

PEKING REVIEW

27

July 4, 1975

北
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周
報

**Chairman Mao Meets Prime
Minister Kukrit Pramoj**

President Bongo Visits China

Profound Revolution on the Health Front

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Vol. 18, No. 27

July 4, 1975

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

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Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung met with Prime Minister Mom Rajwongse Kukrit Pramoj of the Kingdom of Thailand and other distinguished Thai guests on the morning of July 1.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao shook hands with Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj and members of his party: Chatichai Choonhavan, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Anand Panyarachun, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Na-

tions; and Prakaipet Indhusophon, Secretary-General to the Prime Minister. Chairman Mao welcomed them on their visit to China. Chairman Mao then had a friendly conversation with Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj and Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan.

Present at the meeting and conversation were Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and the Foreign Ministry's Deputy Department Directors Chang Han-chih and Tang Wen-sheng.



President Bongo Visits China

EL Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon and Head of the Government, Madame Bongo and his party left Peking on June 29 after a friendly visit to China.

This was the President's second trip to China following a state visit last October.

Arriving in Peking on June 27, President and Madame Bongo were warmly welcomed at the airport by Vice-Premiers Chang Chun-chiao and Wu Kuei-hsien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Hsu Hsiang-chien, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, and several thousand people of the capital. President Bongo, accompanied by Chinese leaders, 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 waved bouquets and shouted slogans in greeting the guests. The Gabonese guests were welcomed by Madame Kang Ke-ching and Madame Teng Ying-chao at the Guest House.

The national flags of the two countries flew over the main streets and huge streamers trailing from tall buildings read: "Firmly support the Gabonese people in their struggle to safeguard national independence and

state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Gabon!" "Long live the

welcome banquet in the Great Hall of the People in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. Vice-Premier Chang and President Bongo spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 9 and 10.)



Chairman Chu Teh meets President and Madame Bongo and other Gabonese guests.

great unity of the third world people!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the whole world!"

In the evening, Vice-Premier Chang Chun-chiao hosted a grand

Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai separately met President and Madame Bongo and other Gabonese guests in Peking. Vice-Premier Chang and President Bongo had talks on international problems of common concern and further development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

President Bongo gave a return banquet on June 28. Praising China's achievements in economic development in his speech, the President pointed out that China has proved to the whole world that no development is possible without giving first place to the people in national construction. This consideration, he said, accords with that expressed by Gabon's policy of national renovation.

The Gabonese President reviewed the development of relations between the two countries since his last trip



The distinguished Gabonese guests receive a warm welcome at Peking Airport.



Premier Chou En-lai meets President Bongo.

and of building our respective countries. We need to sympathize with and support each other."

"The fact that His Excellency President Bongo has twice visited China and brought with him the Gabonese people's profound sentiments of friendship for the Chinese people demonstrates the friendship of the Republic of Gabon for and its trust in our country. It is an encouragement and support to our people," he added.

Vice-Premier Chang requested President and Madame Bongo to convey to the Gabonese people the friendship and cordial greetings of the Chinese people.

to China. "I take pleasure to express here my satisfaction with the present state of our relations," he said. "Today, again, our two countries have given proof of their determination to go ahead along the road of more active and more efficacious co-operation."

President Bongo stressed: "For just as the third world fights for its political independence, it has the imperative duty to get organized for its economic independence. In this perspective, all the regional and sub-regional organizations of co-operation are conducive to winning this economic independence and sharpening the consciousness of the role the third world should play in the international arena.

"The solidarity which thus binds the peoples of the third world must be affirmed and reinforced more than ever."

In his speech at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chang Chun-chiao said: His Excellency the President's current visit, which is crowned with complete success, has made an important contribution to the further enhancement of our mutual understanding and development of the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries.

The Vice-Premier pointed out: "China and Gabon are both developing countries belonging to the third world, and we both face the common

fighting tasks of combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism

Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj in Peking

MOM Rajwongse Kukrit Pramoj, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, arrived in Peking on June 30 on an official visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

On July 1, Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj signed a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Thailand. (See p. 8.)

The Prime Minister and his party including Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan and other high-

ranking government officials received a warm welcome at the airport from Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien and Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Wu Teh, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, and several thousand people of the capital. The airport was the scene of a grand welcome ceremony. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. As the distinguished



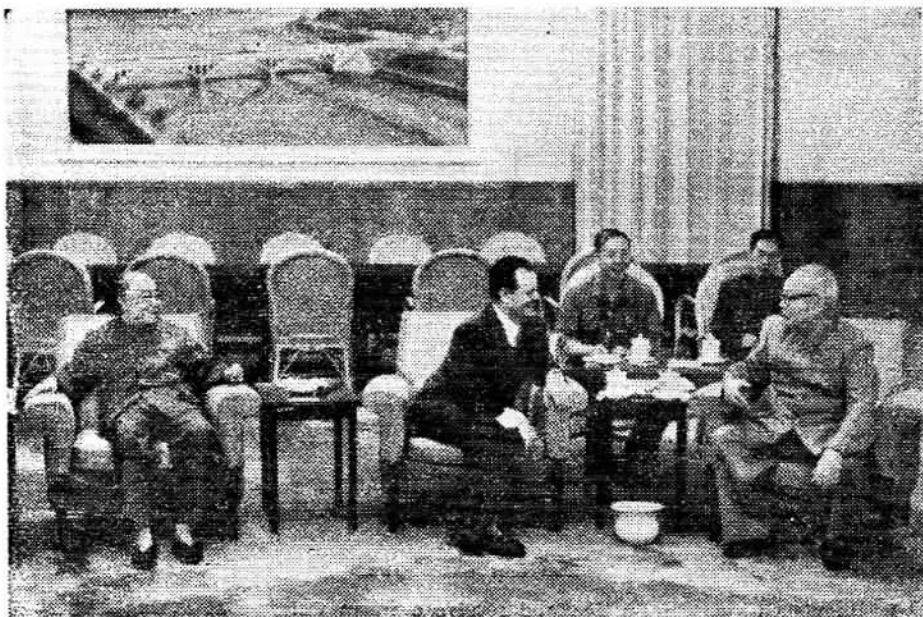
Distinguished guests from Thailand receive a warm welcome at Peking Airport.



**Chairman Chu Teh meets
Prime Minister Kukrit
Pramoj.**



**Premier Chou En-lai meets
Prime Minister Kukrit
Pramoj.**



**Comrades Yeh Chien-ying
and Wu Teh meet the
Delegation of the French
Marxist-Leninist Commu-
nists.**

guests went round to meet the welcoming crowd, cheers of greeting resounded throughout the airport. Young people welcomed the honored guests with dances performed to music. The national flags of China and Thailand flew over the main streets in Peking as the motorcade carrying the distinguished Thai guests went by. Huge streamers trailing from tall buildings read: "A warm welcome to Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj!" "Resolutely support the people of Thailand in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Thailand!"

On June 30, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Chu Teh, Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping, Chen Hsi-lien and Hua Kuo-feng, and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Wu Teh met Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj and other distinguished Thai guests. Premier Chou En-lai met on the same day in a hospital with the Prime Minister and principal members of his official party.

In the evening, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hosted a grand welcome banquet in the name of Premier Chou En-lai in the Great Hall of the People. Vice-Premier Teng and Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 11 and 12.)

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj held talks during the latter's stay in Peking.

Premier Chou En-lai Meets Professor Chen Pien Li

Premier Chou En-lai met on June 26 with American Professor Chen Pien Li who is in China to see his relatives and for a visit.

French Marxist-Leninist Communists Delegation

Yeh Chien-Ying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Wu Teh, Member of the Political Bureau



Premier Chou En-lai meets Professor Chen Pien Li.

of the C.P.C. Central Committee, on June 29 met and feted the Delegation of the French Marxist-Leninist Communists led by Comrade Jacques Jurquet.

Present on the occasion were Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and other comrades.

The meeting and banquet were permeated with a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The delegation arrived in Peking on June 5 for a friendly visit to China. Comrade Keng Piao feted the French comrades early in their visit.

More and Better Workers' Colleges in Shanghai

Chairman Mao on July 21, 1968 pointed out: "It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and

peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study."

Guided by this instruction, workers' colleges in Shanghai have grown in number and their quality has constantly improved. With the deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, particularly since studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat which began this year, workers' colleges throughout this municipality have developed vigorously. There were 48 such colleges in Shanghai in the first half of last year. Today there are more than 360. Of the nearly 30,000 attending, more than 4,000 have graduated.

Most of the workers' colleges are run by factories, the rest are operated by the municipality, districts, bureaus and companies. These colleges have set up specialities to meet actual demands, with courses in engineering, medicine, arts, finance and economics, as well as teachers' training. Schooling lasts half a year to a year, some two to three years, and most courses are after working hours. Many graduates have returned to their original workshops, groups or teams to work. The workers are all for such colleges, convinced that they are conducive to training well-educated working people and also gradually reducing the differences between mental and manual labour.

Development of the workers' colleges has helped constantly expand the contingent of worker-technicians and strengthen the leadership of the working class in the technological field. The colleges have also trained a core for theoretical contingents among the workers. Since the specialities and curricula are all closely linked to current production needs, these colleges not only turn out trained personnel but also promote production.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Thailand

1. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand, desiring to revive and strengthen further the traditionally close and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and in conformity with the interests and common desires of the two peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations as from July 1, 1975.

2. The two Governments reaffirm that only the people of each country have the right to choose their own political, economic and social systems, without outside interference. They also share the conviction that, in spite of the differences in the political, economic and social systems of the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Thailand, there should be no obstacle to the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and peoples in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

3. The two Governments agree to settle all disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the above-

mentioned principles, without resorting to the use or threat of force.

4. The two Governments agree that all foreign aggression and subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs are impermissible and are to be condemned.

5. The two Governments are also opposed to any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

6. The Government of the Kingdom of Thailand recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, acknowledges the position of the Chinese Government that there is but one China and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory, and decides to remove all its official representations from Taiwan within one month from the date of signature of this communique.

7. The Government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and agrees to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand.



Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj sign the joint communique.

8. The Government of the People's Republic of China takes note of the fact that for centuries Chinese residents in Thailand have lived in harmony and amity with the Thai people in conformity with the law of the land and with the customs and habits of the Thai people. The Government of the People's Republic of China declares that it does not recognize dual nationality. Both Governments consider anyone of Chinese nationality or origin who acquires Thai nationality as automatically forfeiting Chinese nationality. As for those Chinese residents in Thailand who elect to retain Chinese nationality of their own will, the Chinese Government, acting in accordance with its consistent policy, will enjoin them to abide by the law of the Kingdom of Thailand, respect the customs and habits of the Thai people and live in amity with them. Their proper rights and interests will be protected by the Government of China and respected by the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand.

9. The two Governments agree to pursue policies for the development of trade, economic and cultural relations between them.

10. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand agree to exchange mutually accredited Ambassadors as soon as practicable and to provide each other with all the necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals in accordance with international practice and on a reciprocal basis.

(Signed)

CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State
Council of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

**MOM RAJWONGSE
KUKRIT PRAMOJ**

Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand

Peking, July 1, 1975

Thai Government Issues Statement

THE Government of Thailand issued a statement on July 1 pointing out that upon the release of the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China, "the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand terminates all existing official relations between Thailand and Taiwan. The Govern-

ment of the Kingdom of Thailand also considers that, as from the same date, all official agreements concluded between Thailand and Taiwan are terminated. All official representations of Taiwan in Thailand have been asked to withdraw within one month from the date of signature of the joint communiqué."

