

PEKING REVIEW

52

December 28, 1973

北
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報

**Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique: Sworn Enemy
Of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

**System for "Security" or for
Aggression and Expansion?**

"Peking Review" Subject Index Nos. 27-52, 1973

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北京周报

Vol. 16, No. 52 December 28, 1973

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

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen Fete Swedish Communist Party Delegation Millions of New Cadres Maturing	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique: Sworn Enemy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — Szu Hua-hung	4
System for "Security" or for Aggression and Expansion?—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	7
Social-Imperialism: Arms Expansion and Foreign Loans	9
Distinguish Between Two Fundamentally Different Types of Compromises—Notes on Studying Lenin's "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder"—Hung Hsuan	11
Two Weeks in Ethiopia—Our Correspondent	13
Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: Minority Nationality Cadres in a County —Tang Yu-fang	15
ROUND THE WORLD	17
Latin America: Defence of Oil Resources	
European Community: Summit Conference	
"Gnistan" (Sweden): No. 1 Superpower	
Vienna Arms Cut Conference: No Substantial Agreement	
South Korea: Increased Colonization of Economy	
ON THE HOME FRONT	19
Eight Million Educated Youth in the Countryside Laser Research and Application	
"PEKING REVIEW" SUBJECT INDEX (Nos. 27-52, 1973)	21

Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen Fete Swedish Communist Party Delegation

Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and feted all members of the delegation of the Communist Party of Sweden led by Gunnar Bylin, Chairman of the C.P.S. Central Committee, on December 19. Hosts and guests had a cordial and friendly conversation.

Arriving in Peking on November 30, the delegation left for home on December 20.

Millions of New Cadres Maturing

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, Party organizations at all levels have trained and selected millions of new cadres who are contributing to the cause of socialist revolution and construction. These new cadres, who are full of revolutionary vigour, unite and cooperate with veteran cadres tempered through long years of revolutionary wars. Old and new cadres help one another and learn each other's strong points.

With the application of the principle of combining the old, middle-aged and young in leading bodies at all levels during the Great Cultural Revolution, veteran cadres have played to the full their role as the

backbone force while favourable conditions have been created for training successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Most new cadres are of worker, poor or lower-middle peasant family origin. Some had been hired labourers, child labourers, serfs or slaves in the old society. In the industrial and communications departments of Shanghai, over 40,000 workers have been promoted to leading posts in factories or higher levels. Over 33,600 workers in Liaoning Province have become new cadres, some elected as members of provincial or city Party committees. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants are members of Party committees and revolutionary committees at or above the county level in China today.

Large numbers of minority nationality cadres have come up in Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Yunnan and Kwangsi where the national minorities live in compact communities. Since 1969, 8,900 minority nationality cadres, who are members of the Chinese Communist Party, have been trained in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. The region now has over 58,000 cadres of Chuang, Miao, Mulao, Maonan and other minority nationalities, a 61-fold increase compared with early post-liberation days. In Sinkiang, there are 84,000 cadres of Uighur and other minority peoples, an increase of over 20 times compared with that same period.

The ranks of the new cadres include women. Of the members of Party committees at all levels in Anhwei Province, more than 2,000 are women, 140 of them secretaries, vice-secretaries or standing commit-

tee members. Forty per cent of Peking's cadres, including leading cadres in different fields, are women. In most of the people's communes in Shanghai's suburbs, women acting as Party committee secretaries or vice-secretaries are common; and there are at least two women cadres in each production team.

To help bring up new cadres, Party organizations at all levels have run study classes in which the new comrades earnestly study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and by Chairman Mao. In 1972, the Provincial Party Committee of Hopei Province held two training classes for leading cadres. The Peking Municipal Party Committee last year had study classes for committee members who are workers and peasants. They further heightened their Marxist-Leninist theoretical level and consciousness of the struggles between the two lines as a result of their study.

Party organizations at different levels see to it that successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution are trained and selected from those who have tempered themselves in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Hundreds of thousands of new cadres have been trained and chosen from among the nation's millions of educated youth who have gone to the mountainous areas and the countryside. Quite a number hold leading posts at different levels.

Twenty-five-year-old Hsu Kao-lan, secretary of the Lishui County Party committee in Kiangsu Province, started working in the countryside when she graduated from

(Continued on p. 20.)

Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique : Sworn Enemy Of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by Szu Hua-hung

AS far back as more than 120 years ago, the great revolutionary teacher Marx pointed out: "The class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat." Throughout the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism after the proletariat's seizure of political power, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism always focuses on whether to recognize the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle and whether to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat is a touchstone for distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries and genuine revolutionaries from sham revolutionaries. Lenin said: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Because of its criminal intention to restore capitalism in China, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique maliciously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat, launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat and conspired to subvert it. All this fully exposed Lin Piao and his gang as out-and-out renegades to Marxism and inveterate enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Advertising the Theory of "the Dying Out Of Class Struggle"

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes the quintessence of Marxism. Therefore, without exception, all enemies of Marxism, from Bernstein and Kautsky to Khrushchov and Brezhnev as well as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, concentrated their attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In a bid to restore capitalism in China, Lin Piao and his gang worked overtime to trumpet the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" so as to negate class struggle and liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Long before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, he ranted that "socialism has triumphed over capitalism in all respects" in China. While the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution kindled by Chairman Mao raged, Lin Piao, fearing the revolution might develop in depth, again showed up gibbering that this revolution had "made a clean sweep" of the century-old influences of capitalism and several-thousand-

year-old influences of feudalism and that the class enemies had been "completely wiped out."

Putting up a false front by speaking highly of the great historic significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and his followers actually spread the reactionary fallacy of "the dying out of class struggle" in a futile attempt to disarm the proletariat and revolutionary people ideologically. This was their vicious intention!

History tells us that the founding of New China and the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production are great victories won by the Chinese proletariat and other revolutionary people, but these did not mean final victory. The defeated class will continue to struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. They are bound to leap out for a test of strength with the proletariat. More often than not, class enemies at home team up with reactionary forces abroad in mounting attacks and counter-attacks. The political movements and major inner-Party two-line struggles, which have taken place since the founding of the People's Republic of China, are the best proofs of this. Even the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was carried out on an unprecedented scale has not made and cannot make "a clean sweep" of all exploiting class ideas and all monsters and demons.

As a matter of fact, it was precisely at the time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories and when the Ninth Party Congress had successfully concluded that Lin Piao and Co., the agents of the landlord and capitalist classes hidden in our Party, hastily came out into the open and launched wild attacks against the Party in a planned and organized way and with a programme. While throwing themselves into the arms of imperialism, particularly Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, they recruited renegades and traitors at home and surreptitiously drew up a programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in a vain effort to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, reinstate the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and restore capitalism. The emergence of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique to continue the test of strength with the proletariat after the downfall of the Liu Shao-chi renegade

clique is a clear manifestation of the fierce class struggles at home and internationally.

The overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the replacement of capitalism by socialism are big leaps in the history of the development of human society. But as socialism emerges from capitalism and is only a historical stage in the transition from capitalism to communism, and not a communist society which is completely developed economically and in other aspects, it inevitably carries with it the traditional forces and bad influences left over from capitalist society. Speaking of the socialist society, Marx said: "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."

In socialist society, there still exist differences between workers and peasants, between town and countryside and between manual and mental labour, and bourgeois right has not yet been completely done away with. After studying the law of the development of socialist society from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: The universal law governing nature and human society — the unity and struggle of contradictions — is also applicable to the socialist society. Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist objectively and are independent of man's will. To prevent a capitalist restoration and to build socialism and ultimately realize communism, it is necessary to carry the socialist revolution on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts through to the end. The experience of the international workers' movement and the objective law of class struggle show there is no other way to carry the socialist revolution to the end except through the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Marx put it, "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic of China more than two decades ago also has proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental guarantee for consolidating and developing socialism and for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie. By advertising the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," Lin Piao and his gang aimed at changing our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and negating and liquidat-

ing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was nothing but a shameless betrayal of the proletarian revolution.

Vilifying the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In its programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled "Outline of Project '571,'" the Lin Piao anti-Party clique took the stand of the landlord and capitalist classes and venomously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat as "totalitarian," "autocratic" and "dictatorial" and slandered the socialist system in our country as "undemocratic." It clamoured for the overthrow of this system and the establishment of a so-called "truly socialist" state it had long yearned for. All of this clique's counter-revolutionary outcries were easily refuted by Marxist theories on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxism holds that the state is the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms and a tool for the oppression of one class by another. All the capitalist states, however varied and complicated their forms, are in essence tools for protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie and suppressing the proletariat and other labouring people. On the contrary, a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat serves to protect its own proletariat and other working people and exercises revolutionary dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This is why the state, as a political power, always means one section of the people practising "totalitarianism," "autocracy" and "dictatorship" over the other section, thereby suppressing the resistance of the antagonistic classes. The question lies in whether it is the bourgeoisie that exercises "autocracy" over the proletariat (in capitalist countries), or the proletariat that exercises "autocracy" over the bourgeoisie (in socialist countries). It has to be one or the other. Ours is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat where the proletariat and other revolutionary people wield state power and exercise "dictatorship" and "autocracy" over the landlord and capitalist classes. This is a matter of course!

According to the Marxist theory of the state, democracy and equality have a class nature. If there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, then democracy for the proletariat is out of the question. If there is democracy for the proletariat, there is no democracy for the bourgeoisie. There is no such thing as democracy which transcends classes. The great teacher Lenin pointed out: "Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people — this is the change democracy undergoes during the transition from capitalism to Communism." Practising democracy among the people and suppressing by force the reactionaries who are not allowed to enjoy democratic life are two indispensable and interrelated aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by exercising dictatorship over those who exploit and oppress the people can democracy for the labouring people be developed and expanded to an unprecedented extent. In the absence of dictatorship over the class enemies, there will be no real democracy for the working people.

By vilifying the dictatorship exercised by the masses of the people, who make up more than 95 per cent of China's population, over the handful of class enemies as "autocratic" and "dictatorial," the Lin Piao anti-Party clique actually took up the cudgels for the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who had been put under our dictatorship. While raising a hue and cry about reinstating the landlord and capitalist classes which had been overthrown by the Chinese people through long years of arduous struggle and "liberating them politically without exception," they nefariously called for a "concentrated attack" and "harsh suppression" against the proletariat and other revolutionary people. All this shows that what Lin Piao and his men did not want was "autocracy" and "dictatorship" exercised by the proletariat; it did not mean that they would give up "autocracy" and "dictatorship." The so-called "truly socialist" state the Lin Piao anti-Party clique wanted to establish was nothing but one in which the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes in power would exercise dictatorship over the labouring people. In other words, it was a Hitler-type "socialism" or social-fascism like that of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the protective talisman for a victorious people; it is like food and clothing which they can never do without. The more vehemently Lin Piao and his followers attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more evident it was that this was the insurmountable obstacle in their attempt to usurp power and restore capitalism and that we were right to put the dictatorship of the proletariat into practice. In the days ahead, we should make continuous efforts so as "greatly to consolidate our revolutionary dictatorship so that we can carry the revolution through to the end and achieve the objective of building a great socialist state."

Conspiring to Subvert the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has taught us: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power. Similarly, the sole aim of counter-revolution in desperately struggling against the revolutionary forces is the preservation of its political power." Because of their reactionary landlord and bourgeois world outlook, Lin Piao and the followers of his anti-Party clique, who began with spreading the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and negating and attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat, inevitably went further and launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état and plotted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist and conspirator who tried in vain to usurp Party leadership and seize state power, did all he could to advertise the reactionary conception of history and describe the history of thousands of years of class struggle as one of "palace" coups

by a handful of people in the upper social strata fighting for power and killing one another. He denied that the people are the motive force in the making of world history. He drew into his service a pack of renegades, enemy agents, alien-class elements, degenerates and Rightists, drew up the programme for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état in a wild attempt to assassinate Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee.

The criminal aim of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, completely betray the line of the Ninth Party Congress, completely change the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, it wanted to reinstate the landlord and capitalist classes, which our Party, army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, it wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

However, in the face of our socialist system which is more consolidated than ever and our proletarian dictatorship which is so powerful today, Lin Piao and his sworn followers, overreaching themselves and coming out to have a trial of strength with the proletariat, could only end up in ignominious self-destruction. This was the due punishment given them by history.

Marx and Engels solemnly proclaimed in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "Its [the bourgeoisie's] fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." Trying hard to turn back the clock, Lin Piao and his gang conspired to turn a socialist country back to capitalism. This perverse action went against the development of human history and was doomed to failure. History has proved and will continue to prove that the proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie because it is the most revolutionary class which stands for the development of the advanced productive forces and is a new-born force embodying the direction in which history advances. Capitalism has become a decadent and moribund social system hampering the development of the productive forces. When society develops to such a stage as is the case today, the task of transforming the world historically falls on the shoulders of the proletariat and its political party. That the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie and socialism replaces capitalism is an objective law independent of man's will.

"Only socialism can save China," as Chairman Mao has said. It was only after decades of hard struggle by the Chinese people that our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat was born at the cost of the blood shed by countless revolutionary martyrs.

The proletariat and other revolutionary people of our country will defend it with their lives! They will never forget their untold sufferings in the dark old society. Moreover, they have clearly seen how in today's Soviet Union a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who usurped the Party and state leadership have turned the homeland of the October Revolution into a social-imperialist country. The attempt of Lin Piao and his followers to lead our country away from the socialist road and reduce it to a colony of Soviet revisionism was something that could never be tolerated.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Opportunists who want to stem the tide are to be found almost everywhere, but the tide can never be stemmed. Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions behind." With blind faith in personal power, Lin Piao and his gang resorted to machinations in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. But far from changing the course of history, they ended up in being put on trial by history. This is a victory of the Marxist materialist conception of history over their idealist conception of history!

System for "Security" or for Aggression And Expansion?

IN 1973, the Soviet revisionist clique has feverishly advocated the establishment of a "system of collective security in Asia." Brezhnev, chief of the clique, has personally peddled this idea at various meetings and in talks with heads of government of a number of Asian countries. Other Soviet revisionist bosses have also been hawking it everywhere, trying to inveigle others into joining it.

