A Major Step Towards National Concord in Laos

Hail the Success of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries

An Important Historical Experience
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Bumper Early Rice Harvest

China gathered a rich harvest of early rice this year. Both total and per-hectare yields hit an all-time high. They were above those of 1972, itself a year of bumper harvest.

Early rice, which is transplanted in spring and harvested in mid-summer, has a comparatively short growing period. It is raised principally in 11 provinces, one municipality and one autonomous region south of the Yangtze where two crops of rice are planted annually. A rich harvest of early rice is important in raising grain output for the whole year.

Yunnan and Kweichow Provinces located in the southwest plateau, the total output of early rice was over 30 per cent higher than that of last year, while on Hainan Island it was more than 20 per cent higher. In other provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions there were also increases in output.

A general rise in per-hectare yield was an outstanding feature in early-rice growing this year. In ten counties on Shanghai’s outskirts, the average yield was as high as six tons per hectare. A 10 per cent increase in average yield per hectare was achieved on more than 230,000 hectares of early rice planted in the Soochow region of Jiangsu Province.

Premier Chou Sends Condolences On Death of President Allende

Premier Chou En-lai on September 14 sent a message to Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende and other family members of the late Chilean President Allende, expressing profound sympathy for them on the death of the President who laid down his life as a martyr at his post.

The message says:

“Learning from afar with deep sorrow and indignation that President Salvador Allende died a martyr at his post, I wish to express to you my profound condolences and sympathy.

“When he was alive, the great President Allende made positive efforts for the struggle of the Chilean people to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and for the promotion of the friendship between the Chinese and Chilean peoples and the cause of unity of the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism. His lofty aspirations will live on for ever in people’s hearts. I believe the Chilean people will draw a lesson from this tragic event and continue to march ahead.”

(Continued on p. 11.)
SINO-FRENCH COMMUNIQUE

At the invitation of Mr. Tung Pi-wu, Acting Chairman of the People’s Republic of China, and Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, President of the Republic of France Georges Pompidou paid an official visit to the People’s Republic of China from September 11 to 17, 1973. President Pompidou was accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Michel Jobert and other personalities.

The President of the Republic of France and the personalities who accompanied him visited Peking, Tientsin, Hangchow and Shanghai; they thus made contacts with the Chinese people and obtained first-hand knowledge of the economic, social and cultural development of China. Wherever they went, they received a warm welcome and friendly hospitality from the Chinese Government and people.

Chairman Mao Tsetung met the President of the Republic of France. The two leaders had a long friendly conversation.

The President of the Republic of France held talks with the Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China. They exchanged views in a friendly and in-depth way on principal international problems and Sino-French relations.

Taking part in the talks were:

— on the French side: Mr. Michel Jobert, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Jean de Lipkowsk, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Edouard Balladur, Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic; Mr. Geoffroy de Courcel, Ambassador of France, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Etienne Manach, Ambassador of France to the People’s Republic of China; Mr. Jean-Bernard Raimond, Technical Adviser to the Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic; and Mr. Henri Froment-Meurice, Director for Asian and Oceanic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

— on the Chinese side: Mr. Chi Peng-fei, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Miss Wang Hai-jung, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Tseng Tao, Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China to France; and Mr. Wang Tung, Director of the West European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This visit was the first official visit of a French Head of State to China. As such, it marks a new and important stage in the relations between the two countries.

The Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Republic of France note with satisfaction that the relations established in 1964 on the initiative of Chairman Mao Tsetung and General de Gaulle have undergone a continuous favourable development. They affirm their conviction that this development is in the mutual interest of the two countries and that it constitutes a positive contribution to the cause of peace and the improvement of international relations.

The talks have confirmed that the governments of the two countries are moved by a common desire to reinforce the friendship between the two peoples and develop the relations between the two countries. Although the People’s Republic of China and France have different social systems, their relations are based on a good foundation, notably because of their common adherence to the following principles: equality of all countries, big or small and irrespective of their social systems, and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. The affairs of a country and its people should be settled by themselves free from foreign interference and in conformity with the principle of the independence of nations. For the improvement of the international situation, the two sides declare themselves against all hegemony.

Reviewing principal international questions, the two sides note that they are in extensive accord on a number of problems.

The two sides examined the situation in Asia, especially in Indochina. They express their satisfaction at the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam signed in Paris on January 27, 1973 and also at the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Realizing National Concord in Laos of February 21, 1973 and the protocol to this agreement, signed on September 14, 1973. They hold that all the provisions of the agreements should be implemented scrupulously. They are of the opinion that the Cambodian question should be settled by the Cambodian people themselves free from foreign interference. The Chinese side reaffirms that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, is the sole legal government of Cambodia. China firmly supports the five-point declaration of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The two sides express their support for the Joint Statement of North and South Korea issued on July 4, 1972.

The two sides examined the situation in Europe. China supports the efforts made by the European peoples to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and security of their respective countries and, on this basis, to unite themselves for the preservation of their common security. With loyalty to her alliances, France
pursues a policy aimed at détente, understanding and co-operation among all the peoples of the continent as well as the building of a true European union among the nine member countries of the E.E.C.

The two sides proceeded in addition to an extensive exchange of views on various problems relating to the Third World, disarmament and international trade, and considered that such an exchange of views was in their mutual interest.

The various aspects of economic relations between the two countries were also examined. The two sides are gratified with the progress achieved in the field of economic exchanges and industrial and technical contacts, thanks particularly to a number of visits paid by delegations and to exhibitions and technical displays organized in the two countries. They are equally gratified with the favourable prospects which have appeared in this regard. They have also agreed to study further the practical possibilities of developing economic relations and the problem of increasing the exchanges in the field of technology as well as in that of industry, especially in the developed sectors of petro-chemistry, aeronautics and mechanical and electrical industries.

The two sides have further decided to conclude a maritime agreement and to strengthen their cooperation in the field of air transport.

The two sides express satisfaction with the progress of contacts between their two countries in the fields of culture, language teaching, science, public health and sports and are gratified with the favourable prospects promising a new development of these contacts.

The leaders of the two countries have agreed to remain in personal contact.

The two sides state with satisfaction that the official visit of the President of the Republic of France to the People's Republic of China has contributed happily to the strengthening of the ties between the two countries and the friendship between the two peoples.

Peking, September 14, 1973

President Pompidou Concludes Visit to China

After a successful week-long visit to China, President Georges Pompidou of the Republic of France left Shanghai for home on September 17.

Premier Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, as well as several thousand people from various walks of life in Shanghai gave the French President a warm send-off despite the rain.

The national flags of China and France flew over Hungchiao Airport on September 17. The well-wishers gathered there sang, danced and shouted slogans, wishing the steady growth of friendship between the people of China and France and of friendly relations between the two countries.

Bidding farewell to the Chinese leaders, President Pompidou thanked the Chinese Government and people for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded to him and his party. When he was leaving China, the French President sent a message to Chairman Mao which said:

Premier Chou and President Pompidou hold talks.
"Upon my departure from China, I wish to restate that I am much touched by the warm welcome kindly accorded to me by you and the Government of the People's Republic of China. I have been able to appreciate the beauty of your country, of which I still retain a precious memory, and to see that the ancient ties of friendship that unites China and France are full of vitality.

"I am particularly glad to have met you and dwelled with you on all major problems that the present world is confronted with. Our frank and cordial talks will, I am convinced, contribute to developing in all fields the relations between our two countries for each other's interest and the interest of peace."

Premier Chou and President Pompidou had talks several times during the latter's stay in China. They exchanged views in a friendly and deep-going way on major international questions and Sino-French relations. The Sino-French Communiqué was issued on September 17 (see p. 4).

While they were in Peking, the distinguished French guests visited the Palace Museum and the Temple of Heaven.

On the evening of September 12, the French President, accompanied by Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching and Wu Teh, attended a performance of the modern revolutionary dance-drama The Red Detachment of Women.

Before leaving Peking, President Pompidou held a press conference. He told the Chinese and foreign correspondents present that his talks with Chinese leaders had been conducted "with plenty of frankness, amity, cordiality and sincerity." He said that direct contacts between leaders of France and China were extremely beneficial and that he was satisfied with his visit.

In reply to a question from a foreign correspondent about the French attitude towards the opposition to hegemony, President Pompidou said: "The position of France is well known. She does not favour hegemony by anyone. We are not for hegemony by others, nor are we for our own hegemony."

