

Society for
Anglo
Chinese
Understanding

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APRIL PREMIERE
Edgar Snow's new feature film
ONE FOURTH OF HUMANITY
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The RICHNESS of MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

THE EXTRAORDINARY popularity of the 'Little Red Book' has tended to create an impression that all the richness of Mao Tse-tung's thought is to be found within its pages. For people living in the Chinese situation, studying with specific problems in mind, and striving hard to apply what they are studying, the concentrated wisdom of the **Quotations** is of inestimable value. They were compiled 'to help the broad masses learn Mao Tse-tung's thought more effectively' (Lin Piao), and for this purpose quotations from many different works are grouped together under subject headings, not in chronological order.

The **Quotations** have also been fantastically successful in introducing Mao's ideas to millions of people throughout the world. Nevertheless, many people will find the extended historical approach through the study of particular works more illuminating. The four volumes of the **Selected Works**, containing a comprehensive selection of Mao's writing from 1926 to 1949, have been available in English for some years. Many of his writings have also been published in pamphlet form. Yet few can claim to be thoroughly familiar with them, and the publication in one volume of the **Selected Readings**,* covering a period of almost forty years (1926 to 1963) is therefore very welcome. To attempt to 'review' it would be foolish, but some indication of its contents may be useful.

Challenge

The first work in the book 'Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society' opens with a challenge:

'Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To en-

sure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes to the revolution.'

This typically clear and uncompromising statement is followed by a careful, detailed and vivid analysis of the different classes, eg:

'The poor peasants are tenant-peasants who are exploited by the landlords. They may again be divided into two categories according to their economic status. One category has comparatively adequate farm implements and some funds. Such peasants may retain half the product of their year's toil. To make up their deficit they cultivate side-crops, catch fish or shrimps, raise poultry or pigs, or sell part of their labour power, and thus eke out a living, hoping in the midst of hardship and destitution to tide over the year. Thus their life is harder than that of the semi-owner peasants, but they are better off than the other category of poor peasants. They are more revolutionary than the semi-owner peasants but less revolutionary than the other category of poor peasants.'

This extract illustrates not only the simple readability of Mao's style but the dialectical quality of his thought.

The 1927 'Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan' which follows is the classic work in which Mao likens the peasant movement to a mighty storm that will 'sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves', and warns that 'a revolution is not a dinner party'. The report is echoed in the Sixteen Point guidance for the conduct of the Cultural Revolution of August 1966: 'Don't be afraid of disorder', and reflects Mao's confidence in the people when they take their destiny into their own hands.

Other major works reprinted in the **Selected Readings** include 'On Practice' and 'On Contradiction' (both of 1937), 'Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art' (1942), 'On the

People's Democratic Dictatorship' (1949) and 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People' (1957). The first two of these are Mao's best-known philosophical writings; in them he exposes the errors of dogmatists within the Chinese Communist Party which in the period before the Long March had led to serious losses. Both 'On Practice' and 'On Contradiction' strikingly exemplify Mao's creative application of Marxist theory to Chinese conditions.

Not easy

The Yen'an Forum was held in the middle of the anti-Japanese war, at a time when many writers and artists had come to the Liberated Areas from Japanese-occupied Shanghai, Peking, and other cities, and did not know what to write in conditions that were strange to them. Mao made clear why they had to write for the workers, peasants and soldiers. He does not say that it is easy, but describes his own experience:

'I began life as a student, and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow-students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time, I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty.

But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well, too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared

(continued on page 2)

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with cow-dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.'

Seven years later, on the eve of nationwide victory, Mao wrote 'On the People's Democratic Dictatorship', in commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party. He summarises a century of history:

'Imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West. It was very odd—why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil? The Chinese learned a great deal from the West, but they could not make it work and were never able to realise their ideals. . . . The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. . . . Sun Yat-sen, in the depths of despair, came across the October Revolution and the Communist Party of China. . . . Then Sun Yat-sen died and Chiang Kai-shek rose to power. Over a long period of 22 years, Chiang Kai-shek dragged China into ever more hopeless straits. . . . Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, after driving out Japanese imperialism, waged the People's War of Liberation for three years and have basically won victory.

Thus Western bourgeois civilisation, bourgeois democracy, and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people. . . . The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class.'

and he goes on to deal frankly with questions that were in people's minds, eg 'leaning to one side' (the side of socialism), the need for international help, the meaning of 'democratic dictatorship' (ie democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries).