The fact that the Soviet Union, a European country, has shown such unusual "concern" for peace and security in Asia cannot but make one wonder: Just what is this "system of collective security in Asia"? What is its real purpose in trying to rig up this system in such a hurry?

It was in June 1969, during its frantic anti-China campaign, that the Soviet revisionist clique came up with its "system of collective security in Asia." However, it has since been evasive with regard to such basic questions as the nature, purpose and task of this system, never quite daring to put it forward in clear-cut terms. It has contented itself with setting forth high-sounding generalities such as "non-use of force among nations," "respect for sovereignty," "non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries," "non-encroachment on borders" and "extensive development of economy."

Outright Imperialist Contrivance

Being "socialist in words, imperialist in deeds," which is a manifestation of its reactionary nature, the Soviet revisionist clique is an old hand in passing off fish-eyes for pearls. This throws light on how people should take the fine-sounding generalities of the Soviet revisionists for establishing the "system of collective security in Asia." As a matter of fact, in the last four years or so all its acts in Asia under cover of its pro-

claimed principles have been imperialist, pure and simple.

It may be recalled that after proposing this "system" this clique signed bilateral "peace and friendship" treaties with some Asian countries. The Soviet revisionists praise these treaties as "the first bricks" in "the edifice of collective security in Asia" and "an essential link" in the "system of collective security in Asia." However, a cause for wonder is that, far from bringing security to the region, the signing of each of these treaties has invariably been followed by armed aggression and conflicts. After the signing of the Soviet-Indian treaty in 1971, India launched a large-scale war of aggression against Pakistan, which resulted in the dismemberment of the latter and big turmoil throughout the South Asia subcontinent. In 1972, the Soviet Union signed a treaty of "friendship and co-operation" with another Asian country; tension in that area and armed border conflicts between the states there immediately ensued. Is there one iota of peace and security to be found in these treaties called "bricks" for an "edifice of security"?

The Soviet revisionist clique boasts that the "most important aim" of this "system of collective security in Asia" is "to put an end to intervention in any form by anyone from any side." But what is the reality? It is precisely the Soviet revisionists who have repeatedly interfered in the internal affairs of other countries in Asia and engaged in sabotage and subversion. They have continued their interference and subversion in the sovereign state of Pakistan after they dismembered it. They have gone so far as to smuggle large quantities of weapons to Pakistan separatists through various channels and give them secret training in "guerrilla warfare." They have similarly engaged in acts of intervention and subversion against other Asian countries.

Their subversive and sabotage activities against China have never stopped. In their relations with foreign countries, the usual practice of the Soviet revisionists is to send in spies and collect intelligence. How can these dirty acts square with the Soviet revisionists' high-sounding phraseology of "putting an end to intervention in any form"?

Important Objective

This clique claims that "collective security in Asia," just as with "collective security in Europe," is "inconceivable" without recognizing the "immutability of existing borders" and that it is imperative to "check all attempts tending to redemarcate postwar borders." As is well-known, the Soviet revisionists have stubbornly refused to return to Japan the four northern islands they have occupied, and viciously attacked the Japanese people's just stand for the return of their territory as "a revanchist campaign." Take their attitude towards the People's Republic of China, another neighbour. Tsarist Russia, through a series of unequal treaties imposed on China, annexed more than 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese territory. China is willing to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question on the basis of these treaties. However, the Soviet revisionists are still not satisfied. They insist on occupying the territory they have seized from China in violation of these treaties, and think it impermissible that China should challenge this. Obviously what they call "immutability of existing borders" actually means perpetuation and legalization of their illegal occupation of the territories of other countries. And this is one of the important objectives behind their move to establish the "system of collective security in Asia."

"Aid" — A Disguise

The Soviet revisionists have repeatedly advocated "regional economic co-operation" among Asian countries as a means of setting up the "system of collective security in Asia." Recently they made a proposal for a "regional economic and cultural united organization of Southeast Asia and South Asia" and spread the notion that only by "co-operating" with the Soviet Union can the Asian countries, whose national economies have suffered from neo-colonialism, enjoy "the superiority of international division of labour." But many Asian countries clearly understand what the Soviet revisionists' "economic co-operation" means. In the guise of giving "economic aid," they have gradually taken over control of India's iron and steel, machinery, oil refinery and power industries, exploiting the country through these industrial sectors. Since October 1967, in the name of loan repayments they have appropriated, to the amount of 2,500 million cubic metres annually, all the natural gas output of another sovereign country in Asia. Small wonder some Asian journals point out that "Soviet revisionism's infiltration is all-pervasive" and that "in its relations with other countries, particularly those of the Third World, the Soviet Union has assumed the charac-

ter of a predatory imperialist state out to extract and wring every drop of benefit from these countries."

Root Cause of Insecurity in Asia

The "system of collective security in Asia" being peddled by the Soviet revisionists is designed to serve their policies of military expansion and intimidation. Since their armed encroachment upon China's territory Chenpao Island in 1969, the Soviet revisionists have maintained a massive deployment of troops along China's border as an active military threat. As a show of force, they have sent naval ships in large numbers to cruise the Indian Ocean; and they have also procured access rights to ports and bases in the region. The Soviet revisionists are trying step by step to extend their sphere of influence to the Red Sea, the Gulf, the Bay of Bengal and the Strait of Malacca. To this end, they have called for the "internationalization" of the Strait of Malacca, a deliberate attempt to encroach on the sovereignty of the countries on both sides of it. Their warships have been making more frequent calls in the Japanese Straits of Soya, Tsugaru and Tsushima. All this shows that the Soviet revisionists' phrases — "non-use of force," "no threat of force," etc. — are all lies.

A host of facts shows that the Soviet revisionists' real aim in proposing the "system of collective security in Asia" under the pretext of "maintaining security" is to consolidate their vested interests and step up infiltration and expansion so as to contend with the other superpower for hegemony in Asia. This is the root cause of insecurity in this part of the world.

The Soviet revisionists openly declare that their "system of collective security in Asia" "can best replace" the Asian military blocs rigged up by the United States. These military blocs, they say, are "in a state of chronic crisis, even paralysis," and "it is becoming more and more difficult for them to survive." Therefore, they claim, it is necessary to replace these blocs of the American type with a "system" of the Soviet type. In plain words, they want to replace the United States and exercise exclusive hegemony in Asia, that is, to "fill the vacuum" there. But Asia belongs to the Asian people and there is no vacuum. Asian affairs can only be decided by the Asian people themselves. The Soviet revisionists' hopes to "fill the vacuum" are sheer wishful thinking.

This Asian collective security "system" has few buyers because its architects are too disreputable. Thus the Soviet revisionist clique has had to change its tactics. In order to play down the military character of their "system," they have in recent statements made a point of changing the word "system" to "proposal" or "idea" and emphasizing its economic aspects. Besides, they have pretended to support some Asian countries' proposals, such as neutralization of Southeast Asia, and, by surreptitiously incorporating these into their "system,"

made another attempt to snare these countries into accepting it.

Evil Intent Becoming Clear

However, most of the Asian countries have come to see the evil intent behind Soviet revisionist peddling of the "system of collective security in Asia" and reject it as "a trap with which the Soviet Union wishes to push [these] Asian countries into its spheres of influence." As early as 1969 when this sinister "system" was proposed, the representatives of Sri Lanka and Burma in the United Nations observed that the Soviet proposal, if realized, would be detrimental to Asian security. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, noted in 1973 that the "system of collective security in Asia" proposed by the Soviet Union "cannot be accepted." Malaysia, Indonesia and a number of other countries have rejected the Soviet scheme to link neutralization of Southeast Asia with the "system." The Soviet revisionists have thus far failed in their plot to drag Japan into it. During his recent visit to India, Brezhnev tried once again to sell the "system" there but the Indian Government has as yet made no open commitment. New Zealand's Prime Minister Norman Kirk, in a recent comment on the Soviet proposal, said that "the policies of outside countries for Asia have more often ended up causing division and confrontation than

in providing solutions," and that he would like the Asians to decide Asian policies.

Soviet revisionist gentlemen: If you are sincere in your desire to work for peace and security in Asia, you can take many practical steps. You can, to begin with, withdraw your troops from Mongolia and the Chinese border, return the four northern islands to Japan, move your warships out of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and give guarantees that you will carry out no more subversive activities or interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Do you dare do this?

The Asian people have suffered bitterly from imperialist aggression for many long years and have the common desire to safeguard peace and security on their continent. The correct way to accomplish this is for them to unite, oppose the policies of aggression, expansion and hegemonism of the superpowers and do away with their domination.

The Asian people are awakening with each passing day. The Soviet revisionists' "system of collective security in Asia," which is in fact a system of aggression and expansion, is certain to end in ignominious bankruptcy.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, December 22)

Social-Imperialism

Arms Expansion and Foreign Loans

STRIVING to be first in the armaments race, the Soviet leading clique also wants to pass itself off as the standard-bearer of the "reduction of military expenditures"; masquerading as a "benefactor" to the developing countries, it also has to bow and scrape for help and beg for loans everywhere. This revisionist nature of the Soviet leadership has become clearer and clearer to everybody.

Soaring Military Expenditures

For many years the Soviet revisionist leading clique has repeatedly harped on "cutting down military expenditures" to "provide assistance to the developing countries," but military spending has touched a new high every time it hits the high note of "reduction of military expenditures." In 1958 it proposed that the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union reduce their military expenditures by 10-15 per cent. Yet according to official Soviet revisionist statistics, expenditures on national defence in 1961 were 23 per cent higher than in 1958. In 1962, it made another proposal for "cutting down military expenditures" and using

money thus saved for further "assistance to the newly established national states." But in 1963, Soviet defence spending was the highest in the 19 years since 1944. In 1964, Soviet revisionism came up for the third time with the proposal for "reduction of military expenditures." As on previous occasions, not a single ruble was cut; on the contrary, Soviet military expenditures soared year by year. In both 1969 and 1970 military spending reached 17,900 million rubles (well over 20,000 million U.S. dollars), twice breaking the record in Soviet history. In the nine years from 1965 to 1973, the actual increment of Soviet defence expenditures doubled that in the period of the Khrushchov reign. Military expenditures this year are about 30 per cent higher than in 1944, the highest year during World War II.

The above data are the much watered-down figures published by Soviet official sources and by no means reflect the actual level and rate of increment of Soviet military expenditures. According to material from various sources, actual annual military expenditures were several times higher than what was admitted by

the Soviet revisionists, and have now reached 60,000-70,000 million dollars. The share of Soviet military spending in the national income and gross national product is now higher than that of the United States.

Industry and Agriculture Go Downhill Yearly

Capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, coupled with frantic arms expansion and war preparations, has put the Soviet national economy in an impossible predicament. Ever since the late 1950s and the early 1960s, arms production has been speeded up at a heightened tempo year after year, while the rate of growth in Soviet industrial and agricultural production has been going downhill almost yearly. Five-year plans have been unfulfilled. Soviet national income, industrial production and labour productivity plans were not fulfilled in the past three years while annual increment rate in these fields showed a record low for the past 20 years and more. Many important national economic sectors have long been in a state of backwardness for lack of funds and cannot properly develop. Take agriculture and the consumer goods industry for example. Although the Soviet revisionist leading clique has always clamoured for the need to increase capital investment in these two seriously backward sectors, their plans have fizzled out time and again. Even the Soviet revisionists themselves admitted that in the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-70), the capital investment plans for these two sectors were only fulfilled by 76 and 70 per cent respectively. The situation has been no better since the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Agriculture failed to meet the capital investment plan for two years running.

Western newspapers and news agencies have pointed out several times since the beginning of 1973 that "the emphasis on the military-industrial complex is held largely responsible for starving investment in other sectors of the [Soviet] economy" and that Soviet "super armaments had absorbed so much funds that investments in other departments were limited." A *Washington Post* correspondent said in a recent report from Moscow: "In private contacts with Westerners, Soviet officials and journalists often acknowledge that defence spending is an enormous burden for their economy." The report added: A Russian said, "Think how much more it must cost our [Soviet] weaker economy (than the U.S. economy), to do the same things [as the U.S.] in the arms race."

Brezhnev: Dollar Diplomat

To cope with increasingly grave domestic economic difficulties, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has to ask capitalist countries for huge loans. The Soviet revisionists stated frankly that there was need to "absorb" from the West "additional material and financial resources in order to accelerate" the Soviet "speed of construction." Even the exploitation of Siberian resources requires help from the West. For this, Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev personally went

on a begging mission to the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States where he flattered and fawned on members of the legislative organs, owners of big concerns and bankers. Western press comments have described the head of this superpower as a "dollar diplomat," and an "economic mendicant dressed up as a military giant."

It was no coincidence that in 1958, the year when the Kremlin "proposed" for the first time "to cut down military spending," the Soviet revisionists began to obtain long-term loans from Western countries. Since then such loans have grown year by year as Soviet military spending went up and up and domestic economic difficulties became greater and greater. According to incomplete data, the total amount of loans the Soviet Union got from the West from 1958 to 1963 came to 570 million U.S. dollars; they rose to some 1,500 million dollars in the period from 1964 to 1969. Thus the loans nearly trebled in the same period of time. In the over three years since 1970, the Soviet Union has borrowed more than 5,000 million dollars in loans, or more than three times the total amount of foreign loans it got in the previous six years. Loans from capitalist countries since 1964 have exceeded the total amount of so-called "economic assistance" given by the Soviet Union to Asian, African and Latin American countries in the form of "loans" in the 19 years beginning from 1955. Judging from this contrast, Moscow's much-vaunted "reduction of military spending" to increase "aid" to the developing countries is sheer humbug.

The French paper *Depeche du Midi* said last June: "While pointing his thousands of missiles with nuclear warheads against the capitalist countries, Brezhnev is reduced to seeking aid from them" to "ensure" "construction" in the Soviet Union. Five years ago, the Soviet revisionists persuaded one Asian country to sign the "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" by saying that "if the efforts of this country were directed to the production of only several Hiroshima-type bombs, then the living standards of every citizen of this country would be lowered by 3-4 per cent at least." People cannot help asking: Since you have preached like this to others, why don't you produce less ammunition and cut down a tiny fraction of your military spending which amounts to tens of thousands of million dollars a year so as to save you the trouble of begging for loans from others?

