent their gains in going into the thick of life and in their efforts to remodel their own world outlook. But a number of our comrades have not solved the question well enough. Some comrades have not made up their minds about going to the grassroots, always saying they are too busy. Other comrades did go there physically, but not ideologically. Still other comrades went merely to collect some material for what they intended to write, “looking at the flowers while on horseback” or “putting away the cup after taking a tiny sip.” Without shifting one’s stand, without knowing the workers, peasants and soldiers, one
cannot possibly write anything that will be liked by the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some of our comrades have the intention of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and are anxious to produce some works immediately. But with merely good intentions like this, a person anxious for success cannot accomplish anything without actually going among the workers, peasants and soldiers and learning from them. In order to create works that are liked by the workers, peasants and soldiers, one “must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers” and, in the course of doing this, remould one’s world outlook, shift one’s stand and acquaint oneself with their life, work and ideas. This is the only way to achieve the aim. There has always been a sharp struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the question of whether it is necessary to go into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers and learn from them. Our literary and art workers should seriously study Chairman Mao’s relevant teachings, continue to criticize the fallacies designed under the revisionist line in literature and art to prevent them from going into the thick of life and persistently going among the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Since our literature and art are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use, literary and art workers should work zealously and in every possible way to bring their revolutionary creations to larger audiences of workers, peasants and soldiers. It won’t do for them to perform in the limited theatres in cities and towns alone, they must reach out to the workers, peasants and soldiers and go to the “great theatres” in factories and mines, rural areas and army companies. This is an effective measure to occupy the ideological and cultural positions. To do this, literary and art workers should be determined ideologically to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers heart and soul and should simplify stage settings and streamline the orchestra and the cast as far as possible in order to get ready for trips to hilly and other rural areas. The current performances in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao’s Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art are given chiefly for workers, peasants and soldiers at the grass-roots level, in factories and mines, rural areas and army companies. This should be widely popularized. It has been done by groups presenting the model revolutionary theatrical works and by literary and art workers taking part in the theatrical festivals in Peking, and literary and art workers in other parts of the country should do likewise. Going to the grass-roots units to perform for the workers, peasants and soldiers should become a common practice, and we should promote it everywhere in the country.

(A commentary in “Renmin Ribao,” May 31)

Keep to the Road of Integration With Workers and Peasants
— Notes on studying Chairman Mao’s “Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art”

by Chu Lan

RESTUDYING Chairman Mao’s Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art today when the whole nation is conscientiously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are all the more intimately aware of the far-reaching significance of this brilliant work.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.” As an important component part of the superstructure, literature and art all along have been positions the various classes strive to seize. The experience and lessons of the struggles on the literary and art front since the founding of the People’s Republic of China have enabled us to deeply realize that if literature and art fail to serve as a weapon in the hands of the proletariat in exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, they will become a weapon for the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, how can we continuously carry on the proletarian revolution in literature and art, keep literary and art creations of the proletariat flourishing, build up a contingent of proletarian literary and art workers, break down the ideology of bourgeois right and restrict this right in the field of literature and art, so as to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat? Here the fundamental question of principle remains that of “for whom?” which Chairman Mao pointed out long ago. Since our literature and art are for the workers, peasants and soldiers and since they are created for them and are for their use, our literary and art workers must go into the thick of the masses’ struggles, shift their stand, remould their world outlook and follow the
road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants as indicated by Chairman Mao. Whether or not a person is willing to integrate himself with the workers and peasants and does so in practice is the touchstone for testing whether or not he has truly solved the question of "for whom?" and is also the final demarcation line distinguishing a revolutionary from a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.

The deepening of the socialist revolution has brought the question of "for whom?" into sharper focus. The question of which class and which political line do literature and art serve concerns which class controls literature and art. Keeping to the orientation of having literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers inevitably entails the restriction of bourgeoisie right which exists to a serious extent in the sphere of literature and art. The integration of literary and art workers with workers and peasants cannot but involve a break with the ideology of bourgeoisie right which also exists to a serious extent. All this is bound to shake the cornerstone of this "hereditary domain" of the landlord and capitalist classes to its very foundations. Because of this, their resistance will inevitably grow more frenzied and the old ideas and old force of habits will inevitably put up a stubborn fight. Hence struggles are unavoidable.

Thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have smashed the domination of the revisionist line in literature and art pursued by Liu Shao-chi and Chou Yang and seized back the leadership in that field which they had usurped. Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art has won great victory. With the model revolutionary theatrical works as its hallmark, the revolution in literature and art has achieved fruitful results. In the course of revolutionary practice in literature and art, a backbone force has been formed and a number of model works of proletarian literature and art have been created as examples of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a contingent of revolutionary literary and art workers, which includes large numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers, is growing in strength. Over the past few years, a good number of literary and art workers have achieved good results by going into the thick of the struggles by workers, peasants and soldiers, learning from them and serving them. They have come to an ever deeper understanding of the fact that integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers is indeed a measure of fundamental importance in transforming the ranks of literary and art workers.