At Banquet Welcoming President Bongo

Vice-Premier Chang Chun-chiao's Speech

(Excerpts)

HIS Excellency President Bongo is an old friend of ours. His visit to our country last autumn opened a new page in the development of the friendly relations between the Chinese and Gabonese peoples. It gives us particular joy this evening to have the President and Madame Bongo with us again on this happy occasion and to exchange sentiments of friendship with them.

Since His Excellency the President's last visit to China, the international situation has continued to develop in a direction favourable to the people of the world. Notably the third world countries and people, who are the main revolutionary force of the people of the world, have made ever stronger onslaughts against the old order based on imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, so as to defend their national economic

rights and interests. On an ever broader scale they have used their natural resources as weapons and relied on their organized strength to wage a common fight against the superpowers and imperialism. All this presents a revolutionary scene of united struggle. Here, we wish specially to refer to the contribution made by the Republic of Gabon in this struggle. His Excellency President Bongo stated: "We say yes to respect of sovereignty and no to domination." We highly appreciate this solemn statement. We are glad to note that His Excellency the President has taken an active part in the struggle of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, made efforts to promote the unity between the oil-exporting countries and other third world countries and vigorously called on other raw

material producing countries in the third world to follow the example of the oil-producing countries. It is on the initiative of President Bongo that the Inter-African Organization of Forestry Economy and Timber Trade was set up not long ago. We acclaim this good thing which has newly emerged. We are sure that the third world countries, constantly intensifying their united struggle along this line, will win fresh and greater victories in the fight for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The great militant Africa is seething with vigour and vitality. The independent states there are carrying on a sustained struggle to consolidate their political independence and win economic liberation. The situation in the non-independent territories has also undergone a fundamental change as a result of the protracted armed struggle waged by the people. Following the independence of Guinea-Bissau, the founding of the heroic People's Republic of Mozambique was solemnly proclaimed the day before yesterday. The Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola will also

become independent in due course. The ranks of independent African states are rapidly expanding. In southern Africa, though imperialism and the super-powers are planning to use new and more sinister manoeuvres in their last-ditch struggle, the tried and tested people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania are surmounting all difficulties to develop in depth their armed struggles and mass movements for national liberation. The great African people are making big strides on the road to complete liberation. We sincerely wish that the whole of Africa stand up and win complete liberation.

It is not long since China and Gabon established diplomatic relations, yet in the past year or more our friendly relations and co-operation have made rapid progress to our gratification. We are sure that His Excellency President Bongo's current visit will further increase the friendship and mutual understanding between our two peoples and make a new contribution to the growth of the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries.

President Bongo's Speech

(Excerpts)

IT is a great privilege and high honour to my country, my government and myself to visit your great and beautiful country for the second time in less than two years.

In my view, the friendly visit that I am paying today to your wonderful country is of historical importance. It takes place precisely under international circumstances in which each meeting of statesmen arouses hope in some and fear in others.

We live in a world where relations between states are relations of force.

The gap between the rich and the poor continues to grow dangerously. I have always said that this cannot last indefinitely without endangering the peace and the fragile equilibrium of the world.

That is why my country does not spare her efforts but works resolutely for strengthening international co-operation.

This co-operation should be established on the sound basis of the sacred principles of national independence, state sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of any state, equality and freedom.

Freedom is like light, the value of which is appreciated only when it has been deprived of.

My country knows her true friends. She does her best to pursue a foreign policy in her own interests and in those of the countries that love peace and justice.

She will never allow any line of conduct to be dictated to her. She will never accept any dictates, no matter where they come from.

She will never approve of divisions imposed on third world countries by foreign forces.

In this context, the visit I am making to your country has its full significance. China is today the tabernacle of justice and the hope of oppressed peoples. That is why she commands the admiration of so many peoples.

I feel an immense joy to be back in China and with the Chinese people and their leaders at a time when the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, and also Mozambique, have achieved sovereignty internationally at the price of heavy sacrifices.

This is a victory for the third world, as is the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples. While cherishing the firm wish that Angola-Cabinda resolve their internal problems and gain independence very soon, we will carry on the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Finally, in the Middle East, it is no longer necessary to prove that peace requires the evacuation by Israel of the occupied Arab territories. I am overjoyed at the identity of views between China and all other third world countries on all the issues of today.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that His Excellency Mom Rajwongse Kukrit Pramoj, Prime Minister of Thailand, has come to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai on an official visit, bringing to the Chinese people the friendship of the people of Thailand. There are among the distinguished guests from Thailand His Excellency Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan and other old friends who have visited our country more than once in recent years as well as many new friends who are here for the first time. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host this evening's banquet. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to His Excellency Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj and the other distinguished guests from Thailand.

Thailand is a country with a long history. The industrious and valiant people of Thailand have made an important contribution to the treasure-house of Asian civilization by creating their magnificent ancient culture. After the imperialist and colonialist invasion of Asia, the people of Thailand waged a protracted and unyielding struggle to safeguard their national independence. Their struggle won the deep sympathy and admiration of the people of all countries. In international affairs, Thailand actively develops friendly relations with other third world countries, stands for a peaceful and neutral Southeast Asia and is opposed to power politics and hegemonism. We sincerely wish the people of Thailand new and greater victories on their road of advance.

At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries. Thanks to the great victories won by the Indochinese peoples, an excellent situation now prevails in Southeast Asia. After the Second World War, the situation in Southeast Asia remained in constant tension and the relations between the Southeast Asian countries and other Asian countries were extremely abnormal because one of the superpowers persisted in a war of aggression in Indochina. Now, this superpower has finally suffered irrevocable defeat under the counterblows of the Indochinese peoples and had to withdraw from Indochina. This situation has created very favourable conditions for Southeast Asian countries to act independently and take their destiny into their own hands. It is, however, noteworthy that the other superpower with wild ambitions has extended its tentacles far and wide. It insatiably seeks new military bases in Southeast Asia and sends its naval vessels to ply the Indian and West Pacific Oceans, posing a menacing threat to the peace and security of the Southeast Asian countries. The spectre of its expansionism now haunts

Southeast Asia, as it hankers for converting this region into its sphere of influence some day. But the people of the Southeast Asian countries, who suffered untold misery under imperialist and colonialist rule, will never allow any superpower to subject their countries again to aggression, oppression and control. We believe that the Southeast Asian people, uniting themselves and persisting in struggle, will smash all superpower schemes of aggression and expansion and victoriously guard their countries' independence and sovereignty. History has proved and will continue to prove that Southeast Asia belongs to the people of the Southeast Asian countries, and not to any superpower.

China is a developing socialist country; like the Southeast Asian countries, she belongs to the third world. We have always sympathized with and supported the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. Through their own protracted struggle, our people have become keenly aware that the destiny of a country can be determined only by its own people. Foreign aggression and interference are impermissible and are doomed to failure. We consider that countries with different social systems can develop state relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. In conformity with these principles, China has already established diplomatic relations with many countries. This is a vivid proof that these principles are practicable and full of vitality.

This visit by His Excellency Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj to China has turned a new page in the history of China-Thailand relations. Our two countries are close neighbours, and there is a kinship-like traditional friendship between our two peoples. Friendly contacts between our peoples can be traced to more than two thousand years ago. There was a period before the colonialist and imperialist invasion of Asia when emissaries travelled in a steady stream between China and Thailand, and the two peoples carried on a brisk economic and cultural interflow. In the history of China-Thailand relations, quite a number of Chinese emigrated to Thailand and have lived amicably with the people there, adding kinship to the relationship between the Chinese and Thai peoples. After the founding of New China, the contacts between our two countries were unfortunately interrupted for a time, owing to imperialist obstruction and sabotage. But that was only a brief interlude in the long history of friendship between our two peoples. We are happy to note that in recent years the traditional friendship of our two

peoples has resumed and developed at a rapid pace. Cultural, athletic, scientific and commercial exchanges between the two countries have increased steadily. It is the common wish of our two peoples to effect the normalization of relations between China and Thailand. During this visit of Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj, our

two governments will sign a joint communique to announce officially the establishment of diplomatic relations. The Chinese Government and people heartily welcome this development. We wish His Excellency the Prime Minister and the other distinguished guests from Thailand complete success in their visit.

Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj's Speech

(Excerpts)

I FEEL it a high honour to have been invited to pay an official visit to the People's Republic of China by H.E. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. When I received the invitation, I felt great pleasure in having the opportunity to take part in the revival and further strengthening of the traditionally close and friendly ties that have existed for so long between the people of the Kingdom of Thailand and the people of the People's Republic of China, in conformity with the interests and common desires of the two peoples. From the moment I arrived in China, I and my party have been received with a friendship of the utmost warmth. I should like to take this opportunity to thank our hosts and through them to express our deep appreciation to the people of China.

My visit to China is the result of the development of relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China that have progressed step by step over the recent years. In these contacts, both sides have co-operated with sincerity in the creation of mutual understanding. In this connection, the exchange of sports teams, doctors, scientists, trade delegations and the visit by Members of the National Assembly have played an important role in drawing our two peoples close together.

The Government of the Kingdom of Thailand to which I had the honour of being appointed Prime Minister, is a democratic government elected by the Thai people and represents all the people of Thailand. The foreign policy objective of this government is to follow an independent course in promoting peaceful coexistence on the principle of friendship with all countries professing good intention towards Thailand, without regard to differences in political ideologies or governmental systems, and based on the principles of justice, equality and non-interference, in either direct or indirect forms, in the internal affairs of each other. It is for this reason that the recognition and normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China had high priority in the conduct of the foreign policy of my government.

The Government of the Kingdom of Thailand wishes to reaffirm that only the people of each country have the right to choose their own political, economic and social system free from outside interference. The Government of the Kingdom of Thailand is convinced

that even though the Kingdom of Thailand and the People's Republic of China have differing political, economic and social systems, this should not constitute an obstacle to the development of peaceful and amicable relations between our two countries and peoples on the basis of the principles of *Pancha Sila*.

At the present time, efforts to establish hegemony and spheres of influence have not declined, and the countries of Southeast Asia continue to have to oppose all manners of subversion from outside in order to preserve their right to choose their own political, economic and social systems without external interference. For this reason, five countries of the region, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand made the Bangkok Declaration of 1966 establishing the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Since 1966, the ASEAN, which is a regional organization for economic and social co-operation, has expanded its activities to cover efforts towards political solidarity too.

The worthy political intent of the ASEAN countries was again demonstrated when representatives of our five nations met in Kuala Lumpur in November 1971 and made the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on Southeast Asia to be a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. The important consideration underlying the Kuala Lumpur Declaration is that the ASEAN countries wish the whole of Southeast Asia to be an area free from the rivalry and conflict of all the great powers. In other words, the intent of the declaration is to bring benefits to all the countries in the region regardless of differences in political, economic or social systems. Should the creation of a balance of interests in the relations between the great powers and the nations of Southeast Asia were to succeed, this region might become a zone of stability, which would contribute to the reduction of tension in one area of the world and help to lessen the chance of the occurrence of another world war. This is naturally the desire of all peace-loving people. For this reason, the Government of Thailand warmly welcomes the pronouncements of the Government of the People's Republic of China in support of the ASEAN and the desire of ASEAN countries to see Southeast Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

In actual fact, mutual understanding and sympathy between China and the countries of Southeast Asia have existed since ancient times. In the case of Thailand and China, contacts between Thai and Chinese

trace back to thousands of years. Even at the present time, it is a well-known fact that in the southernmost part of China there are many Chinese nationals of the Thai race who are living in peace and happiness under the protection of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. So it is in Thailand, the Chinese in Thailand have lived for many centuries in amity and harmony with the Thai people in conformity with the law of the land and with the customs and habits of the Thai people. At the risk of being unduly boastful, I feel in all sincerity that the success with which Chinese and Thai have lived together is something we should take pride in, because it is unique and this should be generally known.