The answer is quite simple. The purpose of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is very clear: On the one hand it spends large sums of its own funds on armament expansion and war preparations to contend for hegemony with U.S. imperialism and carry out expansion abroad, and on the other hand, it borrows Western funds to boost up its economy which is heavily weighed down by the armaments race. As to the so-called "reduction of military spending" to "aid" the developing countries, like selling horse-meat as beef steak, it is only an effort to deceive the Soviet people and the world's people, those of the Third World countries in particular.

Distinguish Between Two Fundamentally Different Types of Compromises

— Notes on Studying Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder

by Hung Hsuan

IN his political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Chou En-lai quoted what Lenin had said in "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder about distinguishing between two fundamentally different types of compromises. Lenin pointed out: "There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."

Alongside the development of the workers' movement in various countries after the victory of the October Revolution, the struggle within the international communist movement became more and more intensified. There were two erroneous trends of thought at that time. On the one hand, Right opportunism constituted the main danger; on the other hand, because the Communist Parties and Left organizations which had just come into being in many countries lacked experience in struggle, their comprehension of the tortuous and complex nature of the revolutionary road was incomplete and they were not good at learning from the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the light of the specific conditions of revolution in their own countries. While opposing the treacherous compromises of the Second International's Right opportunists, they went to the other extreme and rejected compromise of any kind.

In his criticism of these two erroneous trends of thought, Lenin elucidated the unity between steadfastness in revolutionary principles and flexibility of tactics in struggle. To obtain a profound understanding of this important Leninist thesis is of very great practical significance in thoroughly exposing the treacherous compromises made by Khrushchov, Brezhnev and other renegades, distinguishing the necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries from the collusion and compromise be-

tween Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism and upholding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Policy and tactics are the life of the Party. In the course of attaining its long-term strategic goal, the proletariat always attaches great importance to its tactics in struggle. While adhering to proletarian revolutionary principles, it does not rule out necessary flexibility. This is the dialectical unity of principle and flexibility. That the proletariat employs various flexible tactics is, in the last analysis, aimed at realizing its long-term strategic goal. The first kind of compromise mentioned in this instruction of Lenin's is the very embodiment of paying attention to flexibility tactically on the basis of upholding revolutionary principles. Obviously, the aim of entering into such a necessary compromise is to "facilitate their [the bandits'] capture and execution." This compromise, therefore, serves only as a tactical means. If principle is not integrated with flexibility, it would not be helpful in wiping out the "bandits." The other category of compromise which is just the opposite is purely a capitulationist one aimed at sharing in the loot with the bandits. This is not upholding principles but bartering away principles and selling out the fundamental interests of the proletariat.

The enemies of the revolutionary forces are definitely not monolithic. Their class nature determines that they contend as well as collude with one another. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. Such being the case, the revolutionary forces can make use of their contradictions. As Lenin pointed out: "To refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies — is not this ridiculous in the extreme?" Chairman Mao also criticized the wrong practice of striking with two "fists" in two directions at the same time. In a certain period of time, there are always main

and secondary enemies. In order to isolate the main enemy to the greatest possible extent and concentrate all forces to strike at it, the revolutionary forces enter into certain necessary compromises with some other enemies at a given time. Not only is this possible but there has been no lack of precedent in the history of revolution. **"Make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one."** This is a tactical principle which the Chinese Communist Party has consistently employed in its protracted revolutionary struggle. Needless to say, when making necessary compromises with opponents, the revolutionaries must take care to lead the opponents instead of being led by the nose and to wage struggles **on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint** and achieve alliance through struggle. Only thus can they avoid forfeiting the revolutionary principles and ensure the victorious advance of the revolutionary cause.

Lenin cited many historical instances of the revolutionary social-democratic party in his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* to illustrate the necessity of temporary compromises under the condition that revolutionary principles were not abandoned. An outstanding example was the Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by the Soviet Republic led by Lenin with German imperialism in 1918. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the new-born Soviet regime was faced with the threat of aggression by an armed-to-the-teeth German imperialism. To consolidate Soviet power, it was imperative to end the war immediately. After making a comprehensive and profound analysis of the situation, Lenin pointed out that signing a peace treaty with German imperialism was not "surrendering" to imperialism but winning a respite for the young Soviet regime to build up a new army which would learn and make preparations for fighting the enemies in all seriousness and in earnest. Lenin led the whole Party in smashing the Trotsky and Bukharin anti-Party clique's plot to wreck the peace talks and strangle the Soviet regime in the cradle. Thanks to the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the Bolshevik Party won the time to consolidate the Soviet regime, build the workers' and peasants' Red Army and rally the revolutionary forces, thereby laying the groundwork for victory in the civil war that was to break out. Lenin's thinking and practice in integrating steadfastness in revolutionary principles with flexibility in revolutionary tactics constituted an invaluable experience for the proletarian political parties the world over.

Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, has inherited, defended and developed the great strategic and tactical thinking of Marxism-Leninism. In August 1945, he went to Chungking in person for talks with Chiang Kai-shek, setting an example of a high degree of unity between steadfastness in revolutionary principles and flexibility in revolutionary tactics. In the light of the historical lessons at home and abroad learnt at the cost

of bloodshed, Chairman Mao pointed out during the negotiations: **"The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."** In this way, the Chinese Communist Party protected the fundamental interests of the nation and gained for itself full initiative, won the sympathy and support of the progressive forces at home and abroad and bared Chiang Kai-shek's plot to unleash a civil war, thus creating favourable conditions for seizing victory in the Chinese revolution.

In *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin incisively stated that it was essential to oppose two erroneous tendencies if steadfastness in revolutionary principles and flexibility of tactics in struggle were to be integrated. He pointed out that Right opportunism **"was the principal enemy of Bolshevism within the working-class movement. It remains the principal enemy internationally too"** and that it was necessary to devote the **"most attention"** to it. While criticizing this tendency, Lenin also noted that there was another tendency, that of "petty-bourgeois revolutionism" or "Left-wing" infantile disorder. Lenin's thesis on taking note of one tendency covering another is also of great importance to our correct use of Marxist-Leninist tactical principles of struggle. In both international and domestic struggles today, 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. Therefore, in combining steadfastness in revolutionary principles with flexibility of tactics in struggle, we must always remain sober-minded so as to ensure the victorious advance of the revolution along Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line.

Lenin also pointed out in this work that one must direct **"the full edge of merciless exposure and relentless war"** against treacherous compromises, **"and not allow the past masters at 'practical' Socialism and the parliamentary Jesuits to dodge and wriggle out of responsibility by disquisitions on 'compromises in general.'"** Lenin's criticism of revisionism is our sharp weapon for repudiating Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their like today.

The two fundamentally different types of compromises reflect two fundamentally different lines. **"Our policy is to protect the fundamental interests of the people."** The fruits of victory won by the people must be defended by fighting and never be given up lightly. The treacherous compromises made by all Right opportunists were nothing but sharing in the loot with bandits at the expense of the greatest interests of the overwhelming majority of the masses. Hence the basic criterion for distinguishing between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary compromises is protecting or selling out the people's fundamental interests.

Two Weeks in Ethiopia

by Our Correspondent

INVITED by the Ethiopian Government, the Chinese Journalists' Delegation, including this correspondent who was a member, visited 3,000-year-old Ethiopia at the end of October and the first week of November.

While touring the city of "New Flower" (Addis Ababa, the capital), colourful Asmara and other cities in six governorates-general, we visited agricultural, livestock breeding and afforestation development projects, factories, a university and a college, newspapers, broadcasting and publishing establishments and tourist attractions.

When Emperor Haile Selassie I received the delegation on November 6, he said to us: "Our friendship is not for a moment. It is for a long time."

A few days earlier, on November 2, we were received by Prime Minister Aklilou Habte Wold. He and the other government ministers we met all expressed their desire for further development of Ethiopian-Chinese friendship and co-operation.

We received a warm welcome from responsible officials, members of the press and people of various localities. Arriving in Makalle, the capital of Tigre Governorate-General which played an honourable role during the war of resistance to fascism, we were greeted at the airport by Governor-General H.H. Ras Mengesha Seyoum. In the evening we were guests at a national dinner given by the Governor-General and his wife, Princess Ida Desta, both of whom had visited our country. Entertainment after dinner consisted of colourful Tigre folk dances, many of which depicted past struggles against aggression.

Many leading members of the Ethiopian press, news agency, radio and television station had visited China and were happy to renew their friendship with Chinese friends.

Historic Friendship

Friendship between the two peoples was forged in the common struggle against fascist aggression. When China was invaded by Japanese imperialism during the 1930s, Ethiopia came under Italian fascist aggression which was the prelude to World War II. The Chinese

and Ethiopian peoples, sharing the same fate, extended sympathy and support to each other. The Ethiopian people's resistance to fascist aggression was an encouragement to the Chinese people who were then fighting Japanese aggression for national salvation.

When the Ethiopian war of resistance suffered setbacks, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "There is still quite extensive guerrilla warfare in Abyssinia, which, if persisted in, will enable the Abyssinians to recover their country when the world situation changes." This thesis was fully proved by history. After six years of war in 1935-41, the Ethiopian people drove out the aggressors and restored independence to their motherland. During the anti-fascist war waged by the people of the world, the Chinese and Ethiopian peoples were comrades-in-arms who won victories together.

Tapping Agricultural Potential

We found out from our tour of Ethiopia that 90 per cent of the population is engaged in farming or stock breeding. Agricultural development is the country's chief concern in economic construction, and two measures have been taken by the government. One is the multi-purpose development of the main river valleys and the other is to provide loans, fertilizers, selected seeds and improved farm implements in a planned way to farms and peasant households in selected areas.

The 12 major rivers and their numerous tributaries form a network. Surveys for multi-purpose development of these rivers are being conducted by the government. Some of the projects have already been started and good results have been achieved. The Awash River Valley Project we visited is one example.

The largest inland river in the country, the Awash is 1,200 kilometres long. It originates in the mountains south of the capital, and, joined by 14 tributaries on its way through three governorates-general, empties into Lake Abbe on the northeastern border. From time immemorial the river flowed on unused and its fertile valley remained wasteland. In 1962, the government set up the Awash Valley Authority to administer development work in the valley. The Awash Valley is now

changing. Dams and hydroelectric stations have been built and the Wonji and Shoa Sugar Estates established in the upper reaches. In the middle reaches, construction of an irrigation system and a number of farms and stock farms is under way. Cotton plantations and farms have also been built up in the lower reaches. Some 52,000 of the 175,000 hectares of irrigable land on both banks of the river are now under cultivation. Sugar-cane grown and processed in the valley more than meets the country's needs, leaving a surplus for export, while cotton grown there accounts for 64 per cent of the total national output.

It was cotton harvest time when we visited the middle reaches of the river. The average per-hectare yield in the valley is 25 quintals and output here is as high as 34 quintals per hectare. We also visited a settlement of Afar tribesmen. One of the main tasks of the Awash Valley Authority is helping the Afar people, who for centuries have led a nomadic life, to settle down and take part in production. Since 1967, 215 Afar tribesmen have been doing permanent farming.

Achievements in Ethiopianization

Ethiopia has set up a number of light industries, mainly in textiles, food, hides and building materials. In addition to pursuing a policy of encouraging investment by foreign capital, the Ethiopian Government is step by step also carrying through Ethiopianization. This means the replacement of foreigners by Ethiopians who have mastered techniques and administrative skills and the gradual increase of Ethiopian capital investment in joint enterprises with foreign capital. Ethio-

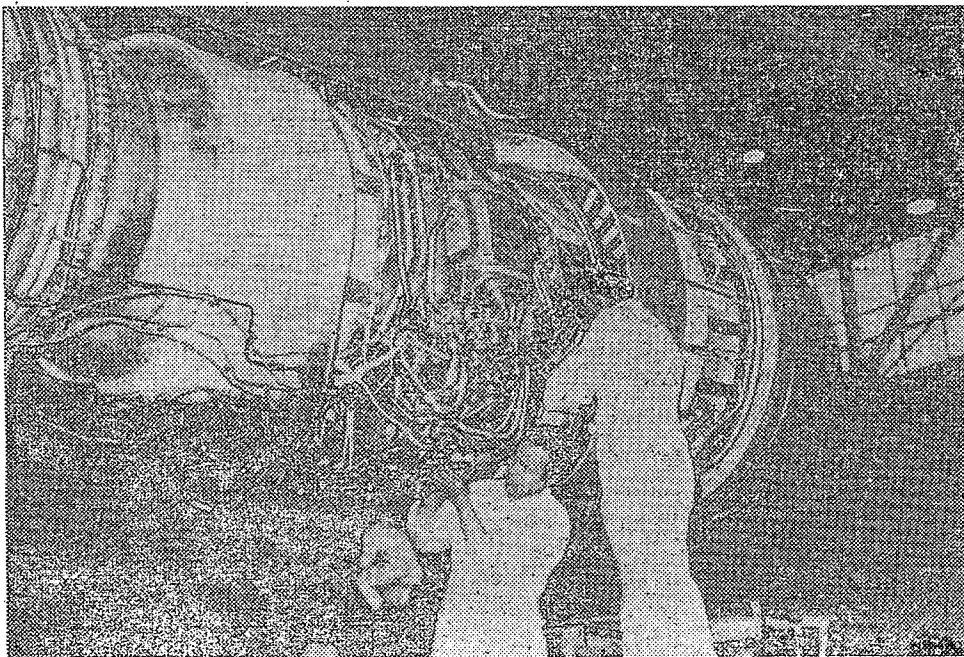
pian Airlines has achieved remarkable success in Ethiopianization. Set up in 1946 with foreign aid and run chiefly by foreigners at that time, it has now become a considerable national enterprise, and most of its pilots and administrative and technical personnel are Ethiopians. Youths from Asian and African countries are studying at its training centre. A huge Boeing 720-B aircraft in the hangar was being repaired. "In the past," workers at the airlines said with pride, "we had to have our aircraft repaired abroad. Invariably it cost too much money and took too much time. Now, we rely on ourselves."