However, we must be soberly aware that in the literature and art field the bourgeoisie remains predominant in some respects, there still are manifestations of the influence of the revisionist line in literature and art and the achievements of the reform have yet to be consolidated. The ideology and style of life of the landlord and capitalist classes, which find expression in bourgeois literary and art thoughts, the bourgeois ideology of seeking fame and gain, sectarian sentiments and habits of guilds and factions, are still acting like a corrosive agent within our ranks. It has now become increasingly clear why one bourgeois "fortified village" in literary and art circles has been destroyed, another will spring up, why the "bourgeois" wind which has been stemmed in one place today will blow again in another place tomorrow and why new bourgeois elements still emerge from the soil of literary and art circles after the old ones have been criticized? All this tells us that we must on no account take the class struggle and two-line struggle in the field of literature and art lightly, but must persist in exercising all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Literary and art workers must persevere in integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, remodel their world outlook and really solve the question of "for whom?" If the question of integration with the workers and peasants is not solved well and opportunities are consequently provided for the bourgeoisie to exploit and doors are thrown wide open for it, favourable conditions will be created for restorationist activities by the bourgeoisie.

Historical experience merits attention. From the history of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the literary and art front, we can discover certain laws that will deepen our understanding of the current struggle. How did Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and company exercise a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the field of literature and art? They used the reactionary programme of "literature and art for the whole people" to oppose the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. One of their major counter-revolutionary tactics was to push a policy of "three-famous's" (famous writers, famous directors and famous actors and actresses) and "three high's" (high salaries, high honorariums and high awards); they applied the principle of commodity exchange to literature and art, did everything possible to consolidate, extend and strengthen bourgeois right and let the ideology of bourgeois right spread unchecked so as to prevent literary and art workers from taking the road of integration with the workers and peasants. In this way, those who regarded literary and art circles as a place to look for fame and gain and those who were deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right would be glad to swallow the poisonous sugar-coated bait cast by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and their ilk. Some would gradually degenerate into intellectual aristocrats and new bourgeois elements to form the social basis for pushing the revisionist line in literature and art and buttressing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

This enables us to see that those who do not earnestly integrate themselves with the workers and peasants but try to take advantage of bourgeois right to build up their own privileged position will become captives of the bourgeoisie and even go astray politically. After the publication of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, many of our comrades at that time had embarked on the bright
road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants in varying degrees and created some good or fairly good works. But since entering the big cities after the victory of the new-democratic revolution, they stopped going into the thick of the struggles by the worker and peasant masses and slid down the revisionist road step by step. Time and again such lessons have confirmed Chairman Mao's profound thesis: "If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary."

While we are studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, it is all the more necessary for us to understand and solve the question of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants from the high plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must realize that it is imperaive to persist in integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants in order to restrict bourgeois right, resist the influence of the bourgeoisie, gradually reduce the three major differences (between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour) and rake up the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. This is the road we literary and art workers must follow in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in developing proletarian literature and art and building up the ranks of revolutionary literary and art workers, and in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the field of literature and art.

Chairman Mao has taught us that China's revolutionary writers and artists must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle. "For a long period of time" means we cannot stop halfway or give up halfway. Only by unsparingly taking the road of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants can we change and remould our thinking and our feelings. Some comrades who are unwilling or fail to go into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers for a long period of time actually are unwilling or not determined to break with the revisionist line in literature and art. This is because such a change and remoulding involves abandonment of some of the things they do not want to part with, such as the better material conditions in the cities, the comfort and pleasure of small families and the social life, thinking and feelings they have become used to. In a word, they are unwilling to get out of the old orbit, so they find it hard to move their feet when asked to go among the worker and peasant masses.

By "unreservedly" we mean that literary and art workers must be resolute, surmount every difficulty and carry forward the revolutionary spirit in taking the road of integration with the workers and peasants. And "wholeheartedly" means that, as Chairman Mao has advocated, literary and art workers must "he 'oxen' for the proletariat and masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day" and not "regard himself [revolutionary artist or writer] as their [the masses'] master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the 'lower orders.'" This is a question of stand or attitude, a question of world outlook, which must be settled by every literary and art worker.

This is a fundamental question of principle concerning not only literary and art workers coming from the intelligentsia. Even amateur writers and artists among the workers, peasants and soldiers should, as the peasant painters in Huhsien County put it, "learn modestly from the workers and peasants while living among them and drawing pictures of them." It is necessary to keep on criticizing the fallacies spread by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao against literary and art workers integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, take this integration as an important task in effecting the most radical rupture with traditional property relations and traditional ideas, and truly strike roots among the working class and other labouring people. In the course of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, literary and art workers should seriously remould their world outlook and serve the workers and peasants wholeheartedly so as to gradually move over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat.

Many advanced elements courageously hitting hard at the ideology of bourgeoisie right have emerged from among the workers, peasants and soldiers in the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and linking theory with practice. They have set an example for the revolutionary literary and art workers to follow. We literary and art workers must keep step with the forward march of the workers, peasants and soldiers and conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must join efforts with the workers, peasants and soldiers to further the revolutionary mass criticism of the revisionist line, including the revisionist line in literature and art.

Under the leadership of the Party, we must consciously go into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them and portray them. In the course of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants, we must bring about a transformation in ourselves and in our works, create more and better revolutionary literary and art works in the service of proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers place their ardent hope on our literary and art workers. Let us keep advancing along the road of integration with the workers and peasants and not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them [intellectuals] in going backwards. Studying and working hard and striding forward along this road, we will certainly see an even more flourishing situation in the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Renmin Ribao," May 23)
Consciously Resisting Bourgeois Corruption

by Hung Hsueh-fei

Chairman Mao recently said: "Why did Lenin speak
of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It
is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity
on this question will lead to revisionism. This should
be made known to the whole nation." His instruction
has pointed out for us the direction of continuing the
revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I am an ordinary literary and art worker trained
by the Party which has shown every concern for the
growth of young actors and actresses. While rehearsing
the modern revolutionary Peking opera Shachiapang,*
the leadership and comrades gave me enthusiastic
guidance and patient help with regard to my singing,
dialogue and acting. It can be said that every bit of
my knowledge and artistic skill is inseparable from the
care and labour of the leadership and comrades and
comes from the Party and the masses.