China is a great country. Throughout the long history of Thai-Chinese relations, the Thai people have looked upon China as one of the countries which is a model of culture. However, in a long friendship, it is perhaps in the nature of things that there should have been a moment of some estrangement to the extent that it gave rise to mutual misapprehension and mistrust. But a quarter of a century is but a short interval in time. Now within the last three years, Thai people have been able once again to come and visit China and to see the marvels of the New China. On this point, may I mention a few examples. The progress in medicine and science in China that seeks to teach doctors and scientists to serve the people and the training of "barefoot doctors" to provide health care for all the people in the rural areas. Then there is the progress achieved in the field of agriculture that has

brought about equality and justice in the countryside together with the development of the efficiency of agricultural production units so as to enable them to meet fully the needs of the people. These lessons are extremely useful to take back for adaptation in Thailand.

Nevertheless, the historical evolution of each country is by nature different. A glorious revolution, full of fervour and exciting events, gave birth to the People's Republic of China. The success of the Chinese revolution is continually lauded. But, for the Kingdom of Thailand, our revolution was inspired from above under the leadership of our kings who always understood the need for administrative and social reforms to keep up with the prevailing circumstances. The successes of this wise royal policy accrued to the benefit of each and every Thai. Therefore, it can be seen that although the historical evolution of each country might be different, the end result, which is desired by all, is the same, that is, the creation of equality and justice in society and the attainment of parity in the standard of living among the people. This is the objective of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand and I am fully aware that it is also the policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

I would like to express my earnest hope that the relations between our two countries and peoples, which is being revived, on the basis of sincerity, mutual trust and mutual respect, will draw us close together and yield benefits to both sides in conformity with the hopes of the peoples of both two countries in the times to come.

At International Women's Year World Conference

Speech by Head of Chinese Delegation Li Su-wen

Women of all lands in order to fight for emancipation must struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The contention between the two superpowers is getting more and more intense and the factors for war are increasing. The people and women of the whole world must heighten their vigilance and be prepared.

Discussing the road to women's emancipation and principles for current action, the United Nations World Conference of International Women's Year opened in Mexico City on June 19. Attending were delegations from more than 100 countries and regions and observers from some national-liberation organizations. China was represented by a delegation led by Li Su-wen and her deputy Wang Shu-chen. Li Su-wen delivered her speech, which was warmly welcomed by those present, to the conference on June 23. Full text of the speech follows. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Mr. President,

The World Conference of International Women's Year is being convened in Mexico, world famous for its ancient civilization. Please allow me, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to express our heart-felt thanks to the government of the host country for its efforts in preparing this conference, to convey our good wishes to the people and women of Mexico and to extend to you, Mr. Pedro Ojeda Paullada, our warm congratulations on your being elected president of the conference.

We are particularly glad that the heroic people and women of south Viet Nam, who won a great historic victory not long ago, have sent their glorious envoys to this conference. Also with us at this conference are the delegations of some newly independent African countries that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism and the representatives of some national-liberation movements and organizations that are still carrying on their struggles. They bring with them news of victory in their struggles and fresh experience in the women's emancipation movement. We extend a warm welcome to them and warm congratulations on their victories.

The emancipation of women is a question of great importance. Women make up half of the world population and no great social change can be completed without their participation. To win emancipation, the oppressed women of the world, together with the rest of the oppressed people, have fought long and heroically, advancing wave upon wave in countless moving deeds that propelled the continued advance of society. Today the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, waged by the people of the world, particularly those of the third world countries, is developing vigorously. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend. In this great struggle, the broad masses of women are becoming increasingly awakened, the women's movement is developing in depth and women have become a great dynamic revolutionary force. The women of south Viet Nam and Cambodia are the best witnesses to this fact. Together with the people of their own countries, displaying revolutionary heroism, they fought indomitably for the independence and freedom of their countries, and set a shining example for women all over the world.

Women's Emancipation Inseparable From A Nation's and People's Struggle

In every country women form a part of the whole nation and people. Their fate is invariably linked with that of the whole nation and people. Their emancipation, therefore, is an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole nation and people. Right now imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are still carrying out aggression and plunder; particularly the two superpowers are practising hegemonism and power politics everywhere, and are contending for spheres of influence, seriously encroaching upon and menacing the sovereignty, independence and basic rights of the people of many countries. All this also endangers the existence and security of the broad masses of women and children in these countries. Under these circumstances, women cannot win emancipation without taking part in the main struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly against hegemonism of the two superpowers.

Under the colonialist and racist rule in southern Africa, where the masses of the people do not even have the right to survive, how can women win emancipation without fighting colonialism and racism?

How can our sisters in the Arab countries and in Palestine win women's rights without fighting Israeli Zionism and the superpower hegemonic policy of contention in the Middle East, without recovering their lost territories and restoring their national rights?

As for our sisters in the third world countries that have already won independence, if they do not fight against aggression, subversion, control and plunder by imperialism, especially by the superpowers, the independence of their countries will be undermined, national economy disrupted, and the independent and self-reliant development of national economy out of the question. Thus, it will hardly be possible to fulfil women's wishes for "equal participation in development with men," and no fundamental solution to the problems of employment, education and health care for women can be found.

In the developed countries, the working women are not only subjected to exploitation like other working people, but also face superpower control, interference and threat. If hegemonism is not opposed, there will be no "peace and security," or full guarantee for women's rights.

Clearly, the primary task at present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism and particularly hegemonism of the two superpowers. Only when this struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to and solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily.

Arouse Women in Their Hundreds of Millions

Mr. President,

The emancipation of women is a common cause of the entire people. Its success requires the joint effort and struggle of the entire people. At the same time, women's emancipation is of vital interest primarily to women themselves and must be won through their own struggle. They must not expect emancipation to be granted them as a favour, or wait for a small number of people to win it for them. Can the emancipation of women be realized by enacting laws protecting women's rights? Such laws will be of some help, but without struggle by women themselves, no such laws will be formulated, and even if they are formulated, it will be difficult to put them into practice. In such case there is still no real guarantee for women's rights and emancipation. Experience proves that only when women take part in the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and people and in social productive labour can they broaden their horizons, raise their political consciousness, give their talents full play, get rid of their inferiority complex, see their own strength and increase courage and confidence in struggle. By contributing to the cause of revolution and construction through participation in struggles, women will raise their position and win the respect of society. The peo-

ple's cause needs the participation of large numbers of women cadres, who will come to the fore and be steeled and tempered only in actual social struggles. In a word, only when women are mobilized in their hundreds of millions will the victory of their emancipation be fully guaranteed.

Superpowers Try to Lead Women's Movement Astray

What merits our sharp vigilance is that while women the world over are becoming increasingly awakened and throwing themselves actively into the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism to win and safeguard national independence, social progress and women's rights, the superpowers are doing their utmost to lead the women's movement astray. One superpower insists that women's problems are "non-political," while the other superpower advocates that "detente is opening up favourable prospects" for the achievement of the purposes of International Women's Year, that "only under the conditions of peace and reduction of military expenditure" can women "win their defined social rights," etc. According to the logic of that superpower, the prerequisite to the emancipation of women is not persistent struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, or the mobilization and organization of women, but waiting and begging for "peace," "detente" and "disarmament," and depending on kind favours bestowed by the superpowers. Such talk is spread with ulterior motives. As everybody can see clearly, it is precisely this superpower which chants "detente" and "disarmament" at the top of its voice that is running fastest in the arms race and scrambling hardest in the struggle for world hegemony. Its fleets ply the waters from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. It is also this superpower which has, to date, stubbornly refused to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, and to withdraw all its armed forces stationed abroad and dismantle its military bases in other countries. It is also this superpower which, while prating about "European security," has greatly increased its troops stationed in Eastern Europe and its conventional and nuclear weapons spearheaded at Western Europe. Facts prove that its talk about "disarmament" is actually to cover up its arms expansion and war preparations, and its declamation on "detente" is to spread a smokescreen for conducting infiltration, control and aggression. The broad masses of women's desire for peace is understandable, but this superpower tries to capitalize on this well-intentioned desire in order to achieve its ulterior motives. The harsh reality today is that the contention between the two superpowers is getting more and more intense and the factors for war are increasing. The people and women of the

whole world must heighten their vigilance and be prepared.

Chinese Women's Road to Emancipation

Mr. President,

Chinese women had sought long and hard the way to emancipation and had waged protracted struggles for its realization. Countless setbacks and failures had taught them that the system of oppression of man by man was the root cause of the discrimination and oppression they suffered, and that to achieve emancipation they must, first of all, fight for national liberation and social progress. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, Chinese women, together with the entire Chinese people, threw themselves into the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and finally won the victory of the people's revolution and established the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people have stood up, so have the Chinese working women who were at the bottom of the old society. The establishment of the socialist system in China eradicated the centuries-old root cause of oppression of women. The working people have become masters of the country and women have won equal rights with men in all fields of life. A new human relationship has developed, characterized by comradely mutual help and co-operation. Men and women help and learn from each other, share work in society and housework and advance together. Giving full play to their wisdom, the industrious and courageous women play the great role of "holding up half the sky" on all fronts of socialist revolution and socialist construction. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, the masses of the people, men and women, made profound criticism of the Confucian and Mencian ideas which have poisoned people's minds for more than two thousand years. They have criticized such reactionary ideas as "men are superior and women inferior," breaking with outdated traditional ideas and lifting the mental outlook of the women to a new height. Emancipation of the mind has pushed forward the movement for women's emancipation. The Chinese women today hold the interests of the whole country and the whole world at heart and are concerned, first of all, with the affairs of the state and the world. They are undertaking a great cause which has never been done by their predecessors. Countless women are doing the work formerly considered suitable for men only, and more and more are filling leading posts at all levels. Times have changed and today men and women are equal. Whatever men can do, women can too. Chinese women have never been so high in spirit and so firm in determination as today. A new generation of women is coming into their own.

China is a developing socialist country. We are exerting our greatest efforts to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism and carry the continued revolution under

the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. China is not a superpower, nor will she ever seek to be one. Chinese women have always stood with the oppressed women of the world. We will unswervingly fulfil our proletarian internationalist obligations, strengthen our unity with the oppressed nations, people and women of the whole world, supporting each other. We resolutely support the peoples of Indochina in their struggle against imperialism and to win and safeguard national independence. We resolutely support the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We resolutely support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle against Zionism and to recover their lost territories and restore the national rights of the Palestinian people. We resolutely support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their struggle against colonial rule and white racism. We resolutely support the peoples of Latin America in their struggle to safeguard national sovereignty, defend national

economic rights and interests and win the 200-nautical-mile maritime rights. We resolutely support the struggle of the third world countries and peoples against international monopoly, exploitation and plunder, and to establish a new international economic order. We resolutely support the struggle of the women and people of all countries against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and to win and safeguard national independence, social progress and women's rights.

Mr. President,

The international situation is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people and the oppressed women in different countries. The world is moving ahead, the people are making progress and the women's movements are developing. The Chinese delegation is ready to work with all present to make this conference contribute to the cause of women's emancipation in various countries.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Great Changes in Status of China's Women

In old China, women were not worth a straw; in New China, they are treasured as a great asset." This popular saying among Chinese women today vividly illustrates the profound changes that have taken place in the political and social status of working women since liberation.

The most notable change is the political emancipation of working women who along with the men are now the country's masters. They take part in the administration of state affairs, enjoy equality with men and are playing an ever greater role in the nation's political life.

