December 7, 1973









Communists Should Work for the Interests of the Vast Majority Of People

China's Principled Stand on Definition of Aggression

Chinese Observer on Population Question

### PEKING REVIEW 此京周報

Vol. 16, No. 49 December 7, 1973

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

#### CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
29th Anniversary of Albania's Liberation Greeted Japan-China Memorandum Trade Delegation Sympathy to South Viet Nam Typhoon Victims Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling Fetes Amy Schaeffer	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Communists Should Work for the Interests of the Vast Majority of People — Hung Yuan	5
China's Principled Stand on Question of Defining Aggression	8
Chinese Observer on Population Question	10
Algiers: Arab Summit Conference — Cheng Kung	11
Facts on File: Arab Summit Conferences	12
Press Survey: Superpower Rivalry in Middle East Expedites West European Unity	13
New Tsars, Old Dream: Social-Imperialism's Expansion in South Asia and Indian Ocean	15
Arms Reduction or Expansion: The "Proposal" and After — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	16
From Hovels to Flats — Our Correspondent Li Lien	18
ROUND THE WORLD	21
East and Central Africa: Foreign Ministers Conference	
London: IMCO Assembly Israel: Aggressors' Swollen Arrogance	
ON THE HOME FRONT	22
A Decade's Achievements in Harnessing the Haiho River	
Bumper Cotton Harvest	
Tibet Rich in Ores	

#### 29th Anniversary of Albania's Liberation Greeted

November 29 was the 29th anniversary of Albania's liberation. Chairman Mao Tsetung, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai on November 28 sent a message to Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, and Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, warmly greeting this occasion. The message said: "Dear Comrades:

"As the fraternal Albanian people joyously celebrate the 29th anniversary of the liberation of their motherland, we wish to extend, on behalf of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government and people, our warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government and people.

"Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by their great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, the heroic Albanian people have in the past 29 years achieved brilliant successes on various fronts in socialist revolution and socialist construction and made important contributions in the struggle to oppose Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism and support the revolution of the people of various countries. Now, full of revolutionary enthusiasm, the Albanian people are ener-

getically striving for the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour. We sincerely wish the Albanian people new and greater successes.

"The Chinese and Albanian Parties and our two countries and peoples have forged a profound revolutionary friendship in the protracted struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction and in socialist revolution and construction. This friendship is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is one which no force can destroy. In the common struggle to come, we will, as in the past, unite closely and fight shoulder to shoulder with you to win still greater victories."

An editorial in Renmin Ribao on November 29 extended festival greetings to the heroic Albanian people. It said: "The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people firmly oppose the policies of aggression and expansion pursued by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, oppose the power politics and hegemonism of the superpowers and support the revolutionary struggle of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. Defying brute force and pressure, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people are waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and have made important contributions in the struggle against modern revisionism. The Albanian people's spirit of daring to fight has won the admiration of genuine Communists and revolutionary people the world over."

#### Reception by Albanian Ambassador

Behar Shtylla, Albanian Ambassador to China, and his wife gave a reception on November 29 to celebrate the anniversary.

Attending the reception were Li Teh-sheng, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Director of the General Political Department of Chinese People's Liberation Army; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Ni Chih-fu, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chi Peng-fei, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Keng Piao, Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee. Sarin Chhak, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, also attended.

The Albanian Military Friendship Delegation with Petrit Dume as its leader and Hito Cako and Arif Hasko as its deputy leaders and other Albanian comrades in Peking at the time were present.

In his speech, Ambassador Behar Shtylla gave an account of the Albanian people's great achievements in all fields under the leadership of the Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head. The People's Republic of Albania, he said, has become a sovereign socialist state with an advanced socialist industry, agriculture and culture and a strong defence capability, a country where the evils of the old society have been liquidated once and for all.

The Ambassador stressed: The Albanian people are bound to the great Chinese people in a close, unfailing and fraternal revolutionary friendship. Our two peoples are united by the same ideals and by the struggle against the same enemies. There is no force on earth which can impair this friendship.

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei in his speech warmly praised the Albanian people for their tremendous successes in socialist revolution and construction, for their valuable contributions in the fight against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction and in support of the revolution of the people of various countries, which had won them high prestige in the world. "Full of confidence," he continued, "the Albanian people are now energetically striving to implement the resolutions of the 6th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour and to fulfil the Fifth Five-Year Plan. We sincerely wish the fraternal Albanian people still greater victories on their road of advance."

#### Japan-China Memorandum Trade Delegation

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, and Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, on November 28 met all members of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Delegation led by Kaheita Okazaki and his deputy Shunichi Matsumoto, and representatives and staff members of the Peking Liaison Office of the Japan-China

Memorandum Trade Office of Japan. They were photographed together.

Kaheita Okazaki gave a banquet on November 27 to mark the forthcoming conclusion of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade.

In his speech, he reviewed the development of the memorandum trade. He said that it had started when Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki and Mr. Liao Cheng-chih exchanged memorandums based on the talks held in 1962 between Mr. Kenzo Matsumura and Premier Chou En-lai. The aim not only was to promote and develop trade between Japan and China, but also to seek the lofty goal of the normalization of relations between the two countries, including political and economic relations. Both sides have made unremitting efforts towards this end.

The memorandum trade, he pointed out, is about to end its historical mission following normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China last year. "After our memorandum trade office closes, we will continue to do our best to promote Japan-China friendship and develop trade between the two countries," he said.

Liu Hsi-wen, leading member of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office of China, in his speech said: We will always remember and respect Mr. Kenzo Matsumura and Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki, founders of the memorandum trade, for their valuable contributions.

He said: Though the memorandum trade has completed its historical tasks, the friendship we have forged with the friends of the Japanese memorandum trade will continue to grow. Trade between the various circles of the Japan memorandum trade and the Chinese corporations concerned will continue on a set basis.

#### Sympathy to South Viet Nam Typhoon Victims

The central region of central south Viet Nam was recently hit by a strong typhoon which caused heavy floods. In a message on November 27 to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and Huynh Tan Phat, President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Premier Chou En-lai extended deep sympathy to the people in south Viet Nam affected by typhoon.

The message said: "The south Vietnamese people are a heroic people who, during the war years, feared neither hardship nor sacrifice, waged a valiant struggle and finally won victory over their powerful enemy. We firmly believe that in their current struggle to defend the fruits of revolution and consolidate and build the liberated areas, the south Vietnamese people, continuing to display revolutionary heroism, will surely overcome all temporary difficulties and seize new victories."

In a telegram to the South Viet Nam Red Cross Society for Liberation, the Red Cross Society of China said that it had decided to donate 5 million yuan worth of materials to help the people in the afflicted areas overcome their difficulties.

#### Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling Fetes Amy Schaeffer

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, on the evening of December 2 met and feted American friendly personage Amy Schaeffer. Vice-Chairman Soong had a cordial and friendly talk with her.

# Communists Should Work for the Interests Of the Vast Majority of People

by Hung Yuan

THE Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Tenth Party Congress expressly

reiterates: Communists must "work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world."

All Chinese Communist Party members should, in line with this demand, work hard to remould their world outlook and persist in the aim of building a Party for the interests of the vast majority. They should be staunch fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, serve the people of China and the world wholeheartedly, and advance steadfastly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

#### The Proletariat's Aim in Party Building: Working For the Interests of the Vast Majority

In the course of building our Party, Chairman Mao has consistently educated all Party members in the ideals of building a Party to work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world.

He has pointed out: "The Communist Party is a political party which works in the interests of the nation and people and which has absolutely no private ends to pursue." "We must work for the interests of the vast majority of the people, for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and for the interests of the vast majority of the people of the world; we must not work for a small number of persons, for the exploiting classes, for the bourgeoisie or for the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements or Rightists."

Proceeding from the nature and historical tasks of the proletarian political party, these instructions of Chairman Mao's profoundly expound the aim of Party building.

The proletariat is the most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary class in human history. It can finally emancipate itself only when it has emancipated all mankind. Therefore, a fundamental unanimity of interests exists between the proletariat and the masses of the people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population.

The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and is armed with Marxism-LeninismMao Tsetung Thought. It takes as its point of departure in all actions the interests of the broadest masses of the people and its maximum programme is the realization of communism and the emancipation of all mankind. With its Marxist-Leninist line, the arduous fighting course it has traversed, its working style of closely integrating with the masses and the heroic sacrifice of countless outstanding Communists and the practical deeds of its Party members, our Party has faithfully pursued the aim of building the Party for the interests of the vast majority.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the last half century, our Party has led the people of the whole country to take part in revolution and construction. It has led the people in overthrowing the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China and continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has led the people in turning a poor, backward and mutilated old China into a socialist country with initial prosperity, a country which persists in proletarian internationalism and supports the revolutionary struggles of the world's oppressed peoples and nations.

All this is in the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world. The history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of struggle for the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. From their own experience, the people of the various nationalities in our country have seen that in China only the Communist Party sincerely works for the people, leads the working people to emancipation, and puts China's affairs in good order. Representing the people, our Party overthrew the people's enemies, and the people love and support the Party, praising it and our great leader Chairman Mao as great saviours and the red sun.

#### The Bourgeoisie's Aim in Party Building: Working for the Interests of the Minority

The chiefs of all the opportunist lines in our Party since the time of Chen Tu-hsiu were opposed to working for the interests of the vast majority. Setting up "mountain strongholds" and indulging in sectarianism, they pushed opportunist lines in an effort to change our Party's proletarian character, trying to turn it into a tool for the interests of the exploiting minority.

Lenin pointed out: "In reality, the opportunists' formal membership in workers' parties by no means disproves their objectively being a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in the labour movement."