On September 14, the French President gave a reciprocal banquet. In his toast at the banquet, President Pompidou said that the hospitality accorded him by the People's Republic of China was an expression of a wish — "that of developing ever more friendly and confident relations with France." "This wish," he said, "will be heard all the more willingly and with a heart all the more open, for this wish is also that of France." The very constructive talks he had with Chinese leaders, he declared, had convinced him that between the two countries the reasons for understanding each other better and coming into agreement well were numerous and solid. He added that "the friendship between France and China is of such a nature that it cannot be exclusive of any other."

"One can therefore expect," he went on to say, "that our two countries will strengthen their relations, that they will consult each other more regularly and closely on major international questions, that they will faithfully inform each other of their preoccupations."
He affirmed that “one can also expect that our direct exchanges will develop on the basis of equal treatment and mutual benefit.”

In conclusion, he expressed the wish that the relations between France and China would become a “Long March” of friendship.

In his toast, Premier Chou said that President Pompidou’s visit “constitutes an important contribution to the further development of Sino-French relations. We have many common or similar views on international questions; this will help our two countries make further efforts for the improvement of the international situation.”

“Looking forward, we are full of hope and confidence. We place our hope on all countries which are attached to national independence, adhere to equality between all states, irrespective of their size, and dare to resist the pressure of power. We place our hope on the people and on the younger generation. No force can stem the onward rushing current of history. The heroic death of Dr. Salvador Allende, President of Chile, will only serve to arouse still more the Chilean people to struggle. Whatever the zigzags, the prospects of the world is surely bright,” said Premier Chou.

That same evening, President Pompidou and French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, accompanied by Premier Chou and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, left Peking to visit Tatung city in Shansi Province.

An ancient city in north China, Tatung has a history of more than 2,000 years. With the birth of New China, it has been transformed into a rising new industrial city with a population of 700,000. The distinguished French visitors took great interest in their visit to the well-known Yunkang Grottoes 16 kilometres west of the city. The grottoes were built during the 5th century A.D. in the Northern Wei Dynasty. Fifty-three grottoes with 51,000 statues in them still remain.

In his speech at the banquet welcoming the French President, Hsieh Chen-hsun, Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, said that contacts between the Chinese and French people started very early and so did their art and cultural exchanges. President Pompidou said that both the people of China and France had ancient cultures. He said that cultural interchange between the two countries should be strengthened so that the fruits of the past millennia could be made to serve the present times.

After visiting Tatung and Hangchow, the French President and Foreign Minister arrived in Shanghai by special plane on September 16 and were warmly welcomed by leading members of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee and thousands of people.

In his toast at the banquet in honour of the French President that evening, Wang Hung-wen said that the President’s visit had opened a new page in the annals of relations between China and France. He asked the President and the other distinguished French guests to convey the warm regards of the people of Shanghai to the French people on their return to France.

In his speech, the French President spoke highly of the creative power, daring and initiative of the Shanghai people. He said: We must consolidate and multiply these ties. Both the Chinese and French people must work to make this enterprise a brilliant success.
A Major Step Towards National Concord in Laos

ON September 14, 1973, the representatives of the Lao Patriotic Forces side and the Vientiane Government side formally signed in Vientiane the Protocol to the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos. The protocol stipulates important measures for implementing the Vientiane agreement and the formation of a new Provisional National Union Government and a National Coalition Political Council. The signing of the protocol is a major step towards achieving national concord in Laos and a tremendous achievement of the Lao people and Lao Patriotic Forces following the signing of the Vientiane agreement. The Chinese Government and people welcome this and express their congratulations.

Since the signing of the Vientiane agreement on Laos, the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces have strictly abided by and conscientiously implemented the Vientiane agreement in the spirit of national concord, equality and mutual respect, and fought resolutely against the obstructions and sabotage of the bilateral negotiations by the ultra-Rightist forces in Laos. In the talks to settle the existing problems, the Lao Patriotic Forces set forth a series of reasonable and just proposals, demonstrated the greatest sincerity to seek national reconciliation and made positive contributions to promoting a peaceful solution of the Lao issue.

The signing of the protocol to the Vientiane agreement has proved once again that the matters of a country can only be handled by its own people. Free from foreign intervention, it is entirely possible for the people to settle their own internal affairs. In Laos today, to really end the war and realize national concord is the inevitable trend and common aspiration of the people. Although the ultra-Rightist forces in Laos tried their utmost to put up obstructions and even plotted a military coup in an attempt to scuttle the negotiations, agreement has been finally reached on a series of outstanding questions and a protocol signed after talks for several months. This is the result of the principled struggle by the Lao Patriotic Forces and the efforts made by some far-sighted personages of the Vientiane Government side. A new Provisional National Union Government and a National Coalition Political Council are to be formed. This is completely in conformity with the common aspirations of the entire Lao people. It is hoped that after its formation the Provisional National Union Government will function in accordance with the principle of unanimity of the two sides as stipulated in the Vientiane agreement and seriously implement the signed agreement and the political programme agreed upon by the two sides so as to enable Laos to embark step by step on the road to peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, unity and prosperity.

The Lao people's just cause to strive for and maintain independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity is invincible. The Lao people have traversed a road of struggle full of complexities and vicissitudes in the past 20 years. They are sure to encounter various difficulties and obstacles on their road of advance. However, it can be said with certainty that no difficulty or obstacle whatsoever can stop the victorious march of the tested and tempered Lao people.

China and Laos are friendly neighbours. A longstanding traditional friendship exists between our two peoples. The Chinese Government and people have always respected the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Laos and regarded it as their due internationalist obligation to support the just cause of the Lao people. We shall, as always, continue to resolutely support the just struggle of the Lao people. We are convinced that Sino-Lao friendship will certainly attain a new development in the days to come.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 16)
After the Lao Patriotic Forces side and the Vientiane Government side signed the Protocol to the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos on September 14 in Vientiane, the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front issued an appeal on September 15. The appeal notes that the signing of the protocol was a new victory for the Lao people and calls on the entire people to be ready to smash all schemes of sabotage. It stresses that the armymen and people of the Liberated Zone must firmly defend and consolidate the Liberated Zone. Following are excerpts of the appeal.—Ed.

The appeal says: The signing of the protocol marked a new period of the struggle to preserve durable peace and build a prosperous Laos on the basis of respect for the independence, democracy, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the nation.

It points out that the signing of the protocol on September 14 “is a new success of the entire Lao people following the victory of concluding the agreement on February 21, 1973. It is the victory of the Lao people’s will for national unification and national concord for which the Patriotic Forces have untiringly struggled by rallying all the parties and groupings, all political tendencies and all patriotic persons who stand for peace and neutrality and who wish to join efforts to build together our beloved fatherland into a prosperous country like many other countries in the world.”

“This achievement will create new and favourable conditions for our people of all nationalities in the country to build and develop the national economy according to the political programme of the Provisional National Union Government to be set up in the very near future, to improve their moral and material life, and to make our fatherland more and more beautiful and prosperous.”

The appeal says that the signing of the protocol and the Vientiane agreement have “become a very truthful reflection of the position and strength of the Lao Patriotic Forces and people that have grown stronger than ever before. This has gladdened our entire people and strengthened their confidence in the bright prospects of the struggle for peace and independence, for the realization of national concord and the construction of our prosperous fatherland.”

“The signing of the protocol is a bitter failure of the neo-colonialist forces of U.S. imperialism in Laos. It is also a humiliating failure of the ultra-reactionaries who are clinging to the U.S. war policy.

“These great victories are attributed to the heroic struggle and the sacrifices endured by the cadres, armymen and people throughout the country who have united in the fight against all schemes of sabotage on the part of the U.S. imperialists and the ultra-reactionary Sihanouk clique. The history of our nation will write down these wonderful exploits which our cadres, armymen and people have won for the sacred cause of the fatherland.”

The appeal says: “These great victories are also attributed to the militant solidarity and mutual assistance of the three Indochinese peoples. On this occasion, the Lao Patriotic Forces and the Lao people express their deep gratitude to the fraternal Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples.

“These victories cannot be separated from the active support and assistance of the governments and people of the socialist countries and the peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples all over the world. The Lao Patriotic Forces and people take this opportunity to express their profound thanks to them for their precious support.”

The appeal points out: “Our struggle for peace and national concord has passed through a stage successfully. But to translate the agreement and the protocol to the agreement into reality, we have to carry on a hard struggle. Our new struggle is glorious but arduous and complicated.” “Our struggle is a just and legitimate struggle which has recorded one great victory after another. It will surely obtain many more and yet greater successes.”

The Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front reaffirmed in its appeal the following unswerving stand of the Patriotic Forces: “The Patriotic Forces will, as in the past, always uphold their goodwill and put the interests of the nation and the people above all by respecting actively and strictly and implementing scrupulously the Vientiane agreement and its protocol in order to put into effect fully and correctly all the provisions of these documents, first of all those concerning the formation of the Provisional National Union Government and the National Coalition Political Council, and the neutralization of the royal capital of Luang Prabang and Vientiane City as the basis for the implementation of the other provisions of the agreement and the protocol. The L.P.F. Central Committee urges the Vientiane Government side to do the same.”

The appeal says: “The L.P.F. Central Committee calls on the entire people, cadres and combatants to
enhance their unity, heighten their vigilance, and stand ready to smash all the schemes of sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the ultra-reactionary Sananikone clique in order to maintain lasting peace and achieve national concord.

"Let the people in the Liberated Zone and the Patriotic Armed Forces enhance further their determination to firmly defend the Liberated Zone, push ahead economic construction and cultural development so as to consolidate the Liberated Zone on all planes, improve the people's livelihood and embellish the face of the Liberated Zone with every passing day.

"Let the people in the areas temporarily controlled by the Viêt-Lian side exercise their right of democracy and freedom provided for by the agreement and the protocol to defend their rights and interests. Let those forced to evacuate during the war demand an early return to their native villages as stipulated in the protocol.

"Let our entire people uphold the spirit of national concord, do away with all enmity caused by the policy of intervention, aggression and division of the U.S. imperialists, co-operate with one another on a long-term basis, unite millions as one man to defend peace, national independence, and together make our beloved country more and more prosperous. Let the Buddhist monks and nuns and all personalities, functionaries, patriotic political parties, students, officers, soldiers and policemen standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy devote all their talent and energy to the service of the fatherland."

The appeal calls on the peace- and justice-loving governments and people all over the world to continue their support and assistance to the Laotian people in the struggle for the defence of peace and independence of Laos as well as for the realization of national concord and the postwar reconstruction in the Kingdom of Laos.

Hail the Successful Conclusion of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries

The 4th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries has come to a triumphant end in Algiers. The number of countries attending the conference and the wide areas they represented are unprecedented. The conference discussed the current world situation and the tasks facing the non-aligned countries and adopted the Political Declaration of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and a series of other important documents. The great success of the conference signifies the unity and militant spirit of the non-aligned countries and demonstrates the firm will of the Third World's people to oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemony. The Chinese Government and people warmly congratulate the conference on its success.

The Algiers conference met against a background of an excellent international situation. Since the 1970 Lusaka conference, the non-aligned countries and people have won important victories in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against big-power hegemony and power politics, and for safeguarding national independence and sovereignty, developing the national economy and defending national resources. The ranks of the non-aligned countries have grown larger and larger and they are playing an ever more important role in international affairs. This reflects an irresistible historical trend — countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution.

The world today continues to be in a state of violent upheaval. The contention for world hegemony by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is aggravating international tension and posing a threat to the independence and security of numerous small and medium-sized countries. In their speeches at the conference, representatives of various countries expressed concern over the grave situation and pointed out that the Third World is still faced with arduous fighting tasks.

The declaration of the conference solemnly proclaims the rejection of any form of subordination or dependence and of any interference or pressure whether political, economic or military. It holds that the non-aligned countries should participate in international affairs on an equal basis and assume fully their international responsibilities. This demonstrates the justified desire of the countries of the Third World against hegemony and power politics and for equality between big and small countries and the complete mastery of their own destiny.

The conference indignantly denounced the crimes by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and fervently acclaimed the great victories of the just struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Gov-
The unity and growth of the Third World has made the superpowers panic-stricken. On the eve of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, Brezhnev, chieftain of the Soviet revisionists, wrote to President Boumediene a letter in which he went so far as to raise an absurd claim against dividing the world into big nations and small nations, and “rich countries” and “poor countries,” particularly against “putting” the Soviet Union and the United States, the two superpowers, “on a par.” Such insolence on the part of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to throw its weight about and dictate to the conference of non-aligned countries has naturally aroused indignation among the people. Brezhnev attempted to use an injunction to block the surging tide of struggle against hegemony only to make himself look ridiculous in the end.

China is a developing socialist country and belongs to the Third World. The Chinese people and the people of various Asian, African and Latin American countries have formed a close bond of friendship in their protracted common struggle. We firmly support the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all independence-cherishing and justice-upholding countries and people the world over in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemony, and we firmly support the non-aligned policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the non-aligned countries. We are convinced that as long as the Third World countries and people rely on their own strength, persevere in struggle, close their ranks, maintain vigilance and strengthen defence capability, they are bound to win greater victories in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, September 13)

(Continued from p. 3.)

Chinese Delegation to U.N. General Assembly

The 23th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations opened on September 18 at the U.N. Headquarters in New York. The composition of the Delegation of the People’s Republic of China to the General Assembly is as follows:

Chairman of the delegation: Chiao Kuan-hua;

Vice-Chairman of the delegation: Huang Hua;

Representatives: Chuang Yen, Wang Jun-sheng and Ling Ching;


On September 16, the U.S. Philadelphia Orchestra arrived in Peking two days before for its China tour.

Among those who attended the September 16 concert were Chinese leaders and leading members of the organization concerned: Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Wu Teh, Chiao Kuan-hua and Yang Chi. They met with the leaders and principal members of the orchestra after the concert and had a friendly conversation with them.

September 21, 1973

Philadelphia Orchestra In Peking

Peking’s music lovers welcomed the U.S. Philadelphia Orchestra which gave its premiere on September 14. Led by Eugene Ormandy, the conductor, the orchestra arrived in Peking two days before for its China tour.

Also present on the occasion were Huang Chen, chief of the Liaison Office of the People’s Republic of China in the U.S.A., and his wife, as well as David Bruce, chief of the Liaison Office of the U.S.A. in China, and Mrs. Bruce.

That evening, the orchestra played Beethoven’s Symphony No. 6 in F Major, Respighi’s symphonic poem Pines of Rome and Barber’s Adagio for strings. Its excellent performance won warm applause from the audience. Eugene Ormandy deeply impressed the audience by his unaffected and incisive way of conducting. The music lovers were exhilarated by the co-operation of American and Chinese musicians who together presented the piano concerto The Yellow River.
At Whom Is the Challenge Hurled?

by Hsin Ching

On August 29, shortly before the opening of the 4th Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the Soviet news agency TASS attacked China by name in a commentary entitled “Rich and Poor Countries—Who Is Served by the Terminology?” It huffed and puffed that by “advertising the ‘rich and poor countries’ conception in the non-aligned movement,” Peking was “setting the rich countries against the poor,” that this is “one of the chief arguments of Peking propaganda,” and so on and so forth. The accusation is grave indeed!

A singularly shoddy piece of work, this TASS commentary is filled with invectives against China but fails to quote a single statement made by China. The only remark repeatedly quoted and attacked in the commentary was not made by China either. Hence the question: At whom is the Soviet revisionists’ challenge hurled?

Long years of aggression, oppression and exploitation by imperialism (naturally including tsarist Russia) against the Asian, African and Latin American countries have resulted in their economic backwardness and impoverishment. Following in U.S. imperialism’s footsteps, social-imperialism has engaged in aggression, expansion and plunder everywhere in recent years. In condemning the aggression, oppression and exploitation by the imperialists, in particular the superpowers, many leaders and press of the Asian, African and Latin American countries have pointed out sharply that “the world is divided into poor countries and rich countries.” TASS’ attack, ostensibly directed at China, is actually a challenge hurled at the countries of the Third World. The only remark quoted and attacked in the TASS commentary is the very one recently made by Houari Boumedienne, President of the Council of Revolution and Premier of the Government of Algeria. President Boumedienne said: “If in the past the world was divided into two blocs, the communist bloc and the capitalist bloc, today, in our view, it is composed of two parts: the rich world and the poor world. . . .”

This is the very statement which came under heavy fire in the TASS commentary. Need the apologists of social-imperialism be told that President Boumedienne made the remark in an interview with Mr. Ahmed Fargag, special correspondent of the Egyptian Radio and Television Corporation? The interview was released by the Algerian Press Service on August 18. Earlier, the same agency made public on August 16 another statement made by President Boumedienne to the Egyptian weekly al-Mussamar, in which he said that “today the world is divided into poor countries and rich countries,” and raised the slogan: “Poor people of the world, unite.” It would be no trouble at all for TASS, since there must be somebody who understands French on its staff, to check the statements from the releases of the Algerian Press Service. Why don’t you do just that?