After playing a role in Shachiapang and after the
opera had been made into a film and shown on the
screen, compliments were lavished on me, such as
"Your acting is really good!" "You've really made rapid
progress!" and "You've established yourself at 30, you
are a complete success!" I felt happy and pleased, but
failed to distinguish between encouragement from the
masses and flattery and sycophancy from the bourgeois.
Becoming light-headed amid the ringing praise, I
regarded to a certain extent the success as my own
achievement and did not firmly remember the education
and training given me by the Party and the masses.

Why did I think this way? After studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of
theory, I came to understand that it was because the
ideology of bourgeoisie right had penetrated my mind
and I could not deal correctly with the question whether
art was public or private property. As to corruption by
bourgeois ideas and flattery by the bourgeoisie, why
was I pleased instead of being on guard against them
and resisting them? An important reason was that I
had not studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung
Thought well, lacked a clear understanding of the
theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and was
unable to distinguish socialism from capitalism or
Marxism from revisionism. Naturally it was hard for
me to resist corruption by bourgeois ideas.

In the literary and art field, the question of world
outlook often finds expression in the attitude towards

* One of the earliest model theatrical works in China's proletarian revolution in literature and art. Shachiapang is
the story of how the New Fourth Army led by the Chinese
Communist Party united with the people in fighting the
Japanese aggressors. The author plays the heroine in this
Peking opera as an underground Party worker in a rural
area.
minds. Through study, I have come to the deep understanding that to do a good job in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat it is necessary to consciously resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and continuously struggle against the concept of private ownership and other non-proletarian ideas in my mind. Especially when I have contributed something to the revolution, I should be more modest and prudent, firmly remember the training given me by the Party and the people, and guard against attacks by the bourgeoisie. Otherwise, my head may swim as a result of vulgar bourgeois praise, flattery and sycophancy, and I may deviate from the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and stray down the road of chasing after personal fame and gain.

From now on, I will assiduously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works, have a good grasp of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by integrating theory with practice, persevere in going deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, earnestly remold my world outlook, raise my level of awareness, avoid doing things blindly, strive to do my bit to deepen the proletarian revolution in literature and art and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and be a proletarian literary and art fighter.

Tibet’s Big Leap (1)

Peking to Lhasa

by Our Correspondents Hsi Chang-hao and Kao Yuan-mei

This is the first in a series describing the Tibet Autonomous Region, its big leap from feudal serfdom to thriving socialism and its many-faceted development.

Ed.

We flew to Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, aboard a civil airliner on its regular flight from Peking.

Guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, Tibet was peacefully liberated in 1951* and, after the armed rebellion by the Dalai traitorous clique was quelled in 1959**, democratic reform*** was carried out to uproot the feudal serf system. In 1966 the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched in Tibet as in the rest of the country. Tremendous changes have taken place in the region.

Over the “Roof of the World”

We flew west after a stop-over in Chengtu, capital of Szechuan Province, and held a westerly course for about an hour. Through the window we could see below a brownish ribbon winding through the mountains—the Chinsa River, the stewardess told us—and once across it, we were in Tibet. The plane then climbed to 8,500 metres. When we peered down again the scenery below had completely changed. Through swirling clouds we saw snow and ice-capped peaks and glimpses of forested ravines and sparkling lakes. The mountain ranges here are some 6,000 to 7,000 metres above sea level, and Tibet is not called the “roof of the world” for nothing.

Tibet totals 1.2 million square kilometres, adding up to one-eighth of the country’s area. The average elevation is over 4,000 metres and massive mountain ranges make communications extremely difficult. Before liberation, it was linked to the rest of China by a few twisting paths over which pack mules, horses and yaks threaded their way range after range and across innumerable rivers and streams. For most of the year Tibet was effectively sealed off by snow and ice. A round trip from Chengtu to Lhasa in those days often took a year. After liberation a motor road, the Szechuan-Tibet Highway, was put through in 1954 to connect the two cities. Another motor route, the Ching-

* After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the representatives of the Central People’s Government and the Tibetan local government held talks and signed on May 23, 1951 the Agreement of the Central People’s Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet.

** Against the wishes of the people of Tibet, the reactionary clique of the upper strata in the region, with Dalai as its chieftain, openly tore up the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, sided and abetted by the Indian expansionists, mustered a gang of traitors to stage an armed rebellion against the motherland in March 1959. The People’s Liberation Army, supported by the clergy and people of various circles, swiftly quelled this counter-revolutionary rebellion.

*** Democratic reform which was carried out in Tibet from 1959 to 1961 overthrew the reactionary feudal serf system. Under this system the chief means of production—all land and most livestock—were owned by a tiny minority of serf-owners. All the peasants had no land and most herdsmen had no livestock. They worked for the serf-owners and, owned by individual serf-owners, they had no political rights or personal freedom. Democratic reform gave the peasants and herdsmen land, livestock and houses and political rights and made them the masters of the new Tibet.