Change in Political Status

Lenin pointed out: "In capitalist society the woman's position is marked by such inequality that the extent of her participation in politics is only an insignificant fraction of that of the man. The power of the working people is necessary for a change to be wrought in this situation, for then the main tasks of politics will consist of matters directly affecting the fate of the working people themselves." (*The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic.*) The change in the political status of women in China abundantly proves the truth of this statement.

Working women had no rights at all before liberation. A great number did not even have their own names; many were sold as chattels. Only a few women from the landlord, bureaucrat, capitalist and other ruling classes had access to political activity.

Hundreds of thousands of outstanding working women in China today hold positions of leadership from the grass-roots level right up to the central authorities of the Communist Party and the state. Li Su-wen, formerly a shop assistant, is now Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and head of the Chinese Delegation to the World Conference of International Women's Year. An ordinary textile worker, Wu Kuei-hsien is now Vice-Premier of the State Council. Three of the vice-chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee are women (two workers and one peasant), and women's representation on the committee is 22 per cent. The principal responsible members in six of the 20 district and county revolutionary committees under that municipality are women. But in pre-liberation days, many of them were servants in landlord homes, child-labourers or indentured workers in capitalist textile mills or street cleaners, looked down upon as inferior people in the old society.

The personal experiences of many working women provide historical evidence of the tremendous changes in their status since liberation. Yang Po-lan, a 37-year-old textile worker, was a child-labourer in a Tsingtao cotton mill at the age of 10. Often beaten by the foremen and subjected to the humiliation of body search after work, she led a life of misery, cruelly exploited and oppressed. Since liberation she has worked with great zeal and has been commended as an advanced worker on many occasions. She was elected

Alternate Member of the Central Committee in 1973 at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Earlier this year she was elected Member of the Standing Committee of the Fourth National People's Congress.

A homeless orphan in Shanghai in the old society, Chu Hui-fen became one of China's first women fliers after liberation and later had the honour of being received by Chairman Mao. She is now an Alternate Member of the Party's Tenth Central Committee, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, and a deputy political commissar of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China.

Working women of the minority nationalities had an even more miserable lot in the old days when they were without any political rights and barred from all social activity. Large numbers of outstanding workers and peasants among them now have been promoted to leading positions. Pasang, of Tibetan nationality, who was a slave on a manorial estate for nine years and treated as a "speaking animal" by the serf-owner, is now Member of the Party Central Committee, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, and Secretary of the Party Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Paojihletai, a working woman of Mongolian nationality, has been elected Member of the Party Central Committee, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Secretary of the Party Committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Women of minority nationalities account for about one-fifth of the leading members of Party organizations at various levels in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

The tens of thousands of working women holding important leading posts and running state affairs prove most convincingly the steady rise in women's political status and testify to the superiority of China's socialist system.

Economic Independence

Another fact speaking volumes for the changes in women's status is their active participation in social productive labour, which makes them economically independent. After liberation, the masses of women enjoy and exercise the right to work, and rapid industrial development and the establishment of people's communes have provided them with ample employment opportunities. The policy followed by our Party and government of giving equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex, is a great encouragement to them. More and more women are taking part in social productive labour. In Shanghai, for instance, the number of female industrial workers has increased from 180,000 in 1949, the year the city was liberated, to over 800,000, or 35 per cent of that metropolis' total work force today. Practically all Shanghai housewives under the age of 45 are now engaged in social productive labour of one kind or another. In the Taching Oilfield, China's largest, women make up 21 per cent of the workers and staff members—a sharp contrast to the past when few wo-

men could have a place in heavy industry. In the vast countryside they constitute a staunch force in agricultural production. One example is in the Tachai Brigade, the celebrated national agricultural pace-setter in Hsiyang County of Shansi Province, where female members do 60 per cent of the farm work and are striving for ever richer harvests alongside the men.

Not only has socialist New China under the dictatorship of the proletariat enabled millions of women to join social productive labour, but it has opened up unprecedentedly broad vistas for such activities. Large numbers of women are now active in various fields—industry and agriculture, finance and commerce, cultural and educational undertakings, medical and health work and scientific research as well as in P.L.A. units. They say proudly: "In the old days, we were tied to the stove and up to our ears in such matters as cooking food, gathering firewood and doing needlework. Now we shoulder revolutionary tasks and concern ourselves with the two-line struggle and take part in transforming nature."

Women's increasing participation in social production helps create wealth for society. This has fundamentally changed their position of being discriminated against and oppressed resulting from not having equal economic status with men. As Lenin put it: **"To effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of the man it is necessary for the national economy to be socialized and for women to participate in common productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men."** (*The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic.*)

Change in Family Status

The feudal ethics such as the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues"* in old China deprived women of their personality as independent human beings. A wife depended on her husband for a living and household chores such as cooking and taking care of the children made her a virtual "slave of the family."

With the liberation of the country came women's political emancipation and economic independence. This has brought a tremendous change in their family status, ensuring them their rightful place as equals of the male members. A series of measures have been adopted by the Party and government to raise the position of women in the family. With the promulgation of the Marriage Law in 1950, arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and the treatment of women as chattels in marriage are opposed, and free choice of partners, monogamy and the protection of the women's rights of

*The "Three Obediences" meant that women had to obey the father when young, obey the husband when married and obey the sons when widowed. The "Four Virtues" were: "women's virtue," which required that in every way a woman must behave and act in compliance with the feudal ethical code; "women's speech," which demanded that a woman must not talk too much; "women's appearance," which meant that a woman must adorn herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex; and "women's chores," which meant that a woman must willingly do all the household work.

equality in the family are put into effect. To release women from family drudgery, canteens, nurseries, kindergartens and creches have been set up in factories, villages, government organizations and urban residential quarters. A brand-new family relationship is advocated, with husband and wife sharing household duties and helping and respecting each other.

Like the masses of female workers and staff members and commune members, practically all housewives in the cities and towns have left the confines of their homes to attend evening literacy classes and study politics, run neighbourhood industries and do other social work. Family members of workers and staff in factories and mines also have actively organized themselves to do auxiliary work to serve production and improve the workers' welfare.

What accounts for the tremendous changes that have taken place in Chinese women's social position?

The answer is not hard to find. It is the result of the protracted struggles, waged by the Chinese working women fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, in which they overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism

and bureaucrat-capitalism, founded the socialist New China, abolished the private ownership of the means of production and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the long years of fighting for the liberation of the country, Chinese women have come to understand that their emancipation would have been out of the question without the victory of the revolution of the proletariat. Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: **"The emancipation of the working women is inseparable from the victory of their class as a whole. Only when their class wins victory can they achieve real emancipation."** This is why women in China have taken an active part in the Chinese revolution alongside their class brothers to fight for the victory of the proletarian revolution and their own emancipation.

During the years of revolutionary wars numerous women performed moving deeds in courageously fighting the enemy and in doing logistics work for the front. Today, in grasping revolution and promoting production, they are making fresh contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. At present, they are studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and doing their bit for the consolidation of this dictatorship and the complete emancipation of women.

Profound Revolution on the Health Front

— Marking the 10th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "June 26" Directive on medical and health work

OUR great leader Chairman Mao gave an extremely important directive on June 26, 1965, in which he penetratingly criticized Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on health work and issued the call: **"In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas."** In the high tide of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat today, restudying this teaching of Chairman Mao's and making further efforts to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work are of great importance for consolidating and developing China's socialist economic base and strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, the broad masses and medical workers, guided by Chairman Mao's brilliant "June 26" Directive, have adhered to the Party's basic line and scathingly criticized the

counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao on health work and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people. Hundreds of millions of people have displayed enormous enthusiasm in combating disease and unhygienic habits. There is an upsurge in the nationwide mass movement to undertake medical and pharmaceutical work and revolutionary changes have taken place on the health front. The co-operative medical service is blossoming everywhere and a million-strong barefoot doctors are maturing. Large numbers of urban medical workers have gone to the countryside and border regions and taken the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. In the allocation of personnel, material and funds for health work, the stress is gradually being shifted to the rural areas and a medical and health network suited to the conditions in China's countryside is taking shape. The

principle of "putting prevention first" is better implemented than before and achievements have been made in varying degrees in integrating traditional Chinese and Western medicine, in family planning and in medical education and research. Notable changes are taking place in health work both in the cities and in the countryside. The revolution in health work is developing vigorously.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary tasks on the health front are still arduous. Experience over the past decade has proved that putting the stress of medical and health work on the rural areas is a profound revolution in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie on the health front, and is a long-term and arduous fighting task. China's rural population which accounts for more than 80 per cent of the nation's total has long felt the shortage of doctors and medicine. To do rural medical and health work well is of great significance in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, reducing the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour, restricting bourgeois right, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The general orientation of the revolution in health work is to adhere to putting the stress on the rural areas. Although we have made a good start in this respect, our work is still far below the requirements set by Chairman Mao, and we must persevere in our efforts.

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." We must continue to firmly and effectively grasp the study of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a matter of paramount importance. The health department is an important position over which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie fight fiercely for control. In the field of public health, the influence of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism is fairly widespread and bourgeois ideas and styles of work and the force of old habit still exist to a serious extent. Leadership in some medical and health units is not in the hands of genuine Marxists. We must assiduously study and get the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie clear by integrating theory with practice. We must, in connection with the actual struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines on the health front, continue to deepen our criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao on health work and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, criticize the ideology of bourgeois right and bourgeois ideas and styles of work, raise our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, implement the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grass-roots level and deepen the revolution in health work.

It is necessary that medical workers strengthen their ideological revolutionization. Chairman Mao has

said: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." To serve proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers, medical and health work must persevere in serving the poor and lower-middle peasants who comprise the great majority of China's population. Urban medical workers must keep to the orientation of going to the countryside and the grass-roots units and taking part in the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) so as to receive re-education and remould their world outlook in the course of work and struggle. It is necessary to give positive support to the socialist new things that have emerged on the health front. The rural co-operative medical service and barefoot doctors are pioneering efforts by the masses in their hundreds of millions who, under the leadership of the Party, are fighting disease by relying on the collective strength. We must sum up our concrete experience, and create conditions to facilitate their growth. Barefoot doctors working in the countryside should maintain the fine style of not divorcing themselves from labour and the masses, and should serve the poor and lower-middle peasants heart and soul.

Party organizations at all levels should strengthen their leadership over the revolution in health work and conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on health work and proletarian policies. It is essential to regard health work as an important component in building a new socialist countryside, include it in the plan to learn from the Tachai Brigade in agriculture and make overall arrangements. We should continue to put the stress on the rural areas with regard to the allocation of personnel, material and funds to solve problems most urgently demanded by the masses. Medical and health work, medical education and scientific research institutions at various levels should all be geared to the needs of the countryside and the grass-roots units and open their doors to society at large. We must give support to the large contingent of medical workers to carry out in the vast countryside clinical practice and theoretical research on the integration of Western and traditional Chinese medicine, so as to speed up the creation of a unified new medicine and pharmacology in China. We must do a good job in family planning and maternity and child care, actively help the areas inhabited by minority peoples train their own medical workers, and take concrete steps to do urban medical and health work well, particularly medical and health work in industrial and mining enterprises. Leading cadres of health departments at various levels must set examples in implementing Chairman Mao's directive and take the lead in going to the rural areas and grass-roots units to make investigations and study, sum up experience and grasp typical cases well.

Let us rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and march forward valiantly!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 26)

Co-operative Medical Service and Barefoot Doctors in China's Rural Areas

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's directive "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," China's revolution in medical and health work is forging ahead. The change has been tremendous in the rural areas. The co-operative medical service and barefoot doctors, two nascent socialist phenomena which emerged in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are developing on a vast scale.