We also visited the Wonji and Shoa sugar refineries jointly run by Ethiopian and foreign capital. When the Wonji Sugar Refinery was set up in 1954, all its technical and administrative personnel were foreigners. At present, Ethiopians make up 78 per cent of the technical and administrative personnel in the refinery, 82 per cent in the Shoa Refinery. With 4,500 workers, the Textile Mill of the Cotton Company of Ethiopia in Dire Dawa is the largest in the country. In the past, the greater part of the capital investment in this mill was foreign and the raw cotton was imported from abroad. Today, as a result of the development of the country's cotton production, the cotton used in the mill is mainly domestically grown and Ethiopian capital accounts for half of the mill's total capital investment.

Progress in culture and education has also been made. Haile Selassie I University, built 12 years ago, has been developed into a large university in Africa south of the Sahara. Its president told us that the university now has ten colleges and four institutes, with 6,400 full-time students and 3,500 students attending evening classes. Of the 500-odd people on the university teaching staff, 70 per cent are Ethiopians, whereas there were only ten when it was founded.

* * *

When he met President of Sierra Leone Dr. Siaka Stevens recently, Chairman Mao Tsetung said: "We wish all of you in Africa further development. Your development will be beneficial to the whole of the world. The African people are bound to stand up." Facts have proved that Ethiopia, like many other African countries, is developing and is standing up.



Ethiopian Airlines maintenance workers periodically overhaul the engines.

Minority Nationality Cadres in a County

by Tang Yu-fang

THE Pama Yao Autonomous County in western Kwangsi is where the Yaos, Chuangs and Hans live together. It has a population of 192,000, of which 167,000 are the Yaos and Chuangs—two minority nationalities.

In line with Chairman Mao's instruction that "without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely," Party organizations at the county level and below have trained and selected large numbers of minority nationality cadres and put many in leading posts. Today 75 per cent of the county's cadres (1,125 out of 1,500) are minority peoples. In terms of leading cadres, of the 491 responsible members at the county, commune and brigade levels, 424 belong to the national minorities; of the 22 county Party committee members and the 33 county revolutionary committee members, 18 and 28 are minority peoples.

Political Orientation

Mostly poverty-stricken and victims of class and national oppression in the old days, these cadres ardently love the Party, Chairman Mao and socialism. They always persist in the proletarian revolutionary line and follow a firm and correct political orientation.

Chuang cadre Lu Chin-shan, secretary of the Party committee of the Chiangyu Commune, is a typical example. Before liberation famine forced his parents and himself to Pama where they eked out a living by tilling a small piece of land leased from a landlord. When the land reform movement got under way in 1952, he actively led the masses in struggling against the landlords and distributing their land. During the movement, some Chuang people were not clear about the relationship between classes and nationalities. So he studied the relevant writings by Chairman Mao with the masses and cited facts illustrating how local Chuang landlords oppressed and exploited the poor. He also told of his own sufferings in the old days when the landlords forced his family to flee his native village.

The class consciousness of the masses having been heightened, they came to realize that the line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy could be drawn only according to classes, not nationalities. In 1955, Lu Chin-shan who had enlisted in the People's Liberation Army in 1953 was demobilized. That year, the movement for agricultural co-operation reached its height. When Lu returned to Pama, he took an active

part in organizing the peasants into the agricultural producers' co-operatives.

Since becoming secretary of the commune Party committee in 1969, Lu has made it a rule to go among the masses to publicize the Party's line and strengthen the unity of all nationalities. When the Yiyu Brigade was working on a water conservancy project, he sent some skilled masons from a Chuang team to pass on their embankment building technique to another team of Han builders who were not so good at the job. Learning that the Chuang team might not be able to fulfil their assigned task because of a manpower shortage, he got the Hans to give their Chuang brothers a helping hand so that they could all finish the project before the flood season set in. Many other instances like this have helped further cement the unity among the various minority peoples.

Keeping Close Ties With the Masses

Born and brought up in the localities, these cadres from various minority nationalities have local conditions and people's customs and habits at their fingertips. With this favourable background, they are able to maintain close contact with the masses and use the local tongue to do propaganda work and organize them to implement the Party's policies.

In the Tungshan Commune where the Yaos live in a compact community, the fields are scattered in more than 800 cauldron-shaped valleys surrounded by stony hills, with the smallest plots in the rock crevices. All of them were short of water and subject to soil erosion. Though some farming progress had been made after liberation, the commune still could not feed its population and, more often than not, had to rely on the state for food grain and loans.

Tan Chao-kang, a Yao cadre of Pama County, became secretary of the commune Party committee in 1969. From keeping in close contact with the masses and having heart-to-heart talks with them, he found out that some people thought only about relying on the state. They deem it natural and reasonable for Tungshan, a minority area, to ask the state for some funds and grain. Depending on state assistance every year, they failed to work in the spirit of hard struggle and learn from advanced areas. Tan Chao-kang was well aware that no changes whatsoever would take place in Tungshan unless wrong ideas like this were done away with. To solve the problem, he and other Party committee members joined the masses in studying Chairman Mao's teachings on self-reliance and hard work and explained their meaning in the Yao language. By



Pama County's cadres and hydrologists working out a plan for water conservancy projects.

study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's writings as well as the Party's policies.

Secretary of the Natao Commune Party Committee Lung Tung-jui is a young Chuang nationality cadre who was promoted during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He had great enthusiasm and drive in his work but lacked experience in leadership work. For some time, both revolution and production fell short of the mark. Instead of blaming him, the county Party committee gave him concrete help in his work. County Party committee secretary Huang Hsi-chung, a Han cadre, went together with him to the Pinglin Brigade where things

carrying out education in ideological and political line, they succeeded in bringing forth the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses.

After getting the masses' opinions on how to change Tungshan, Tan Chao-kang and other Party committee members worked out a plan to transform the area. Four years of effort since 1969 have resulted in completion of many small flood-prevention, irrigation and water and soil conservation projects, enabling 80 per cent (over 330 hectares) of the commune's cultivated land to give stable yields whether there is drought or excessive rainfall.

Tan also talked with the Yao people about the advantages of raising pigs which had never been bred there before. Compared with 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, the number of pigs and sheep rose from 1,500 to 7,500 and from 2,100 to 8,000 respectively in 1972. More pigs and sheep meant more manure which in turn helped increase grain output. With the per-hectare yield rising from 3,375 kilogrammes in 1966 to 7,620 kilogrammes in 1972, the county's total grain output last year was more than double that of 1965 and six times that of pre-liberation years.

Studying While Working

Pama County took in 72 new cadres of minority nationalities last year. All of them had come to the fore in the mass movements of class struggle and the struggle for production. Before assigning them jobs according to their specialities, the veteran cadres went together with them to the countryside where they spent a year taking part in political movements and productive labour.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," the Party organizations at all levels in the county attach great importance to organizing new cadres to

were complicated and natural conditions were poor to make investigations, solve problems and sum up experience so as to give better guidance in work throughout the commune.

To create splits among the poor and lower-middle peasants before liberation, the local landlords often incited feuds and armed clashes between clans. Though liberation had put an end to all this, vestiges of clan ideas remained in the minds of some people who were close to people of the same clan in total disregard of the classes they belonged to. This played into the hands of the few landlords and rich peasants who tried to sow discord between different clans.

Since Lung Tung-jui failed to tackle this question from the approach of class struggle, he was misled by superficial phenomena and counted on mediating the differences. Aware of what was in Lung's mind, Huang Hsi-chung took pains to help him see the crux of the matter in its true light. He studied the Marxist-Leninist theses on class struggle and those by Chairman Mao with him and taught him to use the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis in observing and analysing social problems. They also worked together in mobilizing the masses to root out and struggle against the few landlord and rich peasant provocateurs. The result was that the brigade members became closely united and joined efforts to remake nature and promote production. Thanks to Huang Hsi-chung's unstinting help over a year's time, Lung Tung-jui's political level and his leadership ability were noticeably heightened.

Learning From Others' Strong Points

The minority nationality cadres and their Han counterparts in Pama County are on intimate terms with each other; they are closely united and they learn from each other. Assigned to the county not long ago,

(Continued on p. 18.)

ROUND THE WORLD

LATIN AMERICA

Defence of Oil Resources

Amidst a worsening energy crisis in the capitalist world, oil producing countries in Latin America are holding fast in their defence of petroleum resources by strengthening co-operation, developing state-owned oil enterprises, restricting foreign participation in oil exploitation and giving priority to regional supplies and frustrating imperialist attempts to step up oil plunder from the region.

When Arab oil exporters began cutting their supply to the United States in mid-October, Latin American producers acted in co-ordination with them. Venezuelan Minister of Mines and Petroleum Hugo Perez La Salvia made it clear that Venezuela, for the sake of the rational exploitation of its oil resources, would not increase oil exports to make up for the reduction in the Arab oil supply caused by the Middle East war. "Venezuela does not want to profiteer from the sufferings of the Arab peoples," he stated. Venezuela is the largest oil exporter in Latin America and provides the United States with 1.6 million barrels daily, 25 per cent of total U.S. oil imports.

In Ecuador, the second major petroleum exporter in Latin America and next only to Venezuela, large tracts of oil concessions formerly granted to foreign companies have been returned to the state. The Ecuadorian Government proclaimed a new petroleum law and created a state-owned petroleum company to protect the country's oil interests. Peru and Colombia have introduced the system of partnership by contract instead of by concessions under which the imperialists have a free hand in exploitation to the detriment of state sovereignty.

A Latin American energy organization was set up in November following the ministerial conference of 24 Latin American countries to strengthen co-operation in preserving, utilizing and distributing their energy resources. In addition,

efforts are being made to organize national tanker fleets, set up technology institutes, train native administrators and technicians and promote the petro-chemical industries. All these measures in favour of national interests are a serious blow to imperialist plunder of Latin American oil.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Summit Conference

Heads of state and government of the nine European Community countries held a conference on December 14 and 15 in the Danish capital Copenhagen. The conference took place at a time when the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, were stepping up their contention in Europe and the Middle East and when Western Europe was increasingly threatened by Soviet hegemonism.

Just as the summit conference opened, a document on the "European identity" approved by the foreign ministers of the nine European Community nations was published. It said: "Present international problems are difficult for any of the nine to solve alone. International developments and the growing concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a very small number of great powers mean that Europe must unite and speak increasingly with a single voice if it wants to make itself heard and play its proper role in the world."

Referring to relations with the United States, the document declared: "The nine intend to maintain their constructive dialogue and to develop their co-operation with the United States on the basis of equality and in a spirit of friendship."

A statement issued after the conference of the nine said that the nine countries had adopted a "declaration on the European identity" which defines "the principles which are to underlie their action." The nine heads of state and government "decided to speed up the work required

"GNISTAN" (SWEDEN)

No. 1 Superpower

The Swedish Communist Party organ *Gnistan* in a December 7 article warned that Soviet arms expansion was not for defence and that vigilance must be maintained against the danger of Soviet social-imperialism.

The article pointed out that the United States and the Soviet Union are both imperialist states. They contend with each other for their own interests. The two superpowers talk a great deal about "peace" and "détente" while increasing military budgets and carrying on arms expansion.

It also said U.S. imperialism is on the decline whereas Soviet social-imperialism is expanding. The Soviet Union has rapidly developed its military build-up and is trying to become the No. 1 superpower. "It is an important task of all the anti-imperialist people of the world to study and analyse such a development in the Soviet Union. To neglect this and cherish illusions about the Soviet 'desire for peace' will cost the people of the world dearly," the article stated.

to define the European union" and "asked the presidency (of the Community) to make the necessary proposals without delay." The nine heads also decided to meet more frequently.

The conference showed that the nine West European nations are determined to further strengthen their political co-operation, build up the "European identity" and speed up the development of the Community in other fields so as to complete the "European union" by the end of 1980.

VIENNA ARMS CUT CONFERENCE

No Substantial Agreement

After more than six weeks of wrangling, the conference on reduction of forces in Central Europe adjourned on December 13 without reaching any substantial agreement. Participated in by the member states of the two-military blocs — the War-

saw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — the conference started in Vienna on October 30.

The Soviet Union and the United States reportedly each tabled a "proposal for troop cuts" at secret meetings. The Soviet proposal called for a reduction in stages and in equal numbers, or in the same proportions, of the two military blocs' strength inclusive of air forces and nuclear armaments. This revealed the Soviet attempt to further maintain and strengthen its present superiority in Central Europe over the West in conventional forces. On the other hand, the U.S. proposal stipulated that the ground forces of the two military blocs in Central Europe should be reduced by stages to finally establish a ceiling and parity in the number of troops. In other words, Warsaw Pact forces, which now far outnumber NATO troops, should eventually be reduced to the same number as the latter, thereby weakening or terminating existing Soviet superiority.

Both proposals revealed the increased rivalry through force reduction talks in Europe on the part of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. These proposals sparked off hot debates between two sides with neither willing to yield.

All appearances indicate that like the U.N. disarmament talks which have been going on for a number of years, the Vienna talks on Central Europe forces reduction will be protracted. Delegates from many countries to the Vienna talks who have rented family apartments on long-term leases, are ready to remain for years in the city. Some delegates said they have made preparations to stay there till their retirement.

SOUTH KOREA

Increased Colonization of Economy

With the Pak Jung Hi clique bringing in huge foreign monopoly capital, south Korea's economy is becoming more and more colonized, the national industry and commerce are on the decline and the working people are steadily impoverished.

Over the last several years this clique has opened the door of south Korea wide to foreign capital in the name of "promoting the economy." Such capital has infiltrated into all spheres of the economy by direct investment or co-operation, instead of in the "credit" form as in the past.

Of the present total foreign investments in south Korea, Japanese capital accounts for 60 per cent and U.S. capital 33 per cent. Many industrial sectors are controlled by foreign capitalists.

Foreign monopoly capitalists siphon off huge profits by running factories and enterprises in south Korea and using south Korean raw materials and cheap labour in production. Foreign capitalists have also penetrated south Korea's farming economy, and some directly exploit the peasants by building many fruit, vegetable and animal products processing enterprises.