June 20, 1975
hai-Tibet Highway, was opened up in the same year to join Sining in Chinghai with Lhasa. A round trip by bus on either of the two routes now takes about 20 days. Another highway was built in 1937, making Yecheng in Sinkiang a five- or six-day car drive from Garyasna in Tibet. Last year a new highway from Yunnan Province to Tibet was opened to traffic. In themselves, these highways tell of Tibet's progress in the last two decades.

Before liberation it was thought that the weather on the Tibetan Plateau was too prone to sudden changes, too unpredictable, for regular air flights and the region was declared "off limits." In 1965, however, regular flights were inaugurated thanks to the intrepid efforts of New China's airmen. Today, Tibetans can go anywhere in the country quickly and easily, and they do.

With us on our flight were several Tibetan passengers with whom we naturally fell into conversation. We learnt that several were workers going home to Shigatse and Chamdo for their holidays. They were attending a three-year course in the mechanical engineering department of the University of Chungking in Szechuan. Speaking standard Chinese as well as their own tongue, they told us of some of the changes which have taken place in Tibet and which we were soon to see for ourselves. One mentioned that they were all getting their regular pay while studying and their fares were paid for by the state. Two young Tibetan women on the plane were returning home to Lhasa after finishing their studies at the Institute of Music in Szechuan. They were Yangchin and Choka, both members of the Tibetan Opera Troupe.

The plane gave a lurch and started losing height. We soon were flying along a valley which seemed barely wide enough for our plane. Directly below was the broiling Yalutsangpo River. Then we were taxiing to a stop, three thousand air kilometres from Peking.

From the airport we went north by car along the river bank, sometimes climbing high along the steep sides and sometimes level with the river. Then we followed a tributary of the Yalutsangpo, the Lhasa River, passing through fields of swaying qingke barley and wheat on the way. The honey of flowering peas and rape was heavy around us. Thick stands of trees, then the outline of a massive building in the distance. We recognized it as the profile of the famous Potala Palace and knew we were not far from Lhasa.

A Stroll Through the New City of Lhasa

We went for a walk through the city along the broad, tree-fringed asphalt streets which were like green corridors. The trees with their lush foliage were a blessing for they warded off the harsh high-altitude sunlight. We saw women with braided hair, dressed in Tibetan costumes and with infants on their backs, old men with soft felt hats wearing woollen gowns and young people. They all looked happy.

We were in the new sector of Lhasa, said Chungsaptingtsu, a Tibetan cadre who had kindly offered to show us around. He said he had first visited the city in 1959, just before the outbreak of the counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. What he saw then was nothing like the Lhasa we were seeing today. The city was already over a thousand years old. The built-up area was centred around Pankor with the Potala on the western outskirts. Between the palace and the city was a stretch of swampy land, with a few villas that had belonged to the nobility. On his second visit in 1965, he said, the swamp had been drained and had become a bustling sector of the new city. "The Potala Palace has moved into the city. It's no longer way out on the western outskirts," he chuckled.

After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951 some new buildings were put up in Lhasa, but urban construction did not begin in earnest until just before Tibet became an autonomous region* in September 1965. The city's new sector, more than twice the size of the old sector, went up within a year and new buildings have been constantly added since.

We followed the stream of people into a big department store which has a floorspace of some 3,000 square metres. Shelves were well stocked with several thousand kinds of goods from Shanghai, Peking and elsewhere in the country as well as local products. The latter included woollen fabrics, woollen yarn and blankets, matches, sugar, soap and Tibetan costumes.

At the local products counter was an old Tibetan who was laughing and joking with the shop assistants as they helped him select a piece of woollen fabric for a new garment.

We were told that the volume of business in this store gets larger every year. Sales in 1974 were twice those of 1965. There are three other such department stores in Lhasa, we later found, as well as stores buying local produce the people bring in—wool, sheepskins, medicinal herbs, to mention only a few. We also saw

* In areas inhabited by minority nationalities, autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties have been established with organs of self-government exercising autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by the Constitution and law.
a store selling mainly means of production — tools, farm implements and machinery. Since the quelling of the armed rebellion of 1959 and the introduction of democratic reform, the government has lowered commodity prices several times while raising the purchasing price of local produce from the peasants and herdsmen. The traditional drink of Tibet, tea, cost 5.24 yuan a kilogramme in 1959. Now it is 3.02 yuan. The state purchasing price for a kilogramme of wool was 0.80 yuan in 1959. Now it is 2.4 yuan. This means that a kilogramme of brick tea today costs a herdsman only 1.3 kilogrammes of wool instead of 6.5 kilos as it did in 1959.

Not far from the department store is the No. 1 Primary School. We found the children lined up in the yard doing exercises designed for growing young bodies. The five-year school was first set up in 1952. This was Lhasa's first school for children of working people. More than a thousand pupils are enrolled in 19 classes, over 90 per cent of the Tibetan pupils are sons and daughters of former serfs. Their textbooks are in Tibetan. Four of the 32 lessons each week are devoted to the study of the Han language. The school is run on the principle of education integrated with productive labour. Pupils in the fourth and fifth years put in half a day a week working in nearby factories. They also go out to the rural people's communes to help with the harvests.

There were two schools in Lhasa enrolling about a hundred pupils before liberation, all children of the nobility. There are now 43 schools — primary, middle and intermediate vocational schools — containing a student population of about ten thousand in and around Lhasa. More than 80 per cent of the school-age children are in school. Set up in 1966, a normal school has trained nearly 1,000 primary school teachers. With the arrival of 40 college teachers from Shanghai in 1974, now it has become a teachers' college. Its role is to train teachers and staff for middle schools so as to keep pace with educational developments in Tibet.