A selfish, profit-grabbing exploiting class, the capitalist class exploits and enslaves the proletariat and other labouring people and enriches itself at others' expense as a matter of course. The bourgeois class nature of the chiefs of the various opportunist lines determined that they would persist in building the Party for the interests of the minority. In promoting opportunist and revisionist lines, they attempted to make the proletariat and the masses of the people conform to the private interests of the various groups and parties of the bourgeoisie.

Filled with personal ambition to build the Party for the interests of himself and a minority, Lin Piao engaged in machinations within our Party for several decades. His counter-revolutionary revisionist line epitomized the interests and desires of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries. bad elements and Rightists at home and imperialism, revisionism and reaction abroad. Talking volubly about "public interests," this shameless renegade actually had deleted the concrete class content of "public interests" and "private interests" to cover up his real features as an enemy of the people. In his mouth, "public interests" meant those interests of the landlord and capitalist classes he represented, that is, the private interests of the exploiters who make up a small minority of the population.

Since they worked only for the interests of the handful of exploiters, the chiefs of the opportunist lines invariably put themselves in a position antagonistic to the Party and the people. With the people against them, they could only end up in ruin. Even a counter-revolutionary double-dealer like Lin Piao, who was adept at treachery, could deceive the people for only a short time. In the end, he could not help revealing his true colours as a pseudo-Communist and a real renegade and traitor.

Historical experience tells us that representatives of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily big capitalists. Nominal Communists like Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao are actually agents of the bourgeoisie; they are revisionists who had become thoroughly bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. It is much more convenient for the landlords and capitalists to let these agents of theirs, whom they had pulled out of the revolutionary ranks or who were enemies who had sneaked into the revolutionary ranks, act for them under the mask of "Communists" than for the landlords and capitalists to come out into the open themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. We must fully realize this characteristic and law of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the socialist period and raise our vigilance. We must uphold the three fundamental principles put forward by Chairman Mao: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." And we must carry out uncompromising struggle against all counter-revolutionary sabotage activities by class enemies at home or abroad and their agents that undermine the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### Implementing the Party's Basic Line

To persevere in building the Party for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, a Communist Party member should carry out our Party's line and policies in an exemplary way; he should, in particular, resolutely implement the Party's basic line.

The basic line of our Party in the entire historical stage of socialism concentratedly reflects the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the broad masses. In the last analysis, the question of building the Party for the interests of the vast majority or for those of the minority is a question of upholding or opposing the Party's basic line.

We say that the revisionist line of Lin Piao is ultra-Rightist in essence because it tries to change the Party's basic line and policies, subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. So we can really work for the interests of the vast majority of the people only when we unswervingly follow the Party's basic line.

It is dangerous to forget this basic line. In 1965, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so."

Departing from the Party's basic line would be departing from the long-range and overall interests of the masses of the people; departing from the basic principles and policies that should be followed in the current socialist revolution and construction would make it impossible to work for the interests of the vast majority. Practice has repeatedly proved that, whenever and wherever the Party's basic line has been conscientiously carried out, both revolution and construction advance in the right direction, and the work is done well and to the benefit of the people. When the reverse is the case, both revolution and construction will lose the correct orientation, there will be setbacks in work and the interests of the people will be impaired.

Implementing the Party's basic line involves a process fraught with sharp struggles and will meet with resistance from class enemies at home and abroad as well as interference and sabotage by erroneous lines and tendencies. Since this is the case, every Communist Party member is required to persist in working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world at all times. Towards matters having a bearing on the line and on the overall situation, a Party member should always keep in mind the public

interest and display the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide; he should stand firm for what is correct and oppose and resist what is erroneous. All erroneous lines and tendencies benefit the exploiting classes, which constitute a minority, and harm the broadmasses. Fighting against them means safeguarding the Party's basic line and upholding the people's interests by practical deeds. In the course of struggle, however, the demarcation between the correct and erroneous lines should be drawn with care and accuracy, so that the struggle between the two lines and two ideologies is waged correctly and actively.

With some comrades, it is often not a question of not being able to distinguish at all between the correct and the erroneous lines and tendencies, but a question of not daring to fight against the erroneous line and tendency for fear of impairing their own interests. These comrades are prone to avoid the issue and be non-committal on crucial questions. This is not an attitude Communists should take.

Chairman Mao has said: "A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

#### Uniting With the Vast Majority

To persist in building the Party for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world, a Communist should unite with the vast majority of people to strive for the common revolutionary goal. Chairman Mao has said: "Both inside and outside the Party it is necessary to unite with the vast majority. Only thus can things be done well."

The revolutionary cause our Party is leading is that of several hundred million people. Relying on a few will not do; the vast majority must be united with. As Chairman Mao has said: "It is necessary to unite with the masses of the people and unite with the masses of cadres, to unite with 95 per cent of both."

Inside the country, the vast majority should be united with in order to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build socialism; internationally, it is also necessary to do so in order to oppose imperialism, revisionism and reaction and support the revolutionary struggles of the world's people.

We Communist Party members must never sacrifice the interests of the Party and the people for the interests of a small clique. Those who have the "mountain-stronghold mentality" and practise sectarianism will be blinded by the narrow interests of a few and cease to see the overall interests of the Party

and the people. If this goes on, they will hold sectarianism above the Party and may end up on the road of collusion in carrying out anti-Party activities.

In our revolutionary ranks, it is quite normal that there are differences of opinion. The question is what stand one should take with regard to the different opinions.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy."

By keeping to such a stand, we can adhere to correct opinions and overcome erroneous ones through debates on controversial questions. When correct understanding is gained, we can achieve firm unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Some people fraternize with others holding similar views but repulse those with different views, regardless of the fact whether or not these views or ideas conform to Marxist principle and the interest of the people and to the proletarian Party spirit and Party policy; in some cases they are only trying to outdo others. All these are manifestations of complete disregard for the interests of the whole; they are detrimental to uniting with the vast majority and are against the interests of the broad masses of the people.

#### Fostering Proletarian World Outlook

Essentially speaking, the question of whose interests one works for is a question of world outlook. A Communist Party member can dedicate his life to the interests of the vast majority of the people only when he has fostered a proletarian world outlook and has the communist spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self. In past revolutionary wars, many of our Communist Party members fought bravely on the battlefields and shed their blood and lost their lives; many unflinchingly faced death under the butcher's knife of the enemy. Many have worked fearlessly under difficult conditions, consciously obeying the Party's discipline and imbued with revolutionary optimism; working faithfully at posts of ordinary work, they have made remarkable contributions to the people. The basic cause of their being able to do all this is their proletarian world outlook which serves as their guide to action.

Chairman Mao has said: "It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never do anything bad, to act consistently in the interests of the broad masses, the young people and the revolution, and to engage in arduous struggle for decades on end. That is the hardest thing of all!"

This teaching of Chairman Mao's vividly and penetratingly explains the importance of fostering the proletarian world outlook if one wants to persist in working for the interests of the vast majority of the people.

There is no construction without destruction. To foster the proletarian world outlook, revolutionary crit-

icism of the bourgeois world outlook must be carried out in a thoroughgoing way. The bourgeois world outlook is the product of the bourgeois relations of production and serves capitalist private ownership of the means of production. It is the ideological root of building the Party for the interests of the minority. The practice of inner-Party struggle has proved that it is impossible for a person with bourgeois ideas to work for the interests of the vast majority.

In China today, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work is continuing and the socialist revolution is deepening. The struggle in the realm of the superstructure between the two classes, the two lines and the two world outlooks will be protracted and complex. The bourgeoisie always tries through every means to poison the minds of the people with the decadent ideas of the exploiting classes,

disintegrate the socialist economic base and obstruct the revolution from continuing under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is necessary, therefore, for every Communist to criticize the bourgeois world outlook in order to remould his ideology. And this is also an important task of the socialist revolution in the superstructure. Every Communist must conscientiously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's writings, strive to arm himself with dialectical materialism and historical materialism, criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook, fully play the role of an advanced element of the proletariat, and make new contributions in the great struggle for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world.

(Abridged translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 11, 1973. Subheads are ours.)

## China's Principled Stand on Question Of Defining Aggression

The Sixth Committee (Legal) of the United Nations General Assembly discussed the question of defining aggression from November 16 to 21. It adopted a draft resolution on November 23 which proposed that the Special Committee of the United Nations on the Question of Defining Aggression meet again next year with a view "to completing its task and to submitting to the General Assembly at the 29th session a draft definition of aggression." The Chinese representative did not participate in the voting on the draft resolution.

In a speech at the meeting of the Sixth Committee on November 20, Chinese Representative Ling Ching expounded the Chinese Government's principled position on this question. Excerpts of his speech follow. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

BEFORE a discussion on the question of defining aggression takes place, it is necessary, first of all, to ascertain whence aggression and the threat of aggression mainly come at present. The historical facts of our time clearly show that contention for world hegemony is the main content of imperialist foreign policy and that imperialism is the source of contemporary wars of aggression. The essence of imperialism is plunder and exploitation.

#### Superpowers' Policies of Aggression and Expansion Threaten World Peace

In order to grab markets for dumping their commodities, sources of raw material and places for exporting their capital, the imperialist powers regard the numerous small and medium-sized countries, particularly the developing countries, as their object of aggression and plunder. Social-imperialism is "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds." It likewise wants to expand, plunder and exploit. Thus the rivalry between the superpowers for spheres of influence has become increasingly fierce. Since the end of World War II, the world has seen a continuous succession of aggressive wars of various kinds. Among quite a number of small and medium-sized countries, particularly the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, some were subjected to barbarous attacks, some were wantonly bombed, some have been occupied by armed force, some were dismembered or divided, and some have seen their people driven from their homelands and remaining destitute and homeless for a long time. These facts have enabled people to realize ever more clearly that the superpowers' policies of aggression and expansion are the main source threatening world peace and the security of the people of various countries at present.

