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Chairman Mao Meets King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya



Cambodian People's Lawful Rights Cannot Be Deprived

Great Benefits Derive From a Good Analysis

PEKING REVIEW ⊯ ★ A A

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THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Meets King Birendra And Queen Aishwarya

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on December 9 met His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah of Nepal.

This was the second meeting between Chairman Mao and King Birendra. Chairman Mao met King Birendra in 1966 when the latter visited China as Crown Prince of Nepal.

The meeting on December 9 proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere from beginning to end. Chairman Mao smilingly greeted King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya with long handshakes. King Birendra gladly introduced to Chairman Mao Foreign Minister Gyanendra Bahadur Karki who was accompanying him and the Queen on the visit, and Nepalese Ambassador to China Ranadhir Subba, Chairman Mao and the distinguished guests conversed for an hour and forty minutes.

Taking part in the meeting were Premier Chou Enhai. Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen. Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, as well as Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.





Welcome to Distinguished Nepalese Guests

H IS Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah of Nepal and the other distinguished Nepalese guests arrived in Peking from Kunning by special plane on December 8 on a state visit to China.

They were warmly welcomed at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and his wife Lin Chia-mei, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Hsu Hsiangchien, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wu Teh and others.

Sarin Chhak, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, also was at the airport to greet them.

A joyful atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese proples prevailed in Peking. Thousands of people in the capital gathered at the airport and gave the distinguished visitors from Nepal, China's close neighbour, a grand and warm welcome to express the Chinese people's deep friendship for the Nepalese people.

At the grand welcoming ceremony at the airport, the band played the national anthems of Nepal and China, and King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya, accompanied by Premier Chou and others, reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the three services of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. When the King and Queen walked around to meet the welcoming crowds, the whole airport was a scene of jubilation. People cheered and shouted slogans to express their thanks to the King and Queen for bringing the Nepalese people's friendly sentiments to the Chinese people and to wish the Nepalese people ever new victories on the road of independent development. The King and Queen happily waved their greetings to the crowds.

That evening, Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Li Hsien-nien, Wu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping. Hsu Hsiang-chien, Kuo Mo-jo and Chou Chien-jen met and had a friendly conversation with the King and Queen and the other distinguished Nepalese guests. After the meeting, Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People during which hi and King Birendra spoke. (For cxcerpts of their speeches see pp. 6-7.)

When the Nepalese visitors arrived in Kunming from Kathmandu on December 7, they were warmly welcomed by thousands of people there.

Nepal, known as the beautiful mountain country, and China are linked by the same mountains and rivers and Mt. Jolmo Lungma, the world's highest mountain, is on the boundry between the two countries which have been close friendly neighbours since ancient times.

Renmin Ribao in its December 8 editorial welcoming the distinguished Nepalese visitors said: "For the past-1,500 years the relations betwee. China and Nepal have been peaceful and friendly. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Nepal in 1955, there have been new developments in the friendship between the two countries. Premier Chou En-lai twice visited Nepal. His Majesty the late King Mahendra and Crown Prince Birendra also visited China. In 1960, China and Nepal signed a peace and friendship treaty and the border question was successfully solved the following year. From then on, economic and technical co-operation and cultural exchanges between the two countries have been continuously strengthened. The



friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have set fine example for the establishment of the relations between countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

Premier Chou and King Birendra held talks in a sincere and friendly atmosphere on December 9 and 10.

During their stay in Peking, the distinguished guests saw the revolutionary dance-drama *The Red Detachment of Women* presented by the China Dance-Drama Troupe and visited the Great Wall and other places of historical interest.

By command of Their Majesties, Nepalese Ambassador Ranadhir Subba and Mrs. Subba gave a anquet at the Great Hall of the People on the evening of December 10.

At the banquet, King Birendra and Premier Chou spoke highly of the good relations between Nepal and China. The King pointed out that the friendly exchange of views on matters of common interest he had in Peking with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou will help further strengthen the bonds of close relations so happily subsisting between the two countries. Premier Chou noted that Their Majestics' visit was an important contribution towards furthering the friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen Fete "l'Humanite Rouge" Delegation

Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Chiang Ching, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and gave a banquet on December 7 in honour of all the members of the delegation of French Marxist-Leninist Communists of the Journal *VHumanite Rouge* led by Jacques Jurquet. The hosts and guests had a cordial and friendly conversation.

Among others present on the occasion was Feng Hsuan, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

The delegation left Peking for home on December 8. During its sojourn in China, it visited Peking, the Chingkang Mountains, Kutien, Hangchow and Shanghai.

Comrades Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching Meet Japanese Friends

Comrades Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching met in Peking on December 8 Japanese friends Masao Shimizu and his wife Mikiko Matsuyama, and Yoshiaki Tonozaki who was accompanying them on their visit.

They had a cordial conversation in a friendly atmosphere. Present on the occasion were leading members of the departments concerned and literary workers and artists.



Welcomers greet King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya at Peking Airport.

December 14, 1973

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

WE are most glad that Their Majesties King Birendra and the Queen of Nepal have come to our country for a state visit, bringing with them the friendly sentiments of the Nepalese people for the Chinese people. Please allow me, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Acting Chairman Tung Pi-wu and the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to Their Majesties the King and the Queen and all the other distinguished guests from Nepal.

Nepal has a long history and a splendid culture. In modern times, the great Nepalese people waged protracted heroic struggles against imperialist aggression. Under the leadership of His Majesty King Birendra, the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal has, in recent years, resolutely carried out the domestic and foreign policies of safeguarding national independence and developing national economy, which were laid down by His Majesty the late King Mahendra. His Majesty's Government stands for giving priority to the promotion of agricultural production, stresses the development and expansion of small-scale industrial enterprises, and encourages the use of local raw materials. These are all measures which show the firm determination of the Nepalese people to rely on their own efforts in building their country. In external affairs, the Nepalese Government pursues a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, opposes power politics and spheres of influence, condemns racism and colonialism and supports the national-liberation movements, thus making valuable contributions to the Afro-Asian cause of unity against imperialism. The international prestige of Nepal has risen steadily. In his important speech made last July, His Majesty the King called on the Nepalese people to unite and brace themselves for the defence of the country's independence. It gave full expression to the just stand and bold heroism of the Nepalese people who, defying duress and daring to resist outside pressure, are determined to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty. The Chinese Government expresses its high appreciation and admiration for this.

The present international situation is mainly characterized by the fact that the world is undergoing intense change and the people are awakening ever more. In particular, the awakening and the growing strength of the Third World are a major event in contemporary international relations. Advancing in unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the Third World countries are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. The superpowers are in a plight fittingly described by the vers "Flowers fall off, do what one may." The fact that they are pursuing expansionism and contending for hegemony everywhere, thus messing up the world and greatly disturbing its tranquillity, precisely shows that they are having a very hard time, beset with difficulties and at the end of their tether. History has proved that any country which resorts to expansionism and aggression is doomed to defeat. We believe that so long as all countries and peoples who are subjected to superpower aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, they will certainly frustrate the schemes of imperialism and expansionism, safeguard their national independence and security and bring about an improvement of the international situation.

China is a developing socialist country and belongs to the Third World. To make our country really properous and strong, we still need to carry on a long and arduous struggle. China is not a superpower, nor will she seek to be one in the future. We have always held that all nations, big or small, rich or poor, strong or weak, should treat each other as equals. We are firmly opposed to hegemonism and power politics as represented by the big bullying the small, the rich oppressing the poor, the strong domineering the weak. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Government and people of Nepal in their just struggle against foreign interference and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty.

China and Nepal have been friendly neighbours since ancient times. The lofty Himalayas, which link us closely, have always symbolized the eternal and noble friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese

The speeches printed on this and the following page are excerpts. — Ed.

peoples. We have all along sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We are pleased by the fact that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have been constantly consolidated and strengthened since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries. His Majesty the King's visit to China seven years ago left with us a nice memory and deep impression. We believe that His Majesty's current visit will surely advance the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries to a new stage. We wish Their Majesties the King and the Queen complete success in their visit.