Northeast of the Potala Palace is the People's Hospital. In 1951 when the People's Liberation Army entered Lhasa some Han doctors accompanying the army had set up a clinic in an old building to treat sick Tibetans. This was expanded into a full-scale hospital in 1956 when a three-storied building and several annexes were put up by the state. Now the hospital has more than 500 staff members, 250 beds for in-patients, and several departments, including internal medicine, ear, nose and throat, surgery, obstetrics and paediatrics. It has the medical equipment one finds in a modern hospital. Besides this hospital there are three others, comparable in size, plus one wholly staffed by local practitioners of Tibetan medicine.

The offices of the Tibetan Daily, the Tibetan People's Broadcasting Station and the Tibetan People's Publishing House are also in this area. The Tibetan Daily which first appeared in 1958 has two editions, one in Tibetan and the other in Han, or Chinese. The radio station established in 1958 is bi-lingual, just as the publishing house. Near by are also bookstores, a post office and branch of the People's Bank and a cinema...

**Industry — Started From Scratch**

The Lhasa of old could not make a single screw or a safety match. Today it has become an important industrial centre with scores of factories and mines producing coal, electricity, cement, chemicals, electric motors and generators, farm machinery, carpets, leather and glass. And there is a sugar refinery. It should be noted that many of these industries were started since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution nine years ago.

Before liberation the inhabitants here got a little light in their dark lives by dim butter-fuelled lamps. In 1958 a small electric generating plant was erected in the suburbs with state funds, and in the same year plans were made to build the present Nachin Hydro-Power Station by the fast-flowing Lhasa River. But this was delayed by the obstruction of the reactionary clique of the upper strata. After the crushing of the
The Potala Palace with its dazzling sea of golden roofs is a magnificent sight, standing high above on a hill. Its main building rises 120 metres high and has thirteen stories. The original palace with 999 rooms was built in the 7th century by tsampu (Tibetan ruler) Sron-tsan Gampo. But it was destroyed in tribal wars, and only one little room built in a rocky cave was left when reconstruction was started in the 17th century during the rule of the fifth Dalai.

The present Potala Palace has over a thousand rooms, many generously decorated with Buddhist images, reliefs of excellent workmanship and fascinating wall paintings in brilliant colours. One can imagine how much the working people sweated and bled in putting up this Potala!

The three-storeyed gold-roofed Jokhan Monastery, built 1,300 years ago, contains thousands of wooden, clay, stone, bronze, gold and silver sculptures, reliefs and large mural paintings.

There are wall paintings in both the Potala and the Jokhan depicting the journey the Han princess, Wen Cheng, and her escorts made to reach Tibet. The princess was accompanied by an army of soldiers who built roads and bridges as they made their way to this distant part of China. Her husband was the same tsampu Sron-tsan Gampo, who united the tribes on the Tibetan Plateau for the first time in history. At his request he was given Princess Wen Cheng to marry by the emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and was also given the titles of jumatuwei* and the Prince of the Western Sea. Later, another princess, Chin Cheng, was given in marriage to tsampu Tridetsogtian by the Tang emperor Chung Tsung.

A Monument of Unity Between Nephew and Uncle**, erected in 823 A.D. in front of the Jokhan Monastery, is still in good condition. The carved inscription on it, in both Han and Tibetan, reads in part: "The nephews and the uncle have conferred and agreed that their government be as one and that there be great harmony."

These and other relics bear witness to the fact that the Tibetans are one of China's many nationalities, the Tibetan region has been a part of China since ancient times and the people living on the southwestern plateau have long-standing ties with the other fraternal nationalities, particularly the Han nationality, in China.

* A traditional title conferred on the husband of a royal princess.
** Because of the two marriages mentioned in the article, Tibetan tsampu's pledged themselves as nephews to the Tang emperors.

(The to be continued.)

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Southeast Asian Countries Strengthen Economic Co-operation

The five Southeast Asian countries of Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia are strengthening their economic co-operation to safeguard their economic rights and interests. This is one noteworthy aspect of the third world’s struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

The imperialists have plundered and exploited these countries for a long time. With the deepening of the economic crisis in the West, the imperialists, especially the superpowers, trying to shift the burden of the crisis to others and taking advantage of their position of economic monopoly, have in the last two years heavily cut imports of primary products and forced down their prices while raising those of manufactured goods. This has caused heavy losses to the Southeast Asian countries.

Victims of Imperialist Plunder

Last year, the average price of Malaysian rubber dropped from 2.67 Malaysian dollars a kilogramme in January to 0.97 dollars in November, and tin from over 1,300 Malaysian dollars a picul to about 830 dollars. The price of Indonesian rubber in the third quarter of last year showed a 40 per cent decrease compared with that in the first quarter, and the prices of tin and timber dropped by about 20 and 70 per cent respectively in the same period. Beginning last August, the sharp drop in prices brought to a standstill the greater part of Malaysia’s timber producing and processing industry and caused Indonesia’s timber output to fall over 15 per cent. Moreover, prices of Malaysia’s imports went up by 42.5 per cent in the first seven months of last year. In such circumstances, some of these countries have huge trade deficits.