With ample assistance and many privileges granted by the Pak clique, foreign capital is in a favourable position in its fight for raw materials and markets with south Korean national industrial and commercial enterprises. Thus it has forced the national capitalists and small traders, whose capital is limited, to reduce production and business activities year by year. Many small and medium-sized enterprises are carrying on under capacity. Many have stopped production or closed down. Unemployment has been constantly growing. There are now 7.7 million people in south Korea who are unemployed or semi-unemployed.

Exploited and plundered by the Pak clique and foreign monopoly capital, agriculture is also in dire straits. The cultivated area has dwindled year by year. Food grain falls far short of needs and prices have kept rising in the last few years.

(Continued from p. 16.)

deputy secretary of the county Party committee Liu Yung-chu, a Han cadre, was not too familiar with local conditions. Since he joined the revolution quite early, he has fairly rich experience and a high theoretical and political level. Another deputy secretary of the county Party committee is Lu Yu-hsien who is a Yao and a native of that locality. Though well acquainted with Pama's past and present, he is less experienced and his theoretical level and ability to understand the Party's policies are not as high as Liu's because of his participation in revolutionary work in a later period. Working together, the two respect, help and learn from each other.

Lu Yu-hsien is a hard-working cadre who always goes to the grass-roots level to help tackle problems. While staying in a production brigade to guide its work, he lived, ate and farmed alongside the masses and did propaganda work in the local tongue. As a result, the

masses were fired with greater initiative in bringing about rapid progress in the brigade's farm production. Over the last two years or so, they have purchased quite a number of farm machines.

While modestly learning from Lu Yu-hsien's style of work, Liu Yung-chu has never missed a chance to ask Lu to acquaint him with the minority peoples' customs and habits, pass on his experience in keeping in close contact with the masses and teach him the Yao language. No less modestly, Lu Yu-hsien has learnt from Liu Yung-chu.

Early this year when Lu was going to a brigade to organize the masses to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, he drew on Liu's experience in this respect. So good was Lu's organizational work as a result of Liu's help that the experience gained in the brigade was later popularized throughout the county, thus setting in motion a mass endeavour to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Eight Million Educated Youth in the Countryside

MORE than 8 million educated youth from China's urban centres have gone to the rural areas to help build a new socialist countryside in the last five years.

On December 22, 1968, *Renmin Ribao* published Chairman Mao's important directive: "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." Responding to the call, large numbers of educated youth have moved to the countryside. Cadres and the people in urban centres have enthusiastically supported the measure. Sending sons and daughters to the countryside to work on the farms is a trend in China today.

Educated youth have been posted to all parts of the motherland. In the countryside they integrate their practical work with the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, modestly learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants and actively take part in the three great revolutionary movements—struggle for production, class struggle, and scientific experiment.

These young people are making contributions in scientific experiments, publicizing socialist culture and changing existing habits and customs. They are remoulding their world outlook while transforming the objective world. After several years of tempering, 60,000 educated youth have been admitted into the Communist Party of China, 830,000 have joined the Communist Youth League and 240,000 have been elected to leading posts at various levels.

Educated youth going to the countryside is a new thing that has emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and is of profound and far-reaching significance to the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Party and government organizations

at all levels devote care and attention to fostering the healthy growth of these young people. Many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have convened meetings to review the work and to sum up experience in this respect.

The revolutionary torrent of educated youth going to the countryside is sweeping away old ways of thinking and old habits left over from the old society of looking down on peasants and farm labour. It is a deep-going revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and other political swindlers like them spread all sorts of vile nonsense to prevent the work of sending educated youth to the countryside to temper themselves. These youth are criticizing Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao's revisionist line and are marching forward along the revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has said: "Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." Large numbers of educated young people from the urban centres will be going to the countryside each year. They will

surely make great contributions in bringing about the modernization of agriculture and building up a new socialist countryside.

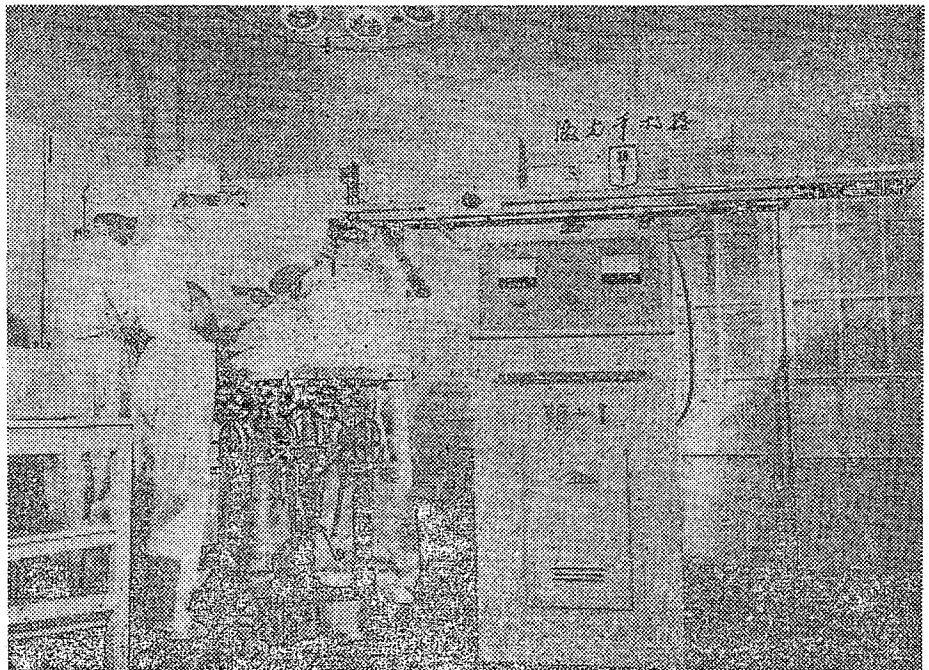
Laser Research and Application

RESearch institutes and industrial enterprises in China have been researching and using laser technology with some success.

The generator of a concentrated, powerful, monochromatic and parallel beam of light, laser is gaining wide use in industry, agriculture, medical and health work, national defence and scientific research.

Steady progress has been made in the study and application of this technology since China's first ruby laser was produced in 1961. Dozens of lasers and supplementary components have now been made. Research workers and departments concerned are using laser for drilling, trimming, welding, measuring distances, setting alignments and in surgery and other fields.

The Chinese Institute of Metrology, the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Weights and Measures and other units have made a laser photoelectric interference comparator which has improved precision in auto-align-



Laser surgery.

ing a one-metre line from one micron to one-fifth of a micron and shortened the work process from two weeks to two hours.

Working together, Fudan University and the No. 2 Optical Instruments Factory, both in Shanghai, and Tientsin University have turned out a laser auto-aligner that quickly and accurately measures concentricity for installation of the main shaft of 10,000-ton vessels.

Preliminary success was scored by surgeons using a laser device made by the Shanghai Medical Apparatus Research Institute and other units. Laser-treated seeds from Chungshan

University in Kwangchow, the Shenyang Institute of Agriculture, the Shanghai Institute of Agricultural Science and other units have given higher yields.

In various places, "three-in-one" teams of cadres, workers and technicians and of laser producers, users and research institutes working together have speeded up laser technology research and application.

The Shanghai Laser Experimental Station worked with three universities and more than 20 factories to make China's first laser thermal conductometer in about ten months' time. The station's scientists and

technicians, working in "three-in-one" research teams with workers as the main prop, were re-educated by the working class while closely combining research with production.

The Wuhan seismic crew of the State Seismic Bureau, the Peking Scientific Instruments Factory and other units jointly designed and made a long-distance measurement laser range-finder for China's geodetic surveys. Although the task was extremely difficult and a high degree of precision required, scientists and technicians, combining revolutionary drive with a strict scientific approach, designed and repeatedly experimented to successfully accomplish it.

(Continued from p. 3.)

junior middle school in 1964. Since then, she has studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, and taken an active part in productive labour. By modestly learning the fine qualities of the poor and lower-middle peasants, she has established close contacts with the masses and has deep class feelings for them. Since becoming secretary of the county Party committee in 1970, she has often gone to the grass-roots level to make investi-

gations and study. She has led the masses to tame the rivers and afforest the mountainous areas, thereby rapidly changing Lishui County. Recently, she was elected a member of the Kiangsu Provincial Party Committee and concurrently a member of its standing committee.

Showing great concern for the maturing of the new cadres, many veteran cadres warmly help them heighten their political consciousness and working ability. Chao Yuan-chiao is a young woman cadre of the

Yao nationality who has come to the fore in the Cultural Revolution. In 1971, when she was only 20, she was elected Party branch secretary of a production brigade in the Touchiang People's Commune in Kwangsi. The secretary of the county Party committee, a veteran cadre, came to her production brigade to sum up experience gained in work together with her. Afterwards, the commune Party committee also sent an experienced cadre to her brigade to help her lead a movement to learn from Tachai, national pace-setter in agriculture. As a result, this production brigade had a sizable increase in grain output in 1972.

Since assuming leading posts, many new cadres make it a point to take part in productive labour, keep in close touch with the masses, and work as ordinary workers.

NEWS BRIEFS

• A protocol relating to the exchange of commodities between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Sri Lanka for 1974 was signed in Peking on December 20.

• A Thailand trade delegation led by Chatichai Choonhavan, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Peking on December 21 as guest of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade.



Textile worker Hsiang La-yu (second right), newly elected chairman of the trade union council of Chiuchiang city, Kiangsi Province, chatting with her work-mates.

PEKING REVIEW

Subject Index

Nos. 27-52, 1973

Issue Page
No. No.

Issue Page
No. No.

I. DOMESTIC

1. Political Affairs

Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

Press Communiqué of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (August 29, 1973)	35-36 : 5
List of Members of the Presidium of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (148 Members)	35-36 : 8
List of the 319 Members and Alternate Members of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China	35-36 : 9
Press Communiqué of the First Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (August 30, 1973)	35-36 : 10
Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Delivered on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973) — Chou En-lai	35-36 : 17
Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)	35-36 : 26
Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution (Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973) — Wang Hung-wen	35-36 : 29
The Nation Hails Tenth Party Congress	37 : 4
Message of Greetings From Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of Central Committee of Workers' Party of Korea	37 sup. : 1
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Workers' Party of Korea	37 sup. : 1
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers' Party	37 sup. : 2
Message of Greetings From Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of Central Committee of Albanian Party of Labour	37 sup. : 3
Message of Greetings From Comrade Ceausescu, General Secretary of Communist Party of Romania	37 sup. : 5

Message of Greetings From the Central Committee of Communist Party of Burma	37 sup. : 5
Message of Greetings From the Central Committee of Communist Party of Japan (Left)	37 sup. : 6
Statement of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia	37 sup. : 6
Message of Greetings From President Nguyen Huu Tho	37 sup. : 7
Message of Greetings From Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.)	37 sup. : 7
Message of Greetings From President K.D. Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia	37 sup. : 7
Message of Greetings From Pakistan President Chaudhry Fazal Elahi	37 sup. : 8
Message of Greetings From Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	37 sup. : 8
Message of Greetings From President Michel Micombero of the Republic of Burundi	37 sup. : 8
Message of Greetings From the Central Committee of Communist Party of Malaya	41 sup. : 1
Message of Greetings From Fernand Lefebvre, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium	41 sup. : 2
Message of Greetings From South Viet Nam N.F.L. Central Committee	41 sup. : 2
Message of Greetings From Petersen, Secretary of Central Committee of Marxist-Leninist Party of Netherlands	41 sup. : 3
Message of Greetings From Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of Socialist Party of Chile	41 sup. : 3
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Communist Party of Thailand	41 sup. : 3
Message of Greetings From Executive Committee of Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland	41 sup. : 4
Message of Greetings From First Secretary of Central Committee of Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria	41 sup. : 4

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
Message of Greetings From Jusuf Adjitorop, Leader of Delegation of Central Committee of Communist Party of Indonesia	41 sup. :	4	Communist Party of Honduras	41 sup. :	15
Messages of Greetings From Central Committee of Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile	41 sup. :	4	Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Party of Venezuelan Revolution	41 sup. :	15
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Communist Party of Sweden	41 sup. :	5	Message of Greetings From General Secretary Mijal of Central Committee of Communist Party of Poland	46 sup. :	1
Letter of Greetings From Boone, Secretary of International Relations of League of Dutch Marxist-Leninists	41 sup. :	6	Message of Greetings From U.S. October League (M.-L.)	46 sup. :	2
Message of Greetings From Eastern Publishing House of Italy	41 sup. :	6	Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Communist Party of Portugal (M.-L.)	46 sup. :	2
Message of Greetings From Oscar Zamora Medinaceli, First Secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of Bolivia (M.-L.)	41 sup. :	6	Message of Greetings From Marxist-Leninist Organization of Political Refugees From Greece	46 sup. :	2
Message of Greetings From Fosko Dinucci, General Secretary of Communist Party of Italy (M.-L.)	41 sup. :	8	Message of Greetings From Communist Party of Switzerland (M.-L.)	46 sup. :	2
Message of Greetings From Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea	41 sup. :	9	Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Communist Party of Brazil	46 sup. :	3
Message of Greetings From Guinean Prime Minister Beavogui	41 sup. :	9	Message of Greetings From Political Bureau of Central Committee of Communist Party of Peru	46 sup. :	4
Messages of Greetings From Chairman Reg Birch of Communist Party of Britain (M.-L.) and the Party Central Committee	41 sup. :	9	Message of Greetings From Chairman Amado Guerrero of Central Committee of Communist Party of Philippines	46 sup. :	4
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Red Star Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Front of Italy	41 sup. :	10	Message of Greetings From Central Committee of U.S. Revolutionary Union	46 sup. :	5
Message of Greetings From First Chairman Ernst Aust of Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist)	41 sup. :	10	Messages of Greetings From Marxist-Leninist Organizations and Mass Organizations	46 sup. :	5
Message of Greetings From Abdulla Al Asnag, General Secretary of the Yemeni Union	41 sup. :	11	Messages of Greetings and Statements From Nationalist Organizations, Mass Organizations, Government, Parties of Some Countries and Regions	46 sup. :	5
Message of Greetings From Political Bureau of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France	41 sup. :	11			
Message of Greetings From Workers' Communist Party of Norway (M.-L.)	41 sup. :	12	1) General		
Message of Greetings From Editing Committee of "l'Humanite Rouge"	41 sup. :	12	Chinese Communist Party Anniversary	27 :	5
Message of Greetings From Organization of Communists of Italy (M.-L.)	41 sup. :	13	New Party Members — A Dynamic Force	27 :	6
Message of Greetings From Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party	41 sup. :	13	Mr. Chang Shih-chao Passes Away in Hongkong	28 :	18
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Communist Party of Sri Lanka (M.-L.)	41 sup. :	14	Peking Mourns Mr. Chang Shih-chao	29 :	5
Message of Greetings From Central Committee of Italian (M.-L.) Communist Party	41 sup. :	14	Memorial Meeting for the Late Mr. Chang Hsi-jo	30 :	4
Message of Greetings From Political Commission of Central Committee of			"May 7" Cadre Schools Must Be Run Well	30 :	5
			A "May 7" Cadre School	31 :	22
			N.P.C. Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou Fete Mr. Miao Yun-tai	32 :	4
			The Nation Celebrates 24th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China	40 :	5
			Study Hard and Continue to Advance — In Celebration of 24th Anniversary of Founding of People's Republic of China — editorial by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> , <i>Hongqi</i> and <i>Jiefangjun Bao</i>	40 :	8
			Confucius — A Thinker Who Stubbornly Upheld the Slave System — Yang Jung-kuo	41 :	5