The TASS commentary is also a challenge to the non-aligned movement as a whole. It is common knowledge that the thesis about “the world divided into rich and poor countries,” which was attacked by TASS, is a well-known thesis of the entire non-aligned movement. The declaration adopted at the Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in September 1970 said: “The gap between the developed and the developing countries is increasingly widening, the rich growing richer and the poor remaining poor.” This being an official document of an international conference, TASS would probably have difficulty in denying it, try as it might.

In fact many leaders of non-aligned countries have more than once touched on the thesis about “the world divided into rich and poor countries” and the exploitation of the poor countries by the rich. Speaking at the Third Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Santiago in April 1972, President Echeverria of Mexico and the late President Allende of Chile condemned the imperialist plunder and exploitation of and interference in the poor countries. In May 1970, commenting on the Montevideo international conference on the rights of territorial waters, the Jornal do Brasil wrote: “It is another confrontation between the poor and rich countries.”

TASS is perfectly aware that the thesis about “the world divided into rich and poor countries” was put forward not by China but by some leaders of the non-aligned countries and in their official documents. To attack this thesis, the Soviet revisionists, reviling the locust tree while pointing to the mulberry, as a Chinese saying goes, chose China as a target, alleging that Peking has imposed this thesis on the non-aligned movement. Wouldn’t it be nearer the truth to say that it is you Soviet revisionist gentlemen who are trying to impose your view on others?
Now this may be purely coincidental. Anyway, at the very time when TASS was pouring out a stream of invectives against China, Dzois more, Vice-President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. who was visiting Mexico, told the Mexican paper El Dia that the Soviet Union considered that "the position of Mexico is correct. The world is truly divided into rich countries and poor countries." The Vice-President is surely going to get it hot from Moscow. To talk about the world divided into rich and poor countries is a taboo for the Soviet revisionists. But the gentleman has ignored the taboo and stood on the side of "Peking propaganda." A disgusting impertinence indeed! But the Vice-President had felt embarrassed and hastily added: "The Soviet Union is a rich country. There is no doubt about this. But its riches have not been obtained from the exploitation of other peoples." The last sentence reminds one of a thief saying: "The missing treasure is not buried here." No one but a robber would keep on harping about his honesty. The crux of the matter is: the Kremlin chiefs react by conditioned reflex to the mere mention about rich countries oppressing and exploiting the poor countries. They feel that such "terminology" as "poor" and "rich" is unfavourable to them, and so they respond to it with vituperation or sophistry. But the end result is that they only succeed in setting themselves, a superpower, against the Third World countries. That is all there is to it!

### Third World Struggle Against Hegemony

**The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.** This line from a Chinese poem is a fitting commentary on the world in great disorder today.

The two superpowers that have caused the world much unrest have been thrown into confusion and become increasingly isolated in face of the struggle of the people of various countries.

Daring to struggle and united in fighting, the vigorously rising Third World has formed a strong political wind resisting the hegemony and power politics of the superpowers. This is an important sign of the present excellent international situation.

**Destiny-Deciding Struggle**

Since the end of World War II, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been surging forward, turning the rear areas of imperialism into the frontline of struggle against imperialism. With the imperialist colonial system collapsing fast, a number of countries in the three continents have won independence. The Third World today plays an ever more important role as a vigorous newborn force in the international political arena.

The United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers, have tried in vain to arrest the march of history. They want to ride roughshod over the medium-sized and small countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and plunder them at will. This is particularly true of Soviet social-imperialism which has followed in the footsteps of U.S. imperialism. Putting up the "socialism" signboard and flaunting the banner of "supporting the anti-imperialist struggle," it has stretched out its claws everywhere and engaged zealously in expansion. Gradually, more and more countries have come to see through the true colours of this superpower as social-imperialism and have begun waging a struggle against its interference, control, aggression and subversion.

Battered by the struggle of the Third World against superpower hegemony, Soviet social-imperialism has become panicky. It is trying its utmost to spread in the Third World the argument that the two superpowers are not to be opposed. The Soviet Union, it asserts, should not be put on a par with imperialism. But facts cannot be suppressed. What Soviet social-imperialism has done is known to all. Look at the facts. It is engaged in frantic arms expansion and war preparations, seeks nuclear superiority and scrambles for maritime hegemony. From Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle and Near East, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the South Asian subcontinent to the Far East, it is trying to get a foothold or even a toehold wherever possible. It has occupied territories of many of its neighbours. It has stationed massive troops in its so-called "fraternal countries," and gone so far as to send troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, putting these countries under Soviet occupation and enslavement. It helped in the dismemberment of Pakistan, backed up the traitor Lon Nol clique of Cambodia and committed acts of subversion, interference, control and exploitation against many countries in the Third World. It has also attempted to split, deceive and betray the national-liberation movements. Public opinion of
many Third World countries has thus pointed out that the Soviet Union is a “false friend,” a “dangerous friend,” one who has honey on his lips but murder in his heart, and that “the Soviet Union is actually an imperialist country.” From their own experience the people of the Third World have come to know that the two superpowers are imperialist countries and their common enemies and that the small and medium-sized countries would again fall victim to the neo-colonialist yoke of the superpowers if they do not wage a resolute struggle against superpower hegemony and expansionism. It has dawned on them that this struggle has a direct bearing on the destiny of Third World countries.

The struggle against the hegemony of the two superpowers is ordained by the course of events and the outcome of the evolution of history. The history of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the past decades is a history of struggle against colonialism, against neocolonialism and then against the hegemony of the two superpowers. The non-aligned movement which rose in the 1960s is growing and maturing in the stormy struggle of the Third World against the hegemony of the two superpowers. Since 1961, the conferences of the non-aligned countries have set themselves the task of fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, supporting the national-liberation movements and defending world peace. The Third Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1970 went a step further in denouncing the crimes of the superpowers in contending for world domination and issued a clarion call for stopping big powers’ intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Today many non-aligned countries uphold independence and freedom from dependence on one or the other superpower, stand for the democratization of international relations, oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and repudiate superpower hegemony, expansionism and power politics. These calls and demands confirm the positive role the non-aligned movement plays in international politics today and make clear that its status cannot be ignored. It proclaims to the world that gone are the days when imperialism and superpowers could bully and dominate the small and medium-sized countries at will.

Dare to Struggle, Persist in Struggle

Today, many small and medium-sized countries of the Third World have exploded the myth about the superpowers. In the crucible of struggle they have learnt that so long as they dare to stand up to them and resist and fight in unity, that colossus of a superpower will reveal its inherent weakness and cannot escape its inevitable doom.

A striking example is provided by the great victories won by the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. U.S. imperialism hurled into the Viet Nam war over half a million men and thousands of aircraft and dropped nearly 8 million tons of bombs. It spent something like 200,000 million dollars in direct war expenditure, employed all kinds of sophisticated arms short of nuclear weapons and spread the flames of war from south to north Viet Nam. Despite all this, it was beaten by the Vietnamese people time and again and finally had to sign the Paris agreement to restore peace in Viet Nam and withdraw all its armed forces.

The brilliant victory won by the valiant Cambodian people is another triumph of a small nation over a big power. U.S. imperialism has done everything it could to groom and shore up the traitorous Lon Nol clique, including the dispatch of large numbers of U.S. aircraft to bomb indiscriminately the liberated areas of Cambodia. But far from being subdued, the patriotic Cambodian army and people have grown stronger and stronger in battle, compelling U.S. imperialism to cease its air strikes and throwing the traitorous Lon Nol clique into a hopeless impasse.

The vortex of struggle shows that it is impossible for a superpower to subdue by force of arms a nation determined to fight for its independence and liberation. Relying on the people, daring to fight and persisting in struggle, a weak or small nation can defeat aggression by a big and strong power.

Soviet social-imperialism is also a paper tiger. Using “aid” as a bait and “anti-imperialism” as a smokescreen, it always fishes in troubled waters and makes the most when others are in adversity. Actually, “anti-imperialism” is nothing but contention with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence and “aid” only a means of carrying out infiltration and domination. The Arab people have seen through such despicable acts of the Soviet revisionists. A marked sign of this was that on July 18, last year Egyptian President Anwar Sadat announced “an end to the Soviet military advisers’ mission in Egypt” and sent them packing.

