

# PEKING REVIEW

3

January 17, 1964

## CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT

**China Firmly Backs Panamanian People's Just,  
Patriotic Struggle**

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(p. 26).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# *NEW PAMPHLETS*

## Joint Statement of Chairman Liu Shao-chi And President Ho Chi Minh

Besides this Joint Statement of May 16, 1963, the pamphlet also gives:

**Liu Shao-chi's Speech at the Mass Rally in Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi**  
(May 12, 1963)

**Liu Shao-chi's Speech at a Meeting in His Honour at the Nguyen  
Ai Quoc Party School, Hanoi** (May 15, 1963)

## Who Will Win in South Viet Nam?

The English translation of an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Central Political Bureau of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The article appeared in the July 1963 issue of **Hoc Tap** (Study), theoretical political journal of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam.

## Peace or Violence

The English translation of an article published in the September 1963 issue of **Hoc Tap**.



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# PEKING REVIEW

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 17, 1964 Vol. VII No. 3

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January 17, 1964

## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in a statement to *Renmin Ribao's* correspondent on January 12, pledged the Chinese people's firm support for the people of Panama in their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Peking and other major cities throughout China held mass rallies, meetings and demonstrations protesting against U.S. imperialism's aggression in Panama and expressing solidarity with the Panamanian people.

• Chairman Mao Tse-tung sent a message to President Kwame Nkrumah expressing his solicitude for the Ghanaian President on the occasion of his escape from the recent attempt on his life.

• Premier Chou En-lai is visiting Ghana, after a successful tour of Albania and Tunisia. The Premier will visit Uganda, Kenya and Somalia on his current African tour.

A Sino-Tunisian joint communique announces that the two countries have decided to establish diplomatic relations.

• The Chinese press published reports on the national conference held in Brussels last December at which Belgian Communists who uphold Marxism-Leninism decided to rebuild the Communist Party of Belgium on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

It also carried extracts from an article in the Vietnamese weekly *Thong Nhat* describing the south Vietnamese revolution as a touchstone for all revolutionaries and condemning the revisionists for trying to divert the struggles of the south Vietnamese people.

### Premier Chou En-lai in Accra

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai, accompanied by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and other members of his party, arrived in Accra on January 11 on a friendship visit at the invitation of President Kwame Nkrumah. This is the beginning of another series of visits by the Chinese Premier to African countries south of the Sahara.

The Premier was warmly welcomed upon his arrival in the Ghanaian capital by Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio, Minister of Communications and Works Emmanuel K. Bensah, and Ghanaian Ambassador to China Joe-Fio N. Meyer who formed a three-man commission representing President Nkrumah.

As Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen stepped from their plane, Ghanaian drummers in national robes sounded their drums in the traditional welcome to distinguished guests of this west African country. Ghanaian ministers greeted them at the plane side, while a boy scout and a girl guide presented them with bouquets. Another boy scout presented a scout's

neckerchief to Premier Chou and put it round his neck. Then in the company of Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio and Major General S. J. Otu, Chief of the Defence Staff, the Chinese Premier reviewed a guard of honour.

After the ceremony Premier Chou, accompanied by Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio, drove to the State House, his residence during the visit. They were followed by Vice-Premier Chen Yi in the company of E.K. Bensah, Minister of Communications and Works, and a long motorcade. All the main road junctions along the route from the airport to the city were gaily decorated with Chinese and Ghanaian national flags and bunting.

On the afternoon of their arrival, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen went on a sight-seeing tour of the city. Tens of thousands of people turned out to greet their guests. Decked out with the national flags of the two countries and multi-coloured bunting for the occasion, the city of Accra looked more beautiful than ever. As the cars carrying the Chinese party

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## Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Message to President Nkrumah

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, has sent a message to Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah extending his most solicitous regards to the President who escaped a recent attempt on his life.

The message, dated January 9, was handed over to President Nkrumah by Premier Chou En-lai when he called on the President on January 11 during his friendship visit to Ghana. The message reads in full as follows.—Ed.

**His Excellency Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman and General Secretary of the Convention People's Party**

Your Excellency,

First of all, I must express my great indignation at the crime of the Ghanaian people's enemy who made another attempt on Your Excellency's life by base means. At the same time, I feel intense relief over your escape in safety. Please accept, Your Excellency, the most solicitous regards of mine and the Chinese people.

The repeated attempts plotted by the imperialists and reactionaries against the life of the people's leaders and noted statesmen of African coun-

tries demonstrate that they are not resigned to their failure in Africa and will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. The imperialists and reactionaries have tried, are trying and will continue to try their utmost to obstruct and undermine the cause of independence and progress of the African peoples. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that the frantic struggles of the imperialists and reactionaries will only stimulate the peoples of African countries to sharper vigilance and stronger determination in the fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of national independence and the prosperity and progress of their countries.

The Chinese people will for ever support the Ghanaian and other African peoples in their just struggles. May the Republic of Ghana win new successes in all fields under Your Excellency's leadership! May the African peoples strengthen their unity on the basis of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and march forward victoriously!

I express to you once again my best wishes.

**Mao Tse-tung**

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drove past, the crowds lining the streets clapped, danced and shouted "Ayekoo (welcome) Chou En-lai!"

The tour started from Castle Road, passed by Independence Arch, and then turned into the February 28 Road. These places of historic interest mark steps in the Ghanaian people's heroic struggle for freedom from colonial rule in the past few centuries. The castle, first built by Portuguese colonialists in the 16th century, captured by the Danes in the 17th century and later taken over by the British, was one of the more than 40 forts built by the Western colonialists along what they called the Gold Coast as bases for their slave traffic and plunder of Africa's gold and other wealth. The February 28 Road was named in commemoration of the Ghanaian ex-servicemen's demonstration in 1948 which touched off a nationwide uprising against British rule. Independence Arch, towering over the road, bears the inscription "Freedom and Justice." As they drove past, the Chinese guests paid homage to the martyrs who had died for their country. From the February 28 Road they drove westward and enjoyed a splendid view of the Gulf of Guinea in the setting sun. Fluttering flags and enthusiastic crowds greeted them when they came

to the Nkrumah Avenue in downtown Accra.