'Twenty-eight years of our Party is a long period, in which we have accomplished only one thing—we have won basic victory in the revolutionary war. This calls for celebration. . . . But we still have much work to do. . . . our past work is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. . . .'

In 1957 Mao again analysed the situation, in the light of China's experience so far in building socialism, and of the beginnings of the trend away from socialism in the USSR. In 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People' he points out that:

'Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come into being and develop in specific historical conditions. Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united. . . . In advocating freedom with leadership and democracy under centralised guidance, we in no way mean that coercive measures should be taken to settle ideological questions or questions involving the distinction between right and wrong among the people. . . . The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or con-

troversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression.'

Again and again in this work Mao stresses that contradictions among the people are basically non-antagonistic, and must be clearly distinguished from, and prevented from becoming, contradictions with the enemy. He is confident that, if the people are given the facts, they will be able to reason out the rights and wrongs of questions for themselves, and identify and isolate the few real enemies. This process is taking place on a huge scale throughout China in the Cultural Revolution.

Besides all these major works, the Selected Readings also include such well-known shorter pieces as 'Serve the People', 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' (a classical example of internationalism), and 'The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains'. This was a speech delivered towards the end of the war against Japan, when the task of clearing away the two great mountains of imperialism and feudalism that oppressed the Chinese people seemed to many superhuman. Not so, says Mao:

'The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart' (ie like the Foolish Old Man in the traditional story). 'Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't those two mountains be cleared away?'

There is no space to quote from, or even list, all the titles in this volume, but some of them speak for themselves, eg 'Oppose Book Worship' (an impassioned call for investigation of facts, instead of quoting authority, written as early as 1930), 'To be Attacked by the Enemy is not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing' (1939), 'Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing' (1942), 'Get Organised!' (1943), and 'Preserve the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle' (1949).

Ironically, the one article in the book whose title may put off the non-Marxist reader in fact touches us all, whether Marxist or not, very closely. It is 'Combat Liberalism', a very short article which was addressed in 1937 to Communists in China, but deserves to be read and studied over and over again in Britain today.

Mao Tse-tung is a genius; few even among his bitterest opponents would dispute that. But he was not born a Marxist. He became one gradually, as his ideas developed along with his knowledge of his own country and of the world. His thought is based on the rich experience of the Chinese people, whom he has led in revolution. It represents a distillation of the essence of that experience, because he has al-

ways worked among the people, shared their joys and sorrows, and learned from them. He is now 74 years old, but his thinking is as young as ever, as his guidance of the Cultural Revolution shows.

'The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.'

* Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967. Price 9s 6d (paperback).

ABOUT SACU

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CHINA and VIETNAM by Jane Gates

THE CHINESE consider the war in Vietnam to be one of great historical significance, and they see it as one of the tremendous turning points in history. To them, this tiny sliver of Vietnam is the centre of the hurricane, and the outcome of the storm will affect all the peoples of the world for many years to come. The Chinese share the view of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front that they are fighting for more than the freedom of the Vietnamese from foreign domination — they are fighting for the poor and the oppressed everywhere in the world.

China's commitment to Vietnam is complete, and the Chinese act with sincere moral conviction that the liberation forces in Vietnam and the government in Hanoi represent the will of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese have no doubts at all that in the end the forces of the United States will be made to withdraw completely from Vietnam. The Vietnamese are fighting for national liberation, and either one defeats the imperialists or submits to them. There is no other way.

The long experience of China, her unflinching moral support, and the practical help she can give to liberation movements will shorten the struggle and help to keep the losses down, but 'revolution cannot be exported nor imported' and each country must fight for its liberation through its own armed forces. Their freedom cannot be a gift from outside their own borders.

This has been repeated often by Peking since the success of the Chinese revolution, and Lin Piao restated it clearly in his 'Long Live the Victory of People's War' on 3 September, 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the Chinese victory against Japan: 'The liberation of the masses is accomplished by the masses themselves — this is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way'.

A Chinese Government statement on 7 August, 1965: 'We, the 650 million Chinese people, have repeatedly pledged to the Vietnamese people our all-out support and assistance, up to and including the sending, according to their need, of our men to fight shoulder to shoulder with them to drive out the US aggressors'. Countless other statements include a formal resolution like the above from the National People's Congress which, like the United States Congress, has the power to declare war.