In the majority of production brigades (made up of one or several villages directly under the administration of the rural people's communes), the co-operative medical service has been set up, financed mainly by the production brigades out of their collective fund and a tiny annual fee paid by each commune member. The system of management by the poor and lower-middle peasants is of enormous help in consolidating the rural co-operative medical service. There are more than 1.3 million barefoot doctors manning production brigade clinics in China today. Years of practice have raised the political and professional levels of these barefoot doctors who are doctors as well as working peasants. They can handle common diseases and treat a few of the more difficult diseases. There are also more than 3.6 million medical attendants and midwives in the production teams under the production brigades who have mastered the rudiments of medicine and health. These grass-roots organizations and the commune and county hospitals together make up an elementary health network so that inadequate medical personnel and drugs in the rural areas are things of the past.

Commune members and barefoot doctors are keeping up the criticism and repudiation of the revisionist line in medical and health work and energetically implementing Chairman Mao's policies of combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and "putting prevention first."

Following the example of the barefoot doctors, the masses in the countryside are gathering, cultivating, processing and using Chinese herbal medicines. In addition to traditional Chinese medicine, treatment by the new method of combining Chinese and Western medicines is also widespread. Many barefoot doctors have learnt to use Western medical treatment and medicines and are also zealously collecting effective traditional prescriptions from the people and delving into the rich pharmacopoeia and therapeutic treasure-house of ancient China. After making experiments, they have achieved promising results in treating and preventing diseases. One barefoot doctor in Shantung Province has in the last three years treated more than a hundred

cases of acute diarrhoea with more than 90 per cent success by using a drug of his own composition.

Barefoot doctors also play an active part in mass health movements. In Chiehshou County, Anhwei Province, environmental hygiene has been vastly improved and the incidence of infectious diseases has sharply dropped as a result of proper treatment of water sources and faeces, improvements in wells, lavatories and animal pens, more efficient stoves and better ventilation and a cleaner environment.

Thanks to the popularization of health and hygienic knowledge by the barefoot doctors who also give vaccinations and inoculations, some infectious diseases have been brought under control. Similar work done in Chaochou County in northeast China made daily attendance in brigade clinics drop from about 70 in 1969 to less than 20 today. Leyuan People's Commune in Hupch Province, which was the first to set up a co-operative medical service, only had a few cases of infectious diseases last year due to assiduous preventive measures. Grain output in this commune last year was 2.2 times that of seven years ago when the co-operative medical service first came into being, and the average income of each member was two and a half times as much.

The introduction of the co-operative medical service and training of barefoot doctors have placed the poor and lower-middle peasants in control over rural medical and health work, making this sphere their sovereign domain. The barefoot doctors actively propagate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work, disseminate scientific knowledge and mobilize the peasants to break down superstitions and overcome unsanitary practices, thereby bringing about new ways of life and deep-going changes in people's outlook.

The development of the revolution in health work in the countryside is conducive to reducing the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour as well as restricting bourgeois right. In the past, most hospitals and doctors were concentrated in the urban centres, leaving the countryside short of doctors and medicines and putting timely treatment out of the peasants' reach. The setting up of a network of medical and health services in the countryside today is narrowing the differences between town and countryside step by step and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Since time immemorial, the medical profession has been held in awe by the masses. The old idea that doctors don't come knocking at one's door to offer their services and other such absurd ideas are very widespread and deep-

Welcoming Heroes Who Conquered Qomolangma Feng

ON May 27, one woman and eight men members of the Chinese mountaineering expedition ascended to the top of Qomolangma Feng (Mount Jolmo Lungma) — the world's highest peak — from its north slope, writing a brilliant page in the world history of mountain climbing (see reports in our issues Nos. 22 and 23). In the course of the ascent, expedition members and scientists made scientific surveys of many branches of science.

Returning triumphantly, the expedition was warmly welcomed by Party and government leaders and the masses in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region, and in Chengtu and Sian on their way to Peking. On June 28, 18,000 people held a grand meeting in Peking to welcome the mountaineers and celebrate this successful climb of the world's highest peak.

Party and state leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh, Su Chen-hua, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Ulanfu, Yao Lien-wei and Sun Chien attended the Peking meeting. Before it began, they received the nine mountaineers who had scaled Qomolangma Feng, secretary of the expedition's Party committee Wang Fu-chou (he and two other mountaineers first ascended

the same peak in 1960), expedition leader Shih Chan-chun and all other members of the expedition.

Chuang Tse-tung, Minister in Charge of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, spoke at the meeting and extended warm congratulations to the mountaineering expedition. He said: "The second successful ascent of Qomolangma Feng by a Chinese mountaineering expedition is the result of the common efforts by the people of the whole nation and a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." He urged China's physical culture workers to learn from the mountaineering expedition its all-conquering heroism and its revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, mutual help and care for each other and militant unity. Physical culture workers, he said, should make further efforts to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well, firmly implement the Party's basic line, vigorously promote mass sports, rapidly raise the technical level of sports, put our sports in the world's advanced ranks at the earliest date and work for the lofty goal of building socialism.

Members of the Expedition

The Chinese mountaineering expedition is a heroic militant collective armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao

rooted. The barefoot doctors of today, however, work in the fields alongside the other commune members and treat the patients at their homes or in the fields. They are peasants and at the same time doctors, wholeheartedly serving the people. Liu Han, a barefoot doctor of Shenching Brigade in Kirin Province for nine years now, has been constantly improving his medical skill and successfully treating patients. But he has never left off participating in collective productive labour, retaining the fine qualities of a working man and serving the people with all his heart. "The operative word in barefoot doctor is being 'barefooted' — think, work and live as any other peasant," he said. "Once you become divorced from the masses through not taking part in collective productive labour, then you're no longer a genuine barefoot doctor." Since 1973, he has been deputy chief of health bureaus in the county and prefecture, but he still takes part in collective productive labour and gets paid like the rest of the commune members according to work-points earned through such labour. The commune members say that he is one of them, not different at all. He says of himself: "I'm just another peasant but serving as a doctor when required to." The barefoot doctors of Hsiyang County where the famous Tachai Production Brigade, the national pace-setter in agriculture, is located, do collec-

tive productive labour 250 days a year on the average. In the Liuchuang Brigade in this county, barefoot doctor Li Chu-peng is a demobbed armyman. He lost his right leg in the War of Liberation when he took part in storming across the Yangtze River in 1949 and still has shrapnel in his body. He assiduously studies works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as Chairman Mao's works and is always alert against bourgeois ideology. In his six years as a barefoot doctor he has never accepted a meal from patients or their families. When he got sick he never prescribed expensive medicines for himself. The number of such people is growing rapidly all over the country.

In the present high tide of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, people are intensely aware of the importance of developing the co-operative medical service and increasing the role of barefoot doctors in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work and enabling the proletariat to occupy the superstructure. The barefoot doctors are determined to fight corrosion by bourgeois ideology and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to push ahead the revolution in medical and health work and struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of medical and health work.



Phanthog (fourth from left) warmly greeted by her comrades-in-arms on returning to the base camp from Qomolangma Feng.

Tsetung Thought. In going to the top of the world's highest peak, male and female members of the expedition withstood the severe cold and meagre oxygen at high altitudes, negotiated precipitous rock faces and sheer cliffs, and battled crevasses, ice and snow avalanches as well as frequent blizzards. Their magnificent feat is an inspiration to the Chinese people who persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; no difficulty can prevent the victorious advance of the Chinese people and no "height" is beyond their reach.

Here are some stories about the mountaineers.

Eight of the nine climbers who reached the summit are members of the Chinese Communist Party. Deputy leader of the expedition and coach of the women members, Phanthog is of Tibetan nationality and 37 years old. The mother of three, she is a worker in the "July 1" State Farm in Lhasa and one of the earliest women mountaineers in the country. She took up mountaineering in 1959. In less than two years she successively ascended the 7,546-metre-high Muztagh Ata, known as the "Father of Ice Mountains," and the nearby 7,595-metre-high Mount Kongur Tiubie Tagh, on the Pamir Plateau in southwestern Sinkiang and thus twice set world records in women mountaineering.

In this final assault on the world's highest peak, Phanthog was exhausted after nine days of arduous march. But she did not inhale one bit more oxygen than her male colleagues, nor did she lag behind them.

Seven of the eight males on the final assault team who got to the summit are of Tibetan nationality. Twenty-nine-year-old Sodnam Norbu is an electrical technician in a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army who applied to join the expedition as soon as he heard of its formation. Beginning last September, he

joined his teammates in rigorous basic training which included running, climbing, carrying weights, horizontal bar exercises and push-ups from the low front support position. He was the Party branch secretary in the final assault team during the last part of the climb and always took the lead in the ascent to the summit.

The other four Tibetan mountaineers from the P.L.A. are 37-year-old coach Lotse, Samdrub and Kunga Pasang, both over 20 years old, and 21-year-old Ngapo Khyen, the youngest in the expedition.

Darphuntso, a 30-year-old Tibetan worker, comes from the Lhasa Motor Vehicle Repair and Assembly Plant and Tsering Tobgyal, a year younger, is an electrician in the Shigatse Grain and Oil Processing Mill.

These Tibetan mountaineers were all children of poor herdsmen and peasants and herdowners' or estateowners' household servants. They all experienced oppression under the feudal serf system. With boundless love for socialist New China, all were determined to scale the highest peak in the world and win honour for the motherland.

They really showed fearless heroism. Quite exhausted in the course of several acclimatization climbs, Kunga Pasang lost consciousness twice dozens of metres from the summit in the final assault owing to the extreme lack of oxygen. But he showed remarkable will power and finally reached the top.

After the mountaineers were at the summit, Hou Sheng-fu reported the glad tidings of the second conquest of Qomolangma Feng over the walkie-talkie to the base camp 5,000 metres above sea level. Of Han nationality, 36-year-old Hou Sheng-fu was a coach of the expedition and second sub-group leader of the summit assault team.

To do the telemetry-system electrocardiography well, deputy leader of the expedition Phanthog lay down quietly for six to seven minutes on a one-metre-wide and some ten-metre-long stretch of ice and snow on the top of the peak. She and the eight male members in the final assault team stayed on the summit for 70 minutes without inhaling any oxygen.

Paeon to Militant Unity

The conquest of the world's highest peak is a success not only for the mountaineers who ascended the summit. It is the result of the common efforts of all comrades in the expedition and a paeon to the militant

unity of the people of all nationalities in China under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

From mid-March to mid-May, the expedition made four acclimatization climbs. Overcoming all kinds of difficulties, members finished their tasks of reconnaissance, road building, transport, camp building, scientific observations and surveys and cartography at places up to 8,600 metres above sea level. All this was preparation for the last assault on the peak. Many comrades blazed the trail for their comrades-in-arms and moved supplies for the expedition at altitudes 7,000 or 8,000 metres above sea level, but they insisted on not inhaling any oxygen. To complete the tasks entrusted by the Party, some comrades risked their lives.

In this second conquest of Qomolangma Feng, 35 male expedition members, including veterans more than 40 years old and youngsters who took part in mountaineering activities for the first time, went up to an altitude of 8,100 metres or so above sea level. Sixteen women mountaineers of Tibetan and Han nationalities got to no less than 7,600 metres above sea level. Among them, three went up to 8,200 metres, three got to 8,600 metres and one ascended the summit. This had been unheard of in the mountaineering history of the world. Together with their male colleagues, 36 women expedition members including workers, commune members, P.L.A. fighters, cadres and students of Tibetan, Hui, Owenki and Han nationalities successfully took part in acclimatization climbs. They also carried food, oxygen bottles, tents and gas containers to the high-altitude camps. Some women mountaineers worked day and

night preparing boiled water and food at high-altitude camps for those who passed by. Women climbers also helped conduct scientific surveys.