Back in the 1950s, the United Nations began discussing the question of defining aggression. Notwithstanding the ceaseless occurrence of acts of aggression in the world, the debate over many years brought no result at all owing to the obstruction and sabotage by imperialism. It is entirely justified for the numerous small and medium-sized countries, especially the Third World countries, with their just demand for safeguarding state sovereignty and opposing foreign aggression, to expect the United Nations to formulate some explicit and effective principles conducive to the exposure and condemnation of the aggressors politically and morally. The Chinese delegation expresses deep sympathy with and support for such a just demand and the serious efforts they have made to this end. But we cannot but point out that some people are trying hard to take advantage of the discussions on the question of defining aggression to disguise themselves and hoodwink world opinion, so as to cover up their crimes of aggression and expansion in various parts of the world. What deserves attention is that the very initiator who proposed the reopening of the discussions on the question of defining aggression, while engaging in loud and big talk here, sent large numbers of troops for armed invasion and occupation of one of its allies by surprise attack. It has invented the theory of so-called "limited sovereignty" and openly declared that it would never give up its "right" to invade its allies at any time. An obvious aggressor nevertheless is decked out as "a hero fighting against aggression." It probably imagines that by doing so it can pull the wool over the eyes of the world's people. But this can only be wishful thinking.

#### All That Is Necessary Is to Respect Objective Facts

With regard to the question of aggression or the rictim of aggression, we maintain that any country which first uses armed forces to encroach upon the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries has naturally committed a crime of aggression, and a crime of aggression should be subjected to severe international condemnation and sanctions. At the same time, the people of various countries have the right to wage sacred wars of national liberation and revolutionary wars of self-defence; it is absolutely impermissible to mention in the same breath wars of aggression and wars against aggression, which are different in nature. As to how to distinguish and judge between acts of aggression and the victim of aggression, it is never a question of abstract legal concepts, but a question of respecting the objective facts. So long as one respects the objective facts, it is very easy to judge who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression. The superpowers are attempting to use abstract legal concepts to justify their distortion of the objective facts. This we absolutely cannot agree to.

An aggressor certainly harbours aggressive intent and purpose. This is pure common sense. However, the intent and purpose are subjective elements, which are manifested by concrete acts of aggression. Consequently one must only take the objective acts as the basis for judging whether or not a certain action constitutes an aggression, including whether or not it has aggressive intent. Definitely not the other way round, i.e., to determine the existence of any act of aggression on the basis of whether it is committed with aggressive intent. Historical facts show that no aggressors will ever admit that they themselves have aggressive intent. On the contrary, they always try to cover up their crimes under various dignified signboards.

At present, the one or two superpowers who have become increasingly isolated are daily seeking various kinds of camouflage and pretexts for blatantly carrying on their aggression and expansion. In order to contend with the other superpower for world hegemony, one superpower has reached out everywhere with grasping hands and wormed its way into every vulnerable place with a growing appetite for aggression and a constantly changing disguise. Glaring armed aggression against its ally is euphemistically described as "safeguarding the interests of the socialist community." Brazen dismemberment of a sovereign state is boasted of as "supporting national self-determination." While undisguisedly stationing a million troops on the borders of a neighbouring country for blatant military threats, it keeps on proclaiming that it "has no intention at all to make threats" and has even hypocritically proposed the non-use of force against each other, falsely accusing others of being "expansionist" and "warlike." It is the customary practice of the aggressors to resort to such sheer hypocrisy while harbouring sinister intentions. Therefore, if the aggressive intent is to be made a criterion for judging aggression, it would inevitably play into the hands of the aggressors who try to justify the aggressive acts, which they have committed or participated in, to mislead the public under the pretext of having no aggressive intent or purpose. A so-called definition of aggression formulated in this way would obviously be advantageous to the aggressors and incapable of protecting the interests of the victims of aggression.

#### A Major International Issue of What Is Right and What Is Wrong

The question of judging and distinguishing between aggression and the victim of aggression is a major international issue of distinguishing between the right and the wrong. In the opinion of the Chinese delegation, when questions of this kind are discussed in the United Nations, an analysis should be made on the basis of the objective facts by all the member states, big or small, on an equal footing, so as to arrive at a correct and truthful conclusion. It is absolutely impermissible for the few imperialist powers to have the final say, because the aggressors will never bring themselves to trial. The superpowers are arguing very hard that it is only up to the Security Council to finally decide whether a specific act constitutes an aggressive act. Obviously, what they always have in mind is their very veto power in the Security Council. In the event of their aggression against other countries, they can remain at large by merely casting a single negative vote. If such is the case, one may ask: What is the sense of the various provisions regarding the definition of aggression? Will not the whole draft become a mere scrap of paper?

The Chinese Government and people firmly stand on the side of all the countries and peoples that are subjected to aggression, subversion, control, intervention and bullying and on the side of all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries in a common endeavour to oppose wars of aggression and defend the cause of world peace.

## Chinese Observer on Population Question

THE question of population is a question of common concern to all countries, and our country is no exception.

In old China, as a result of foreign armed aggression and long years of wars between warlords at home, diseases and epidemics were prevalent and the sick could hardly get any treatment. In those days both the birth rate and mortality rate were high, with the result that there was a low natural growth rate of population. The people were increasingly impoverished. Many workers were unemployed, the peasants went bankrupt and intellectuals could not find jobs. The broad masses of the people were living in hunger and cold. All this was caused by the ruthless oppression and plunder of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which ruined the country's social productive forces.

After the Chinese people won victory in their revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, they freed China from such oppression and plunder, carried out socialist construction in a planned way and put an end to famine, unemployment and other evils left over from old China.

Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Once the people become masters of their own destiny, every miracle can be performed. As working people, human beings are first of all producers and then consumers. Having become masters of the country, the Chinese people have given play to their great initiative and creativeness, made continuous progress in production in both breadth and depth and created more and more wealth for the society.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the rate of growth of China's production has exceeded that of her population. Over the period when the population grew by more than 50 per cent from more than 500 million to over 700 million, annual grain output more than doubled, rising from 110 million tons to 250 million tons, and textile and other industrial products increased by several to over a dozen times. Take the average annual rates of growth. China's population has since the founding of New China increased around 2 per cent each year while grain has on the average increased nearly 4 per cent. And there are still great potentialities for an increase in China's agricultural production. At present China, a develop-

This is a slightly abridged speech by the Chinese observer Yu Wang at the 17th session of the U.N. Population Commission on November 2.

ing country, is still economically poor. The living standards of our people are still rather low. However, our people are ensured of food and clothing and employment. China's vast manpower resources are being used in a planned and rational way and constitute the primary factor in the development of production. The livelihood of the Chinese people as a whole is steadily improving on the basis of the development of production.

We have learnt from our own experience that it is wrong and far from the truth to say that over-population is the main cause of the poverty and backwardness of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that a population policy is decisive in solving the problem of poverty and backwardness.

It is evident to all that though New China has much more people than old China, the country is not poorer but richer and the people's life is improving instead of worsening. Does this not thoroughly refute those erroneous views?

Obviously, a nation cannot lift itself from poverty and backwardness and become strong and prosperous unless it breaks the shackles imposed on it by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly those imposed by the superpowers, and by domestic feudalism and comprador-capitalism, attains national independence, carries out a thoroughgoing land reform and develops its national economy independently.

China pursues a policy of developing its national economy in a planned way, including the policy of planned population growth. We do not approve of anarchy either in material production or in human reproduction.

Man should control himself as well as nature. In order to realize planned population growth, what we are doing is, on the basis of energetically developing production and improving the people's living standards, to develop medical and health services throughout the rural and urban areas and strengthen our work in maternity and child-care, so as to reduce the mortality rate on the one hand and regulate the birth rate by birth planning on the other.

What we mean by birth planning is not just practising birth control, but taking different measures in the light of different circumstances. In densely populated areas where the birth rate is high, marriage at later age and birth control are advocated. However, active medical treatment is provided for those suffering from sterility. In the national minority areas and other sparsely populated areas, appropriate measures

are taken to facilitate population growth and promote production. However, proper guidance and assistance are also made available to those who have too many children and desire birth control. All those who voluntarily ask for birth control are provided by the state with contraceptive drugs and relevant medical service free of charge.

Our policy benefits the building up of the country, the thorough liberation of women, the protection of mothers, women and children, the bringing up of the younger generation, and the improvement of the people's health and national prosperity. This policy is in the interests of the broad masses of the people.

In carrying out the policy of birth planning, we combine state guidance with the initiative on the part of the masses themselves. As a result of publicity and education by governments and social organizations at all levels, more and more people have come to realize the importance of birth planning, and they are now practising it of their own free will. Since birth planning is a matter of immediate concern to the broad masses, it is essential to rely on them in order to ensure success. At present we have achieved some preliminary success in this field, but progress has not been even and we have to continue our efforts.

We hold that the drawing up of a population policy is the internal affair of a country. Since conditions vary in different countries, uniformity in population policy is undesirable. However, it is of benefit to share experience and exchange ideas among countries in regard to the problem of population and birth planning on the premise of full respect for the sovereignty of all countries and in accordance with the wishes of their people. Peoples of all countries, big or small, have their own merits, and we would like to learn from them.

Algiers

#### Arab Summit Conference

by Cheng Kung

THE three-day Sixth Arab Summit Conference in Algiers closed on November 28 amid pledges to strengthen militant Arab solidarity. Ever since the First Arab Summit Conference in Cairo nearly ten years ago, this conference had the greatest number of countries taking part. Attending were the heads of state or their representatives of 17 Arab countries — Algeria, Oman, Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Morocco and Jordan. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, also attended.