None of these reiterations has had the least effect on the western press, the *Daily Mail*, for example, on 12 July, 1966, presenting its readers with the flaring headline: 'You're on your own, Peking tells Hanoi'. The diplomatic correspondent goes on to say that 'this new line, published in the official *People's Daily*, reverses China's pledge of maximum aid in all Socialist struggles. . . . This new policy will not only cause concern in Hanoi, but it could be taken as a sign that China's internal upheavals are forcing her to abandon, temporarily, an **expansionist foreign policy**'. The emphasis is ours. Here, in two sentences, are the carelessness, misunderstanding, and malice of the western press towards China and the struggles of the oppressed.

Defending British Government support of United States policy in Vietnam, Prime Minister Harold Wilson said on 8 February, 1966, in the House of Commons: 'I would like to have seen the peace lobby on Vietnam outside the Chinese Embassy, demanding that the Chinese Government use their influence, or at least diminish their malevolent pressures on Hanoi'.

These 'malevolent pressures' amount to giving Hanoi and the National Liberation Front all-out moral as well as material support, agreeing with Ho Chi Minh's statement that the war in Vietnam can only be ended by the complete withdrawal of United States and satellite troops, promising aid to the Vietnamese even if they do have to fight on for 'five, ten, twenty years or longer' as Ho Chi Minh said, pouring rice into north Vietnam so that there has been no malnutrition in the north all these years, supplying eighty per cent of the small arms and anti-aircraft batteries so desperately needed to fight off the mightiest armed power the world has ever known. (Among many others, see Harrison Salisbury's article on Chinese aid in the *New York Times*, 17 April, 1967.)

In 1956, Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech at the Twentieth Congress of the USSR Communist Party led John Foster Dulles to assert that considerable liberal forces existed within the Soviet government. Should the Soviet Union be interested in **giving up world revolution** and taking united action through the United Nations, then co-operation with the Soviet Union was possible. In March, 1958, Khrushchev showed that he wanted co-operation by agreeing with the Western proposal for dealing with a coup in Iraq through the United Nations and double-crossing the Iraq Communist Party.

Mao Tse-tung believes that the illusion created by the Soviet Union that co-operation with imperialism can result in a happier and more prosperous world is nonsense, and that it shows a deliberate choice by the Soviet leaders of aiding United States imperialism against the third world.

Lin Piao said in his **Long Live the Victory of People's War**: 'Khrushchev revisionists submit to the nuclear blackmail of the US imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's wars or the people of socialist countries repulse US imperialist aggression, US imperialism will become incensed, they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-US co-operation to dominate the world will be spoiled'.

At the World Peace Conference at Helsinki in July, 1965, the Soviet representative called for a Vietnam 'cease-fire', and for negotiations, as 'any spark may touch off a world war'. Chinese representatives called on the Conference to specifically condemn US imperialism, but under Soviet leadership the Conference refused to do so.

The Kosygin-Wilson talks in February, 1967, were conducted in secrecy, but the *Guardian* of 13 February, 1967, reported that at the luncheon given for Kosygin at the Carlton Club by Conservative Party leaders, Kosygin warned that if the war in Vietnam went on 'China might be driven to give still more support to North Vietnam and the Vietcong'.

On 6 January, 1966, the *London Times* reported that the Washington idea was that more Soviet military and economic aid to Vietnam 'would be regarded as a hostile act if Soviet influence would be asserted at the expense of Chinese militancy'.

While Kosygin and Gromyko indulge in secret discussions with Johnson, Wilson, Brown, Rusk, and Indira Gandhi — surely a rather unprincipled unity? — China sees the United States desire for conquest for what it is and will have none of it. **Renmin Ribao's** 'Commentator' stated this very clearly on 8 January, 1966: 'The official White House version of the "14 Points" made public on 3 January, 1966, added to an earlier version two paragraphs as an introduction. They are worth reading. One is captioned "the fact of aggression", and the other, "the United States commitment". What is the "fact of aggression"? The White House document says: "The simple fact is that tens of thousands of trained and armed men . . . have been sent
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SACU AGM—MAY 23

ANNOUNCED in the March issue of **SACU NEWS**, the Society's 1968 Annual General Meeting will be held on 25 May at the Holborn Assembly Hall, John's Mews, WC1 (behind the Holborn Central Library). The meeting will start at 3 pm and will finish at approximately 5 pm. There will then be a break for tea, after which Professor Joan Robinson will speak about her recent visit to China. After this a Social Evening is being arranged by the Camden branch and there will be entertainment and refreshments. Full details of the afternoon and evening programme will come to members with their May **SACU NEWS**, together with an agenda for the AGM and other relevant papers.