That evening, Premier Chou paid a call on President Kwame Nkrumah who warmly greeted him and the other Chinese visitors. During the meeting, the Premier presented gifts to the President. On January 12, the Premier and the President held talks at the Cabinet Hall in the presidential residence.

### Chinese Exhibitions in Mexico And Mali

Chinese exhibitions abroad are a regular feature of China's friendly contacts with other countries. They are playing an increasingly important role in promoting friendship and mutual understanding. Those held recently in Mexico and Mali have been tremendously successful in this respect.

Over 230,000 people in Mexico City saw the Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition held there from December 7 last year to January 6. Among the Mexican dignitaries who visited it were President Lopez Mateos, General Cardenas—the former president, and Minister of Industry and Commerce Raul Salinas. Businessmen from many countries, including Canada, Italy and

Spain, made special trips to Mexico to see it. Many of them were so impressed by the quality of the exhibits that they placed orders on the spot for Chinese machinery, textiles, medical apparatus, handicrafts or foodstuffs.

Mexican newspapers gave prominent coverage to the exhibition with photographs and enthusiastic comments. Following his visit, Mexican Secretary of Industry and Commerce Salinas expressed admiration for China's progress since liberation. Javier Rojo Gomez, General Secretary of the Mexican National Farmers' Confederation, commented: "People's China has made astonishing progress, particularly in heavy industry which is the basis for national development." Writing in the Mexican weekly *Siempre*, Alberto Domingo said that the exhibition showed that a young nation only 14 years old had succeeded in bringing well-being to its people. Many Mexican friends expressed the hope that the exhibition would be the beginning of efforts on the part of the two peoples to build a bridge of friendship and trade between China and Mexico.

**In Mali.** A Chinese economic exhibition opened in Bamako, capital of Mali,

(Continued on p.25.)



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# Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement

## Chinese People Firmly Support Panamanian People's Just, Patriotic Struggle

*Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, made a statement to a "Renmin Ribao" correspondent on January 12, 1964, concerning the patriotic struggle of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism. The statement follows: — Ed.*

**T**HE heroic struggle now being waged by the people of Panama against U.S. aggression and in defence of their national sovereignty is a great patriotic struggle. The Chinese people stand firmly on the side of the Panamanian people and fully support their just action in opposing the U.S. aggressors and seeking to regain sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone.

U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the world's people.

It has not only committed the grave crime of aggression against the Panamanian people and painstakingly and stubbornly plotted to strangle socialist Cuba, but has continuously been plundering and oppressing the people of the Latin American countries and suppressing the national-democratic revolutionary struggles there.

In Asia, U.S. imperialism has forcibly occupied China's Taiwan, turned the southern part of Korea and the southern part of Viet Nam into its colonies, kept Japan under its control and semi-military occupation, undermined the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos, plotted to subvert the Royal Government of Cambodia, and committed intervention and aggression against other Asian countries. More recently, it has decided to send a U.S. fleet to the Indian Ocean, menacing the security of the Southeast Asian countries.

In Africa, U.S. imperialism is feverishly pursuing its neo-colonialist policies, seeking vigorously to take the place of the old colonialists, to plunder and enslave the peoples of Africa, and to undermine and stamp out the national-liberation movements.

The policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism also seriously threaten the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries. Moreover, it is vigorously seeking to push its policy of "peaceful evolution" in the socialist countries, in order to bring about the restoration of capitalism there and disintegrate the socialist camp.

Even towards its allies in Western Europe, North America and Oceania, U.S. imperialism is pursuing a "jungle law" policy, trying hard to trample them underfoot.

The aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism to dominate the whole world run in a continuous line from Truman, through Eisenhower and Kennedy, to Johnson.

**T**HE people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of the continents of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has placed itself in the position of the enemy of the people the world over and has increasingly isolated itself. The atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the U.S. imperialists can never cow people not willing to be enslaved. The enraged tide of the people of the world in opposition to the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. The struggle of the people the world over against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories.

# CHINA BACKS UP PANAMA

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

EVERY Chinese who opened his newspaper last Sunday morning felt a flash of anger as he read about the massacre of Panamanians perpetrated by U.S. imperialism. It was a front-paged story. *Renmin Ribao*, leading off with an editorial entitled "The People of Panama Are Not to Be Bullied," carried the news on two of its six pages.

## What the Chinese People Say

That same day, Chairman Mao Tse-tung gave a statement to *Renmin Ribao*, supporting the just, patriotic struggle of the Panamanian people. (See p. 5.)

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message to Senor Roberto Chiari, President of Panama. In the name of the Chinese Government and people, they expressed China's bitter indignation at U.S. violation of Panama's national sovereignty and murder of Panamanian people; they extended their deepest respects to the Government and people of Panama who are fighting back against the aggressor. Supporting Panama's demand for a complete revision of the canal treaty and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the canal zone, the message concluded: "The Chinese Government and people steadfastly side with Panama."

A similar message supporting the Government and people of Panama in their struggle was dispatched on the same day by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to Senor Jorge Reven Rosas, Speaker of the National Assembly of Panama.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and six other people's organizations, leaders of eight democratic parties either sent messages or issued statements denouncing this newest U.S. crime and supporting the heroic people of Panama.

Voicing the sentiments of the Chinese people, *Renmin Ribao* on the following day (January 13) came out with the headlines: "Support the Panamanian People in Their Efforts to Recover the Panama Canal!" "Bloody Atrocities of U.S. Imperialism Against the Panamanian People Condemned!" It carried angry denunciations of the U.S. imperialists in dispatches from all over China and abroad.