The three-day gathering of the Arab heads of state in the Algerian capital after the October war to work out policies to resist Israeli aggression and liberate occupied Arab territories again demonstrated the Arab countries' militant solidarity.

#### General Declaration Adopted

The Algiers conference adopted the General Declaration of the Arab Summit Conference, the Declaration on Western Europe, the Declaration on the Socialist Countries, the Declaration on Africa, and the Declaration on Non-Aligned Countries.

The General Declaration pointed out: "The Arab world is going through a decisive stage in its history.

The struggle against Zionist aggression is a long historic responsibility, which demands many more tests and much sacrifices.

"If the October war of 1973 demonstrated the determination of the Arab nation to liberate the occupied territories at any cost, the ceasefire on the battlefield by no means signifies that the struggle has come to an end or one can impose on the Arab nation a solution which does not accord with its just objectives.

"As long as the causes of the wars of aggression and expansion which place the world on the brink of a general conflict are not eliminated, there can be no durable peace, nor real security in the Near East. In fact, one cannot reconcile aggression, occupation, expansionism and hegemony on the one hand with national independence, development, progress and just peace on the other."

"Since the despoliation of the Palestinian people and their expulsion from their homeland, Israel has never ceased its expansion, in which it enjoys the active complicity and gets economic, technical and military support from the imperialist countries, particularly the United States of America," it added.

After noting that the Egyptian and Syrian armed forces and the Palestinian commandos had dealt a severe blow to the Israeli aggressors during the October war, the declaration said: "More than a month has elapsed since the ceasefire, but it is still encountering the manoeuvres and obstruction by Israel. On the other hand, Israel's official position, like its behaviour in the international field, indicates that it has not in the least abandoned its old policy, nor renounced its expansionist and imperialist ambitions."

It declared: "Ceasefire is not peace and in order to realize peace a number of conditions are required. Among them two are primordial and inviolable:

- Evacuation of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, Jerusalem in the first place;
- Restoration of all national rights to the Palestinian people."

"So long as these conditions are not met, it will only be illusory to expect anything other than the perpetuation of an unstable and explosive situation and new confrontations in the Near East," it pointed out.

#### **Arab-African Solidarity**

When the October war broke out, many Third World countries voiced support for the Arab countries' just struggle against aggression. The actions of the African countries were particularly notable. Since October 6, one African country after another announced severance of diplomatic relations with Israel. By mid-

#### Facts on File

#### Arab Summit Conferences

First Summit (January 13-17, 1964) was held in the Egyptian capital Cairo. Taking part were the heads of state or their representatives from 13 member countries of the Arab League. Palestine was represented by an observer.

Second Summit (September 5-11, 1964) was held in Port Alexandria, Egypt. The same 13 countries at the First Summit attended. Ahmed Shukeiry, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, also attended.

Third Summit (September 13-17, 1965) was held in Casablanca, Morocco. Eleven Arab countries attended. P.L.O. Chairman Shukeiry also attended.

Fourth Summit (August 29-September 1, 1967) was held in Khartoum, Sudan. Twelve Arab countries attended. P.L.O. Chairman Shukeiry also attended.

Fifth Summit (December 21-23, 1969) was held in Rabat, Morocco. Fourteen Arab countries attended. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasser Arafat attended.

November, 20 African countries had done so. Thus, 29 of the 32 African countries that had diplomatic relations with Israel have severed them with the latter, including the nine countries which did so during the period between the outbreak of the 1967 June war and the eve of the recent October war.

This is a heavy blow to Israel and a powerful support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. This fact also shows the close solidarity between the African and Arab countries.

The Declaration on Africa said that the Arab countries have taken note of "the vast movement of solidarity launched by the brother African countries in favour of the just cause of the Arab peoples fighting for the liberation of their occupied territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights, a struggle which forms part of the fight put up by all forces of liberation against colonialism, racism, imperialism and Zionism."

It said that the Arab Summit Conference had decided to take the following measures:

"Development of Arab-African co-operation by the consolidation of Arab diplomatic representation in Africa;

"Rupture of all diplomatic, consular, economic, cultural and other relations with South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia by those Arab countries which have not yet done so;

"Application of a strict embargo on Arab petroleum delivery to these countries;

"Working out specific arrangements to maintain the normal supply of Arab oil to brother African countries"; as well as the strengthening of co-operation with the African countries in the economic and other fields at bilateral or regional co-operation institutions levels; creation of an Arab fund devoted to the economic and social development of the African countries; immediate assistance to African countries affected by natural disasters, by drought in particular, and increased diplomatic and material support for the national-liberation movements in Africa.

A commentary on Arab-African solidarity in the Algerian paper El Moudjahid on November 29 stressed: "Rarely have Arab unity and Arab-African unity been so intensely manifested as on the occasion of the recent Middle East events. The resolutions and decisions of the recently held Arab Summit Conference are the latest results of this unity. In a full sense, it is not only a victory for the Arabs and the Africans but for the whole Third World. It is also and especially a victory among Arabs themselves."

#### Unity Is the Guarantee of Victory

With the two superpowers intensifying their contention and collusion in the Middle East and using the Arab people's interests as stakes and sowing dissension among the Arab countries, the Arab world today has come to

understand still better the value of militant Arab unity. In order to strengthen Arab unity in struggle, the leaders of Arab countries have laid special emphasis on maintaining the common basis of this unity, that is, a persistent struggle against aggression to realize the lofty goal of recovering all occupied land and restoring to the Palestinian people their national rights. The General Declaration adopted by the Arab Summit Conference pointed out that "it is impossible for the Arab countries to agree ambiguously to stake their future on the sole basis of vague promises and secret deals."

Arab public opinion also pointed out that to strengthen militant Arab unity it is also necessary to oppose all plots engineered by the superpowers to create dissension, and to be especially on guard against the "deceitful tricks of the Russians."

Through the recent war against aggression and especially through what the Soviet revisionists have done to plot and peddle the ceasefire resolution, more and more Arabs have come to see more clearly the meanness and sinister designs of the Soviet Union, the so-called "friend" of the Arab people. Some Arab newspapers rightly point out that the Soviet Union "is not a real ally" and that what the Arabs have learnt from the war is that they should only count on themselves and on their militant unity.

#### Press Survey

## Superpower Rivalry in Middle East Expedites West European Unity

THE intensified contention in the Middle East between the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—to the exclusion of Western Europe during the October Middle East war has

aroused strong resentment among the West European countries. Their call is louder than ever to strengthen the political union of the European Community and speed up the West European defence build-up so as to have a bigger say hereafter in dealing with superpower

power politics.

French President Georges Pompidou, British Prime Minister Edward Heath and F.R.G. Chancellor Willy Brandt recently called for a swifter pace towards a union of the European Economic Community. President compidou has proposed that the heads of government of the nine E.E.C. countries meet regularly and that the first such meeting be held before the end of the year. His proposal has been approved by all E.E.C. countries, and a summit meeting of the nine is scheduled to take place in Copenhagen in mid-December.

#### Lessons

The West European countries are now drawing lessons from the Middle East situation. Though there was a fanfare made about the so-called Soviet-U.S. detente for a time after the U.S.-Soviet summit talks last June, the West European countries at that time already were full of apprehension that the bilateral deals between the two superpowers would endanger Western Europe's interests. After the outbreak of the October Middle East war, these apprehensions were greatly deepened by the two superpowers' intensified contention in the region and their monopoly of Middle

East affairs in collusion with each other to the exclusion of the West European countries.

Many West European bourgeois papers have pointed out the meaning of the so-called Soviet-U.S. detente.

The British paper The Guardian wrote on November 9, "Detente, clearly, is a loaded word and merely another weapon in the struggle between the superpowers." In an article published in the French paper Le Figaro on November 10, General Beaufre noted that "the deceptive veil of 'detente'" has long concealed the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States whenever their interests diverge. The article said: Despite the fact that Soviet-U.S. relations are divided "between 'detente' and confrontations which are only too real," Europe "is not really covered by the 'detente.'" The F.R.G. paper Deutsche Zeitung said the recent Near East conflict shows that in emergencies Western Europe will inevitably become the victim of a compromise between the superpowers.

West European countries have been particularly irritated at being excluded by the two superpowers from Middle East affairs. France Soir wrote on October 31 that in this conflict, "Washington and Moscow have not only refrained at all times from really informing and still less consulting their European partners, but have also given the impression of wishing to exclude any European intervention in future developments."

The Italian paper La Stampa said in an editorial on October 28 that the Middle East is "obviously a region of vital importance to the European economy." However, it said, the European countries "have been

unable to exert any influence on matters vital to themselves." The Guardian said editorially on November 3 that American policy in the Middle East has been "alarming" and Soviet policy "worrying." "Events seem to have justified de Gaulle's (and Pompidou's) long-standing warning that one day the two superpowers would carve up bits of the world between them . . . without even explaining themselves."

#### Breaking Through Superpowers' Exclusive Activities

Out of consideration for their own interests, the West European countries are striving to break through the exclusive activities of the two superpowers in connection with the Middle East question and are actively seeking to participate in Middle East affairs. The joint communique on the Middle East situation by the foreign ministers of the nine E.E.C. countries stressed that the governments of the nine were prepared to make their Britain and "contributions" to Middle East affairs. France have repeatedly made known their interest in joining the United Nations ceasefire inspection body. This is because, from the point of view of the West European countries, the extremely important strategic Middle East region is vital to their interests in terms of geographical and other factors. Western Europe's reliance on Near and Middle East oil far surpasses that of either of the superpowers. In most West European countries, three-quarters of their energy depends on oil and about 80 per cent of Western Europe's oil supplies come from the Middle East and North Africa.