Resolutions

The AGM offers all members of the Society an opportunity to help form the Society's future policy and we hope to receive resolutions which can be debated at this meeting. All resolutions, signed by five members, must be received at the office by 20 April. (Please note the date. It was given incorrectly in the March issue of **SACU NEWS**.)

Council of Management

Seven members (i.e. one-half) of the elected members of the Council are due to retire together with all co-opted members. (See Articles 37, 46 and 47.) These members are: Mrs Mary Adams, Mr Andrew Faulds, Miss Mar-

garet Garvie, Mr Ernest Roberts, Professor Joan Robinson, Dame Joan Vickers, Mr Ronald Whiteley, Mr Derek Bryan, Mrs Betty Paterson, Mrs Kate Allan, Mr Douglas Greene, Mr Jim Little. The members remaining on the Council for the coming year are: Mr Roland Berger, Mr Fred Brunsdon, Mrs Hung-Ying Bryan, Lady Haworth, Dr Joseph Needham, Rev Paul Oestreicher, Mr Colin Penn. The Council can have up to twenty-one elected members. There are therefore fourteen vacancies, for which nominations are needed. Any member of the Society, including the retiring members, can be nominated. Nominations, signed by two members of the Society, must be received by the Society not later than 27 April or, if accompanied by written consent of the candidate, by 11 May.

CHINA and VIETNAM

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by Hanoi into South Vietnam. . . . It is this external aggression which is responsible for the presence of US combat forces." Please note: It is the Vietnamese who have committed "aggression" against Vietnam. As for the Americans who have crossed vast oceans to invade Vietnam, they are not aggressors but "heroes" checking aggression! . . . The White House document ends with this remark: "We have put everything into the basket of peace except the surrender of South Vietnam." Very frank indeed! South Vietnam belongs to the United States. Everything is "negotiable" and may be "discussed" except that the United States must hang on in South Vietnam. No country and people upholding justice and cherishing their own sovereignty can ever agree to this grotesque

and absurd logic'.

From the London Times, 23 February, 1968 (David Leitch, Saigon, Feb 22).

'The communist troops, far from being debilitated and run down as has been previously suggested, have been efficiently resupplied. Their weapons include a new Chinese-manufactured rocket of 107 millimetre calibre with a range of nine kilometres (more than five miles), which means they could zero in on the National Assembly building in the exact centre of Saigon if the spirit so moved them. . . . The new rocket has considerable military interest . . . the 107 fires rounds weighing 45 lb. roughly half the weight of the 122 millimetre rockets. So far the Americans have not had time to make detailed comparisons in terms of range and accuracy between the new weapon and the old'.

SACU MOVES UP

AS FROM EARLY APRIL SACU's Central Offices will be on the second and third floors only at Warren Street. The office will be on the third floor, and the second floor will house the Library and will be our Meeting Room as at present. We shall only have one telephone line and this will be 01-387 0074.

Easter Holiday Closing

CENTRAL OFFICE will be closed for the Easter holiday from Friday, 12 April to Tuesday, 16 April inclusive.

UP TO DATE BOOKLIST

'Some Publications on Modern China' — a newly compiled booklist is now available for 9d postage free. Apply to Central Office.

STUDY CHINA AT DINTON SPRING HOLIDAY WEEKEND FRIDAY, 31 MAY TO MONDAY, 3 JUNE, 1968

Speakers: **R C HUNT** Lived in China 1965-1967
BILL BRUGGER Lived in China 1964-1966
ROLAND BERGER Regular visitor to China

**PHILLIPS HOUSE,
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A deposit of £1 (non-returnable) paid now will assure you of a place. Fees: **SACU** members £7 0s 0d; Student members £5 15s 0d; non-members £7 15s 0d.

Many members have shown interest in this School but have not yet sent for application forms or booked their place. In order to confirm our arrangements with Phillips House will members please let us know **NOW** if they wish to join the School. The Society has to make financial commitments and therefore asks for members' co-operation.