## In the Streets of the Capital

January 13 saw a sunny, winter afternoon in Peking flame into a demonstration of revolutionary wrath and determination. Workers, peasants, students, civil servants, housewives, artists, members of the families of revolutionary martyrs and People's Liberation Army men poured out into the streets to stage a mighty demonstration. The first groups appeared early at noontime. Many workers

came out without stopping for lunch to display their solidarity with the Panamanian people. Small groups merged into columns as they met. The moving columns grew as passers-by joined the marchers carrying a multitude of red flags, banners, placards and posters, shouting slogans as they went along. Columns of people's militia appeared, carrying their rifles and light machine-guns. Up Chang An Boulevard, moving to its centre from both east and west, the columns formed into streams of people fifteen abreast. There was a swelling chorus of revolutionary and anti-imperialist songs as they converged on Tien An Men Square.

At Tien An Men Square, college students carried huge slogan-bearing placards in Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, French, Japanese and English. In all these different languages they said: "Firm Support for the Panamanian People in Their Patriotic Just Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism!" The faculty members and students from the Central Conservatory of Music sang *The Panamanian People Have Stood Up* and dozens of new songs they had composed that same day. There were dancers, actors and actresses from the capital's leading theatres and troupes giving short plays, skits, and the ever popular quick-rhymed ballads—lauding the patriots of Panama and pillorying the U.S. aggressors.

The next day, January 14, Peking's support for the Panamanian people soared to new heights. Over a million in the capital paraded or attended meetings, or both. The cry "Panama Yes, Yankee No!" resounded around the city throughout the day. At about eight on that frosty morning demonstrators already were converging on Tien An Men. By five o'clock, according to rough estimates, more than 300,000 had taken part in the demonstration.

About 700,000 attended meetings of mass organizations, factories, schools, rural people's communes, shops, theatres, hospitals and neighbourhood committees. People of all walks of life in Peking were represented at the meetings condemning the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in Panama, Cuba and other parts of Latin America, and in Asia and Africa. They all emphasized the fact that U.S. imperialism has brought disaster to people throughout the world, that it is the fiercest enemy of the people in the world and that the Chinese people are determined to unite with the other peoples and fight U.S. imperialism to the end.

As we go to press, similar demonstrations and meetings are taking place across the country.

## At the Mass Rally

On January 13, ten thousand people filled the seats of the Great Hall of the People. In the presidium sat

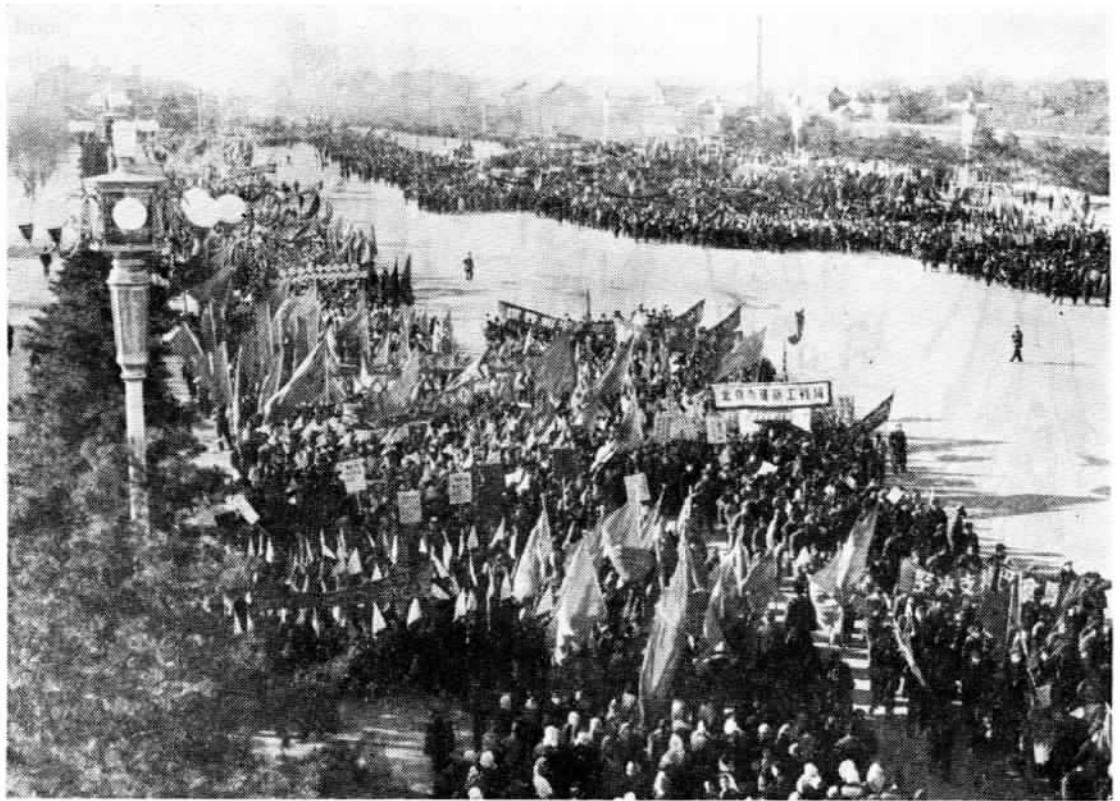
Teng Hsiao-ping, Acting Premier, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, high-ranking government officials, leaders of the democratic parties and the 11 people's organizations. Members of the diplomatic corps in the capital, foreign visitors, foreign experts helping China in its socialist construction and representatives of foreign students, too, attended.