King Birendra's Speech

We feel pleased to be in the company of our friends in this great land for whom we bring greetings and warm goodwill from all the Nepalese people. I also welcome this opportunity to renew acquaintance with the leaders and people of China and to make new friends. The happy memories of your hospitality during my last visit give me ample cause to hope that this visit of ours will be no less successful and no less fruitful.

Close understanding and friendship have marked the relations between our two countries since ancient times. The atmosphere of complete trust emanating from close co-operation following the establishment of diplomatic ties has further developed these relations to the mutual benefit of both of us, adding new dimension to our friendship. In Nepal, we cherish with deep affection the memory of our revered father, the late King Mahendra. Imbued with a sense of realism, it was he who took a personal interest in cultivating friendship with an adjacent country like China, whose people and government, to the satisfaction of the people of Nepal, have extended not only co-operation but an understanding of the Nepalese urge to maintain its own identity and way of life. On this occasion, we reaffirm our faith in the continuation of this policy of good-neighbourliness.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, so dear to all the Afro-Asian countries, have been articles of faith with both of us. Believing as we do in these principles, we express our abiding faith in the independent policy of non-alignment, which we firmly hold to be conducive to the cause of world peace. In pursuing this policy, Nepal has been guided by facts of geography, together with her historical traditions and the deepest urge of our people for our independent identity.

The idea of one country exerting pressure on others or being put under pressure by others is both alien and unacceptable to us. We, therefore, believe that all countries of the world, both big and small, have a right to adopt and develop a system best suited to its national genius without outside interference. Your understanding and appreciation of this principle to which we adhere are matters of deep satisfaction to us.

The history of friendship between Nepal and China has demonstrated that harmonious relationship between two countries can exist and thrive provided there is genuine understanding, trust and recognition of each other's aspirations, urges and values which they hold dear for themselves. An honest appreciation of this fact of international life should, we believe, give no cause for any misunderstanding. We are confident that this realization will lead among all nations to the establishment of peace, friendship and co-operation.

The Nepalese, like the Chinese, are proud of their sovereignty and national independence. Both peoples in the past have made sacrifices to thwart encroachments upon them.

In Nepal, we are engaged in the task of national construction and accelerated development. We are making special efforts to achieve a balanced growth of our economy by giving attention to the development of remote regions. We have seen that China. under the able leadership of Chairman Mao, is scoring impressive victories in modernizing her cconomy. Despite preoccupation with your own development, you have come to Nepal's assistance with magnanimity, for which we express our deep appreciation. The selfless support of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China has made significant contribution to our economic development. We believe that this provides the true measure of the depth of our friendship.

For a healthy and balanced economic development, co-operation in matters of trade can be beneficial to both of us. To reinforce the sense of self-reliance, Nepal is determined to explore the channels of trade expansion with a view to meet its developmental needs. We are grateful to the Government and the leaders of China for their understanding and support in this regard.

Cambodian People's Lawful Rights Cannot Be Deprived

THE 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on December 4, 1973 began debate on the draft resolution put forward by Algeria and 32 other member countries, demanding the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol clique from this international organization and all its related bodies. But as the debate got under way and representatives of many countries were asking for the floor, U.S. imperialism resorted to trickery and machinations, and hastily shoved a resolution through the session by a narrow majority of 52 votes against 50, postponing the debate until the next session of the General Assembly. This is utterly unjustifiable. It only shows that the U.S. Government has a guilty conscience and is afraid of the debate and afraid of the truth.

The 33-nation draft resolution was included in the agenda of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly with a powerful 69-vote support. The representatives of many countries had spoken out to uphold justice and resolutely demanded an end to the most preposterous phenomenon - the illegal occupation of Cambodia's seat in the United Nations by the Lon Nol clique. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, enjoys the warm support of the broad masses of the people at home and extensive recognition abroad. The 4th Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries last September clearly pointed out that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is the sole legal government of Cambodia and called on all peaceloving and justice-upholding countries to firmly support the Cambodian people's just struggle. During the debate at the current General Assembly session, many representatives of Third World countries pooled their efforts in a resolute struggle to support the Cambodian

people's just cause and defend the dignity of the United Nations, demonstrating the strength of militant unity.

U.S. Representative Tapley Bennett, Jr. turned the facts upside down in his speech on December 5 when he described the restoration of the lawful rights of the R.G.N.U.C. in the United Nations as "supporting great power hegemony in Asia," "interference in the internal affairs of a member state," and so on and so forth. What a grave accusation! But, Mr. Bennett, wouldn't it be more appropriate to have that accusation levelled at U.S. imperialism itself? Everyone knows what the United States has done in Cambodia. Who subverted the legal government of Cambodia by taking advantage of Samdech Sihanouk's absence from the country? Who carried out flagrant armed invasion and wanton bombing of that country? Who up to now is sparing no expense to prop up the tottering traitorous Lon Nol clique? A hundred such questions can be put to the U.S. representative; let him reply to them. If you are really open and aboveboard and are not seeking hegemony in Asia, then you should not obstruct the restoration of the lawful rights of the R.G.N.U.C. in the United Nations, nor would you cling desperately to Lon Nol, a political cadaver.

The Cambodian people's just struggle to punish the Lon Nol clique is winning ever greater victories. The R.G.N.U.C. has won ever broader world recognition and support. Whatever tricks the United States uses, its attempt to deprive the Cambodian people of their legitimate rights will inevitably fail in the end. The restoration of the lawful rights of the R.G.N.U.C. in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Lon Nol clique from that organization and all its related **bodies** constitutes a general world trend and popular feeling that no force on earth can obstruct. The United States may have been able to succeed in postponing the debate, but it can never save the Lon Nol clique from its inevitable doom.

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, December 7)

At the United Nations

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China Supports Restoration of Lawful Rights of Royal Government of Cambodia in United Nations

During the debate on the question of Cambodian representation at the December 4 U.N. General Assembly plenary meeting, Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation, expressed firm support for the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations. Following is the full text of his speech. Subheads are ours. -Ed.

THE representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique have been illegally occupying the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations Organization for three years. Such an abnormal state of affairs should no longer continue. On October 17, 1973, the General Assembly decided at its plenary meeting to include in the agenda of the current session the item entitled "Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations." This is entirely correct. This is the first correct step taken by the General Assembly on the question of Cambodia in the past three years. The Chinese Delegation fully supports this decision and firmly maintains that the General Assembly should adopt a resolution at the current session to immediately restore the lawful rights in the United Nations of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk and to expel the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the seat they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all its related bodies.

R.G.N.U.C. Is the Sole Lawful Government Of Cambodia

The Kingdom of Cambodia led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk has been a member state of the United Nations since 1955. It made active efforts for the realization of the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter. The Royal Government of Cambodia consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment. She was dedicated to the defence of state sovcreignty, independence and territorial integrity, fought against imperialist intervention and subversion, supported the just struggles of all peoples and made positive contributions to the cause of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, thus enjoying high international prestige.

December 14, 1973

In March 1970, taking advantage of Prince Sihanouk's absence from the country, the U.S. Government instigated the Lon Nol clique to stage a reactionary coup d'etat and imposed on the Cambodian people the traitorous Lon Nol puppet clique illegally fostered by it, thus undermining the peace, independence and neutrality of Cambodia. Furthermore, in order to support the traitorous Lon Nol clique, the United States and the Saigon authorities flagrantly dispatched troops to invade Cambodia, thus bringing infinite disasters to the Cambodian people. At this critical juncture when the fate of the nation was at stake, Prince Sihanouk, holding aloft the banner of resistance for national salvation, established the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and called on the people to take up arms against the foreign aggressors. All this has dealt heavy blows at the traitorous Lon Nol clique. In the past three years, united around the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian people have fought valiantly and won brilliant victories in their heroic struggle against foreign aggression and for punitive action against the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Cambodian People's Armed Forces for National Liberation, relying on the people and on their own strength, have now liberated over 90 per cent of the territory, and over five and a half million Cambodian people have now become the true masters of Cambodia, who have taken into their own hands the destiny of the country. From the very inception, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has taken root among the people and maintained flesh-and-blood relations with them. It has established administrative organs at various levels throughout the vast liberated areas. Since 1970, a deputy prime minister and ten ministers have been leading the war against aggression and for national salvation and other work in the country. Many foreigners who have been to the liberated areas of Cambodia bear witness to the above facts. This has forcefully punctured the shameless lie spread by the Lon Nol clique that the Cambodian people rely on foreign forces in their fight.