ONE-FOURTH OF HUMANITY

By courtesy of Contemporary Films **SACU** is arranging the premiere of Edgar Snow's new film.

Botany Theatre, University College, Gower Street, London, W1. Friday, 26 April, 7 30 pm. (Doors open 7 pm.)

Tickets 7/6. **SACU** members 5/-.

WHY NOT SUBSCRIBE?

SACU NEWS. Members of the public and organisations who have not joined as members of the Society, can now subscribe to **SACU NEWS**. Subscription rate for the British Isles is 10s per annum: overseas rate £1 per annum. Post paid.

The Roof of the World by A. T. D'Eye

TIBET—the roof of the world; the hub of the great shield of Euro-Asia; the land, until recently, of magic and mystery, of mediæval ignorance, superstition and dirt; where social relationships had remained unchanged for centuries; the land of the yeti, the yak and the lama. This is how this great area of south-western China, 1,200,000 square kilometres in extent, appears to many people. That it is a most important part of its great motherland, China, full of riches yet to be uncovered, goes without saying.

Tibet is bounded in the south by the world's mightiest mountain ranges. As early as 1717 Mount Everest was located on Chinese maps. Ranges of snow-covered mountains and dazzling glaciers are interspersed with valleys, green forests, vast grasslands and a network of salt lakes. Its population of 1,300,000, averaging one per square km, is among the hardest in the world. With an average altitude of 13,000 feet it needs to be.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the great imperialist powers were uninterested in Tibet. Then in a two-year struggle, 1886-1888, Britain seized Sikkim, the southern gateway. From here in 1900, on the pretext that Russia was about to seize the land, Britain sent an expeditionary force, the 'Younghusband Expedition', to take by force the capital, Lhasa. Edmund Candler, in his 'Unveiling of Lhasa' gives a graphic description of this 'Expedition'. Of the fight for Hot Springs, where he was wounded, he writes: 'Perhaps no British victory has been greeted with less enthusiasm. . . . After the first futile rush the Tibetans made no further resistance. There was no more fighting, only the slaughter of helpless men.' And later: 'In the light of after events it is clear that we could have made no progress without inflicting terrible punishment. The slaughter at Guru only forestalled the inevitable.'

In this way, while still acknowledging Chinese sovereignty, Tibet was brought within the British sphere of influence. From 1947 to 1951 India attempted to take over the British role. Since 1948 the US has shown marked interest in its strategic potentialities. The 1959 revolt of the governing feudal class looked to the CIA and the US for help. Had it not been for the swift action of the PLA the US might have attempted to turn it into another Viet Nam. In the US and this country interested groups still propagate to the credulous the idea of Tibet as an independent state conquered by the wicked communists.

Part of China

A brief glance at its earliest history shows Tibet as an inalienable and component part of China. Like the many other nationalities that comprise modern China, it became so in the course of a long historical process. Close political relationships were already an established fact in the early Tang dynasty. How close the relationship was in the 7th century is shown by the marriage of Princess Wen Cheng, daughter of the Emperor Tai Tsung, to the Tibetan King Sron-tsan Gampo, in 641 AD.

Still today the most sacred treasure, in the holiest shrine in Lhasa, the Jokhan, is The Jo, the great gold and silver figure of the Buddha, brought from Sian by Princess Wen Cheng. For fourteen centuries legends have accreted round this most precious image of the Tibetan faith. Today it might be argued that more important were the Han craftsmen in brewing, rice-milling, paper and ink making, and the silk-worm eggs, that she brought with her.

Later, in AD 710, another Han Princess, Chin Cheng, was married to King Tridetsogtan. She took with her musical instruments and acrobats, and had sent to her the classic works of Mao-shih (Book of Odes, Li-chi (Book of Rites), Tso-chuan and Wen Hsuan. In this way the culture and modes of production of China were brought to Tibet.

That Tibet at this early period regarded itself as a member of the Chinese family is clearly shown by the important memorial King Tridetsogtan sent to the Tang Emperor, Hsuan, in AD 729. 'I, a relative of the former Emperor, also have the honour to be married to Princess Chin Cheng and we are thus members of one family, and the common people throughout the land live in happiness and prosperity'.

In the middle of the ninth century the Tibetan King Lang Darma was killed by the lamas. For four centuries internecine strife brought chaos and suffering to the people of Tibet. This was only ended when the Emperor Hsien Tsung finally incorporated Tibet into the Yuan Empire in 1253. From that time it has been part of China.