Explanatory Notes:
 "Dividing the Ducal Household's Land
 Into Three Shares" 41 : 10
 Confucius Killed Shaocheng Mou 41 : 10
 107th Anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's
 Birthday 47 : 6
 Criticizing Lin Piao: Theory of Productive
 Forces: Its Counter-Revolutionary Essence
 — Li Cheng 48 : 11
 Chinese Observer on Population Question 49 : 10
 Millions of New Cadres Maturing 52 : 3
 Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique: Sworn Enemy
 of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—
 Szu Hua-hung 52 : 4

**2) Studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung
 Thought**

Training Worker-Cadres Is a Task En-
 trusted to Us by History—Wu Kung-wen 31 : 14
 Attach Importance to the Revolution in the
 Superstructure—Li Chien 34 : 4
 An Important Historical Experience—Tien
 Chih-sung 38 : 16
 Imperialism Is the Eve of the Social Rev-
 olution of the Proletariat—Notes on study-
 ing Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest
 Stage of Capitalism*—Chang Chien 39 : 6
 Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Studying
 Philosophy: Dialectics in Blast Furnaces—
 Shih Kang 41 : 19
 Combination of Old, Middle-Aged and Young
 Cadres in Leading Bodies 42 : 11
 Importance Must Be Attached to the Party's
 Basic Line—Chi Yung-hung 43 : 4
 Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Studying
 Philosophy: Applying Materialist Dialectics
 to Navigation—Hai Hui 44 : 16
 Persevere in Reading and Study—Tien
 Chih-sung 45 : 6
 Two-Line Struggles in the Party Will Exist
 for a Long Time to Come—Yi Piao 46 : 19
 Democratic Centralism in Party Commit-
 tees—Chiang Hsueh-yuan 47 : 17
 Classes for New Worker-Cadres 47 : 23
 Communists Should Work for the Interests
 of the Vast Majority of People—Hung
 Yuan 49 : 5
 Great Benefits Derive From a Good Analysis
 —Chiang Han 50 : 12

Explanatory Notes:
 The Basic Line of the Chinese Communist
 Party in the Entire Historical Period of
 Socialism 50 : 13
 Two Different Types of Contradictions 50 : 13
 Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Studying
 Philosophy: A Sharp Weapon in Trans-
 forming Land 51 : 16

Distinguish Between Two Fundamentally
 Different Types of Compromises—Notes
 on Studying Lenin's "Left-Wing" Com-
 munist, an Infantile Disorder"—Hung
 Hsuan 52 : 11

3) People's Army

46th Anniversary of P.L.A. Celebrated 31 : 5
 P.L.A. Units Support Socialist Construction 35-36 : 54
 Four Pictures Illustrate the Same Spirit—
 Pao Wen 37 : 18
 Organize the Militia Well 40 : 6

4) National Minorities

Commune on the Tibetan Plateau—Kao
 Hung 28 : 14
 Work on National Minority Languages 32 : 22
 Sports in National Minority Areas 34 : 22
 Schoolmaster in a Yao Village 35-36 : 55
 Primary and Middle School Education in
 Sinkiang 42 : 22
 Health and Medical Care in National Minor-
 ity Regions 43 : 22
 Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: The
 State Helps Develop the Economy 50 : 16
 Important Reform in Tibetan Agriculture 50 : 22
 Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: State
 Helps Cultural Development in Minority
 Areas—Kuang Wen 51 : 13
 Animal Husbandry in Inner Mongolia 51 : 22
 Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region:
 Minority Nationality Cadres in a County
 —Tang Yu-fang 52 : 15

5) Women, Youth and Children

Educated Youth in Sinkiang 27 : 22
 Tientsin Women's Congress 28 : 4
 Educated Youth Go to the Countryside 33 : 3
 Shouldering Heavy Duties for the Revolu-
 tion—Chu Hui-fen 33 : 7
 A Young Man's Wish 34 : 23
 Women's Congresses in Peking and Shanghai 39 : 5
 Training Successors to the Cause of Revolu-
 tion 42 : 22
 Eight Million Educated Youth in the Coun-
 tryside 52 : 19

6) Social and People's Life

Shanghai's Street Cleaners 32 : 23

2. Economic

1) General

Economic Development and Environmental
 Protection—Fang Hsin 29 : 6
 Peking's New Buildings 29 : 22
 Shanghai Industry Supports Agriculture 31 : 22
 China's General Principle for Developing
 the National Economy—Correct handling

	Issue No.	Page No.
of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry — Chung Li-cheng	33	: 4
Capital Construction Makes Great Strides	34	: 3
A Trip to West China (I): Chinghai Is Changing — Our Correspondent	42	: 13
A Trip to West China (II): Chinghai Is Changing — Our Correspondent Yu Chiao	43	: 18
A Trip to West China (III): Chinghai Is Changing — Our Correspondent Yu Chiao	44	: 18
How China Solved Its Food Problem	45	: 8
Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: The State Helps Develop the Economy	50	: 16
 2) Industry and Communications		
Socialist Industry: The Workers Are the Masters — Our Correspondents	27	: 11
Huangshih — A New Industrial City	27	: 22
Outstanding Communist: Wu Hsu-chih, Collier	28	: 9
Socialist Industry: The Workers Are the Masters — Our Correspondents	28	: 11
Socialist Industry: The Masses Innovate (I) — Our Correspondents	29	: 12
Industry's Semi-Annual Report	30	: 3
Socialist Industry: The Masses Innovate (II) — Our Correspondents	30	: 6
Peking: Rail Centre — Our Correspondents	30	: 9
Peasant Customers Like This Factory	33	: 22
Tapping the Potential of Industrial Enterprises — Wen Chao-hsin	35-36	: 46
A Technical Innovation in Steel Ingot Casting	35-36	: 54
Rapid Expansion of Petroleum Industry	39	: 22
Electronics Industry	39	: 23
Iron and Steel Industry Makes Headway	40	: 23
More Chemicals	40	: 23
Live-Line Operations in Wide Use	40	: 23
New Electronic Computer	41	: 22
More Radios and Television Sets	41	: 22
Machine-Building Industry	44	: 22
Insecticide Industry	44	: 23
Industries in Amoy, an Island City	45	: 22
Socialist Industry: Putting Politics in Command — Our Correspondents	46	: 20
Tapping Natural Gas in Szechuan	47	: 23
Socialist Industry: Relations Among Socialist Enterprises — Our Correspondents	48	: 24
Progress As Mirrored at Kwangchow Trade Fair	48	: 30
Fromhovels to Flats — Our Correspondent Li Lien	49	: 18
Tibet Rich in Ores	49	: 23
 3) Agriculture and Water Conservancy		
Hupei Builds Huge Drainage Project	28	: 23
A Rural Commune's Industries — Our Cor-		

	Issue No.	Page No.
respondent	29	: 15
More Irrigation Works Completed	29	: 22
Summer Harvest News	30	: 21
Visit to Heilungkiang Forest Regions: Evergreen Timberlands — Our Correspondents	31	: 16
Another Rich Summer Harvest	32	: 4
Visit to Heilungkiang Forest Regions (II): New Forest City — Our Correspondents	32	: 13
Visit to Heilungkiang Forest Regions (III): Mountain Flowers in Full Bloom — Our Correspondents	33	: 9
Hydraulics Used in Building Dams	33	: 23
Cadres Cultivate Experimental Plots	34	: 22
Bumper Early Rice Harvest	38	: 3
Mechanizing Rice Cultivation	39	: 22
Apiculture Promoted	42	: 23
Rich Autumn Harvest in the Northeast	45	: 5
Large Numbers of Hydro-Power Stations Built	47	: 22
A Decade's Achievements in Harnessing the Haiho River	49	: 22
Bumper Cotton Harvest	49	: 23
Important Reform in Tibetan Agriculture	50	: 22
Reports of Bumper Harvests	50	: 23
Animal Husbandry in Inner Mongolia	51	: 22
 4) Finance and Trade		
Kwangchow Trade Fair Closes	47	: 21
 3. Culture		
1) General		
On Reforming Written Chinese — Wen Hua	32	: 11
Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: State Helps Cultural Development in Minority Areas — Kuang Wen	51	: 13
 2) Science and Technology		
China Successfully Conducts a Hydrogen Bomb Test	27	: 5
The Birth of a Book	27	: 23
Kwangsi Sets Up Meteorological Network	28	: 23
Great Revolution in Astronomy — Commemorating Copernicus' Quincentenary — Chang Yu-cheh, the Purple Mountain Observatory, Academia Sinica	40	: 18
Chinese Biology Professor and Chinese-American Scientist's Joint Achievement	42	: 5
Nationwide Geomagnetic Survey	43	: 23
The Shanghai Science and Technology Centre Experiments in Making Rain and Preventing Hailstorms	47	: 22
Radioactive Isotopes Utilized	51	: 23
Laser Research and Application	52	: 20

3) Education

Revolution in Education: Why the University Enrolling System Should Be Reformed — Chu Yen	38 : 19
Revolution in Education: The New Enrollment System and After	39 : 10
150,000 New Students in College	39 : 11

4) Literature, Art, Film and Opera

Glorious Poems of Unity and Struggle of the World's Proletariat — On reading <i>Selected Poems of Eugene Pottier</i> — Szu Chung	27 : 8
Traditional Chinese Painting Serves Socialism	30 : 22
In a Mountain County: They Sing and Dance for Peasants — Our Correspondent	39 : 18
Flourishing Woodcut Art — Li Hua	41 : 16
Art Exhibitions	50 : 22
New Peking Operas	51 : 22

5) Archaeology

Autopsy on 2,100-Year-Old Corpse	30 : 4
Preliminary Results From Study of 2,100-Year-Old Corpse	32 : 16
Sixty-Million-Year-Old Fossil Mammals Found	41 : 23

6) Medicine and Health

Treating Cataract by a New Method	33 : 22
Medical Network in a Mountain County (I) — Our Correspondent Ling Yang	34 : 17
Medical Network in a Mountain County (II) — Our Correspondent Ling Yang	35-36 : 49
Advances in Treating Choriocarcinoma	45 : 22

7) Physical Culture and Sports

Table Tennis Players of Taiwan Province Invited to Friendship Tournament in Peking	27 : 10
Swimming	29 : 5
Lively Sports Competitions	30 : 22
Sports on a Mass Scale	32 : 22
Sports in National Minority Areas	34 : 22

II. INTERNATIONAL

1. General

Ottawa: Commonwealth Summit	33 : 19
Guadalajara: Afro-Latin American Games	34 : 21
Premier Chou Greets 4th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries	37 : 6
Hail the Successful Conclusion of the 4th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	38 : 10

Third World Struggle Against Hegemony — A Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	38 : 13
"Energy Crisis" and Scramble for Energy Resources — Chiu Pei-chiang	39 : 12
At I.T.U. Plenipotentiary Conference: Superpower Monopoly of Radio Wave Resources Opposed	39 : 15
Vienna: OPEC Extraordinary Conference	39 : 21
Tokyo: GATT in Session	39 : 21
Capitalist World: Workers Strike	40 : 21
I.M.F. Meeting: No Significant Progress	42 : 20
I.T.U.: South Africa and Portugal Excluded	42 : 20
I.T.U.: Israeli Destruction of Submarine Cables Denounced	44 : 21
London: International Marine Pollution Conference	46 : 22
China Decides to Participate in Two International Conventions	47 : 6
Hegemony Cannot Decide Destiny of World History — Wu Chun	48 : 4
Oil Weapon in the Hands of Arab Countries	48 : 10
London: IMCO Assembly	49 : 21
Distinguish Between Two Fundamentally Different Types of Compromises — Notes on Studying Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder" — Hung Hsuan	52 : 11

2. China and United Nations

U.N. Economic and Social Council: Chinese Representative Exposes Big-Power Hegemonism	29 : 8
U.N. Economic and Social Council: Economic Aid for Zambia	30 : 19
U.N. Security Council: Middle East Debate Ends	31 : 20
U.N. Trade and Development Board: Discussion on Drafting "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States"	33 : 12
United Nations: Namibia Day	35-36 : 52
Chinese Delegation to U.N. General Assembly	38 : 11
Geneva: 13th Session of U.N. Trade and Development Board	38 : 23
United Nations: 28th Session Opens	39 : 20
At 28th U.N. General Assembly Session: Chairman of Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua's Speech	40 : 10
Chinese Representative Condemns Israeli Zionists at Security Council Meeting	41 : 3
At the United Nations: Protest Action Unseen Before	42 : 16
Call for Restoring Lawful Rights to Kingdom of Cambodia	42 : 16
Urging Expulsion of Representatives of the Chiang Clique	42 : 17
Lon Nol Clique Should Be Expelled From the U.N. — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	43 : 7