Last spring, Head of State of Cambodia Prince Norodom Sihanouk made a successful tour of inspection to the liberated areas in Cambodia, covering over a thousand kilometres, where he was warmly welcomed by the broad masses of the people. Prince Sihanouk made broad contacts with people from various circles in the liberated areas and personally presided over the cabinet meetings. These facts fully show that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Head of State of Cambodia Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole lawful government of Cambodia and is effectively and fully exercising its administrative power over the vast territory of Cambodia, whereas the traitorous Lon Nol clique was imposed on the Khmer people by U.S. imperialism and its allies and has been illegal from its very inception. Yet elements of the Lon Nol clique and their behindthe-scenes boss have asserted that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is a "government in exile." This is indeed the height of absurdity. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples may recall that in order to facilitate diplomatic and international publicity work, the leaders of the Algerian national liberation movement established the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria in Tunisia from 1958 to 1962, which won broad international support and assistance. Many justice-upholding countries recognized it as the sole lawful government representing the Algerian people. All anti-fascist countries and people may also recall that the French National Liberation Committee against fascist aggression formed in Algiers by General de Gaulle of France from 1943 to 1944 then had not even established liberated areas in the country, not to speak of liberating Paris, the capital. However, as it was engaged in a just struggle and reflected the French people's desire to safeguard national independence and fight against fascist aggression, all the anti-fascist countries and people at the time recognized it as the sole lawful representative of the French people and regarded the Vichy regime as a downright traitorous puppet clique. A recollection of these historical facts enables us to see even more clearly how far-fetched and untenable it is to assert slanderously that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is a so-called "government in exile" and that the R.G.N.U.C. should not be recognized as the lawful government of the Cambodian people because the capital, Phnom Penh, has not yet been liberated. Here it should be pointed out in particular that recently the Prime Minister's Office of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a communique, announcing the decision that its ministries which had performed their missions abroad would move to the interior part of Cambodia and that with the exception of the Head of State and the Foreign Minister, all its ministers would carry out their duties in the country. This has thoroughly repudiated the above fallacious assertion.

Last September, Prince Sihanouk representing the Kingdom of Cambodia participated as a full member in the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers. The Political Declaration and Resolution on Cambodia adopted by the conference declare that the only legitimate and legal government of Cambodia is the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia presided over by Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, request all countries that uphold peace and justice to accord formal recognition to her as such and reaffirm their solidarity with the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in her international struggle, and their firm support within the United Nations and other international organizations. All this eloquently shows to the world that the Royal Covernment of National Union of Cambodia is the sole lawful government of Cambodia enjoying the broad recognition and support of other countries, and that the Cambodian people are enjoying abundant support in a just cause and they have friends all over the world. On November 22, 1973, Prince Sihanouk issued a statement, reaffirming the determination to carry on the struggle without compromise until the realization of the five points contained in the declaration of March 23, 1970 by the Head of State of Cambodia. The Chinese Government and people fully and resolutely support this solemn and just position of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

Traitorous Lon Nol Clique Has Been Illegal From Its Inception

Let us take a look at the Lon Nol clique that has been entrenched in Phnom Penh. It is but a handful of national scums that have betrayed their motherland and the people and have long been spurned by the broad masses of the Cambodian people. In the areas controlled by the Lon Nol clique, economic conditions are seriously deteriorating, prices are soaring, and the people can hardly live. Its fascist rule has evoked the increasingly strong resistance of the people of various strata. Internally, it is riddled with contradictions and is in the midst of disintegration. In the Lon Nol puppet army, large numbers of soldiers and low-ranking officers have risen in mutiny and crossed over to the liberated zones. turning their guns against the Lon Nol puppet army. In the dry season campaign started last November, the Cambodian people's armed forces launched powerful and fierce offensive attacks against the enemy and won im portant victories of strategic significance. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is now besieged by the entire Cambodian people and entrenched in Phnom Penh and a few other isolated cities. It can maintain its precarious existence only by relying on the shot in the arm given by imperialism. Its total collapse will not be far off. What is deplorable is that a superpower that professed "full support to the Cambodian patriots in their heroic struggles for the freedom and independence of their motherland" had all along refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the traitorous Lon Nol clique during the Cambodian people's most difficult time of their struggle against aggression and for national salvation. Now that the Cambodian people are facing a most favourable situation in their

U.S. and Saigon Must Stop Violating Paris Agreement

TENSION in south Viet Nam has been revived lately. The blame rests entirely with the U.S. Governmentsupported Nguyen Van Thieu clique in Saigon which has continuously violated the Paris agreement and carried out provocations against the Vietnamese people. The Foreign Ministries of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have separately issued statements exposing and denouncing these grave acts by the United States and the Saigon administration. The statements have demanded that they strictly implement the Paris agreement and all the provisions in the June 13, 1973 joint communique.

According to Giai Phong Press Agency (GPA), the spokesman of the R.S.V.N. Foreign Ministry recently issued a communique which said: In the ten months following the signing of the Paris agreement, that is, from January 28 to November 30, 1973, the Saigon administration with the help of the United States committed 292,023 ceasefire violations, including 33,792 nibbling operations, 209,346 police "pacification" operations, 34,969 bombardments and 13,916 air bombings and armed reconnaissance. In November alone, the Saigon administration dispatched various types of planes on more than 2,300 sorties to drop nearly 8,000 bombs on many areas in Tay Ninh, Binh Long, Ba Ria. Quang Duc, Bien Hoa, Gia Lai, Kon Tum and other provinces under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. These brought losses in lives and property. The Saigon administration. in order to paralyse the activities of the central twoparty joint military commission, also has more and more grossly encroached upon the privileges and diplomatic immunities granted to the military delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

These repeated violations of the ceasefire by the Saigon administration, which has engaged in military operations to nibble at areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. and bombed and raided these areas, pushed forward with its "pacification" policy and brutally persecuted and repressed the people in south Viet Nam, fully demonstrate that the Saigon administration does not have the slightest regard for the Paris agreement which it signed.

These moves by the Saigon authorities apparently enjoy U.S. connivance and encouragement. Since the ceasefire, the United States has left behind in south Viet Nam tens of thousands of military personnel disguised as civilians and has ceaselessly and secretly sent thousands of additional military personnel there, bringing the number of military personnel in civilian clothes to over 24,000.

The United States has, moreover, converted the former military organizations into "civilian" organs to place this huge advisers' network under its command and direction. In reality this network is operating the Nguyen Van Thieu administration's war and repression machine so as to carry out nibbling and "pacification" operations in south Viet Nam.

The United States is also stepping up military assistance to the Saigon administration by illegally shipping hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons, ammunition and other war materials. U.S. planes again and again have intruded into the air space of the D.R.V.N. and that of areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. on reconnaissance activities. In November alone, U.S. reconnaissance planes encroached upon the air space of northern Quang Tri, Tay Ninh and Phuoc Long in 13 sorties and violated D.R.V.N. territorial air in six other sorties; three U.S. ships illegally transported weapons and ammunition to south Viet Nam. All these U.S. acts are flagrant provocations against the Vietnamese people.

All this is conclusive evidence that it is the Saigon administration and the U.S. Government which have violated and wrecked the Paris agreement and aggravated the situation in Viet Nam. Afraid of facing up to reality, they heap calumnies on the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. and the Government of the D.R.V.N. They have even used military intimidation. But people can see very clearly who, since the ceasefire in Viet Nam, has been implementing the agreement and who has been violating it; who has been safeguarding peace and who has been undermining it; who has been asking for a political settlement by instituting democratic rights and national concord and who has continued to suppress the patriotic people and rejected a political settlement. The correct stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. and of the Government of the D.R.V.N. to strictly implement the Paris agreement is known to all and has won the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world. Slander and intimidation of any sort are futile.

Renmin Ribao on December 8 published an article by its Commentator which said: The Chinese Government and people firmly support the solemn and just stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. and of the Government of the D.R.V.N. The U.S. Government and the Saigon administration must immediately stop all acts violating the Paris agreement and strictly implement all provisions of the agreement.