It was Kublai Khan who merged the secular and religious governments under one head. This he did in 1275, when he placed Tibet under the rule of King of the Law Pagspa of the Sakya (or coloured) Sect of Buddhism. From then on a 'Peace Commissioner' (the Amban or Resident under the

Ching) was appointed by the Yuan Emperors to levy and collect taxes annually.

It was not until the seventeenth century, when the fifth Dalai and the fourth Panchen, leaders of the Gelug (yellow) Sect, with the assistance of Gushi Khan, overthrew the power of the Kagyud (white) Sect, that the Emperor Chung Chen in conferring the title of Dalai Lama on the fifth Dalai, officially established this title. This was in 1653. The Emperor Chien Lung defined the powers, functions and organisation of the Tibetan government or Kasha. The Kasha was the highest administrative body and was composed of four kaloons, officials second in rank to the regent.

These details prove that Tibet throughout its long history has never been an independent state, but a part of China. In 1903 and 1904, in the Peking Convention signed by Britain in 1906, the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and more recently on 31 March, 1959, this has been acknowledged by this country. Even the US has had to admit that it never regarded Tibet as an independent state. India has repeatedly expressed her respect for China's sovereignty over Tibet. Nehru, in the Lok Sabha on 15 May, 1959, said: 'I am not aware that at any time during the last few hundred years China's sovereignty, or if you like, suzerainty, was challenged by any outside country'.

Despite this, Britain, the US and India did all they could to encourage the reactionary ruling group to resist the entry of the PLA in 1950.

Cruel System

Until 1959 perhaps the darkest, most backward and cruel serf system in the world existed in Tibet. This was the result of the age-old feudal system, based upon the ownership of the land, and reinforced by its superstitious and reactionary lamaist religion. John of Gaunt or Richard II would have felt quite at home in the Tibet of pre-1959 days.

Tibet's social system was divided into two main classes: the feudal lords and their serfs. Apart from a few handicraftsmen and merchants the population was divided as follows: feudal lords and their government functionaries 5 per cent, peasants 60 per cent, herdsmen 20 per cent, lamas 15 per cent. All the land belonged to the government, the feudal aristocracy—comprising some 300 rich and powerful families—

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SACU DIARY

April

- 2 **Study Course.** 'China and the USSR'. Introduced by Premen Addy. 24 Warren Street, W1. 7.30 pm.
- 5 **Barnet branch.** 'The Impact of China on South and SE Asia. Speaker: Premen Addy. The Town Hall, The Burroughs, NW4, 7.45 pm.
- 10 **Manchester branch.** Annual General Meeting. Short business meeting at which a new committee will be elected. Followed by a discussion — 'The Thought of Mao Tse-tung'. Speaker: Colin Penn. Friends Meeting House, Mount Street, Manchester 2. 7 pm.
- 10 **Bristol branch.** Annual General Meeting and discussion on policy. Open to all supporters. 4 Portland Street, Clifton, Bristol.
- 23 **Study Course.** 'China and Vietnam'. Some members of SACU's Press Group have been considering this subject and the discussion will be introduced by Richard Mead, 24 Warren Street, W1. 7.30 pm.
- 26 **Film Show.** See advertisement, page four.

May

- 2 **Camden branch.** 'Three Workers Look at People's China'. Tom Hill — AEU. Mike Cooley — DATA. Third speaker to be announced.

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and the great monasteries. The overwhelming majority of the peasant serfs lived in abysmal poverty. They were completely at the mercy of the feudal lords and their bailiffs. Before liberation, savage flogging and torture for small misdemeanours were common. For serious ones, amputations and blinding was normal.

The interest on loans, both of food and money, demanded by the feudal lords in times of poor harvest, was enormous, and frequently was passed on from generation to generation. Probably 80 to 90 per cent of the serfs were still indebted at the time of the rebellion.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the governing class, fearful of losing their power and privileges, staged the revolt in 1959. They knew that the time was approaching when reforms would begin. In Lhasa the rebellion was over within forty-eight hours at the cost of some 600 Tibetan casualties, of which perhaps half were fatal. In the region as a whole, fewer than 30,000 were involved in the revolt.

It can be argued that the Central People's Government was perhaps over tender to the governing hierarchy after

Chairman: Ron Whiteley. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.30 pm.