	Issue No.	Page No.
United Nations: Proposal for Restoring Lawful Rights of Royal Government of Cambodia Included in Agenda	43	8
At the U.N.: Third World's Growing Opposition to Superpower Hegemonism — A Hsinhua correspondent commentary on the general debate at the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly	43	9
At the U.N. Security Council: Two Superpowers Concoct "Ceasefire" in the Middle East	43	11
Naked Display of Power Politics — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	44	4
At the U.N. Security Council: Two Superpowers Engage in Power Politics and Fraud	44	5
Security Council Discusses "Supervision of Ceasefire" in the Middle East	44	9
At the United Nations:		
Portuguese Aggression Against Guinea-Bissau Put on Agenda	44	12
U.N. Conference on Law of Sea Recommended	44	13
At the United Nations:		
Composition of "U.N. Emergency Force"	45	18
Portuguese Aggression Against Guinea-Bissau Condemned	45	19
At the United Nations:		
Soviet Union's Fake Disarmament Exposed	46	14
Soviet World Disarmament Conference Proposal Is a Fraud	46	15
At the United Nations: Political and Security Committee Debate on Korean Question	47	10
At the United Nations:		
U.N. Korean Commission to Be Dissolved	48	16
Chinese Representative Denounces Soviet-U.S. Nuclear Monopoly Policy	48	17
Soviet Proposal for So-Called Military Budgets Reduction Exposed	48	19
U.S.S.R. Urged to Sign Additional Protocol II of Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America	48	20
China's Principled Stand on Question of Defining Aggression	49	8
Chinese Observer on Population Question	49	10
Arms Reduction or Expansion: The "Proposal" and After — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	49	16
At the United Nations: China Supports Restoration of Lawful Rights of Royal Government of Cambodia in United Nations	50	9
Soviet Resolution for "Reduction of Military Budgets" — A Mere Scrap of Paper	51	8
U.N. Security Council: No More "Dialogue" With South Africa	51	20

3. China's Foreign Relations; Countries and Regions

	Issue No.	Page No.
Visitors From Abroad	27	10
1) ASIA		
Israel Pushes Zionization in Occupied Territories	29	10
Piratic Act, Preposterous Logic — Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	33	15
Asian Games Federation: China Admitted	39	20
China Affirmed as Member of Asian Games Federation	47	15
Israel: Aggressors' Swollen Arrogance	49	21
China Takes Up A.B.U. Full Membership	51	3
Afghanistan		
Republic of Afghanistan Recognized	31	9
Burma		
Chinese Table Tennis Delegation Visits Malaysia, Thailand and Burma	29	18
Cambodia		
All Highways to Phnom Penh Cut	27	19
Samdech Sihanouk's Successful Tour of Eleven Countries Greeted	28	3
At Banquet Marking Success of Samdech Sihanouk's Visit to 11 Countries:		
Premier Chou En-lai's Speech (Excerpts)	28	5
Samdech Sihanouk's Speech (Excerpts)	28	6
"Vanguard" (Australia): U.S. Bombing of Cambodia Condemned	28	21
Puppet Troops Called On to Revolt	29	19
Samdech and Madame Sihanouk Leave Peking for Korea	30	3
Samdech Sihanouk in Pyongyang: Confidence in Victory Reaffirmed	31	19
Cambodian National Congress: Declaration to Friendly Countries and Peoples	31	19
Samdech Sihanouk Serves Notice: Evacuate Diplomatic Personnel From Phnom Penh	33	18
U.S.: Combat Activities Ordered to Halt in Cambodia and Laos	33	18
Samdech Sihanouk Speaks in Tientsin: August 15, 1973: Day of Great Victory for the Cambodian People	34	9
Samdech Sihanouk Condemns Soviet Interference in Cambodia's Internal Affairs	34	10
Prime Minister Penn Nouth Holds Press Conference	34	10
Cambodian People's Armed Forces: 6-Week Battle Record	35-36	52
Lon Nol Clique Should Be Expelled From the U.N. — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	43	7
United Nations: Proposal for Restoring Lawful Rights of Royal Government of Cambodia Included in Agenda	43	8

	Issue No.	Page No.
People Go to Liberated Zone	43	: 21
People's Armed Forces Attack Incessantly	44	: 21
Queen Kossamak Comes to China	45	: 5
Lon Nol Clique: Futile U.S. "Urgent Aid"	45	: 20
Cambodian Special Envoy Ieng Sary Leaves for Home	46	: 7
Kingdom of Cambodia's National Day Greeted	46	: 11
To Move Back Those R.G.N.U. Ministries Functioning Abroad	46	: 12
A Year of Brilliant Victories	46	: 22
Teng Hsiao-ping and Han Nien-lung Call On Queen Kossamak	48	: 31
Phnom Penh: Puppet Presidential Palace Bombed Again	48	: 27
Cambodian People's Lawful Rights Cannot Be Deprived — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	50	: 8
At the United Nations: China Supports Restoration of Lawful Rights of Royal Government of Cambodia in United Nations	50	: 9
Three Strategic Towns Liberated	50	: 20
Traitorous Lon Nol Clique — A Political Corpse	51	: 12
India		
Indian Political Figures: Call for Scrapping Indo-Soviet Treaty	33	: 19
Pakistan-India: New Delhi Agreement	37	: 23
"Hindu" (India): European Power in Asian System	37	: 23
Moscow Beating Down Prices	45	: 23
Soviet Revisionist "Disinterested Aid"	48	: 28
Indonesia		
Serious Anti-Chinese Incident	35-36	: 52
Iran		
Iran's Gas: Soviet Price — Far Too Low	28	: 21
Uneasy About Soviet Presence in Middle East	31	: 20
Iranian People's New Achievement in Safeguarding Their Oil Rights	33	: 17
Iranian Guests in China	37	: 12
Back From Teheran	51	: 3
Japan		
Chinese Leaders Visit Japanese Exhibition "First Mission Under Heaven"	27	: 5
Tanaka on Japan-U.S.S.R. Peace Treaty	28	: 21
Japan-U.S.A.: "Equal Partnership"	30	: 18
Determined to Recover Northern Territories	32	: 19
Chinese Oil Tanker's First Voyage to Japan	38	: 22
Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations: 1st Anniversary	39	: 21
	40	: 7

	Issue No.	Page No.
Japan-China Memorandum Trade Delegation	49	: 4
Comrades Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching Meet Japanese Friends	50	: 5
Western Europe and Japan: Workers' Strikes "Jinmin No Hoshi": On Significance of Correct Definition of Era	51	: 20
	51	: 20
Korea		
One Year After Publication of Joint Statement of North and South Korea — Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	28	: 7
Twelfth Anniversary of China-Korea Treaty Samdech and Madame Sihanouk Leave Peking for Korea	29	: 4
South Korea Under Tyranny — Chang Hai	30	: 3
20th Anniversary of the Victory of Korea's Fatherland Liberation War	30	: 16
The 3,000-ri Land Must Be Reunified — Commemorating the 20th anniversary of victory of Korea's Fatherland Liberation War — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	31	: 4
	31	: 10
Pak Jung Hi Clique: Hat in Hand	32	: 19
Kim Dae Jung Abduction Condemned	33	: 18
D.P.R.K.'s Statement: No Truck With Moscow Universiade	34	: 20
D.P.R.K. National Day Greeted	37	: 5
Seoul: University Students Demonstrate Against Tyranny	43	: 21
23rd Anniversary of C.P.V. Entry Into Korean War	44	: 3
At the United Nations: Political and Security Committee Debate on Korean Question	47	: 10
South Korea: Student Struggle	47	: 20
Korean People's Struggle for Reunification of Their Fatherland Will Be Victorious — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	48	: 15
At the United Nations: U.N. Korean Commission to Be Dissolved	48	: 16
South Korea: Growing Struggle Against Oppression	50	: 20
Salute Student Youth and Other People of South Korea	51	: 7
South Korea: Increased Colonization of Economy	52	: 18
Kuwait		
"Sawt Al Khaleej" (Kuwait): False Friendship	34	: 20
Laos		
U.S.: Combat Activities Ordered to Halt in Cambodia and Laos	33	: 18
Lao Patriotic Front: Plot Behind Abortive Coup Exposed	35-36	: 52
A Major Step Towards National Concord in Laos — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	38	: 8
Appeal of Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee	38	: 9

Warm Greetings to Glorious Day of Lao People — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	42 : 10	Saigon Authorities Must Release All Detained Civilian Personnel Immediately — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	31 : 11
Malaysia		Firm Support for Vietnamese People's Just Demands — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	32 : 8
Chinese Table Tennis Delegation Visits Malaysia, Thailand and Burma	29 : 18	Vietnamese Delegation Stops Over in Peking	34 : 3
Maldives		D.R.V.N. National Day	37 : 7
A Reporter's Diary: Maldives — A Coral Island Country — Hsinhua Correspondent	27 : 17	Report From South Viet Nam: Touring Quang Tri Liberated Area — Hsinhua Correspondents	43 : 16
Nepal		Report From North Viet Nam: The New Struggle	44 : 14
Nepalese Prime Minister Greeted	30 : 3	Chairman Mao Meets President Nguyen Huu Tho and Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh	47 : 3
Non-Alignment Reaffirmed	32 : 19	Peking Warmly Welcomes South Vietnamese Comrades-in-Arms	47 : 5
"Matribhumi" (Nepal): Behind the "Special Relationship"	37 : 23	At Banquet Welcoming the Republic of South Viet Nam P.R.G. Delegation:	
Minister Karki of Nepal in China	39 : 5	Premier Chou En-lai's Speech (Excerpts)	47 : 7
Chairman Mao Meets King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya	50 : 3	President Nguyen Huu Tho's Speech (Excerpts)	47 : 8
Welcome to Distinguished Nepalese Guests	50 : 4	Joint Communiqué	48 : 7
At Banquet Welcoming King Birendra:		Sympathy to South Viet Nam Typhoon Victims	49 : 4
Premier Chou En-lai's Speech (Excerpts)	50 : 6	U.S. and Saigon Must Stop Violating Paris Agreement	50 : 11
King Birendra's Speech (Excerpts)	50 : 7	Arab-Israeli 4th War	
Nepal's King and Queen Conclude China Visit	51 : 3	U.N. Security Council: Middle East Debate Ends	31 : 20
Joint Communiqué	51 : 6	Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei Condemns Israeli Aggression	41 : 3
Pakistan		Chinese Representative Condemns Israeli Zionists at Security Council Meeting	41 : 3
On Recognition of Bangla Desh: Pakistan National Assembly Adopts Resolution	29 : 19	Firm Support for Egypt and Syria in Their Resistance to Israeli Military Aggression	41 : 4
Not to Submit to Hegemony	31 : 19	Premier Chou En-lai's Messages of Support to President Sadat and President Assad	42 : 6
Cables to Pakistan Leaders	34 : 3	Arab People's Cause Against Aggression Is Invincible — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	42 : 7
Pakistan Minister Visits Peking	37 : 7	Arab People Resist Israeli Aggressors — Our Correspondent	42 : 8
Pakistan-India: New Delhi Agreement	37 : 23	President Sadat's Message to Premier Chou	43 : 3
Palestine		At the U.N. Security Council: Two Superpowers Concoct "Ceasefire" in the Middle East	43 : 11
Arafat: Fight Till Victory	30 : 18	Arab Struggle Against Common Enemy — Cheng Kung	43 : 13
"Fight and Struggle"	34 : 20	Naked Display of Power Politics — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	44 : 4
Sri Lanka		At the U.N. Security Council: Two Superpowers Engage in Power Politics and Fraud	44 : 5
Against Two Superpowers' Rivalry in Indian Ocean	47 : 20	Security Council Discusses "Supervision of Ceasefire" in the Middle East	44 : 9
Thailand		Press Survey: Two Superpowers Reimpose "No War, No Peace" Situation in Middle East	45 : 15
Chinese Table Tennis Delegation Visits Malaysia, Thailand and Burma	29 : 18		
Big Students' Demonstration	42 : 20		
Rise of the Student Movement in Thailand — Shih Ping	43 : 15		
Turkey			
Turkish National Day	44 : 8		
Viet Nam			
Party and Government Delegation Visits Korea	28 : 20		
China-Republic of South Viet Nam	30 : 3		

	Issue No.	Page No.
Israeli Zionists: An Unjust Cause Has Little Support—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	45	: 17
At the United Nations:		
Composition of "U.N. Emergency Force"	45	: 18
Israel: Cost of Aggression	45	: 21
For Your Reference: Israel's Four Wars of Aggression	46	: 12
Algiers: Arab Summit Conference—Cheng Kung	49	: 11
Facts on File: Arab Summit Conferences	49	: 12
2) AFRICA		
Six African Countries Supported in Fighting Drought	29	: 18
Lagos: O.A.U. Ministerial Conference	29	: 20
Facts on File: Portuguese Colonialists in Africa	30	: 13
Youth Festival in Tunis	31	: 21
Mutual Aid and Co-operation Develop Among African Countries	39	: 14
Africa: O.A.U. Extraordinary Session	48	: 27
East and Central Africa: Foreign Ministers Conference	49	: 21
U.N. Security Council: No More "Dialogue" With South Africa	51	: 20
Congo		
Chairman Mao Meets President N'gouabi	31	: 3
President N'gouabi Visits China	31	: 4
At Banquet Welcoming President N'gouabi: Premier Chou En-lai's Speech (Excerpts)	31	: 6
President Marien N'gouabi's Speech (Excerpts)	31	: 7
Report From the Congo: Pointe Noire's New Look—Hsinhua Correspondent	31	: 8
The Congo: Ten Years of Preserving National Independence	34	: 15
Egypt		
Shafei On Israeli Aggression: A Plot by Big Powers	32	: 20
Egypt and Libya: Constitutional Declaration on Union	37	: 23
Chairman Mao Meets Vice-President Hussein el Shafei	39	: 3
Vice-President el Shafei Welcomed	39	: 4
Ethiopia		
Two Weeks in Ethiopia—Our Correspondent	52	: 13
Guinea		
Premier Chou Cables President Toure	48	: 3
Guinea-Bissau		
Greetings to New-Born Guinea-Bissau Republic	40	: 7