Great Benefits Derive From a Good Analysis

by Chiang Han

E MPLOYING dialectical-materialist viewpoints and methods in learning actual conditions, carefully analysing problems and drawing the correct conclusions is the approach a proletarian revolutionary following a Marxist line of cognition should take.

Learning the Actual Conditions

Throughout the protracted revolutionary struggles of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao has always enjoined the comrades to learn to shoot at the "target" of the Chinese revolution with the "arrow" of Marxism-Leninism.

He stressed: "We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leminism, draw correct conclusions from it." (*Reform Our Study.*)

One essential reason for the Chinese revolution's victory and the advancement of our Party's cause is that the Party has always followed Chairman Mao's teachings of integrating theory with practice and adhering to the Marxist line of cognition.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything, as Chairman Mao has pointed out. The Marxist line of cognition is the ideological foundation of the political line of the proletarian party. At the same time, it serves the political line. Without a correct line of cognition, therefore, it would be impossible to formulate and implement a correct political line.

Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao drew up, in the course of the socialist revolution in China, the Party's basic line^{*} and policies for the entire historical period of socialism. He also laid down the specific line and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's line and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater successes in all work.

To obstruct and sabotage the correct political line of the Party from being carried out, bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party frequently substitute metaphysical sophistry for materialist dialectics in opposing, distorting and adulterating the Marxist line of cognition.

Liu Shao-chi, for one, had pronounced the method of investigation and study "out of date." He spared no effort in attacking Marxist class analysis and the mass line.

Lin Piao, for another, asserted: "In doing things, the order is reversed, that is, the order is from the subjective to the objective." Here, he was severing the dialectical unity between knowledge and practice. In spreading the fallacy that "the order is reversed." he was actually trying to impose his subjective will on objective facts.

This out-and-out idealist and anti-Marxist line of cognition was used by Lin Piao to change the Party's basic line and promote his counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

We must, therefore, thoroughly repudiate the idealist line of cognition of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao by stressing the stand, viewpoints and methods of the proletariat in learning the actual conditions, carefully analysing problems and drawing the correct conclusions. We should consciously follow the Marxist line of cognition and resolutely carry out the Party's basic line and policies in the light of the objective conditions of class struggles at home and abroad and the concrete conditions of the area and department or unit we are in.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the work of any department, it is necessary to know the situation first and only then can the work be well handled." (Reform Our Study.)

To gather as much material as possible beforehand and know a subject in all its aspects is the objective basis enabling us to observe the political situation at home and abroad, analyse and study the problems, implement the Party's basic line and policies and do our work well.

Carefully analysing problems means processing in our minds the raw material obtained through investigation. Without an adequate quantity of raw material with a certain quality, it is impossible for our minds the processing plants — to manufacture high-quality products. Without investigation and a knowledge of actual conditions, any analysis made can only be a shot in the dark.

No proper analysis can be made if one only knows the superficial features of a thing and has only a small

^{*} See explanatory notes on p. 13.

Explanatory Notes

The Basic Line of the Chinese Communist Party In the Entire Historical Period of Socialism

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in September 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." This is the basic line of our Party for the entire period of socialist revolution formulated by Chairman Mao who, proceeding from the fundamental interests of the proletariat and displaying a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, has summed up the historical experience of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and particularly the serious lessons of capitalist restoration in the Soviet

amount of one-sided material at hand. This is because a small amount of one-sided material can neither reflect the characteristics of a contradiction in its totality nor the characteristics of each of its aspects. Impetuously polunging into a solution of the contradiction (i.e., answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work or direct a military operation) on this basis is bound to lead to trouble.

This does not mean, of course, that every detail of the objective process must be taken into account; this would be both impossible and unnecessary. It is possible and most necessary, however, to take stock of the basic situation, basic characteristics, and basic tendencies of the development of a thing at the time.

The only way to obtain all-round and authentic material is to have an attitude of seeking truth from facts and make earnest and painstaking investigations. In making an investigation, we must study both the overall situation and make a deeper study of the typical, by the method of "dissecting a sparrow." Only in this way can our judgment and inference be sound and our conclusion founded on the basis of the materialist theory of reflection.

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Union, and used the Marxist law of the unity of opposites to profoundly analyse class contradictions and class struggle in the historical period of socialism in our country. This basic line was written into the General Programme of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Ninth Party Congress in April 1969. The stipulation regarding this basic line was retained in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Party Congress in August this year. (See *Pelcing Review*. Nos. 35-36, 1973.) This line points to the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Two Different Types of Contradictions

These refer to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, which are two types of contradictions totally different in nature. The former are antagonistic contradictions, while the latter, generally speaking, are contradictions among the people whose basic interests are identical.

What is meant by "the people" and what is meant by "the enemy"? In different countries and in different historical periods in the same country, they vary in content. For instance, in the present stage in China the period of building socialism — the classes, strata and social groups favouring, supporting and working for the cause of socialist construction all fall under the category of the people, while the social forces and groups resisting the socialist revolution and hostile to or sabotaging socialist construction are enemies of the people.

Using the Marxist-Leninist Method in Analysis

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Even when one already possesses a great deal of reliable material, it does not necessarily follow that the correct conclusion will be reached. It is most important to "apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal." (Mao Tsetung: On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party.)

In class society where class struggle exists, all social phenomena are closely linked with class struggle. From their varied class stands, people view and analyse problems from different points of departure and use different methods. This is why different and even diametrically opposite conclusions may be reached on the same question or about the same material.

If a person does not take the class stand of the proletariat and observe problems and the situation with the Marxist method of class analysis, he will never get the key to solving a problem and will have no criterion for distinguishing right from wrong. An objective investigation of the situation and correct analysis and study of the problem will then be out of the question.

To lead the revolution to victory, members of revolutionary parties should keep abreast of class struggles at home and abroad and constantly study the development and changes in the different classes in society; they should be adept at analysing the basic class relations and correctly assess the balance of class forces and the political situation. Only thus can they distinguish between enemies and friends and between direct and indirect allies in the different stages of development of the revolution. Only thus can they distinguish between those things that help consolidate the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat and those that are bourgeois and revisionist, whether they are peddled openly or under camouflage. In this way, correct policies and tactics can be laid down, all forces that can be united with are united, and all contradictions and struggles in the enemy camp can be fully utilized and the principal enemy isolated and attacked.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge." (On Practice.)

In analysing problems, it is most important to get at the essence of a thing and not be put off by temporary appearances. The appearance and essence of a thing constitute the two sides of a dialectical unity; the two are interrelated, but they are certainly not equivalent.

Some appearances are relatively clear reflections of certain aspects of the essence of a thing; while others are twisted reflections. Still others are false appearances which distort or even turn the essence of a thing upside down.

In social life, in particular, decadent and dying reactionary forces, to preserve their existence, sometimes openly reveal their reactionary essence and at other times conceal their essence behind a false appearance.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, for instance, brutally exploits and oppresses the proletariat and the revolutionary people. But it does its best to put on a false front of "concern" for the people's "livelihood" and "welfare." At loggerheads over dividing spheres of influence in their own interests, the two superpowers sanctimoniously talk about "co-operation" and "peace."

In cases such as these, one should never be fooled by false appearances or superficial phenomena which are a distorted reflection of the essence nor should one equate the appearance with the essence. We should treat appearances only as an "usher at the threshold" of a thing, probe it deeply, observe the various aspects of a contradiction and concentrate on grasping and revealing the essence of the thing.

There are two mutually contradictory aspects in everything. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position. When we say we must look at the essential or main aspects of a problem, it means looking at the principal aspect of the contradiction of a thing.

As regards our work, we should be clear in our minds as to whether the aspect representing the good, the correct and the achievements is primary or the aspect representing the bad, erroneous and shortcomings is primary. This is a demarcation line which must be sharply drawn. Otherwise what is primary and what is secondary may become inverted and the nature of the problem may be misunderstood.

In analysing the international situation, too, one must make clear whether the tide of the people's revolution is the main trend at present, or whether the counter-revolutionary adverse current is dominant. Without a basic, correct assessment of the situation, one will lose his bearings, vacillate right and left, and draw wrong conclusions and thereby direct the work in an idealist way.