When Phanthog, who is the daughter of a serf family and was a beggar in her childhood, stepped on to the top of the highest peak in the world, she thought with emotion that this was a victory and the pride of all Chinese women and that, in the course of our motherland's socialist revolution and construction, there will be more "heights" for us to scale. . . .

All the heroic mountaineers who united for struggle had the same feeling.

Comprehensive Scientific Survey

Co-ordinating their efforts with those of the mountaineering expedition, more than 70 men and women scientists and worker-peasant-soldier college students from different parts of the country carried out a comprehensive scientific survey of Qomolangma Feng and its nearby 300-square-kilometre area. An abundance of first-hand information in various branches of science was collected.

Lasting two months, the survey's achievements extended to many fields.

Survey-Cartography. The scientific workers surveyed and mapped out the geographical location of Qomolangma Feng and measured its height by means of survey and cartography on three glaciers over an area of more than 140 square kilometres. At the same time, they counter-checked the differential levelling of an 80-kilometre stretch.

After a three-metre-high red metal surveying pole was planted on the summit of Qomolangma Feng by the climbers, surveyors posted at the ten control points, between 7 and 21 kilometres from the peak at altitudes of between 5,600 and 6,300 metres above sea level, promptly made an observation which provided accurate data for determining the height of the peak.

Surveyors climbed to the top of North Col 7,007 metres above sea level and successfully completed their gravitational and aerial photographic survey work.

Geology. The geologists completed geological profiles based on their surveys of six stretches totalling over seven kilometres long and many more geological profiles along the route.

In places near Qomolangma Feng, they discovered for the first time in this part of the world fossils of lampshells (brachiopods)



Scientific workers making an observation of the summit of Qomolangma Feng.

of the Ordovician period (500 million years ago) in limestone beds which are equivalent to those at the top of the peak. They also found large amounts of well-preserved fossils of glossopteris and other plants of the Late Paleozoic strata dating back from 200 to 300 million years ago.

Altitude Physiology. Using domestic-made instruments, the scientists did radio-transmitted electrocardiography by a telemetry system for a number of mountaineers at altitudes from 7,600 metres above sea level to the summit of Qomolangma Feng. They also monitored the respiratory, cardiovascular and cerebral functions of the

mountaineers on the plain and at an altitude of 5,000 metres above sea level.

Atmospheric Physics. The scientists made contrast meteorological observations in different directions of Qomolangma Feng and collected data for gradient meteorological observations between 5,000 and 7,007 metres above sea level in the peak area. They also collected samples of ice and snow, including those on the summit of Qomolangma Feng.

Besides, the scientists also made a study of the background atmospheric pollution and collected samples of heavy water at altitudes from 7,600 metres above sea level to the summit of the peak.

Independence of Mozambique Proclaimed

THE Portuguese flag was lowered in Lourenco Marques early in the morning of June 25, 1975. The national flag of the People's Republic of Mozambique was then hoisted over Machava Stadium which was packed with jubilant people. This marked the end to the almost five-century-old Portuguese colonial rule and proclaimed the birth of a new independent state in the eastern part of the African continent, thereby opening a new page in the annals of the African people's struggle for national liberation.

Braving heavy rains and in high spirits, more than 50,000 Mozambican fighters and civilians gathered at the sports ground that morning to celebrate their motherland's independence. Samora Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), solemnly declared the complete independence of Mozambique and the birth of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

FRELIMO Vice-President Marcelino Santos, Prime Minister of the Mozambican Transitional Government Joaquim Alberto Chissano and other Mozambican leaders and delegations from over 50 countries which had come on invitation attended the independence ceremony. The Chinese Government Delegation led by Communications Minister Yeh Fei and the Chinese Workers, Youth and Women's Delegation were also present on the occasion to share the Mozambican people's joy in their independence celebrations.

The people of Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique, made long preparations to greet their motherland's independence. In recent months, they removed the humiliating symbols of colonial rule. In the Square of the City Council, workers took down the monument to Mouzinho de Albuquerque, Portuguese Governor of Mozambique in the 19th century, who had ruthlessly suppressed the armed uprising of the Mozambican people in 1895. The remains of the monument and a big pile

of dismantled stone and bronze statues of colonial governors, generals, missionaries, etc., now have all been swept into the dustbin of history.

A country with an area of 783,030 square kilometres and a population of 8.8 million, Mozambique was the second African country to win independence from Portugal. Guinea-Bissau proclaimed independence last September and Angola is scheduled to become independent on November 11, 1975.

Armed Struggle Leads to Victory

The national independence of these three Portuguese colonies in Africa was won through armed struggle. FRELIMO was established on June 25, 1962 and after two years of preparations, the Mozambican people, under FRELIMO leadership, fired their first shots in Chai, a small town in Cabo Delgado Province, embarking on the road of armed struggle. The people were engaged in ten full years of an arduous war for national liberation, from September 25, 1964 when they staged an armed uprising to September 7, 1974 when they compelled the Portuguese Government to sign an agreement on Mozambique's independence. During this period, the Mozambican people, defying brute force and persisting in struggle, smashed repeated enemy attacks and won one victory after another.

After repeated disastrous defeats on battlefield, the Portuguese colonialists resorted to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of violent suppression and political deception to maintain their tottering rule. In 1970, they trotted out a proposal to grant Mozambique autonomy in an attempt to entice the Mozambican people to abandon their armed struggle. But FRELIMO flatly exposed the enemy's fraud and firmly extended its national-liberation war to the south. It crossed the Zambezi River, thrust deeply into the heart of enemy-controlled areas, liberated vast tracts of territory and



Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun: Mozambican fighters parade in celebration of their motherland's independence.

wiped out more than 50,000 colonialist troops, thus winning a decisive victory.

Under the heavy blows of the patriotic armed forces of Mozambique, plus the successive defeats suffered in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, the Portuguese colonialists faced even more serious political and economic crises at home. The fascist Caetano regime was overthrown on April 25, 1974. The new government in Lisbon was forced to agree to talks with the liberation organizations in its colonies. But even at that time, the colonialists, unreconciled to their defeat, used various political tricks to hold on to their colonial rule.

After analysing the situation and the balance of forces at that time, FRELIMO agreed to hold talks with Portugal. At the same time it pointed out: "The talks . . . are just the opening of a new front which is not the principal front. The political front of talks is based on the principal front of war." In the talks, FRELIMO adhered to principle and solemnly declared: Mozambique's right to national independence is not negotiable. Negotiations must be confined to transfer of power to FRELIMO by the colonial authorities.

The Mozambican fighters did not slacken their fighting will during the talks. Instead they continued to step up armed struggle. To the contrary, the colonial troops were in low morale and war weary. Thousands of them deserted the colonial army or refused to go to the front. The Portuguese colonial war could no longer continue. It was only in these circumstances that Lisbon was compelled to sign an agreement with FRELIMO recognizing Mozambique's independence.

The fighting by the Mozambican people for ten years convincingly proves that Mozambique's independence came out of the barrel of a gun and was not gained through negotiations.

FRELIMO paid great attention to leading the armed struggle from inside the country, relying on the masses and establishing revolutionary bases. When liberating an area, the patriotic armed forces strove to strike roots there, establish their own political power, organize and arm the masses, develop production and support the front. Facts proved that this was conducive to consolidating and expanding the gains of armed struggle and persevering in protracted people's war. "The first decisive factor for the victory" of Mozambique, said President Samora Machel, "is the people who are united and organized." "People's unity is an indispensable condition for any victorious struggle."

"The Struggle Continues!"

Following the June 25 independence celebrations, Samora Machel was inaugurated as the first President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. In his inauguration speech, President Samora Machel explained the domestic and foreign policy of his country. He called on the Mozambican people to strengthen unity with a view to consolidating their national independence and building a prosperous state. He said that Mozambique will resolutely support the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

A grand rally and parade of 150,000 people took place that afternoon in Lourenco Marques. Rejoicing over their victory, the people marched in a heavy rain, shouting: "Long live national independence!" "Long live armed struggle!" "Long live the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of all nations!" and "The struggle continues!" After the parade, President Samora Machel led the people in shouting: "Long live the armed struggle for national liberation!" "Long live the oppressed peoples' struggle!"

The Mozambican people have triumphed. Their great victory in gaining independence through armed struggle has set an example for the peoples in southern Africa who are fighting for national independence. But winning independence does not mean the end of struggle, because the colonialists and racists are never willing to accept defeat. They will continue to carry out sabotage and make trouble. Hegemonism and neo-colonialism, eyeing the Mozambican people's victory with hostility, are waiting for an opportunity to go into action. It is certain that the Mozambican people who have a glorious tradition of struggle will continue to defend their independence with high militancy and stride forward along the road of consolidating national independence and developing the national economy.

Fierce Features Fully Exposed

by Jen Ku-ping

THE Indian Government flagrantly sent large numbers of troops and police early in the morning on June 26 to make massive arrests of opposition party leaders across the country and at the same time imposed an overall press censorship. Then, Indira Gandhi and company declared a national "state of emergency" on the pretext that the security of the state was "threatened." Instantly, police cars were cruising the streets as though confronted by a formidable enemy, and an atmosphere of tension and terror prevailed.

What has so "threatened" India's security that the Gandhi government did not hesitate to adopt such suppressive measures?

The cause is not far to seek. Since the verdict of the Indian High Court in Allahabad on June 12 found Indira Gandhi guilty of corrupt practices in the 1971 elections and disqualified her as member of parliament, the voices demanding her resignation had mounted in various parts of India. In addition to the strong demand for her immediate resignation by Indian opposition parties and public opinion, more and more people had taken to the street and staged demonstrations demanding that she step down. In the face of an imminent "nationwide struggle" to throw Gandhi out of office, the sanctimonious Gandhi government did not scruple to discard the last shred of the fig-leaf of "democracy" and fully bare its fierce features.

In the past decade since Gandhi assumed the premiership, she has done her utmost to defend the interests of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie of India and pursued a reactionary domestic and foreign policy. However, in her broadcast speech proclaiming the "state of emergency," she had the effrontery to describe herself as a defender of the "democratic system." The fact shows the very opposite. Domestically, the Gandhi regime has all along exercised dictatorial rule, frenziedly suppressed the revolutionary movements, ruthlessly persecuted the toiling masses demanding democratic rights and better living conditions and unscrupulously suppressed progressive people and public opinion advocating justice. In a word, "Indira is India and India is Indira." Those who bow before her survive and those who resist perish.

In the same speech, she also boasted that she had introduced "certain progressive measures of benefit to the common man and woman of India." This is an even more deceitful talk. Everybody knows that as a result of the Gandhi government's "benevolent rule," the Indian economy is in a mess. Production stagnates, commodity prices skyrocket, the grain shortage is acute and famine stalks the land. These are the "benefits" the Gandhi government has brought to the Indian people. Internationally, moreover, it has thrown itself into the lap of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and this has brought increasing colonialization of India's economy. It also has committed aggression and expansion on the South Asia subcontinent, dismembering, annexing and bullying other countries. It not only has brought instability to its neighbours but also misfortune to the country and the people. Where is a shadow of the "benefits"? The reactionary rule of the Gandhi regime has already aroused strong indignation and resistance from the Indian people. The present political turmoil is an expression of India's daily deepening political and economic crisis.