Opening the meeting, Chu Tu-nan, President of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, declared that the Chinese people and the people of the whole world stood firm by the Panamanian people. Listening, clustered around the loudspeakers of the public address system set up in the adjoining Square and main streets, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators and passers-by joined those inside the hall in the cheers and applause.

They heard the meeting addressed by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and President of the China Peace Committee; and 13 foreign friends from North and South America, Africa, Japan, New Zealand, Korea, Indonesia, Albania and Viet Nam.

**Like Kennedy Like Johnson.** After reviewing the event in Panama's struggle, Kuo Mo-jo declared: "It once again teaches the people of the world that U.S. imperialism is their most ferocious enemy. In order to cover up their crimes of aggression, the U.S. imperialists often hypocritically pay lip-service to peace, and employ the counter-revolutionary dual tactics. The day before this bloody suppression, Johnson issued his State of the Union Message, saying that the ultimate goal of the United States is 'a world without war,' 'a world that is free from hate,' 'a world of peace and justice, freedom and abundance,' and that 'we shall not act as aggressors.' But U.S. imperialists' sanguinary slaughter of the Panamanian people has exploded his lie and proved that, like the Kennedy Administration, the Johnson Administration's words are not followed by deeds; it talks 'peace, justice and freedom,' but perpetrates aggression, war and slaughter."

**Panama Struggle Part of Latin American Struggle.** Gustavo Mazorra, head of the Cuban Friendship Delegation who came to China to join the Chinese people in celebrating Cuba's fifth revolutionary anniversary said, "Today, our Panamanian brothers have made new sacrifices in opposing a shameful exploitation.



**Against U.S. imperialism: Tens of thousands of demonstrators converge on Tien An Men Square**

"The heroic struggle waged by the people of Panama in defence of their national sovereignty is part of the great struggle of Latin America. The people of Latin America, standing rock-firm in the storm, are waging an irresistible struggle to liberate their continent from the wolves and pirates."

Pointing out that the imperialists were mistaken, Mazorra said that the blood of the Panamanian youth would not be shed in vain, because it had served to nourish the entire Latin American continent and strengthened the Latin American people's determination to win or die.

**Two Sides of a False Coin.** "The latest aggression in Panama committed by U.S. imperialism is the baptism in fire and blood of Johnson's policy of aggression and war in Latin America," said Jaime Martins, a friend from Brazil. "The Panama crisis," he pointed out, "once again shows the Latin American people that U.S. imperialism is their common enemy, and this enemy cannot be divided into those who are 'enlightened' and those who are not. There is not the slightest difference between the not-enlightened Johnson's present aggression against Panama and the 'enlightened' Kennedy invasion of Cuba's Giron Beach not so long ago. What they call 'enlightened' or 'not enlightened' are merely the head and tail of the false coin of the U.S. imperialists' so-called 'policy of peace.'"

**Noose Around the Neck of U.S. Imperialism.** The famous American writer Anna Louise Strong said: "We have here an example of the 'noose' which some time Chairman Mao Tse-tung described when he said that every time U.S. imperialism sets up a military base in a foreign land it puts a noose around its own neck and hands the end of the noose to the people of that country. Then the people





begin to pull at the noose." "The Panama Canal Zone is a rather bad noose for the United States; we might even call it an iron chain of a noose," she added.

**"American People Are Revolted."** Frank Coe was another friend from the United States who spoke. "The people of the United States are revolted by the bloody aggression the Johnson Administration has just carried out in Panama. As an American I am grateful for the opportunity to join in this great demonstration in Peking to condemn these atrocities of the U.S. imperialists and to pledge support to the heroic people of Panama."

After giving a detailed account of U.S. imperialist aggression there, Coe suggested that "the modern revisionist leaders should take a trip to Panama. They would find that imperialism has not changed and that the only difference between U.S. imperialism and other imperialisms is that U.S. imperialism is even more ruthless, more grasping and more murderous."

Even from afar, he said, something can be learnt by studying this instance of U.S. aggression. Of late, the modern revisionists have been circulating expressions of confidence in the peaceful intentions of U.S. President Johnson, just as they did about the other imperialist leaders, Eisenhower and Kennedy. Frank Coe then recalled two dates: "On January 8, with a great fanfare, Johnson advanced his ten-point programme for peace in his State of the Union Message. On January 9, Johnson ordered troops against the unarmed people of Panama, because they dared demand that their own flag should fly in their land. It will be a hard task to convince the people of Panama of the peaceful intentions of the new U.S. President."

**"There Remains No Other Way."** New Zealand's peace partisan Rewi Alley hailed the Panamanian people who have risen to the struggle. He declared: "At a time when the new revisionists are going all-out to co-operate with the chief enemy of mankind, these Latin Americans stand up and die in protest against Yankee imperialism. And for every one who has thus died, there will be ten thousand others who will fight harder, fight on until in

good time, true independence is gained and the looting of their land is halted."

"The United States of America must get its army and its bases out of Panama," he added. "They must pass the country and its resources back to the people to whom they belong. There remains no other way."

**You Can't Trust U.S. Imperialism.** A.M. Kheir, Sudanese peace champion, cited the Panama incident as yet another proof that U.S. imperialism cannot be trusted. "How can some people then prattle that its leaders are working for world peace?" he demanded. "During the last few days the U.S. Government stressed that it would take whatever

steps it deems necessary to protect U.S. lives and property in the Panama Canal Zone. But the U.S. Government did never and will never say that it will take the necessary steps to protect the lives of the Panama people whom she used her tanks and machine-guns to slay. Indeed Johnson is following the policy of Kennedy as Kennedy followed the policy of Eisenhower."

A message to the Panamanian people was adopted at the rally.