In analysing anything, the principal contradiction must be grasped. In analysing the class struggles in the period of the socialist revolution, for example, the principal contradiction - i.e., the struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road - must be grasped. The two-line struggle within the Party is the reflection in the Party of class struggles in society. Imperialism and social-imperialism, which are trying to subvert the proletarian dictatorship in China and restore capitalism, will doubtless use every means to carry out sabotage and collude with our class enemics in the country. We must, therefore, raise our revolutionary vigilance, realize the protracted and complex nature of such struggles and analyse the characteristics of class struggle and the two-line struggle in every period, persist in carrying out socialist education and constantly consolidate our proletarian dictatorship. At the same time, we must distinguish between the two different types of contradictions\*, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and solve them in different ways. These are all concrete problems which we must frequently analyse in implementing the Party's basic line.

#### **Repeated Process of Analysis**

Knowledge of the objective world is obtained only after a certain process. The analysis and study of problems, by which knowledge is gained of the objective world, too, can be made only after a certain process. The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge tells us that correct knowledge often can be arrived

<sup>\*</sup>See explanatory notes on p. 13.

at only after many repetitions of the process from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. This is especially true of important problems involving many complex contradictions.

In this case, it is not easy for us to recognize an important problem in its totality due to limitations of subjective or objective conditions at the time, or because we do not yet possess enough material or because certain aspects of the problem itself have not revealed themselves fully. Repeated and careful study and analysis in the light of concrete conditions is called for in regard to such contradictions.

There must be a meticulous and prudent attitude; carelessness must be opposed. Coming to a rash conclusion when the situation is still unclear or on the basis of scant and desultory material will lead to mistakes in the work. On the other hand, not paying attention to certain signs and tendencies which have already appeared because the situation is not yet entirely clear will also lead to mistakes in work.

The correct attitude is to grasp in time problems that tend to become a trend and make a proper analysis first on the basis of the material already available, and at the same time let our knowledge grow along with practice, so that it gradually deepens and approaches nearer and nearer to the essence of things. The more complex the contradiction is, the greater the effort should be in order to make repeated analysis by using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. Only thus can anti-socialist and anti-Marxist tides and trends be recognized and resolutely opposed; only thus can new-born socialist and Marxist things be recognized and firmly supported. Lenin said: "Anyone who is

#### (Continued from p. 10.)

struggle against aggression and for national salvation, one may ask: In what position will it place itself?

#### Deferring Discussions Is an Intrigue

Some people are attempting to defer to the next session of the General Assembly the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. It must be pointed out that this is an intrigue, which we firmly oppose. The immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations represents the legitimate desire of the entire Cambodian people. All justice-upholding countries should support this demand of the Cambodian people without reservation. Since the General Assembly has already decided to include in the agenda of its current session the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, what is the reason for asking the General Assembly to defer the discussions and decision on it? To put it bluntly, the idea of so-called deferment is in fact to suit the needs of a superpower. It is evident that as this superpower is in an awkward predicament, it hopes very much that its puppet can continue to usurp

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afraid of work cannot possibly arrive at the truth." (Controversici issues.) Without making a big effort, one can easily slip into the quagmire of idealism and metaphysics.

Some of our comrades may want to implement the Party's basic line and do their work well, but they are not free from subjectiveness, one-sidedness and superficiality in analysing problems. The main reason here is they have not fully remoulded their world outlook.

Chairman Mao has said: "This dialectical world outlook teaches us primarily how to observe and analyse the movement of opposites in different things and, on the basis of such analysis, to indicate the methods for resolving contradictions." (On Contradiction.)

Marxism holds that world outlook and methodology are identical. One must have a correct world outlook in order to master a scientific methodology. We must, therefore, constantly remould our subjective world and reform our cognitive ability to make it conform to the law of the objective outside world at the same time as we transform the objective world. Only by conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through practice in struggle, closely integrating theory and practice and combining transformation of the objective world with remoulding of the subjective world can we eradicate subjective and idealist ideas from our minds and enhance our consciousness to do things in accordance with the dialecticalmaterialist theory of knowledge.

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

the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations so that it can gain time for continued flow of assistance to that puppet, who will thus be able to prolong his precarious existence. In our opinion, all proposals for deferring the discussions or voting can only benefit the continued aggression against Cambodia and interference in its internal affairs by outside forces and endanger peace in Indochina. This is not in the interests of the just cause of the Cambodian people. We must all guard against this.

Some people even said that to ask the United Nations to discuss the question of Cambodian representation would mean interference in the internal affairs of a country by the United Nations. This is wrong. Everyone knows who has interfered in the internal affairs of Cambodia and who has crossed the vast ocean to carry out armed aggression against Indochina, including Cambodia. And to date such aggression and interference have not ceased. In order truly to defend the principles of the U.N. Charter, no justice-upholding countries should sit idly by and tolerate the wilful intervention and aggression against a sovereign state, or allow a traitorous puppet clique imposed on the Cambodian people by foreign forces to continue to illegally usurp the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations. Failure to redress such an unjust and unreasonable phenomenon would be tantamount to recognizing imperialist aggression, subversion and intervention against a sovereign state as being legal. Is this not in total violation of the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter?

#### Lon Nol Clique Must Be Thrown Out

History is developing and the people are advancing. We firmly believe that despite the obstacles and traps of one kind or another some people may place on the restoration of the lawful seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations, a just cause is, after all, irresistible. All attempts at obstructing the restoration of the lawful seat of the R.G.N.U.C. in the United Nations are bound to fail completely in the end. The traitorous Lon Nol clique will certainly be thrown into the garbage heap of history by the Cambodian people and the people of the rest of the world, and the Cambodian people will certainly win complete victory. We hope that all justice-upholding countries will join us in supporting the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and expel the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol puppet clique from the seats they have usurped in the United Nations and all the related organizations.

#### Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region

## The State Helps Develop the Economy

China is a multi-national unified country. In addition to the Hans, there are more than 50 minority nationalities accounting for around 6 per cent of the nation's total population.

In line with the Party's policy on national regional autonomy, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region and the Tibet Autonomous Region as well as 29 autonomous "chou" and 69 autonomous counties under these five regions were established after liberation. Over 90 per cent of the Chuang people, China's largest minority nationality, live in Kwangsi. Following is the first of a series of reports on the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. — Ed.

LOCATED in south China, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region facing Bac Bo Gulf to the south and bordering the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the southwest covers an area of more than 230,000 square kilometres. The climate is temperate and the region's natural resources are rich. The population is made up of people from 12 nationalities, including Chuang, Han, Yao. Miao and Tung. According to 1970 statistics, there are 10 million Chuangs living in the region.

#### Liberation and Regional Autonomy

Before liberation, the local nationalities were politically oppressed and savagely exploited economically by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Vestiges of primitive society still remained in a few hamlets of the Yao people, and class polarization within each nationality was striking. The bulk of the land was in landlord and rich peasant hands. The peasants had to lease land for cultivation at exorbitant rents equivalent to 50 to 70 per cent of their yields. Forced to borrow money from the landlords, they had to pay an annual interest of 100 per cent, and sometimes as high as 200 per cent. What the impoverished peasants produced after a year's back-breaking toil could only sustain them for less than six months.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The Taiping Peasants' Revolution erupted in Kwangsi in 1851. Among its important leaders and generals were Hsiao Chao-kuei and Lin Feng-hsiang of the Chuang nationality.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), the peasants' movement surged ahead under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the Hungshui River basin where two of the national minorities lived. Large-scale peasant uprisings led by the Communist Party during the Second Revolutionary Civi War (1927-37) broke out in the Tsochiang and Yuchiang areas inhabited by the Chuangs. As a result, workers' and peasants' democratic political power was set up in more than 20 counties and the Seventh and Eighth Armies of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were founded. Underground struggles and guerrilla operations took place in a greater number of areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1946-49). All Kwangsi was liberated in 1949 thanks to the active support of the guerrillas and the people of the various nationalities in co-ordination with the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

With the completion of the land reform, followed by the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce after liberation, national regional autonomy was put into effect. Officially

established in 1958, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region was so because the named Chuang people have the largest population among the national minorities here. Wei Kuo-ching, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Comand munist Party chairman of the revolutionary committee of the region, is a Chuang. Large numbers of cadres from the different nationalities now work in various departments of government organs at



all levels. Irrespective of nationality, all people are qual politically.