Gandhi has all along been backed by the lords of the Kremlin. All the Gandhi government's reactionary measures and criminal acts at home and abroad have won the plaudits and support of Soviet revisionism. On this occasion, it is again the Soviet revisionists who have impatiently stepped forward to defend Gandhi, alleging that the corrupt election practices were only "fabrications by the opposition." In short, the Soviet revisionists sometimes give advice to her behind the scenes and sometimes openly come out to whitewash her in a vain attempt to help her tide over a crisis.

The sole purpose of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists in trying so painstakingly to prop up Gandhi is to continue their control of India so as to contend for hegemony with the other superpower in South Asia. And Gandhi wants to become the junior hegemonic lord in this area under the patronage of Soviet revisionism. However, India belongs to the Indian people who will not long tolerate the reactionary rule of the Gandhi regime or allow anybody to sell out their country to a superpower. All those who hire themselves out to imperialism, no matter how rampant they may be for a time, will never come to a good end, just as their behind-the-scenes bosses will never either.

No Return to the Old System

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

THE residents of Parkor District in Lhasa were holding a mass meeting to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius when we visited the place. An old woman, Tzujenyangtsung, was recalling her bitter experience.

One day in autumn 1948, her 12-year-old son Pupu went out and failed to return in the evening. After a sleepless night, the parents went into the streets at daybreak looking for their boy, but he was nowhere to be found. Later they were informed that a band of ferocious Tibetan troops had set upon several children and, after kicking and beating them, had taken them to *Langtsehsia* (the municipal government). The couple rushed there and begged to see Pupu, but they were badly beaten up and driven out. Eight days later, they were told that their boy had been put to death and made an "offering." For whenever Dalai chanted "sstras of damnation," human heads, blood, hearts and flesh were used as "offerings," and many people would be killed for this purpose. That being the year just before liberation, Dalai was chanting sstras in Lhasa Square to curse the revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. Of course, this absurdity did not stop the victorious advance of the P.L.A. It only brought great calamity to many serfs. Of the 36 innocent youngsters arrested at the time, 21 were put to death and little Pupu was one of them.

Tzujenyangtsung said: "Our whole family nearly went mad. Soon after little Pupu was murdered, my husband died of a broken heart. Dalai owes my family two lives."

"Lin Piao," she continued, "dreamt of restoring capitalism in our country, invoking the Confucian slogan of 'restraining oneself and returning to the rites.' If that should ever happen, we Tibetans would be slaves again and return to the dark days of Dalai rule. We will never allow that to happen!"

"No return to the feudal serf system!" the angry masses shouted.

Later, when we visited the Tibet Revolutionary Museum in Lhasa, we saw from the abundant exhibits, pictures and figures why the Tibetan people hated so much this accursed feudal serfdom.

Blood-Sucking Exploitation

Tibet was a serf society based on manorial estates. The serf-owners who constituted only about 5 per cent of Tibet's 1.2 million people owned all the land and forests and most of the livestock, while the serfs and slaves who made up 95 per cent of the population did not have an inch of land they could call their own.

In form, there were three types of serf-owners, commonly known as the "three manorial lords" of Tibet. They were: nobles, who had manorial holdings and *linka* (private parks); the local government which, apart from possessing land holdings, had the right to bestow or confiscate land; monasteries which had their own manorial holdings. Land owned by the local government or the monasteries exceeded that owned by the nobles.

Actually, old Tibet was in the hands of less than 300 families of hereditary nobles. Members of these families were either heads of the manorial estates, top clerical and secular officials of the local government or higher lamas of the monasteries. And they alone wielded political, military, economic and religious power in old Tibet. At the pinnacle of this "social pyramid" sat Dalai, the top political and religious ruler and the wealthiest serf-owner.

The serfs, having no land of their own, belonged to the serf-owners, as were their children and their children's children. Bound for life to their masters' land, they had no political rights or even personal freedom. To their masters, they were mere "talking cattle" which could be bought, sold and exchanged as commodities or given away as gifts.

A serf-owner usually allotted 30 per cent of his land (poor land) to the serfs and kept 70 per cent (mostly good land) for self-management. The serfs, besides working on the plots allotted to them, had to do the farming on their masters' "self-managed" land and provide the draught animals required. Yet all the income from the "self-managed" land went to the serf-owners. This was part of the corvee which also included non-productive forced labour such as building houses, collecting firewood, fetching water, looking after children and cooking. As for the harvests from the allotted plots, 70 per cent went to the serf-owners. Under such a system, the serfs could hardly eke out a living.

Serfs had also to perform corvee for the local government, such as "conscription corvee" (joining the army with self-supplied food and clothing), "foot corvee" (transporting goods with their own draught animals and doing repair and building work), and "hand corvee" (supplying *qingke* barley, butter, firewood and other things to the local government and officials).

The most common form of corvee, which brought untold misery to the serfs, was *ula*. Whenever an official passed through a village, the serfs had to provide him with food, lodging and other services. They had

to comply with whatever the official wanted — horses, fodder, mattresses, tents, tables, *qingke* barley, beef and mutton, butter tea, and even girls. Departing, the official would step on the shoulders of a kneeling serf to mount his horse. It was not uncommon for a serf to be seen running behind a mounted official on the old Tibetan paths. Sick or sound, the serf had to keep up with the official whatever the terrain, or he would never get back his only horse.

Exorbitant taxation was another means by which the serf-owners exploited the serfs. The number and kinds of taxes they thought up were staggering. When a child was born to a serf family, his name was entered in the lord's register and the parents had to pay a "birth tax." After that, they had to pay a "child tax" every year until he reached 18. From then on, the young serf was considered an adult and began paying the "poll tax." When young serfs married, they had to present a *hata* (ceremonial scarf), butter and a sum of Tibetan money to the master, which was known as the "marriage tax." The wedding was valid only with the consent of the serf-owner. If a serf was ever able to buy anything, say a shirt or a pair of boots, there also was a tax for him to pay. In case a serf violated his master's regulations and was jailed, he had to pay a "jail tax." Still another tax was for expanding the Tibetan army, and the local government authorized the tax-collector to cut off the ears of anyone who could not pay. This was called the "ear tax." When a serf reached 60 and was too weak to do corvee, he had to pay the yearly "exemption tax." Even when a serf died, he was not through with the taxes. The family of the deceased was required to present the serf-owner with his earrings, an ornament most serfs couldn't afford, or pay a "corpse tax."

All serf-owners in Tibet, including Dalai, were usurers. Manorial estates, monasteries, and governments at all levels had special institutions for handling usurious loans. Over 10 per cent of the income of the local government of Tibet came from usurious dealings. The most common was the farm loan. A loan given in spring had to be paid back in autumn with an interest rate ranging from 20 to 100 per cent. If the serf failed to pay in time, the interest would be compounded. Usury was like a bottomless pit. Once a serf was in debt, he could never extricate himself. After a debtor died, the family had to take over the burden. Thus serfs were endlessly paying debts, year after year and generation after generation. People called this the "son's and grandson's debt." Before the 1959 democratic reform, there wasn't a single village in Tibet with no indebted serfs.



A liberated serf denouncing the accursed serf system.

Tibetan monasteries were by no means purely religious organizations. Exploitation and plunder by the monasteries, whether in the form of corvee, taxation or usury, often surpassed those by the government officials and nobles.

The demarcation of classes and ranks was inviolable in the monasteries. A handful of grand lamas held the economic power of the monasteries. Some also owned private holdings and *linka*. They led luxurious and dissipated lives, never worked and were waited upon even when dressing or going to bed. Poor lamas made up the majority in the monasteries. There was a world of difference between their social position and living conditions and those of the grand lamas. Most became lamas as a form of corvee, to evade debts or to make a living. Dalai ruled that "if there are three boys in a family, one of them must become a lama as part of the family's corvee." In Drepung Monastery, on the western outskirts of Lhasa, there was a lama called Chiashiwangteng who entered the monastery when he was only nine. For 53 years he did all kinds of corvee, fetching water, sweeping, collecting firewood, herding cattle. Though he worked to the best of his ability, still he couldn't escape the higher lamas' whip. Once he broke a small jar by accident. He was beaten unconscious and became disabled. At the time of the democratic reform in 1959, he was in his sixties, but he didn't have a single penny, nor could he read the scriptures because he was illiterate. Inhuman torture forced about 300 poor lamas to run away from this monastery every year at the risk of their lives.

As Engels pointed out: "The clergy was divided into two distinct classes." (*The Peasant War in Germany*.) Beneath the lama's robes were two antagonistic classes — the grand lamas who were the serf-owners, and the poor lamas who were the serfs and slaves.

It is difficult to estimate how much wealth was robbed from the serfs by the "three manorial lords." The family of Dalai, the chieftain of the serf-owners, possessed 27 manors, 36 pastures, 6,170 field serfs, and 102 house slaves. Not counting what he had squandered and smuggled abroad*, his family's movable properties were: 160,328 taels of gold, 95,000 taels of silver, 20,331 pieces of jewelry, and 14,676 articles of clothing. All this was confiscated by the People's Government after he had turned traitor to the motherland. This gives an idea of the amazing amount of wealth he and his family had fleeced from the Tibetan people.

Dark Rule

The essence of the system of "combined secular-clerical rule" in old Tibet was the dictatorship of the serf-owners over the serfs. Brutal suppression was carried out to uphold cruel economic exploitation. Apart from the armies and prisons of the local government, every manor and monastery had its private jail as well as its own collection of weapons. The serf-owners and their agents could torture the serfs at will — flogging, torture, cutting off noses, gouging out eyes, chopping off limbs or putting the serfs to death. In the Tibet Revolutionary Museum, we saw torture instruments collected from different parts of Tibet, the skins of old men and children, human skulls, bones of serfs who had been buried alive and hands fried in oil. We saw the musical instruments used in the halls where liturgies were chanted — "bugles" made of maidens' leg bones, small drums made of human skulls and skin, etc. — and a rosary used by Dalai made of 108 pieces of parietal bones.

We visited the former municipal government in the Parkor area. Before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, it was actually a place of torture and a slaughterhouse with a bunch of hereditary executioners. We saw on display some 50 different torture instruments. Among them was a heavy stone cone. When put over the head and pounded with a piece of stone, the victim's eyes would protrude and were then gouged out. In those days, a bugle was blown in the local government to announce the execution of a serf. Some were first disembowelled and paraded through the streets of Parkor before they were executed. Others were tied naked on top of a red-hot copper horse mounted on wheels and paraded around Parkor three times before they were killed.

*Dalai smuggled a large quantity of gold and other valuables to India in 1949 and in 1959.

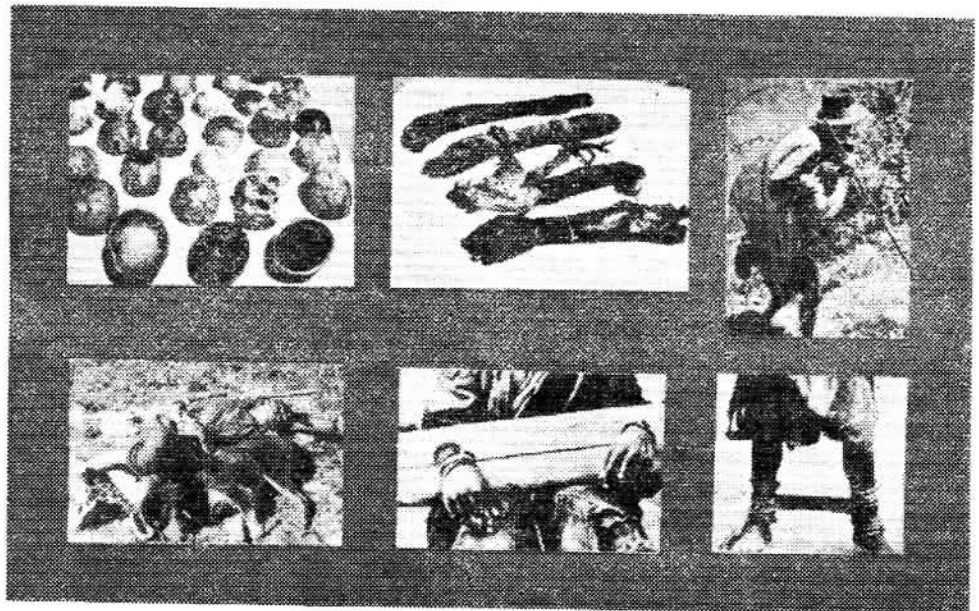
There were two dungeons of scorpions in Lhasa, one in Parkor, the other just beneath the Potala Palace. Before the democratic reform, many serfs were thrown inside and stung to death by these venomous creatures which sucked the blood of the corpses.

