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PEKING REVIEW

4

January 24, 1964

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All the World's Forces Opposing U.S. Imperialism, Unite!

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Report From Shansi People's Communes

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

DECLARATIONS OF HAVANA

The two famous Declarations of Havana denounce U.S. imperialism's violation of the national sovereignty of the Latin American countries and its interference in their domestic affairs, and point out that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Latin American peoples. They serve as the banner for rallying the people of Cuba and other Latin American countries in their united struggle against imperialism and for liberation and inspire them with confidence in final victory.

Available in Spanish, English, French and Arabic.

Fidel Castro's Television Speech Delivered On November 1, 1962

In this speech, Castro demonstrated the determination of the Cuban Government to safeguard sovereignty and the Cuban Revolution and reiterated the five just demands. He firmly rejected U.S. inspection on Cuban territory (under the guise of the United Nations) in connection with the withdrawal of strategic defensive weapons by the Soviet Union.

Available in Spanish, English, French and Japanese.

Some Problems of the Methods and Forms of Work of the ORI

In this speech delivered on March 26, 1962, Castro discussed at length certain problems in the methods and forms of work of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principles he emphasized the necessity of combating mistakes and shortcomings as well as sectarianism through criticism and self-criticism. This speech is of great significance for uniting Cuban revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and for the revolutionary cause of the Cuban people.

Available in Spanish and English.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 24, 1964 Vol. VII No. 4

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January 24, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Over 16 million people in China demonstrated or held rallies to back the Panamanian people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement concerning Panama is hailed by progressive people and organizations all over the world.

- Premier Chou En-lai flew from Accra to Bamako on a friendly visit to Mali.

- The Chinese Government has recognized the Government of the Republic of Zanzibar.

- A French parliamentary delegation led by Francois-Benard arrived in Peking.

- *Renmin Ribao* published a commentary supporting the January 11 statement by the Foreign Ministry of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, denouncing the Johnson Administration for intensifying its aggressive war in south Viet Nam.

- The General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army convened in Peking an all-army conference on political work, stressing the significance of further strengthening political and ideological work in the P.L.A.

- The Chinese press reported an article published by *Zenei*, theoretical journal of the Japanese Communist Party, refuting the "structural reforms" fallacy of the Japanese revisionists.

Panama Si, Yanquis No!

Continued demonstrations underlined China's solidarity with the Panamanian people in their struggle to recover the canal zone from U.S. imperialism. A wave of anger had surged up at news of the massacre of Panamanian patriots; in the following week it mounted and spread throughout the country. Sixteen million workers, peasants, office employees, artists, writers, students, militiamen and people of other professions participated in mass demonstrations. They marched on the streets, singing anti-imperialist songs and thundering the slogans: "Yankees, get out of Panama!" "People of the world, unite to defeat the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression!"

In the spirit of internationalist support for the revolutionary struggles of the people of other lands, the Chinese people, from Shanghai on the east coast to Urumchi and Lhasa in the far west, voiced their sympathy for the Panamanian people and denounced U.S. imperialism for its bloody acts of aggression in Panama.

Shanghai Demonstrates

Over several days two million people in Shanghai, China's largest

metropolis, demonstrated or held meetings to protest against U.S. crimes in Panama. Red banners, posters and slogans supporting the Panamanian people were put up overnight on many of the tall buildings on the banks of the Whangpoo River and in the centre of the city. Long processions with placards and cartoons converged each day from various points on the People's Square in the downtown district. Among the paraders were workers from steel mills, shipbuilding yards, engineering works, textile mills and other industrial enterprises. There were also peasants from the people's communes on the city's outskirts, office employees, professors, scientists, cultural workers and students.

Before setting out for the demonstration, workers of the State No. 2 Cotton Mill, which cherishes a glorious tradition in the anti-imperialist struggle, held a meeting in front of the statue of the martyr Ku Cheng-hung, a worker of the mill who was killed by the imperialists before liberation. At the meeting speakers condemned the U.S. imperialists for their cold-blooded massacre of innocent Panamanians. Nationally known model spinner Yi Shih-chuan pledged the



Mass demonstration in Peking

firm support of Shanghai's working class for the Panamanian people. Said she: "United in their struggle and with the support of the world's people, the Panamanian people will surely defeat all U.S. schemes and brutal acts of aggression and regain sovereignty over the canal zone."

Veteran workers, who knew the bitter experience of imperialist and domestic reactionary rule in pre-liberation Shanghai, marched at the head of the processions. "The Panamanian people's struggle," they proclaimed, "is our own struggle. They have our unreserved support in recovering the canal zone!" Chen Yuhsiang, a textile mill hand, recalled that the U.S. imperialists had in the past helped the reactionary Kuomintang government to suppress

Shanghai's people with U.S.-made weapons. "Now," he said, "they are mowing down Panamanian people with their guns. Countless facts show that U.S. imperialism has never changed its nature; it is the No. 1 enemy of the world's people."

Shenyang and Canton Pledge Support

In the industrial city of Shenyang in northeast China, over a million people defied sub-zero weather to demonstrate in the snow-covered streets. Thousands of workers joined the demonstrations as they poured out of the workshops at the end of the shift. Shouting slogans as they marched, the paraders moved under a canopy of banners and placards: "Firm support for the Panamanian people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism!" "Victory to the Panamanian people!" "Down with Yankee imperialism!" Indignation at U.S. imperialism's arrogance in Panama was at high pitch. Many moving scenes testified to the Chinese people's determination to struggle together with the people of Panama and the rest of the world against U.S. imperialism. Actors and actresses made the streets their stage. They performed an improvised play *Storm Over Panama* to the thunderous applause of onlookers. One blind old man insisted that his sons take him out to join the demonstration. With bitter memories of the imperialists' oppression of the Chinese people still fresh in his mind, he shouted together with them: "U.S. imperialists, get out of Panama!"

Subtropical Canton to the south thundered its protest against the bloody U.S. crimes in Panama. While hundreds of thousands of people poured out into the streets to join the demonstrations, steamboats flying red banners and slogans moved up and down the Pearl River, their shrill sirens blending with the angry shouts and militant songs of the paraders. Whampoa Harbour to the east of the city also saw an endless stream of paraders. As the people marched past, ocean-going vessels and cargo ships hooted their salute. Veteran seamen who had been to the Panama Canal gave eyewitness accounts of U.S. imperialism's lawlessness in Panama.

A huge crowd, including many foreign guests, attended a rally held in the square in front of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. Here both Governor of Kwangtung Chen Yu and Mayor of Canton Tseng Sheng expressed admiration and support for the Panamanian people's struggle to uphold their sovereignty. Ciril Pistoli, head of the Albanian health delegation now visiting the city, addressing the rally, said: "Let my voice merge with that of the Chinese people in protest against Yankee imperialism! We pledge our wholehearted support for the Panamanian people's fight to take back the canal zone which is an inalienable part of their territory!" Mai Duy, head of the Viet Nam dramatists' delegation, denounced U.S. outrages in Panama. He called on the world's people to unite still more closely in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism — public enemy No. 1.

Minority Peoples Protest

Demonstrations and meetings spread to every part of the country, reaching remote towns and villages. They took place in Urumchi, Lhasa, Kashgar, Hami, Ining and many other places where China's minority peoples live. Though they speak different languages, the one common phrase which all had on their lips was "Panama si, yanquis no!"

In Urumchi, thousands of people of various nationalities braved a blizzard to attend a mass rally. Saifudin, Chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, declared here that the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang fully supported Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement made on January 12 backing up the Panamanian people's patriotic struggle and that they were bitterly angered by the U.S. imperialists' brutality against the people of Panama. "By their acts," he said, "the U.S. imperialists have shown up their true colours to the world's people. Harsh facts prove that, no matter how the modern revisionists prettify U.S. imperialism, no holy water of any kind can wash clean the U.S. imperialists' hands stained with the blood of the people of the world!"

In Lhasa, Tibetans in their thousands demonstrated solidarity with the

Panamanian people. At a mass rally Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, declared that the people of Tibet stood four-square behind the Panamanian people. Recounting the innumerable crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against China, Cuba, Korea, Viet Nam and other countries, he said: "U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people throughout the world!" He recalled how in the past the imperialists tried by every possible means to split Tibet from the motherland. "The Tibetan people," he declared, "will stand together with the people of all other nationalities in the country and make their contribution to supporting the Panamanian people in the common cause of opposing U.S. imperialism."

Panama Will Surely Triumph

While the Chinese people demonstrated, news came that President Roberto Chiari stated that Panama would never forgo its sovereignty and insisted on signing a new canal treaty. At a special congress on January 18 representatives of all municipal councils of Panama supported the just stand of their Government and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding abrogation of the Panama-U.S. treaty concerning the canal zone.

Greeting these manifestations of the firm resolve of the Panamanian people to carry on the struggle until final victory, *Renmin Ribao* in its January 20 editorial declared: "The Chinese people express boundless admiration for the Panamanian people's fearless spirit. China's 650 million people pledge themselves to stand squarely behind the Panamanians." The despotic behaviour of the U.S. imperialists in disregarding Panama's sacred sovereignty and national dignity was intolerable to any nation with self-respect, it said. "U.S. imperialism has exposed its ferocious features in Panama. This once again teaches all Latin American countries that U.S. imperialism will never abandon its colonial interests in Latin America, nor will it ever treat them as equals. It would be pure illusion for anyone to think that U.S. imperialism would give up its vested interests in Latin America." Expressing confidence that the Panamanian people's just demand would surely be



An amateur troupe performs a skit on Yankee imperialism

Sketches by Shao Yu

realized, the editorial concluded: "So long as they strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance and persist in the struggle, the Panamanian people, with the support of the other Latin American people and the people

throughout the world, will assuredly drive out the U.S. aggressors from their territory and recover the Panama Canal Zone which has been occupied by U.S. imperialism for more than half a century."

Mali Welcomes Premier Chou En-lai

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi flew from Accra to Bamako on January 16 on a friendship visit to the Republic of Mali. A 21-gun salute boomed out when their special plane landed. As Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen stepped from the plane, President Modibo Keita, their host, went forward and warmly greeted them.

At the airport ceremony, greeting the Chinese Premier on behalf of the Mali people and their party, the Sudanese Union, President Keita said: "Your visit, Mr. Premier, is not what is called an official visit; it is a visit by the friends of the Republic of Mali, for we know with what lively interest you have been following the problems of the African continent in general and the liberation struggle of the African peoples in particular, and our party's courageous policy of decolonization." The President paid tribute to China's support for the struggle waged by all the African peoples against colonialism and imperialism, and for the efforts made by the African nations to build up their national economies. Noting that China had in the past suffered from the most cruel form of colonial domination by foreign aggressors, the President said: "Asia and Africa had a

common past; in following their chosen paths of development they continue to suffer from colonial domination and foreign intervention. It is now more than ever necessary to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity and the Republic of Mali, on its part, is ready to do its part in this regard." He expressed confidence that the Chinese Premier's visit would strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between Mali and China.