Eight autonomous counties have been set up in Kwangsi since 1951 in areas where the minority peoples other than the Chuangs live in compact communities.

Political liberation alone cannot lead to genuine equality in the absence of a rapidly growing economy for national minorities. Because of historical reasons, economic development in the minority areas was slower than elsewhere. Not only was there a poor industrial foundation, farm production also lagged behind that of the Han people. In a few mountainous areas people were still using the slash and burn farming method just before liberation.

To help the minority peoples develop the economy at a faster rate, the People's Government, in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, has paid close attention to economic construction in Kwangsi. It has offered every possible financial, material, personnel and technical assistance while bringing to full play the local people's initiative in building socialism through self-reliance and hard work.

#### Capital Construction Investment

Capital construction is the material basis for economic development. Therefore the state allots greater investment to the region than to other areas, with emphasis on the development of agriculture, industry and communications and transport.

Crisscrossed by rivers, Kwangsi abounds in water resources. At the time of liberation, however, very little land was assured irrigation due to lack of the necessary facilities. It is a different story today.

The 1949-72 state investment in water conservancy projects made up 15 per cent of the total state investment in capital construction for the whole region. This coupled with hard work by the people of various nationalities, who emulated the legendary Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, resulted in the completion

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at the end of 1971 of 140 reservoirs, each with a storage capacity of over 10 million cubic metres, and another 700 capable of holding a million to 10 million cubic metres of water each. To date, acreage under irrigation has reached 1.33 million hectares. Gone is the time when "rivers flow by down below, but water is as expensive as cooking oil up on the hills." Thanks to ever expanding capital construction on the farmland, and water conservancy projects in particular, Kwangsi had another rich harvest last year despite an exceptionally long dry spell.

The state also makes big efforts to develop local industry. While regrouping and expanding existing small and poorly equipped enterprises, it has invested in building new ones. The region's 1949-72 aggregate investment in industrial capital construction was 51 per cent of total capital construction investment. Metallurgical, coal, machine building, chemical, power, building materials, textile, sugar making, paper making, tanning, food processing and other major industries, though still modest in scale, have been set up.

In the past, communications were very poor in Kwangsi, particularly in the mountainous areas. Practically all travel and transport depended on sheer muscle. State investment in communications and transport from 1949 to 1972 was 13 per cent of total capital construction investment. A highway network covers the entire region today and total mileage open to traffic is more than seven times the 1950 figure.

#### Concern for Production and People's Well-Being

The state allocates a huge sum of special funds yearly to help the minority peoples overcome difficulties in production and daily life. In addition to free distribution of large quantities of farm implements, insecticides, seeds, chemical fertilizers and other items to communes and brigades in national minority areas with the greatest difficulties, it gives them large loans at low interest, part or all of which is not repaid depending on actual conditions. Food grain, clothes, bedding, mosquito nets and other necessities are given to people with difficulties and new houses are built for them.

Efforts also have gone into getting drinking water for those living in hilly areas with a serious water shortage in spring and winter when the underground water-table drops. Statistics for 51 counties shortly after liberation showed that over 2.1 million people had difficulty in getting drinking water, and some had to fetch it from several to more than a dozen kilometres away. A family of four or five needed an able-bodied man for such a job. To solve this problem in the interests of both people and animals, special offices have been set up under the local governments which allot funds and materials and send out technicians. Nowadays drinking water is available in most areas even if they are hit by serious drought.

#### **Trade Development**

To promote trade, organs in charge of this work set up at the regional level and below have formed a trade network. The commercial departments supply the minority peoples with means of production and of life as well as other special goods. At the same time, they purchase farm and side-line products as well as special local products.

In the Lunglin Multi-National Autonomous County, for example, before liberation the county town had only a few privately-owned shops, while pedlars made the rounds of the countryside. Today's complete trade network includes a department store in the county town selling over 2,000 varieties of products. The network also encompasses supply and marketing co-operatives in the people's communes and shops in the production brigades working for the co-operatives on a commission basis, which buy in more than 240 kinds of farm and side-line products and medicinal herbs.

Various steps have been taken by the state to develop trade in the region. Ceiling prices are set for daily necessities, that is to say, retail prices of commodities for the outlying areas remain the same no matter how far the goods have to be transported. For instance, table salt in Hsilin County, a mountainous area some 500 kilometres away, costs the same as in Nanning, capital of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region.

The state also fixes the minimum prices for purchasing farm, side-line and special local products from the minority peoples to protect their interests. The purchasing price of tung oil seeds, for instance, is the same throughout the region. The state also pays the transport expenses for all farm, side-line and local products it buys and for more than 200 manufactured goods and means of production, including cotton yarn and cloth, kerosene and chemical fertilizers, delivered by state commercial departments to all parts of the region. All these measures have helped promote production and put an end to the situation in some plate where "people walked three days to exchange 20 kilogrammes of rice for half a kilogramme of salt."

#### Assistance in Manpower and Material Resources

To build up and develop local industry and pass on advanced farming techniques, the People's Government has transferred large numbers of skilled workers, technicians and college graduates from other provinces and municipalities to the region. When the Liuchow Iron and Steel Works was being built, groups of workers and technicians from Peking, Shanghai and other places came to lend a helping hand. Priority was also given to the plant in supplies of steel-making, iron-smelting

and rolling equipment. All this made possible the plant's early commissioning.

Apart from sending workers and technicians the minority nationalities study in other parts of the country, many colleges and secondary vocational schools (including the Kwangsi University, the Kwangsi Agricultural Institute and mechanical engineering, communications and chemical engineering schools) have been set up to train technical personnel from among the local nationalities.

In addition to all this. the state provides the region with complete sets of industrial equipment every year, and a good number of

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Kwangsi-made tractors ready for delivery.

factories have been moved from other developed areas to Kwangsi so as to reach a more rational distribution of industry and facilitate the exploitation and utilization of the region's natural resources.

As to agricultural production, the state supplies all kinds of farm machinery, helps the region set up agro-technical stations, plant disease and insect pest observation and forecast centres, veterinary stations. experimental farms and other institutions for technical guidance to farming. In the past 15 years or so, some 35 million kilogrammes of highquality seeds of rice and other crops have been shipped in.

#### Self-Reliance

Encouraged by the great help of the People's Government and other provinces and autonomous regions, the

Kwangsi people of various nationalities are imbued with the revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and filled with soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, they have brought about an upsurge in socialist construction.

The Tuan Yao Autonomous County is a typical case in point. Full of stony hills, it is an area with the poorest farming conditions. Most of its limited farmland is scattered on the hillsides around cauldron-shaped valleys. With very thin top-soil mixed with rocks and without any drainage outlets, the fields were subject to drought and waterlogging. "Three sunny days scorch the barren hills, while a heavy rain fills the valleys with water" — this popular saying among the local people aptly describes the Tuan area of the past.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, the people of various nationalities in Tuan have made greater efforts to change the situation. They have built farmland on the hills, dug tunnels to overcome waterlogging, and completed many other water conservancy projects.

Terracing the rocky hillsides was a laborious task calling for blasting the hilltops, putting up stone embankments, filling the lowland and covering it with a layer of top-soil. To build 100 square metres of such farmland, it was necessary to blast away 150 cubic metres of rocks and bring in 1,500 baskets of earth which was so scarce in the locality that the people had to collect every bit of it from rock crevices.

Woman brigade leader Wei Yueh-feng and 20 Chuang women in the Chaoyeh Production Brigade of the Paoan People's Commune put in five months of



Terraced fields built by a people's commune in the Lungsheng Autonomous County.

strenuous labour to build 5,600 square metres of farmland after dynamiting hilltops and filling in 24 pits. Over the last six years or so, the county has added more than 3,600 hectares to its land under cultivation and transformed 7,200 hectares of rocky slopes into terraced fields. What with the completion of more than 40,000 water conservancy projects, per-hectare grain yield in the county jumped from 2,400 kilogrammes six years ago to 6,100 kilogrammes in 1972.