### **"Renmin Ribao": "The First Thunderbolt"**

All the speeches made at the rally were published in full in *Renmin Ribao* on January 14. With all its six pages devoting to the Panamanian struggle this was virtually a special issue. Commenting on these events, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial two days before wrote: "The flames of wrath against U.S. imperialism have been ignited by Washington's own bloodshed and violence. Latin America has fired its first thunderbolt for this spring." Seeing that Washington's evil doings have forced more and more countries and people to rise up and strike back, it predicted that "greater storms will rise against U.S. imperialism."





# Anti-U.S. Storm Sweeps Panama

by MAO SUN

ON January 8, U.S. President Johnson professed his country's desire to be a better neighbour to the Latin Americans (State of the Union Message). The next day, and for several days thereafter, U.S. troops, on Johnson's orders, shot down unarmed Panamanian youths by the hundreds simply because they protested against the hoisting of U.S. flags on their own in the Panama Canal Zone. Such are the words and deeds of Yankee imperialism! Such sickening hypocrisy, such utter contempt for other sovereign peoples, has provoked in Panama a powerful patriotic movement against Washington and widespread popular protests in Latin America and other continents.

The immediate cause of the U.S. massacre was the flag issue. Washington had agreed last year, under Panamanian pressure, that the national flags of the two countries would fly side by side in the canal zone. It chose to disregard this agreement. But the real question at issue goes deeper. Washington treats the canal zone and indeed all of Panama as a colony. When the Panamanians tried to assert their sovereignty, it thought they needed a lesson in blood to learn their place. Hence the cold-blooded murder.

## The Bloodbath

The bloodbath began on the 9th, when General Andrew O'Meara, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Southern Command, brought the fully armed U.S. 193rd Infantry Brigade into action against 3,000 enraged Panamanians who were demonstrating in the streets of Panama City and on the borders of the canal zone. (Earlier, a student had been killed by U.S. soldiers when he tried to plant a Panamanian flag in the canal zone.) The Yankees used machine-guns and tanks against the demonstrators. They killed 20 and wounded more than 300, many of them 25 to 50 yards away from the canal zone.

This outrage touched off even bigger demonstrations. While O'Meara declared martial law in the canal zone, called in more troops, tanks and armoured cars and ordered his soldiers to shoot on sight, still greater numbers of people jammed the streets to protest. The whole of Panama City went on strike and all shops and schools were closed. Public transport stood still. Angry crowds, shouting "Gringos Go Home" and "We Shall Return!" attacked the U.S. Embassy, set fire to the office

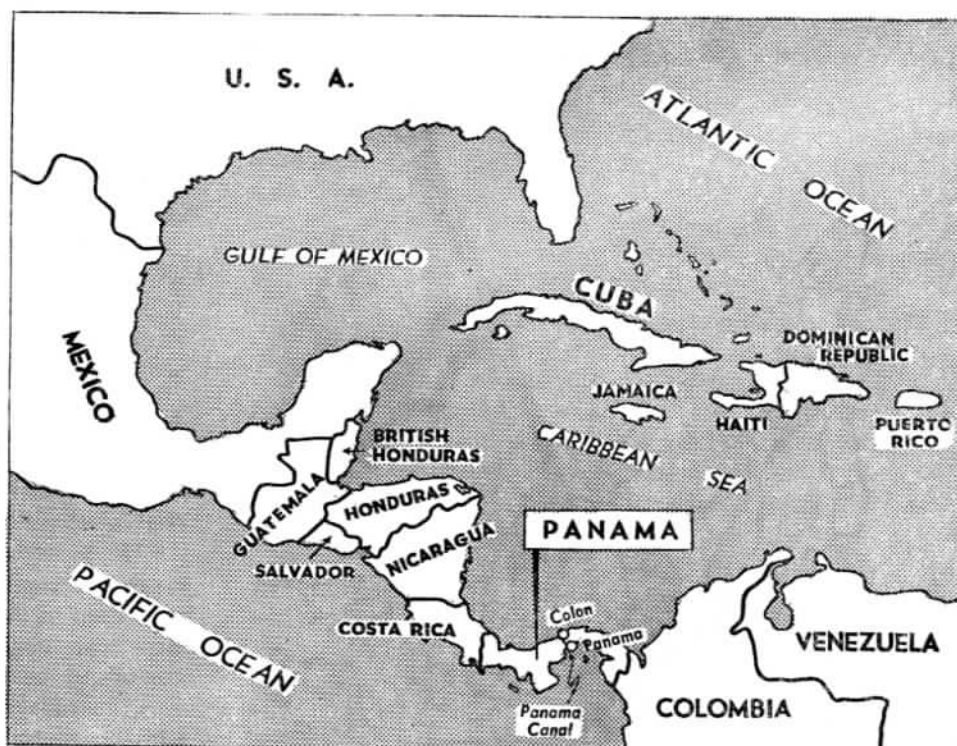
of the U.S. Information Service and the six-storey building of Pan-American Airways. Over 100 U.S. vehicles were destroyed.

On the 12th, more than 100,000 turned out for a mass funeral of the patriots killed by U.S. bullets. While church bells tolled, a two-kilometre-long procession of mourners followed the hearses bearing the martyrs' coffins to their burial. The coffins were draped with huge national flags, and banners reading "Yankees, Ruin, Deception!" and "No More Humiliation!"

The U.S. brutality had roused all Panama to mass action. In Colon, the nation's second largest city, the citizens demonstrated in the streets. When U.S. troops fired tear gas bombs at them, they hit back with flying stones. They burnt U.S. shipping company offices and destroyed a railway station. In Balboa, where there is an American military base, young patriots braved the soldiers' fire to cut down a U.S. flag pole inside the canal zone and raise the flag of Panama instead. And in Chiriqui, 3,000 banana workers of a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company set fire to several hundred hectares of farms and some American houses.