Quite a number of small and medium-sized countries have in recent years waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the big-power hegemony of the Soviet revisionists. Some firmly withstood Soviet political pressure to get them sign a so-called “treaty of friendship”; some, in defence of their own national dignity, resisted the big-power chauvinist approach of the Soviet Union in international intercourse; others refused to allow Soviet war vessels to ply their ports and territorial waters; still others expelled Soviet agents who in the guise of diplomats had conducted subversive activities . . .

Exasperated, Soviet social-imperialism could do nothing but to get into a huff in face of the head-on blows of the small and medium-sized countries.

The struggle of the Latin American countries to defend their rights over 200-nautical-mile territorial waters and economic zones writes a new chapter in the struggle of the Third World against big-power hege-
mony. While contending for maritime hegemony, the two superpowers collude with each other in pushing their maritime colonialism. They attempt to encroach on the sovereignty of the small and medium-sized nations over their territorial waters and to deprive them of their right to exploit their maritime resources. But in defiance of all threats, the Latin American countries have repeatedly seized piratic fishing boats that intruded into their territorial waters for illegal fishing, and taken steps to defend their sovereignty over their territorial waters and maritime resources. Initiated by Chile and Peru, the struggle to defend sovereign right over territorial waters against the sea tyrants has spread quickly. Now, a number of coastal countries, not only in Latin America, but also in Asia and Africa, have joined the struggle and declared an extension of their territorial waters. These facts show that small and medium-sized countries have the determination and the strength to resist big-power hegemony.

Unity Is Guarantee for Victory

In their scramble for hegemony the two superpowers trample underfoot the interests of small and medium-sized countries. Thus a common fate and the same target in their struggle bring the countries of the Third World close together. They realize that they must unite in the struggle against hegemony, for it is their guarantee for victory. The Solemn Declaration on General Policy, unanimously adopted by the 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the African Countries not long ago, declares, “In the face of the imperialist manoeuvres aimed at undermining our unity, we pledge ourselves to remain united.”

The remarkable progress made in solidarity, cooperation and unity in struggle by the African countries in recent years has powerfully pushed forward their fight against imperialism, colonialism, racism and big-power hegemony. As a result, the African countries have been able to smash the armed aggression and subversive schemes contrived and supported by imperialism, resist all kinds of pressure from the superpowers and defend state sovereignty. This unity in struggle has isolated the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia as never before. With the support coming from other parts of Africa, the people of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea (Bissau) have made much headway in their armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. On the basis of this unity some African countries have been able to settle by friendly consultations between themselves disputes left over from colonial domination.

The victory won by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries over the imperialist oil monopolies has proved the strength displayed by the small and medium-sized countries in unity and concerted actions. The oil resources of the Third World have for long been monopolized by the international oil consortiums which robbed them of enormous wealth. But when the petroleum exporting countries united, co-ordinated their policies and took joint actions, the consortiums were forced to make one concession after another. Consequently, these countries were able to steadily increase their income and to exercise their sovereign right over oil to varying extents.

The small and medium-sized countries in many regions are opposed to the superpowers' policy of nuclear threat and blackmail and have jointly proposed the setting up of a “non-nuclear zone” or “zone of peace.” Soviet social-imperialism, however, openly takes exception to these just proposals. To this day it has refused to make any concrete pledge to the demand of the Latin American countries for establishing a Latin American non-nuclear area. It is the only nuclear country which has not signed Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. It has also turned a deaf ear to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace made jointly by Sri Lanka and 26 other countries. When this draft resolution was put to the vote at the U.N. First Committee, the overwhelming majority voted for it whereas the Soviet Union, together with the United States, Portugal and South Africa, abstained. These facts reveal the fierce features of the superpowers in stubbornly clinging to the policy of hegemony and at the same time point up their isolation in face of the joint struggle of the Third World countries.

The peoples of the Third World share common experiences. They are united in waging a joint struggle in which their alliance strengthens. This is something which strikes the superpowers with terror.

The world belongs to the world's people. That one or two superpowers dream of dominating it runs counter to the trend of history. The one-time arrogant U.S. imperialism, which boasted that it would exercise leadership over the world for ever, is tumbling down from its summit. These same gloomy prospects loom large for Soviet social-imperialism, which indulges in expansion relentlessly. It also is outwardly fierce but inwardly brittle and very weak.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of history. The people of the Third World and Europe, North America and Oceania support each other and co-ordinate their actions in their just struggle. The entire international situation is just like “the wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.” The two superpowers are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and are heading for doom. Pounded by the anti-imperialist revolutionary storm throughout the world, they are in a fix. As a line of another Chinese verse goes: “Flowers fall off, do what one may.”

(A commentary by Haihua Correspondent, September 5)
An Important Historical Experience

by Tien Chih-sung

WHILE paying attention to one tendency, it is imperative to note that this tendency could very well be covering another tendency. This is an important historical experience scientifically summed up by our great leader Chairman Mao from the practice of revolution and construction in China.

In the political report delivered to the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Chou En-lai emphatically pointed out: “Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another.” He used the historical experience of the two-line struggles within the Party to demonstrate the importance of going against the tide. The general programme of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China has summed up the lessons and experience gained in the two-line struggles in the past and laid down clearly that “comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide.”

Pay attention to one tendency but not forgetting to note that it could be covering another tendency is the materialist-dialectical world outlook and methodology. All things contain two contradictory aspects and have “contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies.” (Lenin: On the Question of Dialectics.) Opposites struggle with each other and, under certain conditions, always transform themselves into each other. The idealist, metaphysical viewpoint is blind to the struggle of opposites and their transformation, blind to the fact that one tendency could well be covering another tendency. This viewpoint leads to a wrong estimation of the class forces and erroneous directives for work and causes harm to the revolution.

Profound Lessons

In this respect, profound lessons can be drawn from the history of our Party. During the latter period of the First Revolutionary Civil War when Chen Tu-hsiu’s Right opportunist line of “all alliance, no struggle” dominated the Party’s leading organs, the revolution met with defeat. Our Party opposed this Right opportunist line and rectified this deviation. Soon afterwards, Chu Chiu-pai’s “Left” putchism emerged and held sway during the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928, followed by Li Li-san’s “Left” opportunist line in June-September 1930 and then Wang Ming’s “Left” opportunist line of 1931-34.

The renegade Wang Ming, in particular, did not understand a thing about class relations in China, denying the existence of a middle camp. He raved that the middle-of-the-roaders were “the most dangerous enemy” and called for wholesale opposition to the bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, forcing on the Party a “Left” opportunist line of “all struggle, no alliance” and thus causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause.

At the same time, the Right splinter line of Lo Chang-lung which appeared from the other extreme when the revolution was at a low ebb lost sight of our achievements when confronted with temporary difficulties, failed to see the bright future and was pessimistic about the revolution, slithered into liquidationism and plotted to split the Party.

The fight against one erroneous line tends to mask another erroneous line. Sometimes a Right deviation is covered up when a “Left” deviation is being combated and sometimes a “Left” deviation is covered up when a Right tendency is being fought. At other times, while opposing a “Left” tendency, another tendency even more “Left” than the one opposed is covered up. Mistakes and setbacks have educated us and in the midst of struggles our Party came to recognize Chairman Mao as its great leader. At the Tsunyi Meeting in 1935, Chairman Mao’s leading position in the whole Party was established and the Party’s line was put on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

In leading our Party in revolutionary struggles, Chairman Mao has always adhered to the dialectical-materialist method in observing and analyzing problems and guiding revolutionary practice. He has always kept a firm hold on the helm, watchful of the covered-up tendency while taking note of the main tendency so that the Party steered clear of many hidden shoals and advanced victoriously along the correct course. During the Red Army’s Long March subsequent to the Tsunyi Meeting, Chairman Mao led the whole Party to smash the Right splittist line of Chang Kuo-tao and to win a great victory in accomplishing the world-famous Long March of 25,000 li, thereby laying a solid foundation for the victorious prosecution of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

When the national contradiction between China and Japan rose to become the principal contradiction during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the domestic contradictions between classes have for the
time being dropped into a secondary place, the renegade Wang Ming sprang from the extreme “Left” to the extreme Right, reverting to Chen Tu-hsiu’s Right opportunist line of “all alliance, no struggle.” He clamored that “everything should be done through the united front” and “everything must be subordinated to the united front,” which in essence meant everything was to be done through the Kuomintang and subordinated to the Kuomintang, not daring to wage a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang’s reactionary policies and handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese national united front to the Kuomintang.