#### **Tremendous Change**

Notable changes have taken place in Kwangsi's economy in the 24 post-liberation years. The region's 1972 total grain output rose 135 per cent compared with that of the early post-liberation years. More than selfsufficient in grain now, it has made great progress in industrial crops, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fisheries as well.

Kwangsi today has over 7.000 factories and mines whose total output value in 1972 was 16.2 times that of the early post-liberation years. With an ever expanding communications and transport network, more than 90 per cent of the people's communes are now linked by motor vehicles. Compared with 1950, 1972 freight volume (carried by motor vehicles) increased 131-fold; the number of passengers went up 118-fold.

Side by side with economic development, the people's living standards have markedly improved. Present per-capita purchasing power is quintuple that of early post-liberation years. Personal bank savings in 1971 in the cities and rural areas were more than 86 times those of 1950.

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## ROUND THE WORLD

#### CAMBODIA

#### **Three Strategic Towns Liberated**

The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia killed, wounded or captured over 15,000 enemy troops on Highways 4 and 5 in the vicinity of Phnom Penh and on other battlefields in the one month ending November 15. They also liberated two strategic strongholds -Tram Khnar and Srang - on November 4 and 7 respectively. Tram Khnar was the last stronghold on Highway 3 put up by the enemy and Srang is located 50 kilometres southwest of Phnom Penh. A total of 5,200 enemy troops were put out of action in these battles.

On November 30 the Cambodian people's armed forces took the enemy's Vihear Suor encampment 18 kilometres east of Phnom Penh and completely liberated Vihear Suor township. This was the third strategic stronghold near Phnom Penh taken by the liberation forces in November.

With the liberation of Vihear Suor, Phnom Penh city has come into range of liberation forces' artillery fire, a new and important victory by the Cambodian people and their armed forces in the dry season.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, sent a message on December 3 to Khieu Samphan, Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, congratulating the Cambodian people's armed forces on their successive liberation of three strategic towns.

The message said: "The whole world sees that the notorious Lon Nol clique and its master, U.S. imperialism, can never defeat the Khmerpeople who, under the banner of the National United Front of Cambodia, will surely liberate Phnom Penh in the near future and recover total independence for our beloved motherland."

SOUTH KOREA

#### Growing Struggle Against Oppression

The last two months or so have seen tens of thousands of students from more than 40 universities and colleges in south Korea waging the struggle against Pak Jung Hi clique's fascist rule and for democracy. They included students in Seoul, Taegu, Pusan, Inchun, Suwon and Kwangju. South Korean press circles and religious circles and some personages in the opposition parties have also taken part.

Pointing their spearhead directly at the clique, they have demanded political reforms, an end to the "state of emergency" and high-handed policy, the release of the arrested students, freedom of speech, respect for the rights of workers and women, etc. They have held rallies, demonstrations, strikes, even hunger sitins in the struggle against the clique's fascist domination.

The Pak clique was forced to announce a "cabinet" reshuffle on December 3 following the resignation en masse of the previous "cabinet" under the blows of the struggle against oppression and for democracy by the students and other south Korean people. Among the 10 "cabinet members" replaced were the "foreign minister" and the "defence minister," as well as Lee Hu Rak, chieftain of the south Korean "central intelligence agency," who had been one of the main targets of the south Korean students' struggle over the last two months. After the "agency" instigated the kidnapping of Kim Dae "THE WORKER"

#### On Soviet Imperialism

"The Middle East events of October 1973 have brought into sharp focus the worldwide imperialist designs of the Soviet Union," said an article published on November 29 by *The Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), exposing Soviet social-imperialist expansion in the Middle East and the rest of the world.

"Cheap oil is a major Soviet interest in the Middle East. They get oil from the countries of the Gulf in return for loans, the oil being obtained at a quarter of the price at which the Soviet Union subsequently sells it to the West. The Soviet pretext for such robbery is that Middle East oil is really "international property," "the article pointed out.

The Soviet Union has provided Israel with its most crucial requirement — manpower and soldiers with which to pursue its military operations. From a few hundred in 1970, emigration to Israel from the Soviet Union reached 32,000 in 1972. The number reached 1,000 per week in October, the highest ever.

The article also pointed out that 50 Soviet warships were moved into Indian waters from the Mediterranean. Soviet naval strength is penetrating every ocean in the world. This year has seen a massive build-up of Soviet military strength in Eastern Europe. This is not only to keep "wayward" Czechoslovakia in line but to pave the way for infiltration and expansion into Western Europe.

Jung, a south Korean democratic figure, Kim Yong Ju, Co-Chairman of the North-South Co-ordination Committee of Korea, announced on

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(Continued on p. 23.)

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# THIRD WORLD CHRONICLE

Iran. Fishing trawlers of some big powers frequenting the waters off Iran have seriously menaced that country's fishing resources and some fish are on the verge of extinction. The Iranian Foreign Ministry recently made an announcement to delimit the country's exclusive fishing Thus, the outer limit in the zone. Persian Gulf is the contiguous waters over the Iranian continental shelf, whereas in the Sea of Oman, it ends at places 50 nautical miles from the base line where the width of the territorial waters surveyed by Iran starts. The announcement said: Without the approval of the Iranian Government beforehand, all related activities in the exclusive fishing zone by non-Iranians are prohibited.

Sri Lanka. Tea, rubber and cocoanuts used to be that country's three chief traditional goods for export. To alter this situation and augment foreign trade earnings, the Government of Sri Lanka in the last two years has been encouraging exports of nontraditional commodities by granting favourable treatment to exporters of these goods in taxation and imports of raw materials.

According to official figures, Sri Lanka's exports of precious stones had brought in 122.3 million rupees by September this year, more than sight times the total for such exports in 1972. Exports of beverages, readymade clothing, chemicals, leather goods and non-ferrous metals came to 109.6 million rupees as against last year's 90 million.

In the first half of 1973, amounts were much greater than for the corresponding period in 1972 in exports of cocoanut by-products, cloves, pepper, cinnamon quills, feathers, minerals, tobacco and cocoa.

Guinea. With an ample volume of water flow, Guinea's potential hydroelectric power energy is close to 63,000 million kilowatts. However, its people, who before independence long suffered from foreign colonial

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rule, were in no position to exploit these rich resources for the good of their motherland. Since independence, the Guinean Government has made unremitting efforts to build up its electric power industry. The electric power company controlled by foreign colonialists was taken over by the government in 1961 and the stateowned Societe Nationale d'Electricite was established. Meanwhile, the government has modernized existing power stations and built new ones. By 1972, newly built and expanded power stations totalled more than a dozen with a capacity of over 99,000 kilowatts. To date Guinea has a total of 20 power stations. Power capacity in 1968 reached 202 million kwh., a tenfold increase over 1958, the year of independence.

The Government of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone has in recent years given priority to the development of farming. As announced by Finance Minister Christian Kamara-Taylor, rice output in 1972 was 456,000 tons, about 3 per cent more than in 1971. Compared with the days before independence in 1961, the 1972 figure more than doubled that of 1960. In 1972, the foreign exchange the country spent on grain imports was two million leone (Le. 2 = 1) less than the previous year. Cash crops also showed a marked increase. In 1972, coffee reached 8,500 tons, an 8.5-fold increase over pre-independence days; cocoa, over 6,000 tons, 2,000 tons more than in 1967.

First Central American Games. More than 1,000 athletes from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama took part in the meet in Guatemala City from November 24 to December 2. The 18 contested events included track and field, football, basketball, volleyball, tennis, table tennis, swimming, marksmanship, weightlifting and cycling. Every participating country had some fine performances to its credit and the meet showed the generally higher athletic attainments in Central America. Panama, for instance, won the championship in football, a game which was not very popular in the country before. The table tennis event too mirrored the higher level achieved by the par-

ticipating countries. The meet served to strengthen friendly ties among the Central American peoples, contestants said. The next games will be in El Salvador in 1977.

**Guyana.** The Government of Guyana has appropriated 12.5 million Guyanese dollars (approx. 6.25 million U.S. dollars) to finance six schools throughout the land to train builders of the country. This is a measure aimed at changing the existing middle school system and erasing the vestige of colonialism.