## Demands and Counter-Demands

By its own barbarism, U.S. imperialism had set off an explosion for which all the inflammable material had



Sketch map by Su Li

long been present. With its people massacred right in front of the National Assembly building, the Panamanian Government suspended relations with the United States and asked for a complete revision of the U.S.-Panama Treaty. Still the U.S. Government thought it could quieten things down by the usual browbeating tactics. Johnson telephoned Panamanian President Roberto Chiari. Instead of promising to end the U.S. shooting, he asked Chiari to "stop the violence." But such effrontery was too much for any self-respecting government to swallow. Over the phone, Chiari emphasized that the incidents were brought about by U.S. armed forces and counter-demanded that Johnson pull out the U.S. troops and stop shooting the people.

The ensuing diplomatic battle took place on several fronts. At an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council, the Panamanian representative Aquilino Boyd accused the United States of aggression against his country. "The tragic situation on the Isthmus of Panama," affirmed his memorandum to the Security Council, "was caused by the repeated threats of aggression and actual aggression committed by the Government of the United States against the Republic of Panama, placing our national sovereignty and territorial integrity in danger." When the U.S. representative Stevenson tried to cover up his country's crime in Panama, Boyd pointed out that the latest massacre of young Panamanians was not the first of its kind. Eighty Panamanians were wounded by U.S. shooting in 1959. Since the canal treaty was signed in 1903, Boyd stated, the U.S. Government had unilaterally arrogated to itself rights which Panama had never granted it. "Anyone going to Panama cannot fail to be shocked and depressed by the contrast between the hunger, misery and poverty in the part of Panama adjacent to the canal and the high standard of living of the Americans who monopolize 90 per cent of the well-paid posts. The Panama Canal Zone must not continue under its present status. This is the cause of permanent discord. Panama cannot continue to be subject to iniquitous treaties," Boyd declared.

The U.N. Security Council, as expected, took no action to curb the U.S. aggressors. Panama had however

also sent a note to the Organization of American States charging the United States with aggression and declaring that the armed attack on Panamanian territory and civilians endangered peace on the American continent. During his talk with an O.A.S. delegation on January 11, President Chiari again called for a complete revision of the U.S.-Panama Treaty. He put forward four demands to the United States: 1. payment of damages, 2. the flying of the Panamanian flag side by side with that of the U.S. throughout the canal zone, 3. the removal of all American road blocks between the canal zone and Panama City and 4. the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the zone border.

Washington has stirred up a nation's anger and it is trying to find a way out of its difficulties by a combination of the big stick and deception. Although it already has 9,000 soldiers and 1,800 marines in the canal zone, it has rushed another 1,200 marines down there. Two U.S. cruisers have arrived off the Atlantic coast of Panama. Meanwhile, Johnson has dispatched a special mission, composed of Thomas Mann, the new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Army Secretary Cyrus Vance and other U.S. diplomats, to negotiate with the Panamanian authorities. What they will talk about can be predicted from the fact that in New York, Secretary of State Rusk arrogantly declared in a nationwide television programme on January 12 that the "U.S. soldiers had shown great restraint in trying to protect life and property" and that there was no question of giving up the Panama Canal or the military bases there.

### Sixty Years' Struggle

Panama's patriotic struggle for the recovery of sovereignty over the canal zone and for the abrogation of the unequal U.S.-Panama Treaty is no bolt from the blue. It started from the day when the Yankees first occupied the canal zone 60 years ago.

In 1936, under popular pressure, the U.S. Government was compelled to revise the hated treaty by raising the annuity from U.S.\$250,000 to U.S.\$430,000. An amendment stipulating that the U.S. must first obtain the agreement of the Panamanian Government for use of any territory outside the canal zone was also obtained. However, during World War II, on the pretext of protecting the canal, Washington obtained land for many more bases. In 1947, in response to popular demands, the Panamanian Government repudiated these leases and took back a number of bases.

In 1955, the United States Government was forced again to revise the treaty by increasing the annuity to U.S.\$1,930,000. It also agreed that U.S. and Panamanian employees in the canal zone receive equal pay for equal work. This provision has never been observed.

In 1956, stimulated by the Egyptian people's victory in the Suez takeover, the people of Panama staged powerful demonstrations. The then Foreign Minister declared that his country had never given up its sovereignty over the canal zone.

In 1959, when U.S. army and police fired on demonstrators demanding the return of the canal zone to Panama, indignant crowds attacked the U.S. Embassy and other American institutions. Similar demonstrations have occurred on several subsequent occasions.

The record shows that the last word will not have been said about the Panama Canal until it has been returned to its rightful owners—the Panamanian people!



"Looks like it needs propping up." Cartoon by Jack Chen

# China and Albania — United in Struggle

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**HE militant friendship of China and Albania was given added impetus by the nine-day turn of the year visit by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. The visit (Dec. 31 to Jan. 9) of China's Premier Chou who is also Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen who is a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party found the people of China focusing attention on the far-off People's Republic of Albania, their fraternal ally.

## Historical Document

A great success, the visit found expression in a joint statement issued after the leaders of the two countries concluded their talks. The statement said:

- both China and Albania are determined to strengthen further friendship and unity between the two Parties and countries, to march forward for ever side by side in common struggle against imperialism and to defend world peace, against old and new colonialism and support the national-liberation movement, against modern revisionism and in defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in the common cause of socialist revolution and construction;

- both agree that the present international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the revolutionary people of the whole world and unfavourable to imperialism headed by the United States and its followers; this is the outcome of repeated trials of strength and acute struggles between the peoples of all countries and imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys;

- both denounce the U.S.-British-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty. Both reaffirm that the Governments of China and Albania always stand for general disarmament and for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons;

- both pay warm tribute to and resolutely support the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and old and new colonialism for the winning, upholding or strengthening of national independence;