Premier Chou, in his reply, said: "We are very happy to visit the Republic of Mali as envoys of friendship of the Chinese people, at a time when the banners of independence and liberty are being hoisted one after another on the African continent and when the friendship between the Chinese and African peoples grows stronger every day." He congratulated the people of Mali on their anti-colonialist struggle and spoke of the remarkable successes scored by them, under the leadership of President Keita, in consolidating their national independence, uprooting colonial influences and developing their national economy and culture. Recalling the deep friendship between the Chinese and Mali peoples in their past struggles against imperialism and colonialism,

(Continued on p. 11.)

All the World's Forces Opposing U.S. Imperialism, Unite!

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial published on January 21. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

IN his statement given to a *Renmin Ribao* correspondent on January 12, Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared the Chinese people's firm support for the patriotic and just struggle of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialist aggression, and urged the people of the world, all countries that are subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference or bullying, to unite and form the broadest possible united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace. His statement has received a widespread response from world public opinion.

The Most Arrogant Aggressors

The U.S. imperialists are the most ferocious and most arrogant aggressors in the history of mankind. After the end of World War II, relying on their greatly inflated economic and military strength, and in particular, their atomic monopoly, they feverishly pursued a plan to dominate and enslave the world. Harry S. Truman, the then President of the United States, declared: "The victory which we have won has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility for world leadership." With a view to fulfilling this "responsibility," U.S. imperialism, behind the anti-Soviet and anti-communist smokescreen, has built military bases, organized military blocs, carried out subversive activities, and engaged in suppressing the national-liberation movement and popular revolutionary struggles everywhere, in an all-out attempt to seize, first of all, the vast intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist countries. At the same time, it threatens the socialist countries with war and makes military provocations against them, fondly hoping that some day it will be able to liquidate the socialist camp and bring the whole world under its domination.

The U.S. imperialist venture to dominate the world reached its climax in the first postwar decade when the U.S. ruling circles pursued their most frantic policies of war and plans of aggression, such as the policies of "emancipation," "massive retaliation" and "brinkmanship," "limited wars," the "Marshall plan," the "Truman doctrine," the "mutual security program" and so on. During that period, U.S. imperialism acted like a swash-buckling lord of the world, trying to ride roughshod over all.

However, in its trial of strength in that period with the peoples of the world and the socialist countries, U.S. imperialism already began to show its essential nature as apparently strong but actually weak. The biggest trials of strength took place in China and Korea, and U.S. imperialism was the loser. It also failed in its intervention in Indo-China and in inciting the counter-revolutionary riot in Hungary. The late John Foster Dulles who became U.S. Secretary of State in 1953, was regarded as the most high-handed of all U.S. Secretaries of State. But, in fact, he had the most difficult time of all the U.S. Secretaries of State in the first postwar decade. Like a spent bullet, U.S. imperialism had already begun to go downhill.

East Wind Prevailing Over West Wind

By 1957, the international situation had reached a new turning-point, with the East wind prevailing over the West wind. In the face of this development, the well-known U.S. bourgeois columnist, Walter Lippmann, wrote in 1958: "The period of American supremacy was, as we can now see, a passing phase in human affairs, and our failure to learn to live with this great fact of life, the persistence of delusion among us of our own supremacy, is almost certainly the root of our miscalculations in foreign policy." William C. Bullitt, former U.S. diplomat, too, deplored: "Since the Second World War our foreign policy has led us from a pinnacle of power and security into the valley of the shadow of death."

Their comments reflected the sad helplessness of the ruling circles in the United States in the face of the overwhelming force of circumstances.

Following his rise to power, the late John F. Kennedy, in his fond hope of turning back the course of events, stated that the current of history had changed. In fact, the international situation continued to develop in a way that was favourable to the peoples but unfavourable to U.S. imperialism. Instead of going on the decline, the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world has made big headway; instead of heading downhill, their anti-U.S. struggle has gained momentum. Even Panama, which the U.S. imperialists have arrogantly claimed to have "founded," can no longer tolerate their oppression and slavery. At no time has U.S. imperialist domination been so unstable and shaky, and at no time have the U.S. imperialists found themselves in such a state of isolation and in the throes of such an acute crisis.

This increasing U.S. isolation and its defensive position are the inevitable outcome of its global strategy of world conquest.

Raging Flames of Anti-U.S. Imperialist Struggle

This policy of world domination first of all arouses the resistance of the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. U.S. imperialism seeks vigorously to maintain its colonial domination in Latin America and to stem the tide of the national-democratic movement in this area. But, the Latin American people who have long groaned under its heels can no longer resign themselves to slavery. The victory of the Cuban people's revolution has made a breach in the "backyard" of the United States and greatly encouraged the revolutionary struggle of the other Latin American peoples. As a result, the anti-U.S. current is sweeping ever more furiously over the whole of the continent.

In Asia the United States fosters the most reactionary forces everywhere, sets up puppet regimes, suppresses the revolutionary movements of the peoples, engages in aggression, and enslaves the peoples of various countries. This has brought about an anti-U.S.-imperialist storm in the vast area stretching from Japan, south Korea, south Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma, and Pakistan to the West Asian countries.

U.S. imperialism seeks vigorously to force its way into Africa to take the place of the old colonialists, but the African people are increasingly awakened and recognize more and more clearly the ferocious features of the U.S. neo-colonialists. The spearhead of the African people's struggle will inevitably be directed mainly against U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the whole world.

So in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, anti-U.S.-imperialist flames are raging and spreading.

U.S. Hegemony Shaken to Its Foundations

U.S. imperialist policy of world domination also inevitably meets resistance from other major capitalist countries. Banking on its superior position in the capitalist world in the early postwar years, the United States not only wanted to enslave the vanquished nations but also to control its wartime allies. It treated the latter as its subordinates, ordering them about as it fancied. Under U.S. oppression and bullying, these countries had to swallow insults in meek submission.

However, the happy days for the United States were soon over. In accordance with the law of the uneven development of capitalism, a change has taken place in the balance of forces inside the imperialist camp. The West European countries and Japan have revived and built up their strength. They are all eager to break away from U.S. political and military control and to embark on the road of independent development.

In recent years the imperialist camp has been heading rapidly towards disintegration. The struggle waged by the "allies" of the United States against its control has daily become fiercer. British Prime Minister Douglas-

Home said recently that Britain could not be content with being "a secondary power." Speaking of Franco-American relations, French President Charles de Gaulle said: "We intend not to be its satellite . . . we want to be independent, we want to be French." West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard declared: "We are not an American protectorate." The Japanese ruling class, as the U.S. press put it, has also contracted the "de Gaulle fever." The U.S. position as leader of its allies has been shaken to its very foundations.

Two Intermediate Zones

It can thus be seen that the U.S. imperialist attempt to seize the intermediate zone is bound to run up against the opposition of all the peoples and countries in that region. This vast intermediate zone is composed of two parts. One part consists of the independent countries and those striving for independence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; it may be called the first intermediate zone.

The second part consists of the whole of Western Europe, Oceania, Canada, and other capitalist countries; it may be called the second intermediate zone. Countries in this second intermediate zone have a dual character. While their ruling classes are exploiters and oppressors, these countries themselves are subjected to U.S. control, interference, and bullying. They therefore try their best to free themselves from U.S. control. In this regard, they have something in common with the socialist countries and the peoples of various countries. By making itself antagonistic to the whole world, U.S. imperialism inevitably finds itself tightly encircled.

Nooses Round the Neck of U.S. Imperialism

Of course, U.S. imperialism is still a strong imperialist power, possessing massive economic and military strength. It produces up to a hundred million tons of steel a year and has stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and a worldwide network of military bases. Pitting itself against the people everywhere in an attempt to dominate the world, U.S. imperialism has made enemies throughout the world. It has spread itself over an inordinately long front, and, like one who tries to use his ten fingers to catch ten fleas at the same time, it is unable to hit one without losing the others. Actually, it is strong outside but brittle inside, and extremely weak. Wherever the monstrous claws of the United States extend there the storm of anti-U.S. struggle breaks out, and an "earthquake" erupts. The military bases set up by the United States throughout the world have become nooses round its own neck. No matter how many atomic and hydrogen bombs U.S. imperialism may stockpile, its essential weakness will not be altered. In a word, the ambition of U.S. imperialism far exceeds its power. There is no way to overcome this fatal weakness of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism, however, never retreats before the impossible; the greater difficulties it meets, the more desperately it struggles. The successive U.S. administrations from Truman, through Eisenhower and Kennedy to Johnson, have consistently executed the policies of aggression and war worked out by the U.S. monopoly groups, in an attempt to realize their rabid ambition of world

conquest. U.S. imperialism is now redoubling its efforts to undermine and liquidate the socialist camp by means of its dual tactics of war and peace. It is feverishly suppressing the national and democratic revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is tightening its control over all its allies. In order to smash the U.S. imperialist criminal plan for world hegemony, the people throughout the world and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should form the broadest possible united front and intensify their common struggle.

Establishing the Broadest Anti-U.S. United Front

The people of the socialist countries should unite. U.S. imperialism will never tolerate the existence and development of the socialist camp. U.S. imperialism is a menace to the Soviet Union, China and all other socialist countries, and its ultimate object is to destroy the socialist camp. The Soviet leaders' hankering for U.S.-Soviet co-operation to dominate the world is but an idle dream. By undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the Soviet leaders violate the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world should unite. U.S. imperialism is the biggest international exploiter and an international gendarme trying to suppress the revolutionary movement of the people of the world; it is the centre of world reaction, the chief bulwark of colonialism and the implacable enemy of the people the world over. In order to win and defend independence and to achieve liberation, it is imperative to oppose U.S. imperialism.

The American people, including the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons, should unite. The reactionary policy followed by the U.S. ruling circles runs diametrically counter to the interests of the American people. It is U.S. imperialism, not the American people, that the people of the world should oppose. The interests of the American people and the other peoples of the world are identical.

All peace-loving countries and people should unite. Unscrupulously pursuing its policies of aggression and war and threatening the independence and security of all countries, U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of world peace. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to oppose U.S. imperialism.

All countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite. U.S. imperialism plunders the wealth of other countries with the utmost rapacity, infringes upon the sovereignty of other countries in the crudest manner and interferes in the affairs of other countries most arrogantly, trying in a thousand and one ways to trample others underfoot. All countries which refuse to be "satellites" or "vassal states" of the United States have no alternative but to join hands against this despot.

In short, it is possible for all forces excluding U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to unite. Despite the different

political beliefs among the peoples and the different social systems in various countries, there is not a single country or people in the world today which is not subjected to the aggression and threats of U.S. imperialism. This is the objective basis for the establishment of the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism. The plans of U.S. imperialism for world conquest have resulted in worldwide opposition, the very opposite of what they set out to achieve.