Catering to the needs of colonialism prior to independence, the country's educational system trained only a few clerks. But the schools now to be set up are for the purpose of helping students acquire broad and practical knowledge and become well-versed in many fields to answer the needs of Guyana's economic construction. Each of these schools offering a fiveyear course will set up various workshops. To carry forward the spirit of self-reliance, these schools will encourage students to take part in practical work.

**Venezuela.** The newly built heavy steel plate plant in Venezuela with an annual output of about 100,000<sup>3</sup> such plates will adequately meet domestic needs.

Rich in iron deposits, Venezuela annually exports about 20 million tons of iron ore but the foreign exchange it so earns is insufficient to cover imports of steel products. In recent years, Venezuela has paid attention to developing its own iron and steel industry. Several times expanded, the state-owned Orinoco Steel Mill (the new plant is part of this iron and steel complex) has a 1.2 million-ton ingot production capacity this year as against its original 800,000 tons annually.

**Bolivia.** An oilfield, the biggest in the country thus far, was discovered recently in the southern Department of Tarija. Large petroleum and natural gas deposits have been reported. Estimates say that in its first decade or so, this oilfield will produce 6,000 barrels a day. Two new oil-wells there are already exporting 3,900 barrels of crude oil to Argentina daily.

### ON THE HOME FRONT

#### Important Reform in Tibetan Agriculture

A BIG bumper harvest is reported from the Tibet Autonomous Region of winter wheat sown last year over 9,300 hectares in cold areas 3,000 metres above sea level. The average is 3 tons per hectare, some places reaching 6 to 7.5 tons. This year an additional 10,000 hectares were sown to winter wheat.

Raising winter crops over large areas on the plateau is an important advance of great significance for overcoming the backward state of agriculture here.

Before liberation Tibet mainly grew spring *chingko* barley and spring wheat, harvesting only about 0.75 tons per hectare. Winter wheat was grown in a very few places at lower altitudes.

In 1951 soon after the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the People's Government sent a group of agronomists to help the peasants develop farm production. In 1952, sowing winter wheat on the plateau 3,600 metres above sea level for the first time, they reaped 4.3 tons per hectare.

Their successful experiment, however, was not popularized at once. The democratic reforms had not yet started and the reactionary seriowners, who opposed anything and everything new, were doing their utmost to retard construction. In spite of this, the agronomists persisted in their efforts to sort out strains which could be grown on a large scale at high altitudes. In 1959, the year the democratic reforms were carried out, the Tibet Institute of Agricultural Science introduced a strain of winter wheat from the Plant Cultivation Institute of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences. The 1960 yield was 7 tons per hectare. Experiments in the next few years established high yields reaching 8.7 tons. In 1963, after comparing this with results from other strains, it was concluded that this

strain was the most suitable for popularizing on the plateau.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, winter wheat has been introduced on a wider scale. When it was first planted in Jiacha County on the Yalutsangpo River, some people scoffed: "Whoever heard of growing crops here in winter!" After experimentation in the county, rich harvests were gathered for several consecutive years. The 25 hectares sown to winter wheat in 1970 was expanded in 1971 to 220 hectares, which was tripled in 1972. Winter wheat is now being grown on farmland 4,050 metres above sea level.

#### Art Exhibitions

A FTER six weeks in Peking, this year's exhibitions of pictures, paintings and photographic art have gone on tour to other Chinese cities.

Serial Pictures and Traditional Chinese Paintings. The items, chosen from among several thousand recommended works, are from all parts of the country. Exhibits by artists who come from Taiwan Province appear for the first time at a national art show.

Most of the 168 traditional Chinese paintings on display feature the life and labour of today's workers, peasants and soldiers. Many artists, both professional and amateur, have reached new heights in portraying contemporary life with traditional techniques. Many of the works are imbued with an exuberant revolutionary spirit and a rich flavour of life. Visitors are impressed by the great variety of subject matter as well as by the new level of artistic skill.

Serial pictures illustrating scenes of a complete story enjoy wide popularity, especially among children. The 97 sets on exhibition cover a broad range of techniques, including sketches, woodcuts, gouache paintings, charcoal drawings and papercuts. While most of the picture-story books portray our present revolutionary life, other serials may be found such as Stories About How Marx Studied, Lenin in 1918, Eugene Pottier and The Great Revolutionary, Thinker and Writer Lu Hsun.

Peasant Paintings. On exhibition in a special wing are 179 paintings from Huhsien County, Shensi Province, in northwest China. The artists - commune peasants, workers and cadres, tractor drivers, stockmen, "barefoot doctors" and school teachers - depict scenes of labour and other daily activities such as studying, playing ball games, attending the sick, and militia training. The past sufferings of the peasants in the old society are portrayed in contrast to their revolutionary enthusiasm of today and their vision of the future. These lively paintings in a style all their own, with bright, strong colours and bold, vivid lines, evoke spontaneous enthusiasm from art workers and visitors alike.

Photographic Art Exhibition. This year's national exhibition surpasses any held before the Cultural Revolution in respect to number of photographers submitting works, variety of



Flashing. Traditional Chinese painting by Chang Pei-chu

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Autumn harvest in a commune in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region. Formerly arid, the area is now irrigated with water diverted from the Yellow River.

themes and artistic merit. On display are 351 photographs (nearly one-third in colour) which vividly reflect the excellent situation in China's socialist revolution and construction brought about by the heroic efforts of the Chinese working people. Veteran photographers have added a new dimension to their work by going deep into the midst of the masses, while amateur photographers, whose works occupy half of the exhibition, also showed new achievements. A number of outstanding pieces are singled out by visitors for their originality, composition and range of contrast.

#### Reports of Bumper Marvests

• The Huaipei Plain (north of the Huai River) in east China's Anhwei Province gathered in a record harvest this year. This plain occupies half the province's cropland. The estimated increase in total grain output stands at 20 per cent (or 1,050,000 tons) over the 1972 figure; increase in total cotton output is estimated at over 60 per cent.

Grain-poor prior to 1964, this plain had to rely mainly on state supplies. However, in the past nine years, agricultural production has developed rapidly as a result of the movement to learn from the Tachai Production Brigade — the national pace-setter in agriculture.

In recent years, the plain has been able to deliver 500,000 tons of grain and large amounts of cotton to the state every year. People's communes and production brigades have grain reserves and many commune members have surplus grain.

• The Soochow Administrative Region in east China's Kiangsu Province, one of China's high-yield grain areas, reports a record output of paddy-rice this year, following rich

harvests over the past few years. Total rice output this year was over 150,000 tons more than last year. A nearly 20 per cent increase of cotton per hectare was reaped on 48,000 hectares. More pigs were raised, and rich vields of silk cocoons, tea and fruits were reported. Since the region has a dense population but limited land, some people thought there was not much room for further increase in grain production. With the popularization of the new farming system on a large scale - raising three crops a year instead of two-during the Cultural Revolution, the commune members opened up a new path for further expansion of grain output. In some places this year. yield reached 16.9 tons per hectare.

• The Tuchiangyen irrigated area, a major producer of marketable grain in southwest China's Szechuan Province, reports bigger harvests of paddy-rice, maize and other grains than in 1972. Output of cotton, sugarcane and other industrial crops also surpassed last year's.

The Tuchiangyen canal system, built in 250 B.C., could irrigate only 130,000 hectares at the time of liberation. Since then it has been repaired and extended to irrigate 530,000 hectares.

• The Hohsi Corridor (a corridor to the west of the Yellow River) in northwest Kansu Province has a total of 670,000 hectares of arable land. Total grain output for 1973 was 5 per cent more than for last year. Products from forestry, animal husbandry and side-occupations also showed sizable increases.

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

August 28 that it was impossible to hold talks with Lee Hu Rak, who was concurrently co-chairman of the Seoul side of the committee. Along with the "cabinet reshuffle," the latter was removed from his post in the co-ordination committee too.

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The day the Pak clique announced its "cabinet reshuffle," students of the colleges of science and law of Chunnam University in Kwangju in south Cholla Province and students of Seoul's Catholic University, the Aeronautical College and Myungji College and pressmen held separate meetings and demonstrations against the clique.

The just voice of the south Korean students reflects the desire and demand of the south Korean people and their struggle is receiving the support and sympathy of the people in south and north Korea.

# THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

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• Constitution of the Communist Party of China

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

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