- both firmly support the mass struggles waged by the working class and other labouring people of the capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania against monopoly capital and for better living conditions, democratic rights and social progress;

- the Chinese Government and people strongly denounce the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists for all their intrigues to isolate and injure Albania, and firmly support all efforts of the Albanian Government and people to safeguard their fatherland and preserve the peace and security of the Balkans;

- both hold that it is now the sacred duty of the Communists of all countries to combat modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The struggle against modern revisionism is a protracted, complicated one. But truth will surely prevail over falsity, and Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

In its editorial on the statement, *Renmin Ribao* said it was a document of great historic significance and permeated with vigorous revolutionary spirit, every word beaming the radiance of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"There is not the slightest doubt," said *Renmin Ribao*, "that Premier Chou En-lai's friendship visit to Albania and the publication of the joint statement between the leaders of the two countries have not only immensely enhanced the great unity and militant friendship of the peoples of China and Albania, but also will help bring about a common upsurge in the two countries' socialist construction and make for a tremendous influence in strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and international communist movement, in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and in the fight for world peace and mankind's progress."

## Heartfelt Welcome

The eve and beginning of the new year had unusual and great meaning for the peoples of China and Albania. Leaders of the two countries spent New Year's Eve together saying good-bye to 1963 in unison, and cheered victories won in 1963; they also ushered in the new year together and congratulated each other on the bright prospects for 1964. It was at this memorable moment that they warmly embraced each other during a banquet at the magnificent Partisan Palace. But these embraces were not just embraces between leaders of the two countries but between the Chinese and Albanian Parties, between the Chinese and Albanian peoples!

The Chinese guests, besides visiting Tirana, separately went to the strategically located city of Shkoder in the north; Vlora along the Adriatic Sea; Korca, the political, economic and cultural centre in the south; Berat, an ancient city in central Albania and the oil city of Stalin. The whole city came out to welcome them when the Chinese visitors arrived in each place. On their way thousands upon thousands of inhabitants from cities and towns also lined the roads to greet the visitors. All cities they went to were newly decorated, even the highways were bedecked with coloured bunting, portraits and placards. Welcome mass rallies were held in every city visited; the squares where meetings took place had huge welcoming banners, surrounded by huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin as well as Mao Tse-tung and Hoxha. At these meetings, where warm speeches were made by their



hosts, the masses welcomed the Chinese guests from the bottom of their hearts.

### A Shining Example

Speaking at a grand banquet given by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Council of Ministers in honour of Premier Chou En-lai, Comrade Hoxha declared:

Our Party and people are proud to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and its agent, modern revisionism.

They will loyally pursue, as in the past, the Leninist foreign policy, develop fraternal relations with other socialist countries, give full support to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples the world over for democracy and peace, struggle for the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems, preserve good-neighbourly relations based on non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, fight against imperialism and revisionism to the end and for the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

At the Tirana welcome rally, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who addressed the meeting, said:

The modern revisionists thought that economic pressure could bring Albania to its knees, but they miscalculated. They did not know that our economic plans and our socialist construction always mainly depended on our own strength, on the sweat of our people and on our own economic resources, while foreign aid has been auxiliary. They have underestimated the vitality of our people, the power of our Party, of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese people are familiar with the matchless moral courage and integrity of the Albanian comrades. During the last few years when the anti-China storm has been off and on in the international arena, the Albanian comrades, always in defiance of difficulties and hardship, have from first to last, held aloft the red banner of revolution and stood side by side with their Chinese comrades. This dauntless revolutionary spirit on the part of the Albanian comrades is worth entry into the book of history. In his speech at the Vlora welcome meeting, Premier Chou En-lai said:

By their experiences in struggle, the Albanian people have set for all revolutionary people of the world a glorious example of defying tyranny and brute force and braving difficulties, and of self-reliance and hard work.

### A Country Must Not Be Judged by Its Size

In welcoming the Chinese visitors, Albanian comrades often referred to their country as a small one. Greeting



Premier Chou En-lai receives a rousing welcome on visit to agricultural producers' co-operative in Vlora. On his right is Comrade Enver Hoxha

Premier Chou En-lai at a New Year party, Dhimiter Shuteriki, Chairman of the Albanian Union of Writers and Artists, put it well: Albania is a small country with a big heart in which the great ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung have taken root.

On this point, Premier Chou En-lai, at a farewell banquet he gave on the eve of his departure, declared:

Any country, big or small, with a large or a small population, can make its own contribution to the cause of the people's revolution all over the world so long as it is revolutionary, united and steadfast. Albania is a small country, but your revolutionary spirit is great, your revolutionary exploits are magnificent and your contributions to the cause of revolution of the international proletariat and the people throughout the world are immense.

He also spoke highly of the Albanian people at the welcome banquet given by the Albanian Party and Government:

The Albanian people are a great people. The Albanian People's Republic is a great country. The Albanian Party of Labour is a great Party. The influence of the great struggle you are waging has reached far beyond the borders of Albania and has won deep respect and general praise by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people. The 17 million Chinese Communists and the 650 million Chinese people are happy and proud whenever they think of having such staunch comrades-in-arms as the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people with them in their struggle.

### Eternal Friendship

At the Tirana mass rally Comrade Shehu described the great friendship between the peoples of China and Albania as eternal and as lasting as the world. This is because this friendship is tempered by two Parties holding high the banners of people and revolution — the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung



and the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At the banquet given by the Albanian Party and Government in honour of Premier Chou En-lai, Comrade Hoxha said:

The friendship between our two peoples and two Parties will be evergreen, will be consolidated and strengthened day by day in the interests of our two countries, socialism and peace. Your visit to Albania, the talks between our two sides marked by a mood of fraternal sincerity, friendship and complete, mutual understanding, and the complete identity of views on all questions have

made new contributions of great significance to the further strengthening of our unbreakable friendship and solidarity.