The socialist countries and the proletarian Parties of all countries should certainly stand at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The socialist countries should vigorously support the anti-U.S. struggle in the intermediate zone and energetically expand the united front against U.S. imperialism so as to isolate it to the greatest extent and deal it the heaviest blows. The major task confronting the proletarian Parties in all capitalist and imperialist countries is to hold aloft the anti-U.S. imperialist banner and rally all patriotic, anti-U.S. forces within the country around themselves in the resolute fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In this struggle, the more their blows are concentrated on the most reactionary forces, the better will they be able to unite the various middle-of-the-road forces and expand the revolutionary forces.

Responding to Chairman Mao's Call

The statement of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has expressed the will of the 650 million Chinese people. The Chinese people have been struggling unswervingly to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the people of the countries of the socialist camp, to strengthen the unity of the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and to strengthen the unity of the people of all continents of the world. They are ready to co-operate with all peace-loving countries and individuals all over the world and with all countries and people (including the American people) who are subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, interference and bullying, in a joint fight against U.S. imperialism.

During the current worldwide campaign opposing U.S. imperialist aggression against Panama, more than 16 million people in our country have taken part in demonstrations and meetings in support of the Panamanian people. This vividly demonstrates the resolute stand of the Chinese people to unite with all forces in the world to combat U.S. imperialism.

During this campaign, the peoples of the world, including the American people, have condemned with one voice the criminal U.S. imperialist aggression, and U.S. imperialism is completely isolated. This, too, vividly demonstrates the inexhaustible vitality of the anti-U.S. imperialist united front.

We are convinced that the worldwide united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will expand and develop incessantly and will score bigger and bigger victories.

All the world's forces opposing U.S. imperialism, unite!

World's People Back Panama

by HUA CHUNG-YU

RECENT U.S. atrocities in Panama have touched off fresh worldwide protests, with people of all lands pointing an accusing finger at Washington's murderous acts. Demonstrations and meetings have been reported from various parts of the world, especially in Latin America.

Apart from China, where the whole nation voiced its support for Panama, leaders of other socialist countries such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sent messages to the Panamanian Government assuring it of their firm support; similar statements were made by leaders of the Indonesian and Japanese Communist Parties. Many public leaders in Asia, Africa and Latin America, warmly welcoming Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting the Panamanian people's just, patriotic struggle, pledged to do the same.

Surveying reactions to U.S. massacres in Panama, the U.S. Information Agency, an organ of the U.S. Government, conceded that Washington had taken a "shellacking" on the world opinion front. Even more, a global anti-U.S. tide is on the rise, battering at this final stronghold of international reaction.

"People Everywhere Fighting U.S. Imperialism"

Everywhere, people voiced their support for Panama and uttered angry denunciations of U.S. imperialism. In Pyongyang, capital of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, a mass meeting was held to protest the latest U.S. overseas crime. In Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, people representing all walks of life gathered to angrily denounce U.S. imperialism, the hands of which are also stained with the blood of Vietnamese patriots in the south. In Tirana, the heroic Albanian people cried: "Panama Yes, Yankees No!" "U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of Panama, Latin America, Asia and Africa!" Mass meetings were held in colleges and among building workers who unanimously voiced their unreserved support for the Panamanian people.

Korean and Vietnamese Leaders Support Panama. Kim Il Sung, Korean Premier, and Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Korean Supreme People's Assembly, sent a joint message to the Panamanian Government and National Assembly declaring that Korea firmly stands with Panama. "The Korean people resolutely condemn U.S. imperialism and demand that the U.S. aggressors get out of the Panama Canal Zone. The Panama Canal must unconditionally be returned to the Panamanians."

President Ho Chi Minh and Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in their message to the Panamanian President paid tribute to "the heroism and patriotism of the Panamanian people struggling

against U.S. imperialism," and expressed their "unstinted support for the Panamanian people's struggle."

Indonesian and Japanese Public Leaders on Fighting the Common Enemy. "The people are dealing blows at U.S. imperialism everywhere in the world today," said D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party. He stressed that "U.S. imperialism, against which the Panamanian people are now fighting, is the same imperialism which continuously has carried out subversive activities, infiltration, intervention and aggression against the Indonesian people."

Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, expressed support for the Panamanian people at a Tokyo mass rally: "There are no differences between good and bad imperialists. It is impossible for us to achieve peace and independence if we do not state clearly who are disturbing peace and who have deprived us of independence. Only by fighting resolutely against U.S. imperialism can we achieve peace and independence."

Repercussions All Over the Pacific. Meanwhile, the storm over Panama is having repercussions all over the Pacific. Kamejiro Senaga, Chairman of the People's Party of Okinawa, wrote in *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, that all people of Okinawa know the present situation in Panama is the same as that of Okinawa which is under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. He said that U.S. policies of suppressing the colonies could be smashed by relying on the people's unity and solidarity.

In Indonesia, thousands of people demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy; their representatives handed two statements to the American Charge d'Affaires Francis Galbraith. One denounced U.S. crimes committed in Panama, the other the U.S. decision to send its 7th Fleet to the Indian Ocean.

The Philippine people are no less sensitive to U.S. imperialist aggression. A *Manila Times* columnist noted: "The battle resulting from the hoisting of flags is a manifestation of the problem of sovereignty in U.S. bases all over the world. Events similar to the Panama incident could happen to us here [in the Philippines]."

Newspapers in Burma, Cambodia, Laos and other parts of Asia all have denounced U.S. imperialism and supported the Panamanian people.

Africa Hails Panama. Africa, also voiced its support. In Cairo *Al Gomhouria* condemned the arrogant statement by Dean Rusk that the United States would continue to occupy the Panama Canal Zone and pointed out that "the Panamanian people have the Suez Canal and the successful Cuban revolution as examples and will not hesitate to follow them."

The Moroccan paper *Al Alam* commented: Latin America is the source of movements and crises because this continent, like other continents, is feeling the impact of the radical changes now taking place; this shows that a direction favourable to a general change is developing.

In Accra, Shirley Graham, wife of the late American Negro leader Dr. Du Bois, expressed her belief that Panama would finally be free. She said: "As Chairman Mao said 'United States imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the world's people.' We in Africa recognize this fact clearly." She added: "We thank Chairman Mao once more for calling on the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America to unite."

Numerous representatives of African nationalist parties and organizations in London, Accra and Cairo voiced their support for Chairman Mao's January 12 statement and pledged support for Panama and to fight against U.S. imperialism.

"Backyard" Anti-U.S. Hurricane

In an article by its correspondent C.L. Sulzberger, the *New York Times* (Jan. 13) quivered: "In this age of anti-colonialism . . . our own Caribbean positions were obvious targets for nationalist agitation." And this is how things stand.

Havana Said: Yankee Imperialism Will Meet Greater Resistance. The support for Panama's anti-U.S. struggle from revolutionary Cuba is firm and unreserved.

Ernesto Che Guevara, Minister of Industry, condemned the U.S. for its massacre of Panamanian patriots. Imperialism is aggressive by nature, he said. Guevara predicted that imperialism would meet with greater resistance in Latin America.

Scores of thousands of Cubans in the capital held a big demonstration and meeting on the afternoon of January 13. The demonstrators flew a Panamanian flag at the one-time site of the monument to the battleship *Maine* which formerly symbolized U.S. colonial rule over Cuba but was destroyed by the Cuban people. At the meeting following the demonstration, a leader of Cuban university students, noting that more Cubans would appear in Latin America, emphasized that in the anti-U.S. struggle, the people "should return blow for blow."

Americans in Cuba Support Chairman Mao's Statement. Ilah Warner, leader of anti-imperialist American residents in Cuba, referring to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's January 12 statement to *Renmin Ribao*, stated: "The appeal for the broadest possible united anti-imperialist front contained in Chairman Mao's statement deserves the support of all subjugated countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as all peace-loving peoples of the world including the persecuted and exploited people of the United States."

The American Negro leader Robert Williams declared in Cuba that the black Americans "join with Chairman Mao and the great Chinese people who lead a universal struggle against brutal imperialism and savage racism in an uncompromising defence of the gallant people of Panama and all the oppressed peoples of the world."

Argentina Holds Memorial Service. In homage to the fallen Panamanian patriots, the public in Buenos Aires

held a memorial service in front of the monument of Simon Bolivar, a 19th century Venezuelan national hero. At the gathering, a student representative said that "it is a worthy lesson for the Argentine people because the enemy of all Latin American peoples is one and the same."

A demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy insisted that the Yankee aggressors pull out of the Panama Canal Zone. A message with the same demand was sent by the National Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party while the Argentine "Sixty-Two" Trade Union and the National Combatant Movement of the Union Civica Radical Intransigente also issued statements denouncing the outrageous U.S. aggression in Panama and supporting the Panamanian people.

Chilean Professor Rebukes Dean Rusk. U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, in a TV speech, attributed the anti-U.S. patriotic struggle in Panama to the instigation of Communists and "agents of Castro." He was taken to task by Professor Cesar de Leon of the University of Chile who dismissed Rusk's banal remarks as "typical U.S. arrogance and total disregard of the just demand of the Panamanian people." Professor de Leon said, "The speech testified to an ignorance of history on the part of the spokesman of imperialism. They fail to understand that ultimately they will have to get out of Panama and all territories which they are illegally occupying in the world."

In Santiago, young Chileans demonstrated in the streets of the capital for two days; solid support also came from many Chilean political leaders.

Parliamentary Sanction. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies of Uruguay interrupted debate and discussed a specially tabled motion of solidarity with the Panamanian people. The Senate passed a statement in support of Panama.

The Costa Rican Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority condemning the U.S. barbarity.

Street Demonstrations. Demonstrations and meetings were held in the streets of many Latin American countries: in San Jose in Costa Rica, in Managua in Nicaragua, in Salvador, in Guatemala, in Mexico and in Peru. In Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic, demonstrators set fire to the Stars and Stripes close to the U.S. Embassy; in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, huge banners bearing the words "Yankees Get Out of Panama" were posted on a number of buildings.

For an Anti-U.S. United Front. Both the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Armed Forces of Venezuela and the Nicaraguan National Liberation Front issued statements supporting the Panamanian people's struggle and Chairman Mao's statement. The Venezuelan statement said: "Venezuela is also a victim of U.S. aggression and, therefore, its people are resorting to the most radical means to oppose the imperialists." The Nicaraguan statement said: "The Nicaraguan people, too, have been subjected to countless intervention and aggression by the U.S. Government. Today, they are fighting against a common enemy. . . ." Both statements called for the Latin American people and the people in

the rest of the world to form a firm and extensive united front against imperialist aggression.