From the imperialists’, especially the superpowers’, practice of profiting at the expense of others, the Southeast Asian countries have become increasingly aware that to free themselves from plunder and exploitation and defend their economic rights and interests, they must strengthen their economic co-operation and rely on their collective force to do away with foreign control. At the 7th ministerial meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in May last year, representatives of the Philippines and Malaysia once again stressed the need to strengthen regional economic co-operation, further promote trade among the Southeast Asian countries and, at the same time, take a common stand and united action in economic activity with other countries so as to ensure equitable prices for their primary products in the international market.

Struggle to Protect Prices of Raw Materials

In their common struggle to protect the prices of primary products, some raw material producers in the region have in the past year achieved positive results.

In their struggle to counter the forcing down of the price of tin by the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries, Malaysia, Thailand and other tin producers again compelled tin consumers at the end of last January to agree to raise the price of tin from 550 Malaysian dollars a picul to 900 or 950 dollars.

To stabilize the price of natural rubber, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand unanimously agreed at the beginning of last March to form an international buffer rubber stockpiling plan organization. In April, the natural rubber producers, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, agreed to put the international buffer rubber stockpiling plan into practice and decided to cut down by 350,000 tons this year’s exports of natural rubber to the world market so as to maintain a balance between supply and demand and stabilize rubber prices. In order to acquire an equitable and stable price for natural rubber, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia have adopted a unified selling system. Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia set up an association of timber producers at the end of last year to take united action to promote and protect timber production and exports of the three countries and to stabilize timber prices.

Strengthening Bilateral and Multilateral Co-operation

The five Southeast Asian countries have strengthened bilateral economic relations among themselves in recent years. Malaysia and Thailand signed an agreement to strengthen co-operation in civil aviation. They are studying plans for joint investment in deep sea fishing and exchanges of energy and electricity. Malaysia and the Philippines are planning to invest jointly in the industry for producing spare parts for rear axles of motor cars. Singapore and the Philippines agreed to take measures to expand bilateral trade and strengthen their economic co-operation.

The five countries have also gradually strengthened regional economic co-operation. In recent years, ASEAN

(Continued on p. 23.)
ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

Intensified Contention in Indian Ocean

Following the reopening of the Suez Canal, contention between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Indian Ocean has intensified.

Testifying before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee on June 10, U.S. Defence Secretary Schlesinger said that the United States must expand its logistical facilities on the Island of Diego Garcia in order to have a trial of strength with the Soviet Union in the region. He pointed out: "1966—the year the British announced their intention to withdraw—was also the year when the U.S.S.R. first established what has now become a permanent naval presence in the northwest Indian Ocean." "The entire Soviet buildup in the Indian Ocean which now averages approximately 19 ships on a regular basis," he noted, "has occurred during the period since the Suez Canal closed in 1967." He held that the reopening of the Suez Canal "reduces the distance from the Black Sea to the Arabian Sea from 11,500 miles to only 2,500 miles—a difference in sailing time of 24 days."

A report in a recent issue of the Indian weekly March of the Nation said: "It is reliably learnt that the Soviets have demanded a full-fledged Russian naval base either in Vishakhapatnam [on India's east coast] or in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands."

"The Soviets are using both carrot and stick to get us to agree to their demand," it added.

"RODONG SINMUN" (KOREA)

Refuting "Threat of Southward Invasion"

The Korean paper Rodong Sinmun carried a commentary on June 8, refuting the outcry about a so-called "threat of a southward invasion."

It pointed out: The recent U.S. Defence Department allegation that "the armed forces" of the northern half of Korea "had moved up close to the demilitarized zone" is a bare-faced lie. The fact is that under the pretext of a "threat of a southward invasion," U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are making preparations for a war of aggression against the northern half of the Republic.

It said: "At a time when U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are clamoring louder than ever about a so-called 'threat of a southward invasion,' if a war is about to break out, our fighters are hoisting with the peasants in the fields of collective farms where the young rice crops are growing well; the pounding of hammers in socialist construction can be heard everywhere in the northern half of the Republic."

It added: "Our basic stand remains unchanged, that is, to achieve the reunification of the fatherland independently and peacefully, not through war or reliance on outside forces."

The commentary demanded that the U.S. Imperialists stop their hostile "southward invasion" propaganda and get out of south Korea along with their aggressor troops.

BURMA

Students Boycott Classes

University and college students in Burma's capital Rangoon and in Mandalay, an important north Burma city, have boycotted classes and held demonstrations, calling for democracy and guarantees of the right to a minimum living standard.

Rangoon radio and press reports said that students of some Rangoon universities and colleges went on strike on June 6 to demand the release of students arrested during demonstrations last year. On June 7, students marched from Rangoon University to the downtown area and held a meeting at Independence Square in the centre of the city. Along the way, they put up posters, distributed leaflets and shouted slogans, insisting on the release of the arrested students, lowering of the high cost of living, adequate supplies of rice and reopening of the Rangoon Students Union. On June 9, thousands of students surrounded the Insein Prison in the northwestern suburbs of Rangoon. This was followed by a day-long demonstration the next day. In Mandalay over 2,000 students had demonstrated on June 9.

The Burmese Government on June 9 ordered the closure of all universities and colleges in Rangoon and Mandalay. The next day, it banned all gatherings, marches and demonstrations, and ordered all students to leave their campuses. Troops were called out and over 200 students were arrested. According to Western news agency reports, students of Rangoon University defied the government orders and continued to demonstrate in downtown Rangoon on June 11.