Chairman Mao led the whole Party to criticize and repudiate Wang Ming’s Right opportunist line and to adhere to the policy of both alliance and struggle with the bourgeoisie and achieving unity through struggle. In the Party’s relations with the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao always and repeatedly taught the whole Party that, at a time when alliance was the main trend, we must not neglect necessary and resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie’s plots to undermine the alliance and must fight the Right deviation of “all alliance, no struggle.”

Comrade Chou En-lai in his report to the Tenth Congress said: “Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten.”

**Foresight Is Necessary**

During the period of socialist revolution, there have been many instances of one tendency covering another. In the early post-liberation days when China’s socialist revolution and construction had scored initial successes and were expanding further, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih banded together in an anti-Party alliance and vainly attempted to split the Party Central Committee and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1958 China’s industrial and agricultural production flourished and made a great leap forward, and in this excellent situation of rapid development in both revolution and construction Peng Teh-huai surfaced in 1958 to attack the general line, the great leap forward and the people’s commune and tried to seize the leadership of the Party and the state and restore capitalism. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the shattering of the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and his revisionist line covered Lin Piao’s revisionist line. The historical experiences of these two-line struggles demonstrate that guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the hearts of the people; that Party unity has been strengthened all the time and the Party’s fine style of work has become ever more developed; that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated and socialist revolution and construction are making great strides forward. This is the main stream, the main tendency. But the class enemies will never be reconciled to their defeat: they will surface to make trouble. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught the Party to use the theory of “one divides into two” to look at problems and beware of one tendency covering another tendency. He enjoined the whole Party to “practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire.” This is not only because the struggle between the two classes and the two lines at home will inevitably find reflection inside the Party, but also because internationally imperialism and social-imperialism, to carry out their aggression and subversion against China, will naturally try to find agents inside our Party. Consequently, the two-line struggle inside the Party will inevitably be of long duration. If we fail to see this, if we fail to see that representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party will practise revisionism, cause splits and carry out intrigues and conspiracies, we shall be disarmed ideologically and organizationally and grave harm will be done to the Party’s cause.

The reason why our Party today is united and flourishing as never before and socialist revolution and construction are winning continuous victories is because our Party under Chairman Mao’s wise leadership saw through and defeated in time the anti-Party plots of capitalist-readers in authority like Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. At present, great victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and an excellent situation prevails on all fronts. Naturally, we have cause for rejoicing. However, we must not assume that henceforth all is peace and quiet and we can lower our revolutionary guard or relax our revolutionary fighting will. If we bury ourselves in production and vocational work and do not pay attention to grasping the ideological and political line and grasping the implementation of policies and the building of the leading groups, if we pay attention only to the line and policies for specific work and forget the basic line and policies of the Party, if we become preoccupied with day-to-day work and forget to grasp well first of all the major matters of the whole Party and the overall situation, we shall not be able to see clearly the orientation and the enemy will take advantage of this and the consequences will be serious. We must never at any time forget Chairman Mao’s instruction: “We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance.”

One tendency obscuring another also frequently occurs in our day-to-day work and the life of our Party.
This is why Chairman Mao always reminds the whole Party: Guard against “Left” deviations when the army has won victories in attacks against the enemy; guard against Right deviations when the army has suffered defeats; in land reform guard against Right deviations where the masses have not yet been fully aroused and the struggle has not yet unfolded, and guard against “Left” deviations where the masses have been fully aroused and the struggle has already unfolded; in handling contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, guard against attacking on too broad a front, and in implementing policies, guard against reversing all previous decisions; and when times are rough, keep in sight the bright future and pluck up courage and guard against despondency, pessimism and a sense of frustration; and when things are going fine, we should anticipate likely difficulties and problems and guard against unfounded optimism, conceit and arrogance. Furthermore, politics and vocational work, revolution and production, the whole and the part, the leadership and the led, democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, red and expert, the advanced and the backward and so on are all two contradictory aspects of things we frequently meet with in the course of our work. We must grasp the dialectical relationship between them, analyse and tackle problems in a comprehensive manner so as to do our work well and propel socialist revolution and construction forward.

To note one tendency being covered by another, we must not only be able to discern and solve in time the secondary tendency which has already appeared, but must also have prescience of problems which we have not yet perceived but which may probably arise. The idea is to take precautions beforehand. Foresight is not a subjective product of the brain; it is scientific estimation and judgment of the trend of development of a thing arrived at through revolutionary practice and based on objective laws. To be able to do this, we must take part in revolutionary practice, make a comprehensive and systematic investigation and study of the actual situation, seeing its present state and its future, and its positive and negative aspects, noting not only isolated things but their internal relations. Then we make a comprehensive analysis of this rich material and estimate the various possibilities of development, adopt appropriate measures to achieve optimum results. So, even if an unfavourable situation should emerge we shall not be at a loss as we are already prepared against all eventualities. Only when foresight tallies relatively well with facts can we have freedom of action and really do a good job of our work.

Going Against the Tide

We must work hard to grasp the laws of development of an objective thing and push its development in a direction favourable to the revolution. But if an erroneous tendency already exists and is endangering the Party's cause, we must have the resolution and courage to go against the tide and wage a resolute struggle against this erroneous tendency.

Chairman Mao has taught us: “Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.” All Communists and revolutionaries must have the revolutionary spirit to oppose opportunism and revisionism and all other erroneous trends. Of course, when one confronts an erroneous trend, there is not only the question of daring or not daring to go against it but also the question of being able to recognize it or not. To discern a trend, one must “read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism.” Moreover, one must take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, remould one's world outlook and enhance one's ideological and political consciousness. Only thus can one judge between a right and a wrong trend and distinguish the Marxist line from the revisionist line. Only thus can one make sure what one must support and what one must oppose, and be sure one is opposing the right thing. More often than not, what turned out to be correct in history was not recognized by most people at the very outset. Many people often fail at first to spot a wrong trend and tendency. But once it is recognized, we must display a dauntless spirit of upholding what is true and be daring to expose, boycott and oppose the wrong trend. We must not flinch even when we come under the attack of the conservative and reactionary forces and find ourselves isolated. Newborn, revolutionary things are invincible, while an erroneous trend will eventually be spurned by the broad masses of the people. Especially in a socialist country like ours, the advanced elements who range themselves against an erroneous trend are sure to receive the firm support and protection of our Party and people. Marxism has developed in its struggles against the erroneous trend of revisionism, splits and intrigues and conspiracies. No one can call himself a Marxist unless he opposes this erroneous trend when he comes face to face with it.

In the long years of revolutionary struggles, Chairman Mao, with dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit, has always led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles against opportunism, revisionism and other erroneous tendencies that appeared in the Party. He has always adhered to the principled stand of Marxism and opposed the erroneous lines even when they got the upper hand and the correct line was not understood by the majority. In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. We must learn well from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary spirit, strive to master the dialectical-materialist methods of thinking and work, and learn to use the "theory of two points" to analyse problems. This will enable us to carry out in a better way Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and lead the revolution forward from victory to victory.

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Peking Review, No. 38
Revolution in Education

Why the University Enrolling System Should Be Reformed

by Chu Yen

This is the first of two articles on reforming the system of enrolling university students. The second will appear in our next issue. — Ed.

THE course for pushing the revolution in higher education was charted by Chairman Mao’s important directive of July 21, 1968 which, among other things, pointed out: “Put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years’ study.”

Under the impact of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify style of work, the revolution in education, with the July 21 directive as its guideline, has made much headway in the past five years, setting in motion profound changes on the university campus. Institutes of higher learning began enrolling students again in 1970. Thousands of worker, peasant and soldier students have entered the university portals. Together with the revolutionary teachers, they applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the transformation of universities and pursued their studies along the road of being red and expert (politically and professionally qualified). The first group of students selected from among workers, peasants and soldiers have already graduated or will soon complete their courses this year. Meanwhile, a greater number of them are expected to be enrolled.

An Important Part of Educational Revolution

Reforming the enrolling system is an important part of the revolution in education. To select university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers and send them back to their midst after graduation has opened the way for the implementation of the principle that “education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour.” This is of far-reaching significance to the building up of a new and mighty contingent of working-class intellectuals and the realization and consolidation of the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

What sort of people the universities enrol and train directly mirrors the political orientation of education. Enrolment is a matter which exerts influence on a whole generation and has a bearing on which road should the young people be guided to take. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, when the revisionist line held sway in education, the old university entrance examination system served as an important check-post for bourgeois intellectuals to dominate the campus. Ostensibly paraded as “equality before marks,” actually it was cultural autocracy of the bourgeoisie. The aim was to keep the university gates closed to workers, peasants and soldiers and their children. Working like a baton, this system herded the young people along the wrong road of “studying in order to become an official” and “giving first place to intellectual development” and encouraged them to climb the ladder of intellectual aristocracy. This entrance examination system and educational line ran counter to the needs of the socialist cause.