#### Worries

Western Europe deeply fears that should the Middle East region fall under Soviet control, the Soviet Union would have a stranglehold on it so far as energy is concerned, and would be in a position to threaten its security from a flank of great strategic importance. The French paper L'Aurore said in an article on October 29 that the Soviet Union tried to send troops to the Middle East front, and "this obstinacy to gain a footing in this region of the world conceals the immoderate ambitions of the U.S.S.R." The article held that the Soviet Union not only aims at "controlling Arab oil" but also at dominating "Europe which is at the mercy of (oil) supplies from the East." The Financial Times of Britain believes that the Middle East policy of the Soviet Union is to make itself better placed to expand its military influence and to contend for oil with the West, which is "a long-term strategy." The London Times stressed in an editorial on October 18 that "both strategically and economically the Middle East is an important area, and one which we cannot afford to see dominated by an unfriendly or potentially unfriendly power such as the Soviet Union."

The U.S. attitude towards the Middle East war also worries the West European countries. U.S. official sources disclosed that all of them except Portugal had refused to allow U.S. planes loaded with weapons for Israel to fly over or land on their territories. The F.R.G.

refused to let the United States use its ports for shipping weapons to Israel. The foreign ministers of the nine E.E.C. countries issued a joint communique in early November calling upon Israel "to put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967" and demanding that "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be taken into account." The London Daily Telegraph said, "The fact that Western Europe relies for 80 per cent of its oil on Middle East sources and is therefore highly vulnerable to Arab embargoes is recognized as the prime factor in European neutrality."

#### The Urgent Task

Summing up the lessons drawn from recent Middle East events, the West European countries have come to the conclusion that, in dealing with the power politics of the superpowers, Western Europe's most urgent task is to strengthen the union of the European Community in order to defend the interests and security of Western Europe and to make its voice heard more clearly in international affairs.

Some West European papers have commented on how to enhance West European political union and West European defence. The French paper Le Monde published on November 15 an article by former minister Albin Chalandon which said, "The problem of defence and political construction of Europe has, more than ever, priority in governmental preoccupations." Analysing the situation confronting Western Europe, the article said, "We are more menaced by Soviet hegemony than by U.S. hegemony," the Soviet Union "is building up the most formidable military power of all times on the ground, sea and air," and it "constantly extends its influence in the world: Eastern Europe under its boot, presence in the Mediterranean, the Near East and Asia, and now already a right to look at Western Europe." To cope with this menace, the article maintained, Western Europe still has to "rely on the United States." At the same time, however, it must realize "a political union of Europe - that is to say, a common diplomacy and defence."

The London Times on November 9 ran an article by former minister Lord Chalfont saying that Western Europe must "approach the problems of defence and foreign policy with a great deal more urgency and imagination than they have so far been able to deploy." "European defence will remain for some time dependent upon American co-operation," the article stated, but Western Europe must "achieve effective cooperation in the defence and security of Western Europe" by itself. An article in the F.R.G. paper Deutsche Zeitung on November 9 also held that the Middle East crisis "has made the demand for a common West European foreign policy pressing." The defence of the European Community needs "massive support from the United States" but Western Europe must work out "an independent concept of defence," the article noted.

## Social-Imperialism's Expansion in South Asia and Indian Ocean

SOVIET revisionist social-imperialism in recent years has intensified its subversion, control and intervention in South Asian countries and even brazenly taken part in the dismemberment of a sovereign state. The Soviet revisionist new tsars' imperialist features are being more and more exposed.

The purpose of Soviet social-imperialism's expansion in South Asia is to contend for spheres of influence with U.S. imperialism in order to build a world empire, the dream the old tsars failed to realize.

The Russian tsars annexed the khanates in Central Asia in the 19th century and continued their southward advance in an attempt to occupy Afghanistan and India and expand their sphere of influence to the Indian Ocean. The old tsars failed to attain this because of the desperate fight put up by British imperialism, their powerful rival then.

#### Insidious Manoeuvres

After coming to power, the Soviet revisionist leading clique, inheriting the mantle of the old tsars, has gone in for expansion in a big way in South Asia under the cover of "peace" and "friendship." Taking advantage of border disputes among South Asian countries and their internal national discord, Soviet revisionism has sought to make gains by penetration and subversion at every opportunity. It plays off one country against another; it supports one faction in a country while opposing another. It gradually penetrates into South Asian countries and controls them by giving military "aid" and sending "advisers" in the wake of the strife it has stirred up among them or their different nationalities. When these measures fail, it does not hesitate to subvert or dismember sovereign countries by force. It uses its agents as the advance party and employs other insidious manoeuvres in these underhand activities.

At the beginning of the 1960s, Soviet revisionism chose India as its important stronghold for expansion in South Asia. Making use of the Indian authorities' expansionist ambitions towards their neighbours, it has energetically shored up India by providing economic and military "aid" and sending group after group of "experts" and "advisers," thereby gradually extending its influence into every sphere in the country.

#### Clear Incriminating Evidence

To step up expansion in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Government signed with India in August 1971 a treaty nominally for "peaceful and friendly co-operation" but in reality for military alliance. A little over three months after the conclusion of the treaty, it backed and abetted the Indian Government in dismembering Pakistan by force. India sent troops while the Soviet Union supplied arms and advisers for the war against Pakistan, with prominent Soviet figures directing the fighting in New Delhi. The Soviet representative in the U.N. Security Council thrice used the veto to obstruct adoption of a proposal calling for an immediate ceasefire and troop withdrawal by India and Pakistan. Soviet revisionism viewed India's war of aggression as offering the best opportunity to gain further control over that country, intensify its expansion in the Indian Ocean and contend for hegemony with U.S. imperialism. The Japanese newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun in a report at the time said that the Soviet Union considered "the prevailing Indo-Pakistan situation a golden opportunity to realize its Indian Ocean strategy," using India as a "pawn" to "ensure a passage through the Indian Ocean for expansion in Southeast Asia."

After its success at the end of 1971 in supporting India to dismember Pakistan, the Soviet revisionists plotted further disintegration of Pakistan by establishing a "great Baluchistan state" and a "Pushtunistan state" in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, Baluchistan Province and nearby areas. The aim is to secure a passage to the Indian Ocean through Afghanistan and Pakistan, which was long desired by the old tsars. Pakistan newspapers disclosed early this year that "some guerrilla warfare experts trained in Russia" were engaging in "guerrilla warfare" training in the mountainous region of Pakistan's Baluchistan Province. In the last year or so, Soviet electronic espionage ships disguised as "trawlers" have been active along Pakistan's coastal areas. Last February, the Pakistan Government discovered in Islamabad large quantities of Soviet-made weapons, ammunition and equipment for guerrilla warfare smuggled into the country. All these are clear incriminating evidence of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's attempt to further dismember Pakistan.

In the past few years, Soviet revisionism has constantly exerted political pressure on South Asian countries to abandon their policy of neutrality and non-alignment and join an "Asian collective security system." When coercion or cajolery failed, it resorted

to outright subversion against the governments of other countries.

#### "Visits" With Ulterior Motives

At the same time, Soviet revisionism is trying hard to open a sea lane from the Black Sea, through the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific and to establish maritime hegemony. The Soviet navy has vigorously stepped up activities in the Indian Ocean and its coastal countries in the last two years. Western press revealed that since Soviet revisionism began deploying a standing fleet in the Indian Ocean in 1969, it has kept over 20 naval vessels there at all times. There are more Soviet naval ships cruising in the Indian Ocean than those of any other imperialist power. Soviet naval ships often have made "show-of-force visits" to Indian Ocean countries under the guise of "friendship," sometimes even intruding into their territorial waters and threatening their security. Soviet revisionism has tried by every means to seek naval bases in the Indian Ocean and in the coastal countries. By providing India with naval vessels and promising it assistance in building naval bases. Soviet revisionism has acquired anchoring, refuelling and repairing facilities for Soviet ships in two major Indian naval ports, Vishakhapatnam and Port Blair in the Andaman Islands. By offering assistance to Bangla Desh in salvaging sunken war vessels, it has remained in Chittagong, thus obtaining a foothold for further contention for hegemony with the United States in the Indian Ocean.

#### **Futile Tactics**

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism also intends to include the South Asian countries in its sphere of influence through an "Asian collective security system" and "regional economic co-operation." In plotting to accomplish this, it has compelled South Asian countries to sign bilateral "friendship" treaties. The Soviet magazine *Life Abroad* declared flatly that "friendly" relations between the Soviet Union and South Asian

countries are "necessary links in the future collective security system."

All these tactics of coercion and cajolery by Soviet revisionism, however, have failed to ensnare the South Asian countries. Instead, these have exposed its expansionist ambitions there. The *Pakistan Times* pointed out editorially: "An Asian security pact is bound to heighten the sense of insecurity among Pakistan and other states." The Afghan paper *Caravan* said: "The significance of neutrality and non-alignment may be damaged by such a pact." The Nepalese weekly *Jana Jagriti* said: "It will be harmful for Nepal to be involved in the Asian collective security system."

The Soviet social-imperialists' expansion in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean and contention in this area between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have seriously threatened the independence and security of the countries there and aroused vigilance and opposition from these countries which are defending their independence and state sovereignty. Pakistan Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto stressed: "In no case will Pakistan submit herself to any hegemony." The proposal by Sri Lanka Prime Minister Mrs. mavo Bandaranaike that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace has won the support of many Indian Ocean countries. Political figures and public opinion in India have also expressed dissatisfaction with India's alliance with the Soviet Union and demanded that the government scrap the Indian-Soviet treaty, pursue an independent foreign policy and establish normal relations with its neighbours.