	Issue No.	Page No.
Libya		
Egypt and Libya: Constitutional Declaration on Union	37	: 23
Mali		
Malian Head of State Concludes Visit to China	27	: 5
Mali Marches On	27	: 16
Mauritania		
Mauritania Issues National Currency	30	: 20
Mozambique		
Colonial Troops Slaughter 400 Civilians	29	: 21
No Massacre Can Intimidate the Heroic Mozambique People	30	: 12
Namibia (South West Africa)		
"Election" Farce	34	: 20
Sierra Leone		
Chairman Mao Meets President Stevens	46	: 3
President Stevens Visits China	46	: 4
At Banquet Welcoming President Stevens: Premier Chou En-lai's Speech (Excerpts)	46	: 8
President Stevens' Speech (Excerpts)	46	: 9
Somalia		
Report From Somalia: Mogadishu Today	48	: 23
The Sudan		
Sudanese Friendship Delegation Visits China	44	: 3
Upper Volta		
China and Upper Volta Establish Diplomatic Relations	38	: 3
Zaire		
"Elima" (Zaire): "Doubtful" Dinners	28	: 22
"Limited Sovereignty": Imperialism's Theory	41	: 21
Zairese Government Delegation Visits China	48	: 3
3) LATIN AMERICA		
Latin America's Mounting Struggle Against Trans-National Corporations	27	: 15
Mexico City: Coffee Producers Meet	27	: 20
O.A.S.: Reorganization Demanded	28	: 22
The Caribbean: Community and Common Market Established	28	: 22
Latin America: Struggle to Defend State Sovereignty	30	: 14
Caribbean: Community and Common Market Established	32	: 21

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
Andean Pact Meeting: Third Lima Declaration	33	: 19-	Premier Chou Fetes Dr. Yang Chen-ning and His Wife	30	: 3
China Signs Additional Protocol II to Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America	35-36	: 38	Arms Dealers: U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: A Dangerous Race	30	: 18
For Your Reference: The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America	35-36	: 40	Worsening U.S. Inflation: Wage-Price Control — "Phase 4"	30	: 19
Support the Just Stand of Latin American Countries	35-36	: 39	F.R.G.-U.S.A.: Co-operation Within NATO Stressed	31	: 21
Caribbean: Soviet Revisionists' Show of Force	38	: 23	Chairman Mao Meets Prof. Chen Pien Li and His Wife	32	: 3
CARICOM: U.S. Reduction of Sugar Quota	45	: 20	Japan-U.S.A.: "Equal Partnership"	32	: 19
Lima Meeting: Latin American Organization of Energy	46	: 23	U.S.-U.S.S.R. Deal: Sharing Food Scarcity	32	: 20
At the United Nations:			Carrington and Schlesinger Talks: Soviet Threat Growing	32	: 20
U.S.S.R. Urged to Sign Additional Protocol II to Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America	48	: 20	U.S.: Combat Activities Ordered to Halt in Cambodia and Laos	33	: 18
Latin America: Foreign Ministers' Conference	48	: 27	From Manhattan to Honolulu — A trip through the U.S.A. — Wang Hsi	35-36	: 43
Latin America: Defence of Oil Resources	52	: 17	U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.: New Round of Nuclear Arms Race	35-36	: 53
Argentina			Philadelphia Orchestra in Peking	38	: 11
President Campora Resigns	29	: 21	Announcement	40	: 7
Bahamas			25,000 School Teachers on Strike	41	: 21
Bahamas' Independence Greeted	29	: 4	Edgar Snow's Ashes Interred in Peking	43	: 3
Chile			Chairman Mao Meets Secretary of State Kissinger	46	: 5
Armed Rebellion Crushed	27	: 20	Secretary of State Kissinger in Peking	46	: 6
Premier Chou Sends Condolences on Death of President Allende	38	: 3	Communique	46	: 10
Military Coup	38	: 22	Are They Preventing Nuclear War, Or Contending for Nuclear Superiority? — Hsiang Ming	46	: 17
Mrs. Allende: People Must Have Army at Their Service	39	: 20	Energy Crisis Deepens	47	: 21
Ecuador			Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling Fetes Amy Schaeffer	49	: 4
Seventh Rise in Petroleum Reference Price	48	: 28	U.S. and Saigon Must Stop Violating Paris Agreement	50	: 11
Jamaica			Canada		
"The Daily Gleaner" (Jamaica): Hypocritical Is the Word for Soviet Proposal	41	: 21	Chairman Mao Meets Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau	42	: 3
Panama			Prime Minister Trudeau Visits China	42	: 4
Determined to Recover Canal Zone Sovereignty	44	: 21	Prime Minister Trudeau Ends China Visit	43	: 3
4) NORTH AMERICA			5) EUROPE		
U.S.A.			C.E.S.C.: Outstanding Differences	29	: 19
U.S.A. and France: Visits by Brezhnev	27	: 19	Detente and Arms Expansion: Relaxing Vigilance Is Dangerous	30	: 17
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: Underground Nuclear Tests	27	: 20	Stockholm Report: Arms Race Has Not Slowed Down	31	: 21
Chairman Mao Meets Dr. Yang Chen-ning	29	: 3	European Economic Community: Association With Developing Countries	32	: 21
			Copenhagen: E.E.C. Foreign Ministers Meeting	38	: 23
			West European Countries: Dissatisfaction With Superpowers' Monopoly of Middle East Affairs	45	: 20
			Central Europe: Troop Reduction Conference	45	: 21

	Issue No.	Page No.
West European Common Market: Forthcoming Summit Meeting	46	: 22
Press Survey: Superpower Rivalry in Middle East Expedites West European Unity	49	: 13
Soviet Social-Imperialism: "Detente" Smoke-screen Cannot Cover Up Military Ambitions in Europe	51	: 4
Western Europe and Japan: Workers' Strikes	51	: 20
NATO: Need for Improved Military Forces	51	: 21
Vienna Arms Cut Conference: No Substantial Agreement	52	: 17
European Community: Summit Conference	52	: 17
Albania		
30th Anniversary of Albanian People's Army	28	: 3
Chinese Military Friendship Delegation Ends Albanian Visit	29	: 4
"Bashkimi" (Albania): It Is a "Security" Noose	33	: 19
29th Anniversary of Albania's Liberation Greeted	49	: 3
Britain		
Our Days in Britain — the Chinese Journalists' Delegation	31	: 12
Lord Chalfont's Open Letter: Colonel, You're Wrong!	31	: 20
"Soviet Studies" (Britain): Buying Cheap and Selling Dear	33	: 20
"Daily Telegraph" (Britain): Keep Palach's Memory Green	35-36	: 53
No Unilateral Forces Cuts by West	41	: 21
Heath: Superpowers Cannot Control the World	43	: 21
"The Worker": On Soviet Imperialism	50	: 20
France		
U.S.A. and France: Visits by Brezhnev	27	: 19
Preservation of Europeans' Personality	27	: 20
"La Depeche" (France): Soviet Naval Expansion	29	: 20
"Combat" (France): Piracy and Espionage	32	: 20
Chairman Mao Meets President Pompidou	37	: 3
President Pompidou Visits China	37	: 8
At Banquet Welcoming President Pompidou: Premier Chou En-lai's Speech	37	: 10
President Pompidou's Speech	37	: 11
Sino-French Communique	38	: 4
President Pompidou Concludes Visit to China	38	: 5
Delegation of "l'Humanite Rouge" Welcomed	47	: 6
Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen Fete "l'Humanite Rouge" Delegation	50	: 5
Federal Republic of Germany		
Romania: President Ceausescu Visits F.R.G.	27	: 19
F.R.G.-U.S.A.: Co-operation Within NATO Stressed	31	: 21

	Issue No.	Page No.
The Federal Republic of Germany: A Glimpse — the Chinese Journalists' Delegation	32	: 9
F.R.G.: European Union by Joint Efforts	40	: 22
Premier Chou Meets F.R.G. Interior Minister	48	: 3
Italy		
Journey Through Southern Italy — The Chinese Journalists' Delegation	33	: 15
"Avanti" (Italy): "Pravda's" Attack Refuted	35-36	: 53
Romania		
Romania: President Ceausescu Visits F.R.G.	27	: 19
Ceausescu Visits Yugoslavia	30	: 17
"Era Socialista" (Romania): "Limited" Sovereignty Theory Is Unjustified	30	: 17
Romanian C.P. Central Committee Delegation	37	: 7
Romanian Government Trade Delegation	48	: 3
Soviet Union		
U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: Underground Nuclear Tests	27	: 20
Soviet Navy: Why in the Sea of Japan?	27	: 21
U.S.S.R. in Helsinki: Cloak and Dagger	28	: 21
"La Depeche" (France): Soviet Naval Expansion	29	: 20
Arms Dealers: U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: A Dangerous Race	30	: 18
Japan: Tanaka on Japan-U.S.S.R. Peace Treaty	30	: 18
Victor Louis in Israel: A Man With Many Aliases	30	: 19
Lord Chalfont's Open Letter: Colonel, You're Wrong!	31	: 20
U.S.S.R.: A Ton of Gold a Day	31	: 21
Ten Years of "Disarmament" Ballyhoo, Ten Years of Frenzied Arms Expansion — Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	32	: 5
Soviet Union Is an Imperialist Power — E.F. Hill	32	: 7
U.S.-U.S.S.R. Deal: Sharing Food Scarcity	32	: 20
Soviet Naval Chiefs: Boasting of Sea Hege- mony	33	: 20
The Longer the Occupation, the Tighter the Noose — On the 5th anniversary of Soviet revisionists' invasion of Czechoslovakia — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	34	: 14
A Black Line Running Through Two Dynasties — On new tsars justifying aggression and expansion by old tsars — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	35-36	: 40
"Avanti" (Italy): "Pravda's" Attack Refuted	35-36	: 53
U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.: New Round of Nuclear Arms Race	35-36	: 53
Social-Imperialist Expansion in Middle East: The True Face of a False Friend	37	: 17

	Issue No.	Page No.
At Whom Is the Challenge Hurlled?—Hsin Ching	38	: 12
Scramble for Hegemony: Soviet Expansion in Western Asia	39	: 16
Soviet Revisionists' "Disarmament" Proposal: Cheap Propaganda—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	41	: 11
Struggle Against Superpowers' Maritime Hegemony—A New Development	41	: 12
Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism: Every Inch a Hegemonic Sea Power—Hsiang Ming	41	: 14
"The Daily Gleaner" (Jamaica): Hypocritical Is the Word for Soviet Proposal	41	: 21
Soviet Union—Imperialism and Superpower: Concoction or Fact?—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	42	: 18
Israel: Steady Inflow of Soviet Jewish Immigrants	42	: 21
Soviet Revisionism: Manpower Shipments to Israel—Yi Chun	44	: 11
Soviet Revisionism: Aid or Control and Plunder?—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	45	: 13
Successive Nuclear Tests	45	: 21
Are They Preventing Nuclear War, Or Contending for Nuclear Superiority?—Hsiang Ming	46	: 17
At the United Nations: Soviet Proposal for So-Called Military Budgets Reduction Exposed	48	: 19
Maritime Overlord's Alibi—Yang Ying	48	: 21
India: Soviet Revisionist "Disinterested Aid"	48	: 28
New Tsars, Old Dream: Social-Imperialism's Expansion in South Asia and Indian Ocean	49	: 15
Arms Reduction or Expansion? The "Proposal" and After—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	49	: 16
"The Worker": On Soviet Imperialism	50	: 20
Soviet Social-Imperialism: "Detente" Smoke-screen Cannot Cover Up Military Ambitions in Europe	51	: 4
Soviet Resolution for "Reduction of Military Budgets"—A Mere Scrap of Paper	51	: 8
A Strange and Absurd Tale—Hsin Ching	51	: 10
Soviet Revisionism: "Two Chinas" Fallacy	51	: 21
System for "Security" or for Aggression and Expansion?—A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	52	: 7
Social-Imperialism: Arms Expansion and Foreign Loans	52	: 9
Sweden		
"Spark" (Sweden): Soviet Revisionists Betray Cambodian People's Interests	40	: 21
Swedish Communist Party Delegation Feted	51	: 3
Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen Fete Swedish Communist Party Delegation	52	: 3

	Issue No.	Page No.
"Gnistan" (Sweden): No. 1 Superpower	52	: 17
Switzerland		
Need to Strengthen Defence	47	: 20
Yugoslavia		
Romania: Ceausescu Visits Yugoslavia	30	: 17
6) OCEANIA		
Australia		
"Vanguard" (Australia): U.S. Bombing of Cambodia Condemned	28	: 21
Visit to Australia and New Zealand	32	: 4
Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister Whitlam	45	: 3
Australian Prime Minister Visits China	45	: 4
Joint Press Communique	45	: 12
New Zealand		
Visit to Australia and New Zealand	32	: 4
4. A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament		
Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament	31	: 5
Peking Ready for A.A.A. Table Tennis Meet	33	: 3
A.A.A. Table Tennis Tournament: Friends From Three Continents Gather in Peking—Our Correspondent Chang Tan	34	: 11
Two Teams From China for A.A.A. Tournament	34	: 13
Gala Opening of A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament	35-36	: 34
Among Those Present at the Opening Ceremony	35-36	: 35
A.A.A. Team Events Scoreboard	35-36	: 36
Countries and Regions Participating in A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament	35-36	: 36
A Grand Rally of Unity and Friendship—Greeting the opening of the Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	35-36	: 37
A.A.A. Table Tennis Friendship Invitational Tournament Closes	37	: 13
Results of Individual Events	37	: 14
Promoting Friendship and Developing the Game of Table Tennis—Interview with Dr. A.A. Efunkoya, head of the Nigerian table tennis delegation and President of the Nigerian Table Tennis Association—Our Correspondent Chang Tan	37	: 15
For Friendship and Realization of a Common Aim—Peruvian table tennis team in Peking—Our Correspondent Chun Shu	37	: 16