In Panama, the Fight Goes On

Meanwhile, the struggle of the Panamanian people goes on unabated in the face of Washington's new "political chicanery and force tactics." There was no sign of Washington's readiness to conduct serious talks with Panama. Under the January 13 U.S.-Panama agreement, the two countries were to resume diplomatic relations as soon as possible and begin "formal discussions" 30 days later. But U.S. Secretary of State Rusk quickly emphasized the "difference" between "negotiations" and "discussions." A State Department spokesman said on January 15 that the United States had made no commitment to re-negotiate the treaty and that it reserved its right to refuse to do so. Panama has declared that the agreement was "waste paper which is null and void."

Panamanian President Senor Roberto Chiari disclosed that negotiations between U.S. Special Representative Thomas Mann and the Panamanian Government were "a plain fraud to win time and calm the people." He added that Johnson had repeatedly told him over the telephone that "it is necessary to give an all-round revision to the [canal] treaty" but "it has not been executed." According to Western news agency reports, as a result of the stubborn U.S. stand, negotiations held in Panama City with the participation of the Inter-American Peace Committee were stalemated. At the same time, helmeted U.S. police were posted on the borders of the canal zone. Close by

stood U.S. occupation troops ready to suppress new demonstrations by the Panamanian people.

On January 16, the Panamanian Government recalled its diplomatic personnel in Washington and demanded that U.S. embassy personnel in Panama quit the country within 24 hours.

"Ni Un Paso Atras." On the same evening, 3,000 students and workers held a demonstration in Panama City demanding the recovery of Panamanian sovereignty over the canal zone. Gathering before a streamer set up on Santa Ana Square inscribed "Ni Un Paso Atras" (Not one step in retreat), the participants shouted: "Get Out, Yankees!" "Chiari, Stand Fast!" The demonstrators marched to the Presidential Palace where the President assured them in a balcony speech that Panama's position "will not change." They assured Panamanian President of their support in holding to such a stand.

On January 18, a special Congress of Municipal Councils held in Panama City by delegates from 63 municipalities in Panama adopted a resolution demanding the abolition of the old treaty permitting U.S. occupation of the canal zone. Sixteen Panamanian political parties and seven presidential candidates who will campaign in this year's general election unanimously opposed restoration of relations before the U.S. Government guarantees to negotiate the signing of a new canal treaty.

The fight in Panama continues as we go to press. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in his recent, world-famous statement: "The enraged tide of the people of the world in opposition to the U.S. aggressors is irresistible."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

the Premier said: "Now we face the common task of fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism, consolidating our national independence and building up our countries. To achieve this, it is necessary for us to continue to strengthen our solidarity and co-operation. It is with this desire to strengthen the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Mali peoples that we have come to visit you."

The Mali capital presented a gay sight that day. Crowds thronged the 10-kilometre-long route from the airport to the Presidential House to welcome their Chinese guests. They cheered them to the echo: "Long live Mali-Chinese friendship!" and "Welcome to you, Premier Chou!" As the official party and the long escorting motorcade drove past, bands all along the way played Mali music, and young men and women dressed in national costumes danced in joy and welcome to the beat of drums. In some places, the cars had to pick their way slowly

through the throng with countless hands stretched out to greet the guests.

On the evening of their arrival, President Keita held a reception for them. It was attended by more than 1,000 people, including leading officials of the Mali Government and the Sudanese Union Party. On January 17, the Premier, accompanied by President Keita, attended a mass meeting held in the city of Koulikoro, 60 kilometres northeast of Bamako. Here, Mayor Mamadou Diarra bestowd on Premier Chou En-lai honorary citizenship of the city of Koulikoro as an expression of profound and sincere friendship for the Chinese people. He handed the Premier a key of the city and a gold medal on which were engraved the words: "To Premier Chou En-lai from the City of Koulikoro of the Republic of Mali."

Chairman Mao Receives Greek Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and had a cordial and friendly talk in Peking on January 19 with the visiting Greek cultural delegation led by Mme. Beata Kitsikis.

Earlier, on January 17, Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping had a friendly talk with the Greek guests.

French Parliamentary Delegation In Peking

A seven-member French delegation of the parliamentary group for liaison and study of economic and cultural relations with Asian countries arrived in Peking on January 19.

Led by Francois-Benard, president of the parliamentary group, the delegation is here on a friendly visit as guests of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. They were welcomed at the airport by Chang Hsi-jo and Hu Yu-chih, President and Vice-President of the institute.

Earlier in the month, a contract for the purchase of complete equipment for an N-butyl alcohol and ethyl-hexyl alcohol plant was signed in Peking between the China National Technical Import Corporation and the delegation of French companies led by A. Escourrou, General Director of the Speichim Corporation and J. Bordenave, Secretary-General of S.A. Melle.

The Shining Light of Friendship

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

PREMIER Chou En-lai and his party were given a warm welcome by the Ghanaian people during their five-day stay. Ghana is the first country to be visited on the Chinese Premier's current tour in Africa south of the Sahara. It is a goodwill tour—to see, to learn, to understand and co-operate, as the Ghanaian *Daily Graphic* writes. The Ghanaian people, the paper adds, "feel exceedingly proud and highly honoured that at this material moment they should have the good fortune of playing host to a distinguished socialist and an old friend, not only of Ghana, but of the oppressed millions of the world."

Ghana was the first country on the African continent south of the Sahara to win independence after World War II. During their stay, the Chinese guests had the pleasure of seeing at first hand how the Ghanaian people are now building their country on their freed soil. Visiting Tema, Ghana's new seaport and industrial centre, they were struck by the splendid layout of the new town and installations. This was just a fishermen's village before the country became independent. Today it is one of the biggest ports in Africa, modernly equipped, highly mechanized and built on a large scale. As Vice-Premier Chen Yi said after his visit there to a Ghanaian journalist, all this was possible only with Ghana's independence and President Nkrumah's leadership.

Tema Greetings

Premier Chou En-lai's party was in Tema on January 13. Tens of thousands of Tema workers and other residents turned out to greet them. A great crowd followed the limousine of Premier Chou as it drove slowly round the port area. Bursts of cheers marked his progress. Men and women, young and aged, danced Ghanaian dances by the wayside. The excitement reached a climax with the tremendous welcome organized for the Chinese Premier by the Ghanaian dockers and seamen who were joined by a great number of sailors from ships of different nations anchored in the harbour. Many had seized anything that could be used as placards on which they wrote: "Welcome, Premier Chou En-lai!"

The cheers of "Welcome! Welcome!" and "Chou En-lai!" were punctuated by the rhythmic chant of "Ya, ya — Ya, ya!" — traditional expression of welcome to distinguished guests — shouted by the smiling crowds. The most loudly shouted slogan was "Freedom! Freedom!" These cries came from the heart of the people where true friendship lies; they were heartfelt greetings from a



Premier Chou En-lai (left), President Nkrumah (centre) and Vice-Premier Chen Yi at the state banquet given in honour of China's Premier

people who have newly won freedom and whose land still bears the marks of centuries of oppression to the envoys of another land which has also freed itself from the imperialist yoke. They were the expression of sentiments which echo between the Asian and African continents.

The Ghanaian people's joy on this occasion was all the greater because the imperialists and reactionaries had just failed in their latest attempt on the life of President Nkrumah. Premier Chou, indeed, brought a personal message from Chairman Mao Tse-tung expressing his regards to the President. This was yet another expression of the bonds of mutual support and assistance between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples in their common struggle against imperialism.

Deep Impressions

Premier Chou En-lai and his party were deeply impressed by the enthusiasm, courage and vigour of the Ghanaian people as they build their new state. "This shows that an awakened and independent people are indeed greatly different from what they were. . . . Imperialism and old and new colonialism will never succeed in their attempt to drag the awakened African peoples back to the past dark ages," said Premier Chou En-lai at the farewell banquet given by him before leaving Ghana.

"To win full independence," China's Premier stressed, "we Asian and African countries must first of all rely on the efforts of our own people." "It is necessary for the people of the various countries to proceed from the specific conditions of their own lands and rely on their own

efforts to open up a path of advance. The newly independent African countries will certainly be able to eliminate poverty and backwardness step by step and go on achieving new successes in developing their national economies, cultures and languages, so long as they closely rely on the strength of the people, hold aloft the banner of independence and freedom, bring into full play the spirit of self-reliance and tap their rich natural resources."

The Chinese Premier praised the positive contributions made by the Ghanaian Government and people to the African people's cause of unity against imperialism. He said that it was necessary for the African countries to promote unity and solidarity, intensify their co-operation and support each other for their common development so as to augment the moral and material strength of the African peoples and facilitate the struggle against all forms of old and new colonialism.

Contributions to Progress and Peace

In his speech at the banquet given by Premier Chou En-lai, President Nkrumah said that he was sure that the talks held between the leaders of the two countries would benefit not only Ghana, China and the furtherance of Afro-Asian solidarity, but would also contribute greatly to international progress and world peace.

The Ghanaian President who had visited China in August 1961, said that Ghana could learn much from China. "We have learnt with interest, the methods by which the people of China have mobilized their resources for the reconstruction of their country and the improvement of their living conditions," he said. "The example of China's determination, organization, discipline and unity cannot be lost on Africa at this time," he added.

At the state banquet given by President Nkrumah in honour of Premier Chou En-lai on January 13, the Ghanaian President also spoke highly of China and its leaders. He declared: "Here in Ghana, we admire the great strides made by the People's Republic of China, since the revolution, under the dynamic leadership of

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, poet, philosopher, soldier and statesman."

Premier Chou's visit symbolized the shining light of friendship between the two peoples. Its great success found expression in the joint communique, issued on January 16, which declared that:

*both agreed that all anti-colonialist movements in the world should close their ranks and wage a united struggle against the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Both pledged their full support for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

*both considered that the convening of an Afro-Asian-Latin American people's anti-imperialist conference was desirable and also that an Afro-Asian conference was necessary;

*both considered that a world conference of heads of governments would be beneficial if it could be convened for the purpose of signing an international convention on the prohibition of the development and use of all nuclear weapons and on the complete destruction of existing nuclear weapons and their stockpiles;

*the Ghanaian side reaffirmed its support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights and position in the U.N. and objected to any attempts being made to create "two Chinas";

*the Chinese side reiterated their support for increased Afro-Asian representation on U.N. bodies and agencies;

In acclaiming the success of Premier Chou's visit to Ghana, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial on January 18, said: "There is no doubt that the talks between the Chinese and Ghanaian leaders have greatly advanced Sino-Ghanaian friendship, enhanced Afro-Asian solidarity and contributed to world peace. . . . On the basis of the friendship and co-operation jointly built up by Premier Chou En-lai and President Nkrumah, the Chinese and Ghanaian people will cement their solidarity, support and encourage each other and forge ahead together in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for world peace."

Document

China-Ghana Joint Communique

Following is the full text of the joint communique issued by China and Ghana. Boldfaced emphases are ours.—Ed.

AT the invitation of the President of the Republic of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, paid a friendly return visit to Ghana from January 11 to 16, 1964. Premier Chou En-lai was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with other officials of the People's Republic of China.