PALESTINIAN COMMANDOS

Military Operations Grow Stronger

Striking more often and with greater success, Palestinian commandos have recently strengthened their operations in the occupied territory of Palestine.

Commandos on May 16 penetrated into the Ramat Hasharon area, northeast of Tel Aviv, destroying one heavy missile plant and several other ammunition factories and warehouses, wounding or killing a number of enemy troops. Charges were set off in missile and tank ammunition plants, and the explosions spread to several dozen other arms factories. The operation was deliberately arranged to take place at the time of the 27th anniversary of the Zionist occupation of Palestine on May 15.

On May 22, commandos planted time bombs in a Jerusalem ear park
for Israeli intelligence officers, damaging several enemy vehicles.

On the night of May 26, a Palestinian commando unit fired two rockets at enemy military targets in Safad, northern Palestine, causing serious damage to an enemy establishment and wounding or killing a number of troops. On the same day, they ambushed a mobile enemy patrol on the highway between Shtora and Zarif.

On May 28, a time bomb placed by commandos in an enemy timber stockpile in Jerusalem caused a big fire, burning it as well as nearby stocks down.

**Panama**

**Abundant Support for a Just Cause**

Talks between Panama and the United States on a new canal treaty have entered a crucial stage. The principal issues in dispute concern the duration of the future treaty and dismantling of U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone. Panama wants the new treaty to terminate before the end of the century, while the United States wants it to last at least another 50 years. Panama wants the gradual dismantling of the 14 U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone, while the United States wants to maintain these bases under the pretext of “defending the canal.”

The United States was compelled to enter into talks with Panama after a patriotic anti-U.S. mass struggle to recover the canal and sovereignty over the Canal Zone broke out in Panama in 1964. In the face of the Panamanian people’s persistent struggle and pressure from the world’s people, the United States reached agreement with Panama on February 7, 1974 on eight principles serving as a basis for negotiations on a new canal treaty. Under the principles, the unequal treaty imposed on Panama in 1903 and providing for permanent U.S. occupation of the canal and the Canal Zone will be abrogated, and U.S. “jurisdictions” over Panamanian territory will be speedily terminated in accordance with terms specified in a new treaty to be concluded between the two sides.

However, since agreement was reached, the United States has refused to hold serious talks with Panama on a new treaty. Last March, a number of U.S. senators put forward a draft resolution calling for “unalterable sovereignty of the United States” in the canal and the Canal Zone. Not long ago, U.S. negotiator Ellsworth Bunker even spread the word that the United States plans to retain as much control of the land, water and air space around the canal as it considers necessary for defense of the waterway.

To safeguard state sovereignty, Panama recently has vigorously carried out diplomatic activities to win wide support from Latin American countries. In late March, Panama’s Head of Government Omar Torrijos held talks with the Presidents of Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela and signed a joint statement with them on the Panama Canal. In the joint statement, the three presidents reaffirmed firm support for Panama’s just aspirations on the canal question and for Panama’s inalienable sovereignty over its entire territory. They also sent a letter to leaders of other Latin American countries calling for support for Panama’s just struggle. Mexican President Luis Echeverria and Brazilian President Ernesto Geisel responded with their pledge of support.

Since mid-April, Panamanian Head of Government Omar Torrijos, Vice-President Arturo Sucre Pereira, Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack and others have separately visited some South and Central American countries and won support from them.

At the Fifth Assembly of the Organization of American States in mid-May, foreign ministers and delegates from Latin American countries included in the meeting’s agenda as a main topic the demand that the United States “return the Panama Canal.” A statement unanimously adopted at the assembly expressed the hope that the United States and Panama would “promptly” sign “a just and equitable new treaty on the canal.”

Panama’s struggle to recover the canal and sovereignty over the Canal Zone also is actively supported by other third world countries.

**O.E.C.D.**

**Call for Dialogue With Developing Countries**

At the Paris meeting of the foreign and finance ministers of the member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) in late May, many second world countries called for a “dialogue” with third world countries.

French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues said: “The profound and irreversible changes in international economic relations that had taken place within the past two years or more and the political desire of the third world countries to make the greatest gains from their natural resources have convinced people of the need to establish a world economic order based on reality and fairness.” Foreign Minister Genacher of the Federal Republic of Germany said that the Western countries have become “more and more dependent on the raw materials of the third world countries, particularly on oil.” He held, therefore, that for the industrial and the third world countries “the slogan can only be: cooperation, not confrontation.” The Australian representative also supported the third world countries’ demand for a “new world economic order.”

The Declaration on Relations With Developing Countries adopted at the meeting expressed the willingness on the part of the O.E.C.D. member states to discuss with the developing countries the issues concerning the strengthening of the latter’s position in the world economy and to “hold a dialogue with the developing countries in all appropriate forms.”

June 20, 1975
ON THE HOME FRONT

New Look in Yangtze River Harbours

Known as the “golden channel” since ancient times, the Yangtze River is over 5,000 kilometres long. Along the course of this largest river in China are big cities like Chungking, Wuhan, Nanking and Shanghai and a number of medium and small cities as well as a vast countryside.

For nearly a century before liberation, however, the imperialists controlled China’s inland navigation and made use of the Yangtze to bleed the Chinese people white. Harbour facilities along the river were in disrepair and loading and unloading were done completely by back-breaking manual labour.