1951, hoping to achieve by agreed reforms the freeing of the Tibetan people. If this were so, then the rebellion came as an unmixed blessing to the great mass of the people. At one stroke the age-old fetters were struck away. Beginning with the confiscation of the land of the rebellious landlords who had fled, land reform was ushered in. The gold and silver of the lamasteries which had taken part in the insurrection was confiscated, and those monks who wished to leave their monasteries were permitted to return to secular life.

Education and medical services were rapidly extended. Agricultural co-operation brought in better methods of cultivating the land and harvests increased. Handicraft co-operatives improved and rationalised output. The beginning of small-scale industry presages the day when the potential riches of the country can be tapped for the benefit of all.

A new and better life has begun for the people of Tibet. In a matter of years they are stepping from the Middle Ages into the twentieth century. With the other fifty nationalities of modern multi-national China, a great and prosperous future lies before them.

* * *

Mr A T D'Eye is a lecturer in the Extra-Mural Department, Oxford University. He has visited China several times.

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Truth is the Greatest News

'No assertions are too wild, no rumour too flimsy . . . to be put out officially or unofficially, in the endeavour to create a public opinion that will acquiesce in, if not actually support an anti-China policy'.

THIS REMARK, taken from the Policy Statement which appeared in the December issue of **SACU NEWS**, was reason enough for the formation of a group which would keep a day-to-day watch on the 'wild assertions' in the national press. The work of the new group deals with Mao's 'two types of social contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves'.

Its tasks 'among the people themselves' are threefold. Primarily, the group aims to amass a body of information about China, in the form of cuttings taken from a wide selection of newspapers. Filed systematically, these will be available to members for reference purposes.

(Volunteers already keep watch on most major papers; we still need vigilant members to send contributions from the **Daily Telegraph** and papers such as **Irish Times** and **Yorkshire Post**. Offers to cover these papers, regularly and promptly, would be welcome.)

The second aim of the group is to publish each month a bulletin com-

menting on current press reports on China. The first of these bulletins, concerning a series of articles which appeared in **The Times** in February, has already been issued. Copies are available to members at a small cost, and will be distributed to branches monthly. The bulletins will relate current press reports to each other, and to other authoritative sources, and will be useful in assessing changes in attitude towards China.

The press group will also be responsible for producing comprehensive notes, giving facts, figures and statements on various topics which will be of use to **SACU** speakers. Speakers' Notes on 'China's Involvement in Vietnam' are at present in preparation, crystallising information from such diverse sources as **Peking Review**, **Herald Tribune** and **Moscow News**.

The fourth and most important aim is to deal with contradictions 'between ourselves and the enemy'—that is, to show the press 'the other side of the coin', and to parry every anti-Chinese blow in the newspapers by putting forward **SACU's** point of view in reply. This does not mean simply refuting grossly inaccurate statements; it means being aware of propaganda and innuendo, and promptly putting it in its place. Personal replies to the papers are as important as Society-

sponsored ones, and members can help by drawing our attention immediately to newspaper reports, and by sending individual replies wherever possible.

The conclusions reached by the Council of Management in its December Statement of Policy included, as one of the three aims of the Society, a demand for 'a vigorous programme of spreading knowledge, dispelling misconceptions and countering misrepresentations.'

With the co-operation of **SACU** members, the press group can work towards this end, remembering that 'Nowadays truth is the greatest news'.

Dinner in Manchester with Music

THE SECRETARY of the Manchester branch, Philip Heymans, writes: 'Our Chinese New Year Dinner was a great success and was attended by about forty people. A splendid eight-course meal was laid on at a special price by the manager of the restaurant as a friendly gesture to our branch. Our grateful thanks to David Hung who gave us a most appealing programme of music which was also enjoyed by the staff of the restaurant.'

This branch now has a library of Chinese books which will be available for members to borrow at the time of each meeting.