During his stay in Ghana, Premier Chou En-lai and his entourage made a tour of interesting places in Accra including Tema Harbour and the industrial centres in the vicinity. The

distinguished guests were cordially received everywhere and had an opportunity to learn personally the feelings of warm friendship which the Ghanaian people have for the Chinese people and their representatives. The Premier was impressed by developments in Ghana and expressed great appreciation for the outstanding achievements of the Republic of Ghana, under the leadership of President Nkrumah, in safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy. Premier Chou En-lai admired the role of Ghana and its leader in the vanguard of the national-liberation movement in Africa, in promoting African solidarity and in defending world peace.

In the course of the visit, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China had meetings and conversations with Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. Taking part in these talks on the Chinese

side were Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiapeng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Huang Hua, Chinese Ambassador to Ghana; Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Ghanaian side were Kojo Botsio, Minister of Foreign Affairs; E.K. Bensah, Minister of Communications and Works and Chief of State Protocol; S.A. Dzirasa, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; E.K. Okoh, Secretary to the Cabinet; M.F. Dei Anang, Ambassador (special duties); F.S. Arkhurst, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; K.B. Asante, Principal Secretary, African Affairs Secretariat; Joe-Fio Meyer, Ghana Ambassador Designate to the People's Republic of China; Y.W. Eduful, Director, Publicity Secretariat; J.B. Wilmot, Acting Director, Eastern Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

THE conversations between the leaders of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana were held in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and complete mutual understanding and were characterized by reciprocal desire to discuss frankly the major international problems as well as questions pertaining of Sino-Ghanaian relations.

The exchanges of opinion revealed a community of views on such problems as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, general disarmament, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, the settlement of international issues through peaceful negotiations and the strengthening of Afro-Asian people's solidarity against imperialism.

The two parties noted that the greatest danger facing mankind at this time emanated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Both parties were of the opinion that there could be no lasting world peace unless a resolute struggle was waged against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Accordingly both parties pledged their full support for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Both parties agreed that all anti-colonialist movements in the world should close their ranks and wage a united struggle against the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was considered that the convening of an Afro-Asian-Latin American people's anti-imperialism conference was desirable, and that the possibilities for such a conference should be explored. It was also considered that an Afro-Asian conference was necessary and that active preparations should be made to convene it. Both parties were greatly encouraged by the significant progress which had already been achieved in the anti-colonialist struggle. In Africa a large number of countries had already gained their independence and there were bright prospects of still others coming to swell the number. There were, nevertheless, a number of areas on the African continent where the forces of colonialism showed very little sign of yielding. Both parties expressed firm support for the peoples of Angola, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, French Somaliland, Gambia, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Swaziland, who are valiantly fighting for independence and freedom. Both parties were convinced of final victory for these peoples in their struggles.

The two parties condemned the colonial rule of the South African authorities and their policy of racial discrimination and, in common with progressive mankind, supported the struggle of the South African peoples for equal rights and national liberation. Both parties called on all countries to

terminate any existing relations, particularly economic relations, with the gruesome regime of South Africa.

The two parties reviewed the situation in the Congo and agreed that everything should be done for the United Nations forces to be withdrawn from the Congo. After the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from the Congo, the African countries need to heighten their vigilance against neo-colonialist intrigues in that country.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly indicated that in handling its relations with the African countries, China has consistently and unswervingly taken the following stand in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference: One. It supports the African peoples in their struggle to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence; Two. It supports the governments of African countries in pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment; Three. It supports the African peoples in their desire to bring about solidarity and unity in the manner of their own choice; Four. It supports the African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation; Five. It holds that the sovereignty of African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

THE two parties also discussed at length the efforts of the African peoples to establish African unity. These efforts have recently culminated in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity at the Summit Conference of African States in Addis Ababa. The Chinese side expressed its support for the efforts of the African countries and peoples to promote African unity and solidarity aimed at defending their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. This was essential in eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa, ensuring the economic and cultural development of the African peoples and achieving for them a better life. The Chinese party appreciated the Ghanaian leaders' active efforts to achieve liberation and unity in Africa. The Ghanaian party expressed its appreciation of the sincere sympathy which the People's Republic of China has always maintained for the African people in their struggle towards liberation and unity.

On disarmament, the two parties considered that genuine general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons was the goal for which all peace-loving nations and peoples of the world should strive. They were ready to make unremitting efforts to this end in concert with all other peace-loving nations and peoples. The Chinese side reaffirmed its support for the resolution of the Summit Conference of African States on general disarmament and the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Africa. The two parties considered that a world conference of heads of governments would be beneficial if it could be convened for the purpose of signing an international convention on the prohibition of the development and use of all nuclear weapons and the complete destruction of existing nuclear weapons and their stockpiles.

The two parties discussed at length the state of the Sino-Indian border dispute since the Colombo Conference of six non-aligned states. They noted that the Sino-Indian border situation had relaxed, and they expressed full confidence and hope over the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese side appreciated the peaceful efforts made by Ghana and other Colombo powers. The two parties expressed their determination to continue to support such peaceful efforts aimed at bringing about direct Sino-Indian negotiations.

Both parties declared that the foundation of good relations among all nations should be the observance of the basic principles of international life, namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality and mutual benefit and the solution of all international issues by negotiation. Both parties also agreed that Afro-Asian countries should settle all their disputes in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. The Ghanaian side reaffirmed its support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights and position in the United Nations as an indispensable requisite for the proper functioning of that organization, and objected to any attempts being made to create "two Chinas."

The Chinese party, on their side, reiterated their support for increased Afro-Asian representation on United Nations bodies and agencies to reflect the growing influence of the Afro-Asian countries in international affairs, and reaffirmed that this question of increased Afro-Asian representation should not be linked in any way with the question of the restoration of Chinese rights in the United Nations.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction that significant achievements had been made in the promotion of mutual friendly relations between their two countries. Contributory to this achievement was the satisfactory implementation of the various agreements—Treaty of Friendship, Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation, Trade and Payments Agreement and Agreement on Cultural Co-operation—which were signed between the two countries during the Ghanaian leader's visit to China in 1961.

Both parties pledged their determination to strengthen further the existing bonds of friendship and mutual understanding as their joint contribution to the establishment of even greater trust among states and to the evolution of international peaceful co-operation.

Both parties were convinced that the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to Ghana had conducted to the strengthening of the friendship between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples and to the development of friendly and co-operative relations between the two countries, as well as to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace.

Accra, January 16, 1964.

Premier Chou En-lai Answers Newsmen's Questions in Accra

Premier Chou En-lai answered questions put to him by reporters of the Ghana News Agency on January 15 in Accra. The full text of the questions and answers follows.—Ed.

Question one. May we know the purpose of this tour of African countries?

Answer: The purpose of our present visit to Africa is to enhance the mutual understanding between China and friendly African countries, strengthen the traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the African people, further develop the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the African countries, increase our knowledge and learn useful things from the African people.

The Chinese people and the African people share the same experience of suffering from imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression and have before them the common fighting task of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism. China and the independent countries of Africa can support and closely co-operate with each other in consolidating national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty, developing national economy, promoting Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace.

Question two. What are your impressions of your visit to the Republic of Ghana?

Answer: We have spent five pleasant days in the Republic of Ghana which made a good impression on us.

We have seen that the people of Ghana who have won independence are a warm-hearted people, courageous

and firm, vigorous and dynamic. With such a people the Republic of Ghana will certainly march victoriously along the path of independent development by relying on their own strength.

We have seen that the Republic of Ghana has made marked progress in economic and cultural development under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah. I believe that by consolidating independence politically and relying on its own efforts economically the Republic of Ghana will certainly be able to build itself into a prosperous and strong country step by step.

We are deeply moved by the most sincere and warm welcome accorded us by the Ghanaian people. This is a manifestation of the profound friendship of the Ghanaian people for the Chinese people. With the passage of time, the friendship between the Chinese and the Ghanaian peoples will certainly develop continuously.

Question three. What in your opinion are the prospects for the developing countries of Africa?

Answer: The African people have suffered from the darkest rule and the most cruel oppression of the Western colonialists. The African people have waged and are waging heroic struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism. Now the banners of independence and freedom are being raised one after another on the African continent. The future of the African people is infinitely bright.

By closely relying on the strength of their own people, strengthening unity and heightening vigilance, the new emerging independent African countries will surely be able to smash all intrigues and plots of the imperialists

and reactionaries and preserve their independence and sovereignty.

By bringing into full play the boundless potentialities of their people and making full use of their rich natural resources, the new emerging independent African countries will certainly be able to wipe out step by step the poverty and backwardness caused by prolonged colonial domination and continuously score new success in developing their national economy, culture and language.

By assisting each other and striving for common development, strengthening their solidarity and promoting unity, the African countries will be able to augment their strength in a concerted fight against imperialism and in the reconstruction of their respective countries.

The African people are marching forward with gallant strides. The imperialists and old and new colonialists can never turn back the trend of African history. An independent, united and unified, prosperous, rich and strong new Africa is bound to emerge on earth and make great contributions towards the cause of human progress.

Question four. Do you think the establishment of Chinese industries in Ghana will be some of the results of your visit?

Answer: The aid China offers to all friendly new emerging countries is based on socialist principles and the principle of respecting the sovereignty of the countries concerned. It never takes the form of the export of capital, direct investment and profit-seeking. It consists of providing economic and technical assistance to the governments of these countries and helping these countries develop their own independent national economies.

In providing economic and technical assistance to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly abides by the following eight principles:

First, the Chinese Government consistently abides by the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but regards aid as mutual. Through

such aid the friendly new emerging countries gradually develop their own national economy, free themselves from colonial control and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the world. This is in itself a tremendous support to China.

Second, in providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never asks for any privileges or attaches any conditions.

Third, the Chinese Government provides economic assistance by giving interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment so as to alleviate as far as possible the burden of the recipient countries.

Fourth, the purpose of the Chinese Government's foreign aid is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them to embark on the road of self-reliance step by step.

Fifth, the projects which the Chinese Government helps the recipient countries build are those which will, as far as possible, require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

Sixth, the Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

Seventh, in giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

Eighth, the experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

Rural People's Communes

From the Taihangs to the Fen River

by WU HSIANG

TO get a glimpse of how things are going on our farms today I made a tour in October-November last through 15 counties in the two special administrative regions of southern Shansi, north China. I started from Changchih in southeastern Shansi, a bit west of the Taihang Mountains, and moving south, west and then north on a semicircular course ended at Linfen on the banks of the Fen River. Out of the mass of impressions I received, four stand out: the large number of people's communes and production brigades that I found getting high yields and reaping good harvests of grain and cotton; the surging mass campaign among the peasants to learn

from and catch up with the advanced farms and farmers; the big changes brought to the villages by diversifying their economies and, finally, of key importance, the new, vital socialist outlook of the peasants.