Since the founding of New China, the Party and People’s Government have paid great attention to harbour construction. Chairman Mao has sailed on the Yangtze River on several inspection tours and pointed out the orientation for the development of the harbours along the river. They have taken on a new look after more than 20 years of arduous struggle by the workers. Old harbours have been renovated and expanded and a number of new ones have been built. Harbour work is being more and more mechanized. The total volume of freight handled by harbours along the whole river course has increased 12 times compared with 1949, the year of liberation, and doubled that of 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Nanking, on the lower reaches, had no loading and unloading machinery at all at the time of its liberation in 1949. Since then, especially during the Great Cultural Revolution, workers there have built by themselves many machines for transporting, loading and unloading. Now 90 per cent of the work in this harbour is mechanized and the total volume of freight it handles is 15 times the figure in the early post-liberation years.

While old harbours were being renovated and expanded, new ones were built in the vicinity of big state-owned factories and on the outskirts of cities and towns. Among the newly built mechanized harbours is the Yuhosikou Harbour in southern Anhwei Province. It is a land and water transport centre linking up the surrounding areas.

To support agriculture in line with the general policy of “taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor” put forward by Chairman Mao for developing the national economy, about 300 smaller harbours and piers have gone up near farming areas along the Yangtze River and its tributaries. They take up one-quarter of the total yearly volume of freight handled by the harbours along the entire Yangtze River.

“Man Who Races Ahead Of Time”

Kan Teng-chu, 54, is a Communist Party member who has been working as a driver at a motor transport centre in Yunnan Province for 18 years. Since he took on the job in 1957, he has travelled 940,000 kilometres without a single hitch and always overfulfilled his shipment quotas. His attendance rate since 1969 has topped 330 days per year. Driving for the revolution heart and soul, he has in the last five years accomplished a task originally envisaged for ten years, saving 38 tons of gasoline for the state. He is now doing his job for 1980. For this he is praised as the “man who races ahead of time.”

What, then, is the motive force propelling him to work so vigorously and selflessly, without any thought of pay for overtime?

The answer can be found in his own words: “It is Mao Tsetung Thought that gives me inexhaustible strength. The Great Cultural Revolution has given me an opportunity to temper myself. While driving one should steer in the correct direction; in making revolution, one must assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.”

He keeps his political study as a daily routine and always finds time for it, no matter how far his destination, how late at night he stops. Study does not come easy to him because of his low level of literacy. However, he studies hard and is never tired of asking others what a sentence or even a Chinese character means so as to gain a thorough understanding.
advance at full speed and build socialism in a big way."

Recently Comrade Kan Teng-chu has devoted himself to studying the teachings of Chairman Mao and of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He says: "As a Communist, I must work wholeheartedly for the cause of the Party. As a member of the working class, I must always keep socialism and communism in mind and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end."

**Colour Films by Dye Transfer Process**

**CHINA** has successfully trial-produced colour films by the dye transfer process by relying on her own efforts. They are now being distributed at home and abroad.

The dye transfer process is an advanced technique in cinematics. By a method of colour-separation, colour negatives are first made into three relief or flat matrices which are then dyed in magenta, cyan and yellow. The three different dyed images are transferred one by one on to the same blank film to form colour images.

Made at lower cost, such films show good colour reproduction, freshness of hues and high resistance to fading. The resulting screen images are good. This method of production, which leaves little waste liquid, gas or residue, helps protect the workers' health and the environment. It provides an important way for developing China's colour film industry.

The new colour films include *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *Song of the Dragon River* and *Azalea Mountain* (modern revolutionary Peking operas); *The White-Hatred Girl* (a modern revolutionary dance-drama); *Taching — Red Banner on the Industrial Front* and *Tachai — Red Banner on the Agricultural Front* (documentaries); and *Thriving Countryside in Tibet* (a scientific and educational film).

This latest achievement in China's cinema industry is the result of the co-ordinated efforts of departments concerned under the central authorities and in Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Liaoning, Hopei and Shantung. "Three-in-one" combinations of workers, cadres and technicians and of manufacturers, scientific research units and users were formed to tackle the job. With the determination to win honour for the socialist motherland, they worked hard in the spirit of self-reliance and constantly summed up their experience, and after several years succeeded in trial-producing colour films by the dye transfer process with China-made equipment, film and dyes.

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has set up a number of permanent bodies to co-ordinate and regulate co-operation among the five countries. They have proposed supporting each other in raw materials and foods, exchanging experience in the production of agricultural produce and industrial raw materials and planning to make joint investments in establishing the chemical fertilizer, iron and steel, paper, automobile and other industries. They have proposed strengthening their co-operation in telecommunications, civil aviation, maritime shipping, trade and other fields. They have agreed to set up a body for trade negotiations in order to expand regional trade by regulating tariffs among themselves and establishing a preferential trading system.

While actively developing economic co-operation with other third world countries, the five countries also strive to strengthen their economic relations with the second world countries. After repeated negotiations last year, the five countries and the West European Common Market reached an agreement by which the Common Market would give tax exemption to their exports of manufactured goods and reduce duties on their agricultural products.
In English

Inside a People's Commune

This is a book of easy-to-read reportage in depth from Chilifying, a pioneer people's commune in China.

The story of the struggle and growth of the Chilifying People's Commune over fifteen years is typical of China's people's communes as a whole. It helps readers better understand the nature, organization, functions and advantages of these new-type socialist collectives, and the life, work and outlook of China's rural people.

The book has 13 chapters, a preface and an afterword, 31 illustrations and two maps.

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