A legal code of the former local government provides written evidence of the tortures mentioned above and points up the reactionary essence of the Tibetan serf system. The code stipulated that Tibetans were divided into three classes and nine grades according to their "blood" and position. The nobles, grand Living Buddhas and higher officials belonged to the "superior class"; the ordinary clerical and secular officials, lower rank officers of the Tibetan army, agents of the three manorial lords (government, monasteries and manor-owners) formed the "middle class"; and the serfs and slaves were of the "inferior class." The code laid it down that if the "inferiors" transgressed against the middle or superior classes, they would be punished by having their eyes gouged out, legs chopped off, tongues or hands cut off, or they were killed outright. The lives of the "inferiors" were as cheap and worthless as a straw rope. They had no right to claim "innocence" when persecuted. If anyone in the "inferior class" saw his wife or daughter raped by a lord, his eyes would be gouged out.

Revolution Inevitable

The inhuman political oppression and economic exploitation made the serfs live even worse than the animals. Agriculture and animal husbandry in Tibet were stagnant and backward in the past. Development of culture or public health was out of the question. What with rampant diseases, premature deaths and large-scale escapes from torture and

(Continued on p. 31.)



Reminiscences of the bitter past:

Skulls and arms of tortured working people (upper left and centre).

A serf-owner being carried by a serf (upper right).

An overworked serf sleeping alongside a dog (below left).

Instruments of torture (below centre and right).

ROUND THE WORLD

KOREA

25th Anniversary of Fatherland Liberation War Marked

Over 200,000 people in Pyongyang held a rally on June 25, "the day of struggle against the U.S. imperialists," marking the 25th anniversary of the Korean Fatherland Liberation War. Korean Party and state leaders attended.

Ryu Jang Sik, Alternate Member of the Political Committee, and Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, addressed the rally. He said that on the occasion of the "day of struggle against the U.S. imperialists," the entire Korean people, full of hatred and indignation against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackey, the puppet Pak Jung Hi clique, are determined to smash all obstructions and plots, and to bring about an early realization of the country's reunification, a historical cause for the country.

He pointed out that under the signboard of a "new Asia strategy," the United States is backing the Pak clique and increasing tension in Korea.

He said: "The Pak Jung Hi clique, the traitors for all ages, proclaimed a state of war under the pretext of a fictitious 'threat of southward invasion,' madly hastening war preparations, massing the puppet armed forces in the area along the military demarcation line, and frequently prowling about the forward area. This is also their death-bed frenzy to extend their days which are numbered."

He said: "Today our people are watching with bitter resentment the ever more vicious war manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique and are always prepared to meet the enemy's war of aggression with a revolutionary war." "If the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Pak clique dare ignite a new war in Korea, paying no heed to our repeated warnings and going against the powerful tide of the time, the en-

tire Korean people will answer it with a decisive counteraction and wipe out the aggressors to the last man. In this war we shall lose only the military demarcation line but gain the reunification of the country."

ANGOLA

Getting Prepared for Independence

The three Angolan liberation movements signed the Nakuru Agreement at a meeting in Nakuru, Kenya, from June 16 to 21. Attending the meeting were Roberto, Chairman of the Angolan National Liberation Front, Neto, Chairman of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola, and Savimbi, Chairman of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

The three liberation movements pointed out in the agreement that they, "aware of the grave situation in which the country finds itself and of the national interests which must necessarily be put above any political and ideological divergencies, solemnly affirm to renounce the use of force as a way to solve problems and to honour all obligations resulting from the conclusion of the accord."

The three attach great importance to the preparations for realizing Angola's independence November 11 this year. An accord was reached on improving the work of the transitional government, establishing national armed forces and solving the economic problems facing Angola.

A motion on Cabinda adopted at the meeting reaffirms that "Angola is geographically and politically defined according to the present existing borders and as such, Cabinda is an integral and inalienable part of its territory."

"AL-AHRAM" (EGYPT)

Arab Unity Stressed

An article in the *Al-Ahram* on June 13 written by Chairman of the Board of the Egyptian paper Koddous

stressed that the Arab countries should close ranks and maintain their independent personality, thereby protecting themselves against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Entitled "Where Do We Stand Between the Soviet Union and the United States?" the article reviewed Egypt's revolution of July 23, 1952. The revolution decided, it said, "to secure liberation from the arms monopoly of the Western bloc, namely, the United States and its allies. Liberation from the arms monopoly meant liberation both from the monopoly of political influence and the economic monopoly." But the decision led, it went on, "to the opening of the Soviet Union and its allies as a source of arms supplies to us and subsequently to the infiltration of their political and economic influence."

"It was the United States which prepared the 1967 war and bore responsibility for it in reply to the Soviet expansionist plans." The article added that after the 1967 war Egypt depended on the Soviet Union and "exclusive military positions for the Soviets existed in Egypt, and it was several years before Gamal Abdel Nasser was certain that the Soviets would not wish Egypt to fight for the recovery of its land." The Soviets "insisted on aborting any attempt at an all-out military offensive against Israeli forces in Sinai, for they feared any such war could involve them in a confrontation with the United States."

The two superpowers, the article said, "require centres" in the Middle East to defend their interests. "The Soviet Union stands in greater need than the United States for such centres."

It stressed: "It is undoubtedly the duty of every Arab state to deal with the big powers in fulfilment of its interests including armament, but all Arabs should be well advised to retain a unity in inter-Arab relations on the international plane. In order to achieve such unity, the Arabs should rise with their independent personality above both the United States and the Soviet Union and thus protect themselves against the two superpowers' detente or disputes."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Paper Industry

BIG strides have been made in China's paper industry. Monthly output is now several times that of the whole of 1949, the year of liberation. Output last year was 80 per cent higher than in 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started.

The development of China's socialist construction gives rise to increasing need for paper. In 1974 the amount of newsprint was 20 times that in 1949, for primary- and middle-school textbooks, 12. In the main, China is now self-sufficient in paper and exports some kinds.

China was the first country in the world to make paper; the method was invented by its labouring people 1,800 years ago during the Eastern Han Dynasty. However, due to the misrule of the reactionary classes of succeeding dynasties, the development of the industry proceeded at a snail's pace. It fell into a state of backwardness and decline especially during the period of the Kuomintang regime, when there were only a few mills in coastal cities making ordinary writing- and wrapping-paper. At that time, most of the paper, pulp and equipment for manufacture had to be imported.

New China has expanded her industry by maintaining independence and relying on her own efforts. She has carried out the principle of simultaneously developing large, small and medium-sized enterprises, and using both modern and indigenous methods. While big mills have

been built with state investment as the mainstay, many small and medium-sized ones were put up in various places by drawing on local strength. Now paper mills are located in all parts of the country including the Tibetan Plateau. Locally-run paper mills get their raw materials in the vicinity, and supply local markets. Honan Province with not a single paper mill in the past, is now self-sufficient in paper.

As new mills went up, old enterprises were renovated and enlarged to tap their potential. As a result, the old paper mills in Shanghai are able to produce more than 8 times the output of the early post-liberation days. China can now produce equipment for its papermaking industry. Some provinces and municipalities have set up scientific research and designing institutes of paper-making.

China uses different raw materials for pulp in addition to wood, such as fibre from stalks of rice, wheat and sorghum, reeds, bamboo and bagasse. Wherever possible mills develop their own raw material bases. Hunan Province mobilized its rural people's commune members to utilize lakes, ponds and swamps for growing reeds. Now it has enough raw material not only to supply its own paper industry but also to send to other provinces.

Ancient Wooden Sea-Vessel Unearthed

A WOODEN sea-vessel of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) has been unearthed in Chuanchow Bay, Fukien

Province. Chinese archaeological workers also found valuable relics in the boat.

Under more than two metres of silt on a beach, the vessel has 13 cabins which have remained fairly complete except for the decks. The hull measures 24.2 metres long and 9.15 metres wide. The plane of the vessel is more or less oval and it has a pointed bottom. The boards are of two or three layers of wood. The material used for the bottom and the sides is mostly fir, pine or camphor wood still showing a clear grain. Judging from the length, width and depth of the vessel, archaeologists place the loading capacity at about 200 tons.

Among the abundant archaeological findings in the boat are quantities of perfume and medicine, possibly part of a cargo. Identifiable finds include pottery and porcelain, copper and iron goods and those made of bamboo, wood and rattan.

Analysing the boat's shape and structure and the relics in it, archaeologists contend it was an ocean-going freighter built in Fukien Province in the Sung Dynasty. Sixth century records refer to contacts between Chuanchow and foreign countries because trade between this area and Asian and African countries became more frequent and prosperous in the Sung and Yuan Dynasties (1271-1368).

The finding of this boat is historical proof of friendly intercourse between the Chinese people and the Asian and African peoples.

(Continued from p. 29.)

persecution, the population dropped drastically. Statistics for 1763-95 showed that there was a population of 2 million in Tibet (excluding the present Chamdo area). But by the time of the democratic reform in 1959, the population had fallen to 870,000. This means Tibet's population had been reduced by more than half in one and a half centuries!

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The savage rule of the Tibetan serf-owners served only to fan the flames of hatred in the serfs, which would flare up at any time with volcanic force. Nearly 100 serf uprisings took place in the period between 1908

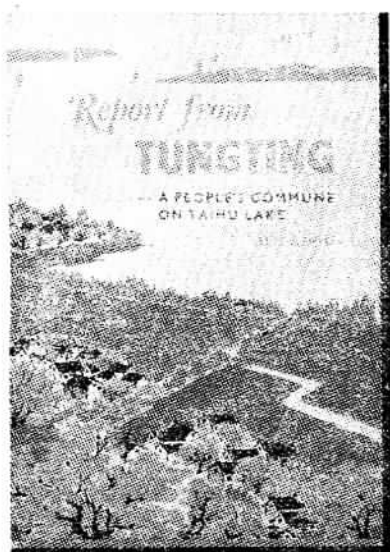
and 1951. One hundred and fifty serf families in one *tsung* (equivalent to a county) in northern Tibet rose in rebellion in 1919 against the local government's intolerable corvee and exploitation. They attacked the *tsung* government, killed its head and routed the defending Tibetan army. The local government did not dare appoint any *tsung* government head to the place for years. However, owing to historical limitations, these serf uprisings were unable to overthrow the serf-owners' rule. This historical mission was accomplished by the Tibetan people only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat.

New Booklet in English

Report From Tungting

— A people's commune on Taihu Lake

by *Wu Chou*



Report From Tungting is a collection of articles on the Tungting People's Commune southwest of the famous city of Soochow in Kiangsu Province. It gives the readers a lively introduction to the fundamentals of a rural people's commune: how the commune was founded, its functions, political and economic set-ups, the status of women members, medical service and health care, the lives of the commune members and the new mental outlook of the peasants in New China.

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Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

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