Southern Shansi has real mountain areas but a large part of it is loess land with its characteristic formation: level plateau top, with undulating slopes or sharp drops into the river valleys or ravines. Loess is, of course, a most fertile soil, but the riven character of the plateau due to centuries of erosion makes for special difficulties. The croplands on the high plateau and on the terraced hill slopes are normally dependent on rainfall, while those in

the valleys or ravines are subject to snap floods or waterlogging. Compared to pre-liberation days immense changes have been wrought by the peasants to improve their croplands. In the advanced farms I saw, new deep wells and irrigation channels give the plateau top water reserves against drought; slopes and hillsides are terraced to prevent erosion and make the maximum use of water sources; dams and catchment basins in the valleys and ravines serve the double purpose of water and soil conservation; and, of course, the immense programme of tree planting is designed largely for the same end.

Where such measures have been well applied in the Taihang foothills I found the peasants enjoying the happiness of a bumper harvest. It was late autumn. The threshing floors were crowded even while work was being pressed ahead in the fields. Autumn ploughing and capital construction work on the farms have gone ahead faster than in 1962. In the south Shansi basin along the Fen River, where the climate is milder, women were still picking cotton while the green seedlings of winter wheat were thrusting up through the tawny earth.

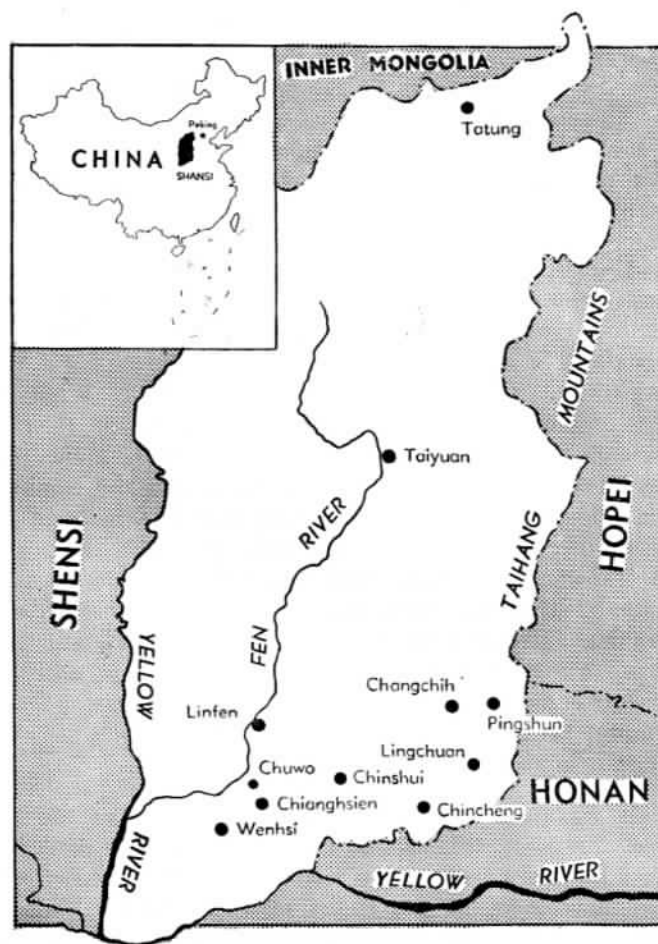
These regions of south and southeast Shansi were seriously threatened by bad weather last year. Heavy downpours in both spring and autumn posed a threat of waterlogging that was only fought off by heavy effort. There was a long dry spell in the summer. Nevertheless, thanks mainly to the drainage and irrigation work put in before, and effective emergency measures, the farmers reaped good harvests, raised more livestock and did well with their tree planting. The south Shansi region actually increased its cotton output by 60 per cent compared with 1962.

For 400 "Jin" per "Mu"

The National Programme for Agricultural Development sets Shansi Province the goal of reaping an annual average of 400 *jin* of grain per *mu*. This is a fairly high yield for this area and a long-term target to be strived for. The brigades led by such national model farmers as Li Shun-ta, Kuo Yu-en, Wu Hou-li and others all passed that target figure before 1962 and repeated or improved on their records last year. Wu Hou-li's brigade raised an average of 539 *jin* per *mu*. But what was new last year was the growing number of other communes and brigades that are following hard on the heels of these pioneers. In the 16 counties of south-east Shansi, one whole commune and 123 brigades hit the 400 *jin* target while another 50 communes and nearly 800 brigades had left the 300 *jin* level behind and many were pressing close to 400 *jin*.

In this drive for higher output the communes once again showed their vitality and ability to handle the unexpected. Early bad weather last year cut expected yields of wheat in southeast Shansi by 30 per cent. This was a hard blow as wheat accounted for almost one-third of the grain acreage of the region. However the communes made an extra big effort with their spring crops and not only recouped their loss but raised the total grain harvest for the year to a slightly higher level than in 1962.

The increased south Shansi cotton crop I have mentioned was also got in the teeth of bad farming weather



Sketch map of Shansi

By Su Li

and an invasion of pests. Soon after the cotton had been sown here rain and cold nipped the seedlings. In Wenhsi County there were "blind spots" in 71 per cent of the fields. A general mobilization of commune members and government cadres was called and fresh seedlings were set out. In a few days 125 million seedlings were planted. Later on, Wenhsi waged another battle against a descent of insect pests. It was by such efforts that the county succeeded in raising and reaping more than twice as much cotton as in 1962.

Learning From and Catching Up With the Best

This encouraging farming situation is closely connected with the large number of model brigades and teams in the two regions. This advance on such a broad front was sparked by the call put out by the Shansi Provincial Communist Party Committee at the beginning of last year for "every advanced unit to help two others." Some 10,000 brigades and teams responded by giving concrete help to those which lagged behind them. This greatly increased the ranks of the advanced. The advanced units also learnt a lot and felt the need to press ahead still faster. By year's end the campaign was on a truly mass scale.

In the course of that campaign the south Shansi region selected eight brigades as models for their achievements in raising cotton; another ten were chosen for their

proress in raising wheat. Between them they provided first-rate experience in raising these two crops under the varying conditions found in the region. At the same time one all-round model was chosen: the Yangtan Brigade of the Yangtan People's Commune in Chuwo County. Over a number of years this brigade has raised consistently good cotton and wheat crops on its 15,000 *mu*.

I visited Yangtan and together with a nationally known model cotton grower from another county admired its trim fields. As my companion remarked: "Yangtan's plots seem to be tended by one person. You can't find a weed or a bare spot in its fields!" What we were looking at was the work of a group of farmers thoroughly united in mind and action. They knew that they were working both for themselves and the common good and that collective prosperity was the basis of an all-round improvement in their life. It was a tribute to the excellent political and ideological leadership in Yangtan. They had too a fine set of scientific methods of farm management and great eagerness to learn and improve. Yangtan provided an example of a high unity of political consciousness, good farm management and good farming skill. During the year 70,000 people visited Yangtan to see how it handled its affairs.

It was found, however, that Yangtan was too far ahead for many brigades to catch it up in one drive, so later a number of other advanced units were named. Some were newcomers to the ranks of the advanced, others were advanced or fairly advanced in just a few or certain fields of work. This gave every brigade or team a model that it could realistically catch up with. With every advanced or fairly advanced unit helping two others while learning from the most advanced, the whole of south Shansi was interlinked and the tested experience of the best farms coursed from place to place.

The dissemination of good methods was also facilitated by the work of two research institutes specializing in wheat and cotton farming. Their staffs investigated methods of cultivating these two crops throughout southern Shansi, visiting model farmers and farms, summarizing their methods and popularizing their findings. Working in close co-operation with the leading cadres and the mass of peasants, they have promoted the advance of local farming and of agricultural science.

Diversified Economy

On this south Shansi trip I saw many people's communes whose new prosperity owes much to diversifying their economy. Chinshui, midway on my route, is a good example of this. It still gives priority to grain crops but it has gone in for silkworm rearing, beekeeping, stockbreeding and fruit farming. In 1963, the proceeds of these enterprises made up two-fifths of its annual income. In 1962 they helped to increase the collective income by 50 per cent compared to the time when the county was in the stage of the advanced farm co-ops (just preceding the commune stage).

Chinshui is in a mountainous area and I found that diversification was playing a key role in the advance of such areas to prosperity. In mountainous Pingshun

County is the Yangjingdi Brigade. Its farmland has only a thin layer of topsoil and its grain yields were poor. In 1953, the 276 households of the present brigade mapped out a plan to plant 10,000 *mu* to timber trees, and another 1,000 *mu* to orchards, and to acquire and breed 1,000 sheep and 100 draught animals. By 1963 it had reached all these goals. It had also ameliorated large areas of poor soil, and increased its arable acreage by terracing the land on its hill slopes. With farming, forestry and stockbreeding promoting each other, the brigade has advanced steadily to prosperity. Its income even exceeds that of brigades on the plain with comparable acreage and manpower.

Needless to say these lessons have not been lost on the farms of the plain. Well-planned tree planting can do a world of good here too. The Linyi Brigade of Changchih had an average of less than two *mu* of cultivated land per person. After this area was liberated, the Linyi farmers have planted 160,000 trees — about 330 trees per person. Not only have they got a good steady income from this source but the 96 households have used their own timber to build themselves 468 rooms. Their tree planting has had a further positive effect: More trees and irrigation channels have reduced the underground water level and the lowland areas subject to salinization have been ameliorated with a consequent increase in yields.

What I saw here and elsewhere on this journey was eloquent testimony to the potentialities of socialist farming: revolutionary will and steadfast determination can radically transform the situation inherited from the past and make the most unpromising prospect glow.

Socialist Outlook

The new socialist outlook of the south Shansi peasants has already worked wonders. They take a wider, deeper view of affairs that concern them. A personal, family outlook is inspired by a wider collective outlook. They can see things now from a national viewpoint. That is why so many people's communes sold so much surplus grain over and above their normal quotas to the state after the autumn harvest: they were eager to help national construction.

One finds the new outlook reflected too in the physical aspect of the villages and farms. In Chincheng, south of Changchih, I visited two brigades that have made a name for themselves in public health work and sanitation. Each of them has a health centre giving regular check-ups to all their inhabitants.

In the Dongsyi Brigade old peasants told me of the old days. Under Kuomintang rule in 1943, the village was struck by famine and nearly 400 people died of hunger. Garbage and flies disfigured the rural scene. It was difficult to visualize all this as I looked at Dongsyi today: it stands in the shade of a grove of 300,000 trees; the main street is a tree-planted avenue with electric lighting. South of the village is a 150-*mu* man-made lake, with a pretty pavilion standing in its centre. To the right of the lake are lotus ponds and to the left rice paddies

with drooping willows on their verges and a small river irrigating them. It is a scene to rival the picturesque water landscapes south of the Yangtse.