In the face of the surging struggle of the countries and people in South Asia against the hegemony of the superpowers and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty, the aggression and expansion by the Soviet revisionist new tsars in the South Asian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean will further expose their reactionary features and isolate and discredit

#### Arms Reduction or Expansion?

#### The "Proposal" and After

#### 

SINCE turning up with its proposal "on the reduction of military budgets" at the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet Union has been giving it much publicity, bragging that this "proposal" "means an important practical step towards slowing down the arms race" and is "in conformity with the highest welfare and happiness of the people of all countries." It pledged to "wage a positive struggle for strengthening international peace and for disarmament."

Is it true that this Soviet "proposal" is "a practical step" towards what it promised? Is the Soviet Union really eager for peace and disarmament? The answer to this can easily be found when one takes stock of Soviet words and deeds since the "proposal" was made known. The military and administrative chieftains of the Soviet revisionist clique have since then continued to encourage arms expansion and war preparations and increase military strength.

#### Clamour for Arms Expansion and War Preparations

On November 6, at the meeting in celebration of the 56th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution,

A. Kirilenko, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Party, declared that the Soviet Union "will work tirelessly" to "maintain" its military forces "at the necessary standard" and "strengthen" its "armed forces."

On November 7, Defence Minister Andrei Grechko said at the military review in Red Square that the Soviet Army would "perseveringly master new weaponry and technology, perfect its military training in the field, in the air and on the seas" and at the same time "strengthen the economic and defence capacity of the Soviet state."

On November 12, Grechko appeared at the garrison area of the Soviet troops in Germany to tell Soviet troops there to "keep your powder dry at all times" and "firmly strengthen combat readiness."

On November 19, Soviet Army Rocket Day, the Soviet revisionist clique seized the opportunity to brandish its nuclear strength by way of nuclear blacknail. The press extensively carried pictures of Soviet rockets and nuclear weapons and of the military training of the rocket troops.

On November 16, Vladimir Tolubko, Commanderin-Chief of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces, declared that these forces "now form the backbone of the Soviet Army's combat might," that "the ground forces, the air force, the navy and anti-aircraft defence forces are armed with powerful rockets" and that "this determines their extensive combat possibilities."

On November 18, Chief of Staff of the Soviet Rocket and Artillery Forces Sidorov clamoured still more brazenly that Soviet rockets and nuclear weapons "can be used in military operations at any time of the year or of the day regardless of weather conditions and guarantee that multiple targets at long range can be destroyed in a most reliable manner."

#### **Actual Moves for Arms Expansion**

Since the "proposal" came out, the Soviet revisionist clique has accelerated the pace of its nuclear armament expansion and steadily made its nuclear weapons more sophisticated.

On September 27, the day after the Soviet "proposal" was put before the General Assembly, the Soviet revisionists conducted an underground nuclear explosion at 5.9 on the Richter scale in the northern area of the Soviet Union. Three days later, another blast was set off in the Ural River Basin. The Uppsala Seismological Institute in Sweden registered four successive underground nuclear explosions conducted by the Soviet Union in the three days from October 26 to 28. One of the explosions was 7 on the Richter scale and estimated to be five megatons. In mid-September, the Soviet Union had set off an underground nuclear explosion with a similar force. "This was the first time in 10 years," noted Marku Baath, Head of the Seismological

Institute of Sweden, "that the Russians had set off two such powerful explosions during the same autumn period."

The Japanese press reported that from October 3 to November 21, the Soviet Union planned four successive launches of "meteorological rockets" in Pacific waters adjacent to Japan and designated some areas as "danger zones." It was forced to cancel its scheduled plan only when the Japanese Government opposed such military activities detrimental to Japan's civil aviation, sea transport, fishing and other normal activities.

The Soviet revisionist clique is now stepping up efforts to improve the guiding system, perfect multiple independently targetable technology and build nuclear-powered submarines.

#### Show of Force Everywhere

Since the "proposal" was brought before the world, the clique has carried out military threats against other countries through frequent demonstrations of force by its planes and military vessels everywhere.

On September 27, six of the Soviet Navy's longrange heavy bombers were sent to circle over the waters northeast of Japan's Ogasawara Islands, threatening the security of the Japanese people there.

During the Middle East war in October, 30-odd Soviet military vessels were sent to the Mediterranean, bringing the number of Soviet warships there to the record high of 95. The Soviet Marine Corps boarded its Mediterranean Fleet, causing grave anxiety in many Mediterranean countries.

Since October, the Soviet Union has sent an increasing number of military vessels to the Indian Ocean. Before the reinforcement it already had nearly 20 vessels there, surpassing the number of U.S. war vessels present.

On November 23, the Political and Security Committee of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution urging all states to accept the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Siding with the other superpower, South Africa, Portugal and Israel, the Soviet revisionist clique abstained from voting. The Soviet revisionists admitted that the resolution would put the Soviet Union in "an unfavourable position."

From their words and deeds in the days since they submitted their "proposal" to the General Assembly, we can hardly see the slightest sincerity on the part of the Soviet revisionists for disarmament.

The great teacher Lenin said: "We should like to see a minimum of general assurances, solemn promises and grandiloquent formulas, and the greatest possible number of the simplest and most obvious decisions and measures." This is the most effective exposure and censure of the Soviet revisionist clique today.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, November 27)



#### From Hovels to Flats

by Our Correspondent Li Lien

PEKING, a city dating back to the ancient times, had been the imperial capital of a number of feudal dynasties since the 12th century. A tiny number of bureaucrats and landlords lived here in luxury and splendour with their families behind big vermilion doors. For the labouring people, however, it was a different story. Ruthlessly exploited and oppressed, they were crammed into mud hovels and shanties or lived in compounds of tumble-down adobe houses. Many without a roof over their heads had to find shelter in dilapidated temples or under the eaves of buildings. The poor in the northern and southern sections of the city were surrounded by piled-up garbage and overflowing foul water. The contrast between the rich and the poor was indeed appalling.

In The Housing Question written in 1887, the revolutionary teacher Engels pointed out: "In order to put an end to this housing shortage there is only one means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class." This aptly described the situation in old Peking.

With political power in the hands of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the working people's housing conditions have improved steadily in the 24 years since liberation, though in this period Peking's urban population has nearly doubled.

Since the founding of New China, the people in Peking have gradually changed the city's skyline by their successful efforts to turn it from a consumer to a producer city. The total area occupied by the newly built industrial and mining enterprises, commercial, cultural, educational, health and other undertakings is three and a half times the area of old Peking. The People's Government has built, rebuilt and repaired housing in a planned way. More than 600,000 households of working people have moved into new housing.

#### Improved Housing for Working People

With the economy flat on its back as a result of the long misrule by the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, the number of jobless and destitute workers at the time of liberation was alarming.

Immediately after its establishment, the People's Government took steps to provide relief for the unemployed workers, distributing relief grain and funds and assigning them jobs while at the same time doing every-

thing possible to solve their housing problems. To enable tens of thousands of homeless to move into new buildings, the city's district governments in 1950 began clearing away garbage and building houses, sewers and roads in areas where the working people lived. At the same time they urged house-owners to repair their buildings.

Housing construction has been part of the state plan for developing the national economy since 1953. Clusters of workers' living quarters have kept mushrooming in the rising industrial areas on Peking's outskirts. Accommodations adding up to 228,000 square metres of floorspace have been provided for textile workers in the eastern suburbs where their mills are concentrated. Quarters totalling 180,000 square metres have been built by the Peking General Petro-Chemical Works for its workers and staff. Many new residential areas have sprung up in the city proper and on the outskirts, including more than 30 big ones, each comprising scores of multistorey buildings. Every residential area has such necessary facilities for daily life as restaurants, shops, schools, hospitals, public bath-houses, barber shops, grain stores and non-staple food stores, and complete with a network of bus and trolley bus lines. All this has made for a basic improvement in the working people's living conditions.

Close to Nantsaiyuan in southern Peking are more than 20 rows of red-brick and grey-tile-roofed one-storey buildings, each shared by several families. These were the first group of houses for the homeless built in 1950. Somewhat old now, they are nevertheless a quiet and comfortable place to live in with sparklingly clean window panes, flowers growing in the small courtyards and everything kept neat and tidy. Some of these houses have given way to new and taller buildings and other edifices.

One of the first to move in here was the family of 57-year-old Chang Hsiu-jung, chairman of the neighbourhood committee. Her husband, who had worked in a number of capitalist sweat-shops, died before liberation, literally working himself to death. At 28, she had to support her young son and daughter and earned a precarious living spinning yarn at home for other people. Unable to pay the rent for a room or two, they lived in a temple that was falling apart, along with a dozen or so other families in similar straits.

Liberation enabled them to get permanent housing after the one-storey houses in Nantsaiyuan were put up by the People's Government. Chang Hsiu-jung's son and daughter are now grown up and have been assigned jobs. Since both have got married, the family now has three rooms instead of one as previously. Mere mention of the old society filled Chang Hsiu-jung with bitterness. Recalling her past suffering, she said: "From the bottom of our hearts, we owe our liberation to the leadership of the Communist Party. It was only after wiping out the reactionaries and exploiters that we poor labourers stood up."

Around Lungtan Lake in the southeastern part of the city is another residential area consisting of more than 40 five-storey buildings completed in 1965. Most of the residents here are industrial workers. Full of tombs, stinking ditches and huts in the old days, the whole area was inundated during the rainy season and the fetid water, together with maggots and even human bones, would be washed into homes in which the unemployed, peddlars, beggars and rickshaw pullers lived. Most of them are now workers in instruments and meters factories, machine tool plants and timber mills. Recent completion of a nearby artificial lake (covering an area of 46 hectares) surrounded by weeping willows has added to the beauty of the neighbourhood.