So when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao began, action was first taken in the cultural and educational fields. And when this great revolution was on the rise, it was not by chance that the Red Guards, with the support of the workers, peasants and soldiers, lost no time in toppling the old entrance examination system. After Chairman Mao’s July 21 directive had been made public, the universities initiated reforms in the enrolling system, and the long-cherished desire of millions upon millions of workers, peasants and soldiers was realized. Choosing university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers is a revolution in the history of education and an important achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Adherence to the reforms in the enrolling system is bound to meet with repeated struggles. One must take note of the fact that “what is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and maintain its position within the newly acquired form.” To select students according to the July 21 directive, it is necessary to firmly put proletarian politics in command, give first place to political quality and attach due importance to practical experience. These are the promises, and it is necessary to supplement them with an appropriate test of the entrants’ cultural level. Nevertheless, the way this test is conducted involves not only methods but the political line. It is imperative to make a sharp distinction between such a test of cultural level and the defunct university entrance examinations. Students are selected primarily on their political merits and practical experience. The cultural test is aimed merely to verify the practical experience of the entrants and their ability in using basic knowledge to analyse and solve practical problems. In so doing we can do a better job in choosing

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students on the basis of their moral, intellectual and physical qualities instead of testing how much of the middle school textbooks they can repeat by rote.

In this way, the educated youth will be encouraged to take a more active part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and earnestly accept re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers. This has been fully borne out by practice in the last few years. If the selection of students is decided solely on their cultural level which in turn is judged only by examinations of book knowledge alone, there is a great likelihood of misleading the young people on to the capitalist road of “studying behind closed doors” and divorcing themselves from workers and peasants. We must investigate and study by various means to find out the entreat’s ideology and cultural level. We must never again take them by surprise at examinations nor judge by examination papers alone the wisdom, ability and political level of workers and peasants who are well-grounded in practical experience. Hasn’t the old university entrance examination system from liberation up to 1966 given us enough lessons? What reason is there for not discarding this system which the bourgeois is valued as a magic weapon? Did the imperial examinations of ancient times produce men of real learning and ability? Rather, it was quite often the case that those who did not make the grade at the preliminary examinations had some real knowledge and talent. Therefore, only by following Chairman Mao’s directive and reforming the old examination system can we push the revolution in education forward and create favourable conditions for the healthy growth of the young people.

Relying on Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

Since the new system of enrolment entails selection of students from among workers, peasants and soldiers, we must firmly rely on the worker, peasant and soldier masses. In the days of feudalism the imperial examinations were in the sole charge of the “examiners.” So were the university entrance examinations when education was under the domination of the revisionist line. The power of these “examiners” symbolized the dictatorship of the exploiting classes in the sphere of education. To invest the masses with the power of enrolling university students as is done today embodies working-class leadership and supervision by the worker and peasant masses in education. Here recommendation by the masses is basic, not something to be trifled with as mere formality. The masses know best who are up to the requirements to go to the university and who are not, and they are the best qualified to give recommendations. It is wrong for decisions to be taken by a few people behind the backs of the masses.

By doing a conscientious, good job in appraisal and recommendation out of a revolutionary sense of responsibility, the worker and peasant masses not only can pick outstanding youth for the universities according to the Party’s policies, but can also give the young people an important ideological and political education. For this will enable all, the recommended and not recommended alike, to gain a clearer understanding of orientation, bring forth their vigour and vitality and advance along the road of integrating themselves with workers and peasants.

A Good Beginning

Practice in the past few years has borne out most conspicuously the superiority of selecting university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers. The new enrolment system has given impetus to the revolution in higher education and changed the face of the universities. This finds expression above all in political orientation. The new-type university students have all done several years’ productive labour in factories or the rural areas and gained some practical experience. This is all to the good. But what is of primary importance is not that they have picked up some practical experience preparatory to taking up specialized studies but that learning from society and from workers and peasants they have raised their political consciousness, filled their minds with sound ideas and come to realize gradually the correct orientation of their growth. For those at the age of twenty or so, it is a matter of importance to the remoulding of their world outlook that their thinking, guided by the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, is stamped with the brand of the workers and peasants. Thus they will see clearly they owe it to the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants that they are given a university training. In this way, a more solid ideological foundation is laid for further solving the problem of for whom they study. Bearing in mind that “the workers, peasants and soldiers need us,” the overwhelming majority of the graduates will return to the front line of the three great revolutionary movements full of vigour and vitality, and be one with the masses as before. The workers, peasants and soldiers say in their praise: “They look our way and do not turn their backs on us.”

In sharp contrast to this, the old-type universities induced the young to keep aloof from workers and peasants. Some university students from worker or peasant families were so corrupted by bourgeois ideas that they were completely alienated from workers, peasants and soldiers. So goes one saying: “Bumpkins the first year and urbanized dandies the second, they cut ma and pa dead the third.” Doesn’t the comparison give us much food for thought?

Chairman Mao has always stressed: “In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so.” That the workers, peasants and soldiers welcome university graduates of the new type testifies to the complete correctness of Chairman Mao’s orientation for the educational revolution.

Since worker, peasant and soldier students come from and return to the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, the object of higher education
and the aim of training both differ from the past. This calls for a fundamental reform in the university syllabus. Once they set foot on the university campus, the worker, peasant and soldier students propel continuously the development of the educational revolution and effect changes, in an increasingly profound way, in the principles, contents and methods of teaching and even in the ranks of teachers.

A major problem in the reform is to employ the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge and carry out the principle of "uniting theory and practice" so as to do away with the evil practice of divorcing theory from practice. Many teachers have come to understand that more often than not the way the worker, peasant and soldier students go about their studies differs from what is required by the old methods of teaching. This is because these students, having been in contact with practice, demand teaching to proceed from practice and by the method of enlightenment. Such being the case, the outmoded standards of teaching can no longer remain intact. In the past two or three years, the teachers and students, putting their heads together, have introduced bold reforms and begun to accumulate some valuable experience. This consists in energetically guiding the students to learn theory from practical experience, to apply the theory learnt and to concentrate efforts on cultivating the ability to analyse and solve problems. It requires teachers to help students give full play to their initiative and creativity and organize and guide them to study by themselves. The purpose is to enable the students to make lively progress. Facts have proved that so long as the reform is carried out satisfactorily in this direction, the period of schooling can be shortened, courses made fewer and better and the quality of teaching improved, all adding up to better results.

**Teaching Quality Improved**

Some people are skeptical of workers, peasants and soldiers entering the university. Their doubts are focused on the quality of teaching and study, the quality of knowledge in particular. Basing themselves on mistaken viewpoints and wrong methods, these people judge new reforms by old concepts and evaluate new things with an old yardstick. Hence they cannot draw a correct conclusion.

We cannot talk about the quality of teaching apart from the political line. Political orientation is the first criterion of the quality of teaching. No matter how much one learns, it is useless if the orientation is wrong. What after all is knowledge in terms of cultural level? How do we judge whether one's knowledge is great or little, profound or shallow? These questions can only be answered correctly by the application of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge which puts practice in the first place and declares: "The one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it."

Under the old educational system, however, students were confined within the school walls. For years many of them did not see how the workers worked and the peasants farmed, but recited and memorized rules and formulas year in and year out. The more they studied, the more foolish they became. When practical problems of class struggle and the struggle for production came up, their smattering of knowledge and great ignorance were there for all to see. Was there any "theoretical depth" to speak of?

We do not want to train bookworms but people who can play a useful part in socialist revolution and construction. As the students will leave the university after a few years' study, they are not expected to master all the knowledge which they can use all their lives. What is important is that they acquire a correct world outlook and methodology, master basic theoretical knowledge, learn how to use theoretical knowledge to analyse and solve problems and continue to increase this ability in the change of future practice. The worker, peasant and soldier students now pay greater attention to taking part in practical struggles from which they can draw new strength. Wherever they are they identify themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from the masses and put the knowledge they have learnt from books to good use. Many of them have already made gratifying achievements after taking up jobs again.

Our revolution in education is advancing. The ranks of teachers are being reformed and their level raised along with the deep-going development of this great revolution. Our teaching methods and materials are being steadily improved and perfected. In the course of practice, we have deepened our understanding of the laws of proletarian education. All this will surely serve to raise the quality of teaching constantly.