It is a hard and long-term task to help the peasants get rid of the vestiges of feudal and capitalist ideas and become fully socialist minded. A great movement of so-

cialist education is now afoot there. By raising the level of the peasants' class and socialist consciousness to a new stage it will further consolidate the foundations of the people's communes, and give them fresh inspiration and vitality to explore all their immense potentialities. This is a guarantee of success.

Pen Probes

That Was the Year That Was

JOHN Profumo, Britain's ex-War Minister and currently most famous sower of wild oats, is now in retirement, perhaps reading his *Hamlet*:

"Repent what's past; avoid what is to come. . . ."

Osteopath Ward, sacrifice to high society, is dead and Lord Denning's report on the affair is out, selling like hot cakes at Her Majesty's Kingsway Stationery Office: naturally, it asserts that the chastity and probity of other British cabinet ministers are unquestioned and adds the doubtful encomium that the state of morals of the ruling class is no worse than before. . . . But even better sellers were the stories told by the "heroines" of the leading 1963 sex and security scandal during which it emerged that certain young women connected with the Tories were being paid much more than the Prime Minister.

Over the year, indictable crime in England "attained to the scale of big business (there were those who would claim that the reverse is more frequent)," reported the *Economist*, commenting on the 2.5-million-pound Cheddington train robbery in August. Organized "with an ingenuity and precision that many businesses might emulate," the light-fingered gentry took away a sum which is no more than a "slight reduction in the Midland Bank's profits."

Over the year, strikes and demonstrations continued to give the lie to the Tory myth of "You never had it so good!" Prices continued to climb while old-age pensioners found it more and more difficult to keep the wolf from the door. By October, in northern England and Scotland more than 4.5 per cent of the work force

was unemployed; in Northern Ireland, unemployment was still worse — 6.6 per cent — than a year ago. In Scotland, some ten thousand unemployed were school-leavers. While many are "finding life exciting" in trying to keep alive, large numbers of unemployed at the other end of the social scale kept Britain's biggest industry going — gaming and gambling.

At the other side of the Atlantic, Washington dropped the Skybolt scheme to shatter Britain's "independent" nuclear policy and across the Channel de Gaulle slammed the door on Britain's entry into the Common Market. Frustrated but still unflappable, Macmillan threw up the sponge and precipitated one of the most unseemly scrambles for the room at the top. Finally out of the scrimmage, aristocrat Lord Home, shedding his nobility overnight, moved into No. 10 Downing Street. He said that he felt no difference after his sudden relinquishment of his peerage to become a "commoner." Lord Home or Sir Alec — or Mr. Wilson and his Labour peers, for that matter — what difference did it make? The Establishment — State, Church, Crown and the busy little businessmen — will smell just the same.

In Edinburgh, new prospects for the drama opened when in September an erudite discourse on the "Future of the Theatre" was interrupted, or shall we say, illustrated, by a girl with nothing on being wheeled across the gallery in a wheelbarrow before the staid audience of 2,000. In the meantime, four young men from Liverpool were creating a stir in the country. The Beatles rhythm band and pop singers came to town with a performance at London's Prince of Wales Theatre. Bringing decorum into the wild applause, the Beatle's leader directed: "Those in the cheaper seats: Clap! Those in the front: Rattle your jewellery!"

As Nelson once said: "England expects every man to do his duty!"



ROUND THE WORLD

South Viet Nam

Despondent Americans

President Johnson declared in his State of the Union Message that he would strive for "a world without war." The American chief executive then showed what he meant. He dispatched *U.S.S. Providence*, the flagship of the 7th Fleet, to south Viet Nam, reinforced the military command in Saigon with three more generals, to bring the total to 14, and poured additional thousands of tons of arms and explosives into the country. He also sent the new Commander of the U.S. Marine Corps on a three-day visit to Saigon, apparently to find out how the "leathernecks" can make themselves as despised in this part of the world as they are in Latin America.

If things had been going well for the Americans in south Viet Nam, the new tenant in the White House might not have been forced so quickly to eat his own words. But they had not. Despite the November coup, which brought the "change of personnel" Washington wanted, its "special war" had run into still more serious trouble, a situation which caused the *New York Times* to report on December 23 that "there is in south Viet Nam today very little optimism and much real concern."

Something had to be done quickly. So a major operation was mounted at the year's end in the Ben Suc region, 40 miles west of Saigon. Ten full-strength battalions took part in this campaign to crush the "Viet Congs." It failed ignominiously. This new debacle caused consternation. "American advisers were disappointed and depressed," AP reported. An "unwieldy chain of command" was blamed for the fiasco, and the military junta, already rent by a scramble for power, was reorganized.

Then a joint team of American advisers and their Vietnamese hirelings made a survey of 15 "strategic hamlets" in Long An Province and seven secondary schools in Kien Hoa Province. They found that morale was "close to the brink of a potentially disastrous collapse. Other areas in

the Mekong Delta are believed in the same condition." The much-vaunted "strategic hamlet programme," their report said, "was full of major faults that negated its value."

What rocked the American set-up in Saigon to its foundations was the fear expressed by the investigators—"the war can never be won." Their report caused a senior official of the U.S. embassy to exclaim: "This has confirmed all our worst fears."

The people of south Viet Nam are irrevocably opposed to the U.S. imperialists and to their hand-reared lackeys. This was made doubly clear right in the heart of Saigon on the third anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front. On that day patriots risked their lives to fly flags of the Front in theatres and cinemas and to distribute leaflets.

In the capital itself now the Americans are meeting direct opposition. In the Mekong Delta, where the situation facing them has been described by the *New York Times* correspondent, David Halberstam, as "desperate," the bankruptcy of their military strategy stands exposed. Johnson, unable to change the situation for the better, mouths words of peace while intensifying his dirty war. And in south Viet Nam despondency increases among the Americans.

Zanzibar

New Government

Zanzibar, the island state off the eastern coast of Africa, has had a successful armed revolution. The sultan has fled and the government headed by Shante Hamadi has been toppled. A people's republic has been proclaimed.

In the new government, Chairman Abed Karume of the Afro-Shirazi Party is President. Kassim Hanga, another leader of the same party, is Vice-President. Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, Chairman of the Umma Party, is Minister for External Affairs and Trade. China and a number of

African and other states have recognized the new government.

President Karume has requested all foreign states not to meddle in his country's internal affairs. He has specifically asked that foreign ships remain outside Zanzibar's territorial waters. However, the British frigate *Rhyl*, with 200 troops on board, sped to Zanzibar from Mombasa, allegedly to evacuate British subjects.

The U.S. Charge d'Affaires, and four American newsmen who entered Zanzibar illegally, landing from a dhow, have been expelled for engaging in subversive activities and intrigues against the new government. Earlier, a State Department source had said Washington was "watching the situation with concern." The United States, which has in Zanzibar a military base euphemistically named "a Mercury tracking station," has sent the destroyer *Manley* to the island "to evacuate Americans."

Zanzibar became independent on December 10, 1963, after 73 years of British colonial rule. She is still a member of the British Commonwealth. Before the coup, the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Umma Party were in opposition, and the government was run by a coalition between the Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party. The Afro-Shirazi Party obtained the largest number of votes in the legislative election last July. It held 13 of the 31 seats in the Legislative Council. The Umma Party split away from the Nationalist Party last June. It was banned early in January.

Nehru's India

Congress in Disarray

India's ruling party ended its 68th annual conference on January 10 as it had opened five days earlier—in confusion and torn by dissension. Mr. Nehru, the man at the helm of both the Congress Party and the Government, was absent, suffering from hypertension caused by an "unusual strain of stormy meetings" and widespread criticism of Congress misrule. The fact that the Prime Minister may be incapacitated, reportedly, for months, has only accentuated the struggle for power in the party hierarchy. But what makes the fail-

ings of the Congress Party conspicuous as never before is its inability to find any solution to the generally worsening situation in the country.

The Congress Party prescribed "democratic socialism" as the panacea for India's political and economic ills. It is an old cure, shelved for some time, and now brought out again. As the official report to the conference admitted, "though we have set it as our goal, we have not been able to make much headway"; and it explained that this was because "concentration of economic power in the hands of a few has become dangerously manifest." Even *Blitz*, the Bombay weekly which is a faithful champion of Nehru's policies, finds the preaching of "democratic socialism" too much of a demagogic manoeuvre. For the kind of socialism practised by Nehru and his Congress caboodle is socialism stood on its head.

What has Nehru's "democratic socialism" done for India? It "has polarized the poor and rich as never before," said *Blitz*. "Prices have been skyrocketing," it added. "Today, sugar and brown sugar are in the black market! Tomorrow, food grains are just not available! The next day, cloth has become too dear for the ordinary man to buy! In this context, where do medicines, education, housing and other social amenities come into the picture?" *Blitz* holds no brief for genuine socialism, but it cannot help coming to the conclusion that "the days are gone when vague, platitudinous resolutions about democratic socialism, spiritual socialism, anti-totalitarianism and the like could deceive the people."

And the violent clashes that burst out between Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta as Congress was ending its conference show how much faith the Indian people have in this political cure—all dressed up as "democratic socialism." Religious conflict is only the surface veneer. Deep down there is dissatisfaction and smouldering anger with the palsied Congress administration. For the great overriding fact in India today is that "the yawning gap between the affluence of a few and the squalor of the multitude has suddenly become too apparent," as another Indian paper, the *Hindustan Standard*, states. The Calcutta tragedy which resulted in the loss of many additional lives from the shooting down of angry demonstrators by

the military and police has only thrown the political and economic crisis besetting Nehru's India into bolder relief.

Trouble in Cyprus

Another Time Bomb Explodes

Stalemate seems inevitable for the conference meeting in London to seek a remedy for the explosive situation in Cyprus.

Following renewed racial clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and subsequent British and Turkish intervention, President Makarios cabled heads of state throughout the world calling for abrogation of the two treaties of 1960 which legalize both British military bases and the stationing of Turkish and Greek troops on Cyprus. "These undesirable treaties," he declared, "were imposed on the people of Cyprus and are the source of our anomalous situation. The Cypriot people wish to live in peace without foreign intervention or threats." Accepting the British proposal for the London meeting, Makarios once again called for amendments to the Cypriot Constitution and revision of the 1960 treaties.

The Turkish Government and the leaders of the Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, are dead against abrogation of the two treaties. What they want is partition of Cyprus on a racial basis.

Britain, for her part, does not want to see the treaties scrapped or any arrangement made which would cause her to lose her military bases. London's chief concern in calling the conference is not so much settlement of the issues as to prevent the United States from poking its nose into Cyprus through the United Nations. Thus, the participants in the London conference are at cross purposes and they can produce no lasting solution. And this means there will be further clashes — eruptions which disrupt normal life in Cyprus and "impair the southern flank of the North Atlantic Alliance" (*New York Times*).

The Cyprus events provide a useful lesson. Though the Cypriots won independence in 1960 after much bloodshed and prolonged struggle, the country is still bound by the unequal treaties and saddled with foreign bases and foreign troops. This is the basic cause for the failure to settle the racial strife which is a legacy of colonial rule.