More blocks of new flats have gone up near Yuehtan Park in the western part of the capital in the last year or so. Work began towards the end of 1972 and so far 17 buildings are near completion; two have already been occupied by 108 families whose houses had to be demolished to meet the state construction of public facilities such as Peking's subway. The great contrast between present state arrangements when land is needed for construction and what happened before liberation recalls to many the days when Kuomintang rulers simply grabbed land, demolished dwellings housing the poor and left them homeless.

Though much progress in housing has been made, our developing socialist country is still relatively backward economically and investment in other construction projects is also urgent. Thus, for the moment, newly built and expanded housing cannot meet all the needs. Some Peking people could use more dwelling space. But gone are the days when many were without a roof before 1949.

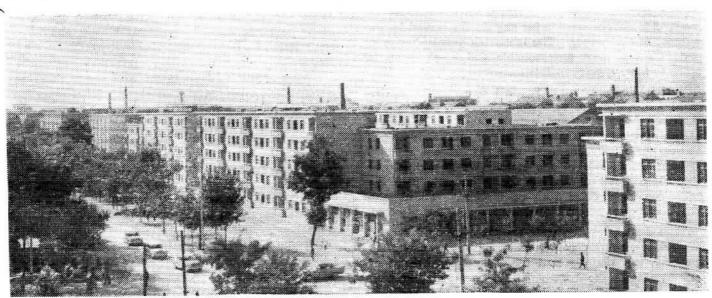
#### Low Rents

At the time of liberation Peking had only a housing area of 13 million square metres. Except for the few compounds and mansions owned by the rich, most needed repair. Nearly all facilities (though very small in number) common in any modern city, such as sewers, running water, asphalt roads and toilets, could only be found in eastern and western Peking where the rich lived. What met the eye throughout the southern and northern parts where the labouring people had their homes were dilapidated courtyards and dirt streets, without running water and drainage. Residents had to fetch water from wells outside the lanes and they poured the waste water on to the streets.

One of the major urban construction tasks undertaken by the People's Government since 1950 has been the improvement of environmental sanitation. It took only a year to repair and build 108 kilometres of sewers, dredge 60 kilometres of waterways and pave 337,000 square metres of road, in addition to levelling 902 lanes and clearing away hills of garbage.

Lunghsukou (Dragon Beard Ditch) in the Tienchiao area in Peking's southeastern part was a notorious slum named after that stinking ditch. Full of garbage and sewage, it was a breeding ground for mosquitoes and flies and brought on infectious diseases in summer. The whole area began taking on a new look after 1950. The ditch was filled in, the shanties were removed and blocks of new houses were erected. What with asphalt roads and new parks, the entire area has changed beyond recognition.

Chu Hsiu-ying is a Tienchiao old-timer who lives in the No. 18 Building on Yungan Road. There are five in



Newly built housing estate near the Yuchtan Park.

the family which includes her husband and mother and two children. She was 11 when she came to Peking with her mother who later worked as a housemaid to support the family. Her elder brother, a timber mill worker, was fired by the boss after being injured on the job. Unable to afford medical treatment, he was bed-ridden for more than a year before he died of sickness and malnutrition. Before liberation, Chu's family lived in a mud and wattle hut for which they paid the owner a monthly rent equivalent to 20 kilogrammes of flour. Their miserable hut scarcely protected them from piercing winter winds and pelting summer rains. More often than not, she had to borrow money to pay the rent.

The Chus now live in a two-room apartment. Looking back on the miserable past, she spoke from the heart: "Seeing the whitewashed and bright rooms complete with gas and radiators, I could hardly believe my eyes when I moved into this new home in 1959."

Chu Hsiu-ying works in a clothing factory. She and her husband, a worker in an asphalt roofing felt factory, earn over 120 yuan a month. The rent, plus piped water, electricity and gas, amounts to only 11 yuan. Compared with what they paid before liberation, today's rent for incomparably better housing is equivalent to only 25-30 kilogrammes of flour.

Some of the one-storey houses built in the fifties still remain in and around Tienchiao. But they now have running water and sewerage and their rents are low. The rickety shanties put up before liberation disappeared long ago.

Most city real estate in the old society belonged to the bureaucrats, compradors and capitalists who rented at exorbitant rates. In addition, they squeezed money out of tenants by many other devices such as "key money" (a sizable sum turned over before a prospective tenant could move in) and "cleaning up charges" and "commissions" several times the monthly rent.

House-owners assumed no responsibility for repair work, and rents even for ramshackle dwellings were very high. Contracts stipulated, among other terms, that "the landlord is not responsible for any deaths caused by the collapse of the house." The labouring people, however, had to accept such unreasonable and harsh terms in order to have a place to live in.

After liberation, the People's Government confiscated the real estate of the bureaucrat-capitalists and abolished high rents and extortionate fees on top of Socialist transformation of privately-owned houses exclusively for rent was carried out in 1958 under the guidance of the state. While taking over all such houses and renting them, the state paid the house-owners a fixed rate of interest. Those who owned and lived in their own homes were not affected.

Rents fixed by the state are very low and depend on per-square-metre construction expenses. Generally speaking, the monthly rent for every square metre of new housing is about 0.2 yuan. A two-room flat with kitchen and toilet in Tienchiao's apartment houses costs six to seven yuan a month, about 5 per cent of a worker family's monthly income with both wife and husband working.

As a rule, the construction departments give prior consideration to providing residents with the necessary facilities when a residential area is to be built, such as commercial and service trades. In the area under the Tienchiao Real Estate Administration Centre where 11,000 families live, for instance, there are four department stores, three hospitals, 15 primary schools, eight creches, four cinemas and theatres and 24 restaurants, barber shops and bath-houses. In addition, each residential section has non-staple food stores and grain stores, and the residents can buy articles of clothing, get medical treatment and send their children to school in their own district.

#### Housing Administration

The government organ in Peking which is in charge of housing is the Real Estate Administration Bureau. with branch offices in the various districts, sub-districts and residential centres in the city. The staff totals over 30,000, including repair workers and office employees The real estate administration departments work out housing construction plans every year in the light of the needs of the people and other factors. Upon completion, the buildings are transferred from the construction departments to the administration departments which are in charge of allocating them and collecting rents, and of upkeep and repairs.

There are large blocks of flats in Sanlitun in the eastern part of Peking. The administration centre there is manned by 157 cadres and workers who look after the more than 11,000 rooms built since liberation and occupied by more than 5,000 families. Teams of masons, carpenters, electricians and central heating plumbers handle the repair work. Under the administration centre are five sections, each with a caretaker and five or six workers

Chia Wen-chi is one of the Sanlitun administration centre caretakers. A senior middle school graduate, she was assigned here after finishing a course in the real estate administration school. Charged with taking car of 33 buildings and 20 one-storey houses, she has the conditions of all 1,100 households living there on her finger-tips.

Most of the residents in this area are workers, government employees and intellectuals. Since some families, just husband and wife, first moved in here, there has been an increase with one or two children; others' children have grown up, got married and the family continues to live together. This results in requests to caretakers for more rooms. If applicants' reasons are confirmed after being looked into by those living in their buildings and the revolutionary committee concerned. the caretakers then try to make a rearrangement when conditions permit.

The administration centre also sees to it that buildings are repaired regularly and tries to make things convenient for residents. Caretakers work Sundays so as to be at call for those families with both wife and

(Continued on p. 23.)

## ROUND THE WORLD

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

#### Foreign Ministers Conference

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the East and Central African Good-Neighbourhood Group, which was formed in 1966, took place from November 22 to 24 in the Tanzanian capital of Dar-es-Salaam. Convened to prepare an agenda for the summit conference to be held in Brazzaville next April, it was attended by delegations from 14 countries.

A joint communique adopted at the lession condemned colonialism, racism and Zionism and reaffirmed solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and other countries and regions in their struggle for self-determination and independence.

The communique said: "The conference strongly condemned the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia and Israel as clearly shown during the recent October war in the Middle East."

It called upon the United States and other countries to desist from assisting the racist minority regimes in southern Africa and warned that "the continuation of such assistance will compel the member states of East and Central Africa to take diplomatic, economic and any other measures considered necessary against those powers."

On the question of the Middle East, the communique said the conference strongly condemned Israeli aggression against Egypt and other Arab states last October and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967. It recommended that severance of relations with Israel be maintained until the recovery of the national and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Second Vice-President and Prime Minister of Tanzania R.M. Kawawa said in his opening speech at the conference that the unity demonstrated by the majority of African countries in support of Egypt should be a basis for their future action against Africa's common enemies.

LONDON

#### IMCO Assembly

The 8th Assembly of the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) took place in London from November 13 to 23. Representatives from 83 countries, regions and international organizations attended. The proceedings of the session showed that the developing countries are playing an increasingly important role in the organization.

Many Asian, African and Latin American countries urged that the organization should reflect the interests of the developing countries and its council should be enlarged. The Chinese representative supported this reasonable demand, saying that the developing countries should enjoy equal status in the council and other related bodies.

The session discussed a long-term working programme for the organization, re-elected the IMCO council and adopted a resolution on the enlargement of the council. Prevention of marine pollution was among other questions covered.

After deliberation, the assembly adopted a resolution proposed by the Ghanaian delegation to expel Portugal from IMCO as an observer and refuse to admit South Africa into the organization. With 45 votes in favour, 6 against and 15 abstentions, it also adopted a resolution to invite representatives of liberation movements to participate in all proceedings of IMCO related organizations concerning their countries.