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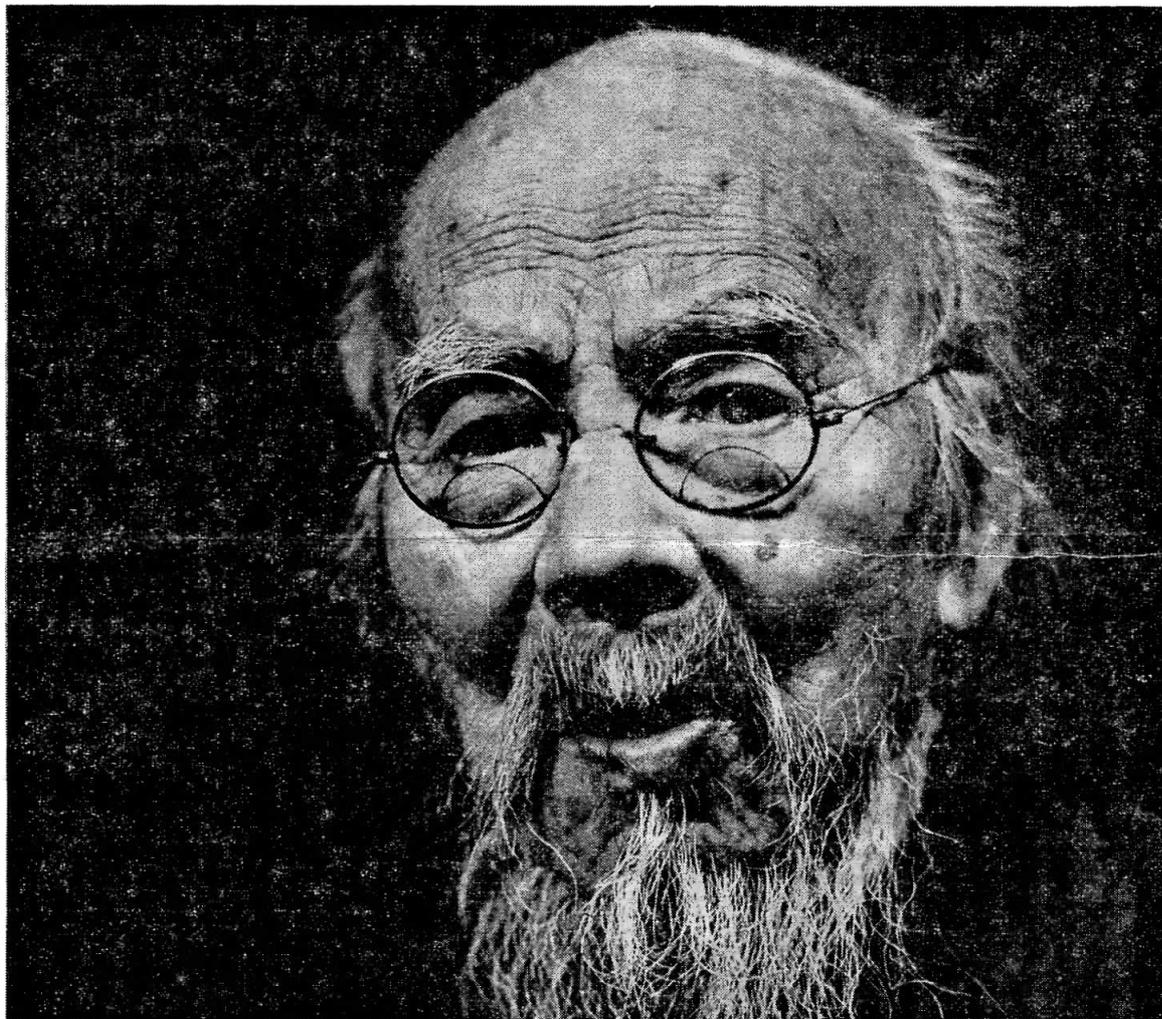
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Shanghai - a new route on the Air France world network

The new Air France weekly service to Shanghai, flown by Boeing Jet Intercontinental, gives businessmen, exporters, diplomats and official travellers fast, direct access to the heart of industrial areas. The flight leaves Orly, Paris at 11 a.m. on Mondays and the Boeing reaches Shanghai on Tuesdays at 3.20 p.m. The return flight departs Shanghai on Tuesdays at 6.20 p.m. and arrives at Orly at 9.30 a.m. Wednesday. London-Shanghai jet economy return fare is £395.4.0. (1st class return £676.8.0.).

Air France is the first West European airline to be granted a route to Shanghai, and the new service brings to six the total number of flights a week by the company to the Far East. Countries served by Air France include Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, the Phillipines,

Japan - and now the People's Republic of China. Destination in many of these countries may be used as stop-over points on your journey to Shanghai. Full details can be obtained from your Travel Agent or nearest Air France office,

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