THE PASSING SHOW

The Voice of America

"We made Panama," said ex-President Harry Truman. "There wouldn't be any Panama if it wasn't for the United States."

"The U.S. control over the [Panama Canal] zone and the canal is not subject to negotiation. If the United States retreats, it will raise serious doubts about its bases in the world," said ex-Vice-President Richard Nixon.

Both talk as imperialists would, without any sense of shame or history, though tricky Dicky speaks with a greater awareness of political reality than the truculent Truman.

"Aid" With Strings

Are conditions imposed on Latin American countries under the "Alliance for Progress" programme? Yes, says *Newsweek*, a U.S. magazine which certainly cannot be accused of bias against Washington. In its January 6 issue it states: "To be approved, an Alliance loan must satisfactorily meet 33 major tests, including whether the project to be financed might have adverse effects upon the U.S. economy, whether it encourages free enterprise, and whether small U.S. business will have an opportunity to participate in it. And on December 31, 1965, a new major restriction will be added: no aid must go to any country that has not signed an investment-guarantee agreement with the U.S."



PUBLISHING

Verses by Young Poets

Five volumes of selected poems by up-and-coming young poets have just been published by the Writers' Publishing House in Peking. They are Li Ying's *Red Willows*, Chang Yung-mei's *The Conch Shell Bugle*, Yen Chen's *Fountain Music*, Yen Yi's *Ode to the Poplar* and Liang Shang-chuan's *Mountain Springs*. Sales leave no doubt that China's poetry-lovers like them.

All five poets started writing verse only after the founding of New China. Two were former "Little Devils," as the youngsters serving with the people's forces were affectionately nicknamed since the days of the Red Army; the others were young students who joined in revolutionary work or the people's army on the eve of liberation. Some are still serving in the forces today. With this background they have grown up with an overflow of healthy and vigorous spirits which they express in their poems with a natural zest and increasing literary skill.

These five volumes tell of the march of the people's army to victory; they trace the successes of New China in its advance from rehabilitation to large-scale socialist construction. They echo, too, the thunder of the world revolution. With a wealth of sketches of the rapidly changing face of China, they paint a colourful panorama of its people.

A feature of Li Ying's *Red Willows* are poems describing with love and understanding the P.L.A. men who are guarding China's coasts. He conjures up the feel of the long night watch of sentries, the strain to keep every nerve alert against the silent attack of darkness and monotony, of navy launches going to the rescue of fishermen's boats caught on a stormy sea, of the fun and entertainment brought by the army concert ensembles, of an unforgettable soldier's birthday in the trenches. Li Ying sees through the soldiers' eyes and feels with their hearts—he has himself been one of them on the coastal front for a year. His themes however are not limited to them alone. The village postman, the girl with crimson flowers in her hair who ferries a boat across the Yellow River, the busy main street of a new steel city,

sunrise over the Gobi Desert lighting up the silhouettes of new construction, all find a place in his poetry. In Li Ying's verse, buoyant spirits and breadth of imagination combine to give a true portrait of the valiant face of the people.

Chang Yung-mei is another soldier-poet. In his poem *The Conch Shell Bugle* are the following lines:

*A conch shell bugle at his back,
Two grenades at his waist,
He stands at the edge of the sea
Among the fishermen and people's
fighters.*

*Go lads! Go and wrest back
Our fishing nets and boats—our
homes!*

Wrest back

Our land, and sea—our freedom!

The mingling of lyrical images and revolutionary sentiments here is characteristic of all the poet's work. The simplicity and sincerity of his folk rhyme is another characteristic.

Yen Chen's *Fountain Music* grips with its power and feeling. The hands in his *Old Man Chang's Hands* are an old peasant's hands which toiled ceaselessly for the merciless landlords before liberation, which have moved mountains and changed the course of rivers in the people's republic, and which are gripped in greeting and admiration by another great pair of hands—Chairman Mao's. Most of the other poems in the volume are about the new life of China. Outstanding among them are those describing the life of the people south of the Yangtse River. They are by turns charming, heady as wine, delightful as the rippling of a clear brook. South of the Yangtse has been a favourite theme of Chinese poets down the centuries; again and again in different ages poets have pictured the fishermen on its rivers banks, the girls picking lotus roots, the picturesque landscapes of the region in all their rich variety. Yen Chen pictures south of the Yangtse in the 60s of the 20th century, in socialist China.

An ordinary peasant boy; a "Little Devil" of the Eighth Route Army; a full-fledged soldier; a member of a P.L.A. propaganda team; and then a poet—this was the road of life of Yen Yi. In *Ode to the Poplar* he takes us with the people's army as it crosses the Yellow and the Yangtse Rivers, and into the Sikang-Tibet Plateau in the exciting days of the War of Liberation (1946-49). We feel with him the rain pouring down on the night

marchers, the cold of a bivouac under the frosty stars, and the warmth of hope and confidence in the revolution. We visit with him again many of the revolutionary battlefields which new construction has now miraculously changed.

Liang Shang-chuan's poetry expresses a deep love for the mountains and rivers of his homeland. He is particularly eloquent on the theme of life in the border areas and the highlands. His poetic style draws on both the classical poetry of old China and the folk songs and rhymes of the people.

The earlier poems of these five young poets are all spirited and full of lively imagination, but technically still somewhat immature. Their later poems show increasing powers of artistic expression and a firmer grip on their material, due in no small part to the enriched experience they have acquired in recent years by living in the thick of socialist life.

The volumes are attractively illustrated with woodcuts. Each has a preface by a veteran poet.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Life in China, 1963

The 327 prints at the current 7th National Photographic Exhibition in Peking's Art Museum give a many-sided view of life in China, 1963. All present significant facts. The best impart some of the soaring spirit of the people. A key facet of that life is the people's communes, which the concerted efforts of the whole nation helped to raise a bigger harvest than in 1962—already a better-than-average year. Pictures of the communes and their members, caught in every mood and often splendid colour, make up a third of the exhibition. One of the best, *Filling the Breach* by Shang Shu-nien shows four people's commune members saving a dam from a torrential flood.

The steady advance in industry in line with the policy of self-reliance is another key facet of the year's achievements. *Iron Bulls* by Tang Mou-lin, one of the many prints on the subject, is an impressive pictorial statement of this fact. The author has broken away from the usual shots of tractors on the assembly line and picked the moment when a new tractor drives out for its maiden run into

the yard. He has made this picture a small epic of industry, of the endless stream of tractors going out into the brown fields of the communes.

A considerable number of photographs showed the activities of the Chinese people in the international sphere, in the struggle for world peace, for the unity of the socialist camp, for the national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and against imperialism. A newsphoto by Lu Hou-min shows Chairman Mao Tse-tung in close conversation with a number of African friends on the occasion he issued his famous statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle.

The exhibition as a whole showed a wide range of themes, styles and techniques, but with one common feature—all (chosen out of 3,700 entries) strove to reflect realistically and vividly and with a buoyant optimism the face of our epoch.

Starting with this exhibition, the China Photographic Society is awarding annual prizes for the best photographs; 34 were awarded this year. Overseas Chinese in Cuba, Indonesia, Cambodia, Singapore and elsewhere sent in a bigger number of contributions than ever before; many were among the prize-winners.

SHORT NOTES

Picture-Story Book Contest. The Union of Chinese Artists announced the results of a nationwide picture-story



To make music in a snowbound village

Photo by Meng Tzu

book contest held last year. Fifty-three works won 1st, 2nd and 3rd prizes for their drawings and 27 for their stories. The contest is the first of its kind in New China, and prize-winners were chosen from 2,000 books submitted. These pocket-size paperback story books with a picture and caption on each page are a very popular form of literature in China, especially among children and newly literate adults; over 10,000 books have been published in 700 million copies since liberation.

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"Kindling Flames." The eagerly awaited sequel to the best-selling

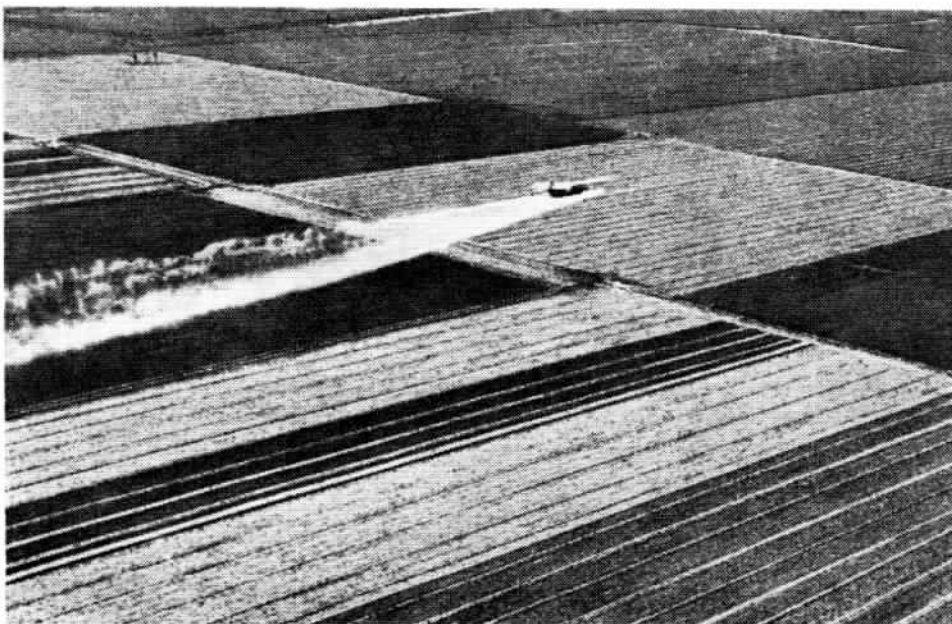
novel *Keep the Red Flag Flying* has just appeared. This 450,000-word new novel by Liang Pin carries forward the story of the life of two peasant families in northern China against the background of the people's struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The famous peasant uprising in Kaoyang and Lihsien in Hopei during the early 30s is the centre-piece of the new volume.

* * *

Fifty Years in Sports. Over 200 leading personalities in Chinese sports, faculty members and students of Peking's Tsinghua University brought congratulations to Ma Yueh-han, professor of physical education and sports, on the occasion of the start of his 51st year as an active promoter of sports in China. The 83-year-old Tsinghua professor also received a flood of congratulatory telegrams and letters. He suffered no little for his public-spirited enthusiasm in this field before liberation at the hands of the Kuomintang.

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Gifts of Paintings and Coins. The Shanghai Museum has received a gift of Sung Dynasty paintings and over 2,000 rare silver coins. The donors are Li Wei-hsien and Lu Chien of Shanghai. The coins include a number of those issued by the Chinese soviet governments in the Liberated Areas between 1927 and 1937. The paintings include ten by Ma Ho-chih, the distinguished artist of the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279).



In the war against pests

Photo by Chang Tien

SPRING 1964

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