Profound changes have been brought about on the university campus since the admission of worker, peasant and soldier students in pursuance of Chairman Mao's July 21 directive. There have been wide repercussions in society, too. This is a very good thing. Fundamentally speaking, these repercussions mean dealing the bourgeoisie and the old forces of habit a big shock. This shows that, instead of taking over the educational system and ideology of the exploiting classes intact, we are carrying out a reform and making a revolution. The cause we have undertaken is "the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

In China, the exploiting classes ran education for several thousand years and the revisionists for 17 years. By dint of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a fundamental revolution in education has just begun. Bourgeois influence is stubborn and the trial of strength between the two classes remains intense and long-drawn-out. If we fail to do our work well, a capitalist restoration is possible at any time. We must not take a casual attitude towards the struggle in this sphere, but must foster the revolutionary steadfastness of the proletariat and adhere to the philosophy of struggle, continue to make war on the old system and ideas and enthusiastically nurture and develop revolutionary new-born things.

(An abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 8, 1973. Subheads are ours.)

*September 21, 1973*
CHILE

Military Coup

The three services and police chiefs of Chile staged an anti-government, rebellious military coup on September 11 and overthrew the government of President Salvador Allende.

The military coup was staged in the wake of a train of incidents engineered by certain reactionary forces at home and abroad to disrupt the nation's economic life and social order.

President Allende, with the support of the presidential guards and civil police, put up a tough resistance against the putschists for more than two hours until he laid down his life for his office.

Before his death, President Allende addressed the nation from the Presidential Palace twice over the radio, vigorously denouncing the perfidy of the putschists and categorically rejecting their illegal demand that he resign. "I hereby state my irrevocable decision to continue to defend Chile" and hold firm to the presidential post, he said. "I have decided to resist with whatever means available, even at the cost of my own life."

Salvador Allende became Chile's President in November 1970. During his term of office, he adopted a series of policies in defence of Chile's independence, state sovereignty and national interests.

Resistance put up by the masses of the people has continued since the anti-government rebellious military coup on September 11.

Head of the Chilean military junta and commander-in-chief of the army Augusto Pinochet in a television speech on September 16 declared that suppressive activities would still be taken.

In Santiago and its suburbs, in Chillan and Puente Alto south of Santiago, as well as in other parts of the country, workers, students and other people attacked military camps and police stations or naval installations.

The putschist authorities continued to send out armed forces and police and helicopters to step up the suppression of the anti-coup resistance movement. Factories, schools and workers' districts were surrounded, searched or occupied. Mass arrests were made throughout the country. Many people were rounded up in Santiago and Valparaíso and a number of political figures executed.

JAPAN

Determined to Recover Northern Territories

"We Japanese people should not sit with folded arms and let the Soviet Union lord it over us. "We will surely recover the northern territories!" These were the rightful demands of the visitors to the Northern Territories Exhibition held during September 7-9 in Akita City, in northeast Japan.

Articles, models, documents and photographs at the exhibition showed that the four northern islands with rich natural resources are Japanese territories developed by the Japanese people with blood and sweat. The Japanese people were engaged in fishing, hunting, and exploiting forestry and mining resources there. There were also photographs and charts revealing the Soviet occupation authorities' persecution of Japanese residents and fishermen.

Over 1,200 people in Akita held a meeting on September 10 to protest the continued Soviet unjustifiable occupation of Japan's original territories — the Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu Islands — and strongly demanded their return. Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira said in his message to the meeting: "A peace treaty must be concluded on the basis of the solution of the territorial problem and the original territories of Japan, Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu, must naturally be returned."

Kiyosumi Miyazaki, Vice-Director General of Administrative Affairs in the Prime Minister's Office, said in his speech at the meeting: "The government will continue negotiations with the Soviet Union hereafter with the strong support of the whole nation and will firmly uphold the standpoint that only with the settlement of the northern territorial problem can a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union be concluded."

A meeting was held at Sapporo on September 13 by 300 representatives of the National Liaison Council of Regional Women's Organizations and the Japan Council of Youth Organizations to support Prime Minister Kakuci Tanaka's stand in his coming negotiations with the Soviet leaders on the return of the northern territories. A declaration adopted by the meeting said that "the precondition for the conclusion of a peace treaty should be the integral return of the northern territories."

At the tenth annual meeting of the National Public Relations Study Conference held in Sapporo on September 6, Shunichi Matsumoto, President of the Japan League for the Return of the Northern Territories, emphasized the resolve of the entire Japanese people to demand that the
Soviet Union return the northern territories.

GENEVA

13th Session of U.N. Trade And Development Board


At its plenary meeting on September 8, Chinese Representative Sai Tzu-shuang stated the Chinese Delegation's position on a sessional committee II report and the related conclusion. He said: "In order to develop independent national economies, to establish a mutual relationship based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect in international economic affairs and to conduct normal international economic exchanges, it is imperative for the developing countries to make a firm stand against exploitation, plunder, control, monopoly and interference by imperialism and big-power hegemonism."

Thanks to the joint struggle and efforts of the developing countries, resolutions and decisions favourable to these countries were adopted in the course of the session, such as the resolution on the transfer of techniques, and the resolution concerning special measures in favour of the least developed of the developing countries.

With regard to the multilateral trade negotiations and the monetary problem, the representatives of the developing countries stressed that it is necessary for these countries to take a full part in all the phases of the negotiations, enjoying the same rights as the developed countries, and that a reform of the international monetary system should take the interests of all the countries into consideration.

The board adopted a decision recommending that the U.N. General Assembly prolong the mandate of the work group charged with drafting a charter of economic rights and duties of the states.

COPENHAGEN

E.E.C. Foreign Ministers Meeting

Nine foreign ministers of the Common Market countries held a meeting in the Danish capital on September 10 and 11 to discuss the European Economic Community common stand in the coming negotiation with the United States on readjustment of E.E.C.-U.S. relations. In response to a U.S. proposal, the governments of West European countries had earlier consulted many times with each other to co-ordinate their steps.

Last April, Henry Kissinger, U.S. Presidential National Security Affairs Assistant, proposed to the West European allies of the United States that a "new Atlantic charter" should be worked out this year, the "year of Europe," as the U.S. Government calls it, to readjust the relations between the United States and its West European allies. He also announced that the U.S. Government wanted to discuss political, military and economic problems between the two sides. Nixon has indicated that he would visit Europe this year.

The nine foreign ministers reached agreement on a list of subjects for discussion with U.S. President Nixon when he visits Europe this year, on the draft declaration of principles on relations between Western Europe and the United States and on a working document which defines West European "identity." After the meeting ended on September 11 Danish Foreign Minister and current Chairman of the E.E.C. Council of Ministers K. Andersen observed that the meeting had paved the way for a "dialogue" with the United States.

Andersen said at his press conference that the matters to be discussed with U.S. President Nixon would include questions of foreign policy and economic matters, but military matters would be out.

Andersen said that a "dialogue" between the E.E.C. and the United States would be based on the platform outlined by the nine foreign ministers defining the notion of a "European identity" with regard to the rest of the world in the economic as well as political field. He declined to spell out the contents of the declaration because details still have to be worked out.

CARIBBEAN

Soviet Revisionists' Show Of Force

Of late Soviet social-imperialism has successively sent warships and aircraft to the Caribbean to make a show of force.

Quoting a U.S. Defence Department spokesman, Western news agencies reported on September 5 that a Soviet fleet consisting of a destroyer, a cruiser, a nuclear submarine and a supply ship had been in the Caribbean for "two or three weeks" and were engaged in "anti-submarine manoeuvres" in the south Caribbean. This is the eighth time since July 1969 that Soviet warships have steered into the Caribbean and other zones of the Western Hemisphere.

Last July three Soviet revisionist Bear-type long distance strategic reconnaissance bombers flew to the Caribbean where such Soviet bombers have intruded seven times in the past three years or more, crossing the Atlantic and making photo reconnaissances on the way.

The routes taken by the Soviet fleets and their "exercises" in the Western Hemisphere revealed that their activities were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico and the waters in the vicinity of the Bahamas and to the north of Panama.

The constant appearance of the Soviet revisionists' nuclear-armed naval and air force units in the Western Hemisphere and their military bases there pose a menace to the peace and security of Latin America.
# Radio Peking

**English Language Transmissions**

* effective only from Nov. to April  
† effective only from May to Oct.

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