Head of the Chinese Delegation Yu Mei in his speech at the November 13 meeting set forth China's principled stand of supporting the developing countries' just struggles. He held that a given country's maritime affairs should be handled by its own people and that world maritime affairs should be handled by all the countries of the world.

ISRAEL

#### Aggressors' Swollen Arrogance

Israeli aggressors have become more arrogant under the protection of the Middle East war "ceasefire" plotted by the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

U.N. Security Council Resolution 338 engineered by the Soviet Union and the United States calls for a ceasefire on the spot on October 22, and Israel signed a six-point agreement with Egypt for the implementation of this resolution. But Israel paid no heed whatever to withdrawal to the October 22 ceasefire line and, taking advantage of the ceasefire, occupied new positions so as to engage in new blackmail and wanted to occupy vast tracts of Arab land permanently. This can be clearly seen from a report in the British paper Daily Telegraph on November 17 which said, "Israel has made it clear that she would withdraw her forces only on three conditions." What are the three conditions? They are: The return of both Israeli and Egyptian forces to their respective positions on each side of the canal before the outbreak of the war on October 6; a further withdrawal by the two sides to a distance of 10 kilometres from each bank of the canal and the stationing of United Nations forces in the space between: the surrender of tanks and artillery by the encircled Egyptian 3rd Army, which would be allowed to go free only with its light weapons. These three conditions amount to a demand for surrender by the heroic Egyptian armed forces which had forced a crossing of the Suez Canal and broken through the Bar-Lev line and a demand for Egypt bowing and handing over larger tracts of territory. Egyptian Government spokesman Ahmed Anis has categorically rejected this ludicrous proposal.

#### ON THE HOME FRONT

#### A Decade's Achievements In Harnessing the Haiho River

THE Haiho River is formed by the confluence at Tientsin of five big waterways—the North Canal, the Tzuya River, the Taching River, the Yungting River and the South Canal—and empties into the Pohai Sea. With over 300 tributaries, it makes up one of the major river systems in north China, draining an area of 265,000 square kilometres.

Many rivers in this system originate in the Taihang Mountains to the west and the Yenshan Mountains to the north. In their upper reaches, some 1,000 metres above sea level, there are a large number of short, swift tributaries. Rushing down the sharp gradients, they used to cause serious soil erosion. In the middle and lower reaches, as they flowed gently over level terrain, they deposited huge quantities of silt which gradually raised the river-beds, in some cases to a level higher than the land on both sides. In the low-

lying coastal area, the river courses were very narrow. These conditions made for frequent floods during the high water season. From 1368 to 1948, the Haiho River basin was hit by 387 floods. In 1939 some 3.4 million hectares of cropland on the Hopei Plain alone were inundated, while the city of Tientsin itself was beset by floodwaters for as long as two months. Until the recent past, the Haiho was notorious throughout Chinese history for the harm it caused.

After nationwide liberation in 1949, the people along the river valley began improving the river course. A number of large reservoirs, built in the upper reaches, reduced the threat of flood and drought but could not forestall big floods. In 1963 Tientsin and the Tientsin-Pukou Railway were endangered by the biggest downpour in 100 years. Torrents of water nearly twice the 1939 total rushed down the Taihang Mountains. The people of Shantung, Hopei and Tien-

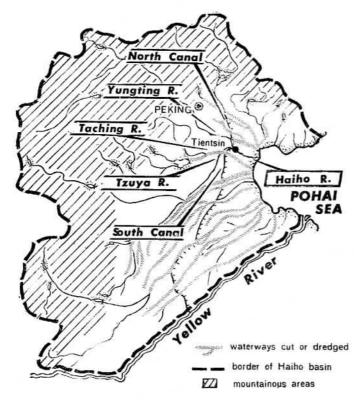
tsin went all out to beat the flood and, supported by the people in other parts of country and the Libera-People's tion Army, they successfully safeguarded both the municipality and the railroad.

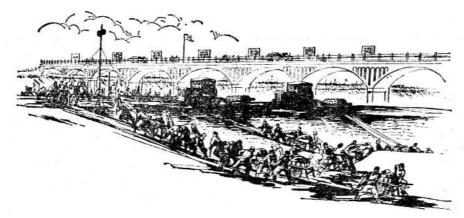
On November 17 the same year. Chairman Mao issued the call. "The Haiho River must be brought under permanent control!" Since the then mass movement to harness the river has surged ahead on an unprecedented scale. Throughout

every winter and spring, people the turn out on construction sites in hundreds of thousands, sometimes reaching one million strong. They have concentrated their efforts on controlling one river after another in a comprehensive way according to an overall plan. In the past ten years they have put up more than 4,300 kilometres of dykes; dredged the five big rivers; dug or dredged 34 major waterways, over 270 tributaries and 150,000 channels; and built over 60,000 bridges, sluice-gates and culverts. The river basin is now dotted with over 80 large and medium-sized reservoirs and over 1,500 small ones, some newly built, some enlarged. New outlets have been cut, so that the five rivers now empty into the sea separatelan instead of through the single outlet by way of Tientsin. The river can now discharge six times as much water into the sea as in 1963.

While all this was going on, millions of people in the Haiho basin at county, commune and production brigade levels also built water conservancy projects and took up capital construction on the farm. Relying on the strength of the collective economy, many people's communes and brigades went in for well-sinking in a big way. To date, there are 490,000 power-operated wells which supply water for two-thirds of the total acreage under irrigation.

Comprehensive control of the river has achieved initial results. threat of waterlogging, flood and drought has been reduced. All this has made for a fairly rapid growth in farm production. The area's 1973 grain output was double the 1963 figure. Half of the counties and cities in Hopei Province (which occupies more than half the area of the river basin) have met the target for per-unit area grain yield set by the state for this region. Northern Shantung, an area frequently hit by natural disasters and characterized by low yields in past years, has become basically self-sufficient in grain since 1971. All-round rich harvests





One of the Haiho projects.

Sketch by Niu Shuang-yin

have also been reported in the rural areas around Peking and Tientsin.

#### Bumper Cotton Harvest

been reported from cotton growing areas all over China. Incomplete statistics show that, compared with 1972, production in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Shantung, Honan, Hopei, Hupeh, Shensi, Szechuan and Sinkiang increased 10 to 40 per cent.

Commune members began picking cotton in the autumn. Cadres and commune members said: "Cotton this year is better than previous years. The abundant and bigger bolls ripened earlier than usual." Thousands of vehicles and boats were busy delivering cotton to state purchasing stations in support of socialist construction. Many provinces and regions have overfulfilled state plans.

Party organizations in different otton growing areas this year took the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work as the key link, educating the masses more deeply in the ideological and political line. By implementing the policy of taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development, they correctly handled the relations between grain and cotton production.

As a result, the socialist initiative of the masses of cadres and commune members was greatly heightened, and they worked hard and succeeded in getting a rich cotton harvest as well as increased grain production.

While speeding up cotton harvesting and storing, the commune members are now summing up and exchanging experience and working out new measures for a bigger 1974 harvest. To guarantee stable yields regardless of weather conditions next year, they are working out plans to build more water conservancy works, control insect pests during winter and select good strains.

#### Tibet Rich in Gres

In the last two years geological workers in Tibet have found a large number of non-ferrous, ferrous and rare metals as well as minerals, including iron, coal, copper,

lead, zinc, mica, salt, arsenic and agate. In a number of cases sizable reserves have already been ascertained. This year, the work of prospecting reached 2.5 times the planned target for copper, and two times the target for coal.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution greatly inspired the enthusiasm of the geological personnel. Last year, workers of the No. 3 geological brigade created the highest record in footage, efficiency, quality and cost of drilling in Tibet since liberation. Overcoming lack of oxygen and other difficulties, the members of the No. 102 drilling team of the No. 2 geological brigade created the record of covering 1,000 metres every month per drilling machine in mountains over 4,500 metres above sea level.

Party organizations of various levels of the Tibet Geological Bureau take active measures to train new Tibetan workers. Li Ya-ling, Party branch committee member and advanced worker, patiently teaches Tibetan workers reading, writing and production techniques to enable them to take up field work in the shortest possible time. Over 40 sons and daughters of Tibetan peasants and herdsmen formed the No. 1243 drilling team. With the concern of the Party and the help of Han workers, they became skilful operators of the new-type oil-pressure boring machine and overfulfilled their prospecting task for the current year in September.

A mass movement for reporting signs of ore deposits has achieved good results. In 1972 alone, the number of people reporting clues reached more than 1,800 and over 400 orepoints were discovered.

#### (Continued from p. 20.)

husband working during the week. Small boxes are put up in residential centres to collect opinions and demands from the residents. Workers carrying their tools frequently make the rounds of the streets and families to do some repair work. Before the rainy season comes, they carefully examine possible leaky buildings and reinforce the roofs. They always begin repairing door and window screens and checking radiators and putting them right before summer and winter set in. Minor faulty water and electricity supplies are not allowed to

slip by over night. All expenses are covered by the state from the rent collected.

For those in charge, each looking after a good number of buildings and dealing with thousands of people, their jobs are hard and commonplace. But they strive to serve the people with an eye to the working people's interests in particular. They do their best to meet the needs of the masses and, when necessary, see to it that rearrangements regarding space are made. But they never take advantage of their position to acquire better quarters for themselves.

# THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(DOCUMENTS)

This new booklet in English contains:

 Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China — Chou En-lai

(Delivered on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)

- Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution
  - Wang Hung-wen

(Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and Adopted on August 28, 1973)

· Constitution of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

Press Communique of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

(August 29, 1973)

 Press Communique of the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(August 30, 1973)

18.5 × 13 cm. 104 pages, with 15 photos paperback

Published by FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

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

Order from your local dealer or write direct to

MAIL ORDER DEPT., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China