Carrying the Albanian people's deep friendship towards the Chinese people based on proletarian internationalism, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other comrades have left Tirana. But their hearts, and the hearts of the 650 million Chinese people will ever remain with the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people. The Chinese people, as Premier Chou En-lai has said, will always be united with the fraternal Albanian people, in fighting, in rejoicing and in victory.

## Document

# Sino-Albanian Joint Statement

*Following is the full text of the joint statement issued by China and Albania. Boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**C**HOU EN-LAI, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, paid a friendship visit to the People's Republic of Albania from December 31, 1963 to January 9, 1964 at the invitation of Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour.

Premier Chou En-lai was accompanied on his visit by Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Peng, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Wang Ning, Deputy Director of the General Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Li Shu-huai, Deputy Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the comrades accompanying them visited Tirana, Shkoder, Vlora, Korca, Berat and Stalin City, called at factories, agricultural producers' co-operatives and cultural and educational institutions, and met a cross-section of Albanian people. Everywhere they were accorded a uniquely warm welcome and an extremely grand and cordial reception by the fraternal Albanian people. This was a vivid expression of great proletarian internationalist friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples.

During the visit, Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi had cordial and friendly talks with Comrade Enver

Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the further consolidation and development of the relations of friendship, unity, mutual assistance and co-operation between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and the two countries, and on important questions of the current international situation and the international communist movement. The outcome of the talks shows a complete identity of standpoints and views between the two sides.

Present at the talks on the Chinese side were Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Lo Shih-kaio, Chinese Ambassador to Albania.

Present at the talks on the Albanian side were Adil Carcani, Minister of Geological Mining and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Beqir Balluku, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Defence and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Gogo Nushi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions; Haki Toska, Hysni Kapo, Ramiz Alija and Rita Marko, Members of the Political Bureau and Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Spiro Koleka, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Koco Theodhosi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, President of the State Planning Commission and Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Abdyl Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Behar Shtylla, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; and Nesti Nase, Ambas-

sador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Albania to the People's Republic of China and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour.

In the course of their talks, both parties reviewed with great satisfaction the fraternal relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and the two countries. These relations have been daily consolidated and developed in the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, in the fight against old and new colonialism and in support of the national liberation movement, in the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in the common cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties and the two countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and fully accord with the principles guiding relations between fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The development of Sino-Albanian friendship conforms with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and the interests of the entire socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is conducive to the promotion of the great cause of the people of the whole world for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. Both parties are determined to work for the further strengthening of the friendship and unity between the two Parties and the two countries, and for ever to encourage, support and assist each other and march forward shoulder to shoulder in their common struggle.

Premier Chou En-lai paid warm tribute to and gave a high appraisal of the great achievements of the Albanian people in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha creatively integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Albanian revolution, adopts a correct line and leads the Albanian cause of revolution and construction from one victory to another, bigger victory. The Albanian people are surrounded on all sides by capitalism and modern revisionism and are continually confronted with difficulties created and pressures exerted by the imperialists and modern revisionists. But, holding a rifle in one hand and a pick in the other, relying on their own efforts and working hard and perseveringly, they have defeated divers enemy provocations and sabotage, and established Albania as a strong anti-imperialist bastion on the southwestern front of the socialist camp. Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that this has been a powerful support to China, to the entire socialist camp and to world revolution. He expressed the conviction that the Albanian people, under the long-tested guidance of the Albanian Party of Labour and its wise leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, will certainly win still more brilliant successes in their efforts to fulfil the magnificent Third Five-Year Plan.

The Albanian side pointed out in glowing terms that the Chinese people, under the correct, long-tested leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Government of the People's Republic of China, have scored splendid achievements of

world significance in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The victory of the Chinese revolution was a historic event which tipped the world balance of forces in favour of the socialist camp. The great Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, have, after the victory of the revolution, gained enormous achievements on all fronts of socialist construction by relying on their own efforts and endeavouring arduously in a high revolutionary spirit. They have, in the past few years, successfully overcome difficulties caused by serious natural disasters and the perfidious deeds of other people and continued to forge ahead towards the goal of building a socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry and modern science and technology. China's international prestige is rising every day. These colossal achievements bear witness to the correctness and far-sightedness of the line formulated by the Chinese Communist Party under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a line which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific conditions in China. These achievements are a tremendous source of inspiration for the people of Albania and other socialist countries, and for all peoples striving for freedom, national independence and social progress.

The Albanian side expressed sentiments of profound gratitude of the Albanian people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian People's Republic for the invaluable, all-round internationalist assistance which the Chinese People's Republic has given and continues to give to the Albanian People's Republic in all fields. This assistance is an important factor in the socialist construction and all-round development of Albania.

The two parties agree that the present international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the revolutionary people of the whole world and unfavourable to imperialism headed by the United States and its followers. The peoples in the socialist camp have achieved new successes. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is triumphantly pressing forward with the power of a thunderbolt, shaking the entire capitalist world. The working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. Their struggle against monopoly capital has spread on a large scale. The struggles waged by the people all over the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace are mounting day by day. Imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries are subjected to powerful blows at the hands of the peoples. The world capitalist system is further declining and decaying. The imperialist camp is faced with increasing difficulties. The contradictions among the imperialist powers, and particularly between the United States and the West European countries, have sharpened to an extent unknown since the end of World War II. The imperialist camp is disintegrating and U.S. imperialism finds the going tougher and tougher. In the development of the entire international situation, it is the revolutionary forces of the people of the world which have the upper hand, not the reactionary imperialist forces.

The two parties hold that this favourable situation is the outcome of repeated trials of strength and acute strug-

gles between the people of all countries and imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys. It is the duty of the socialist countries and the proletarian Parties of all countries to correctly understand and make full use of this favourable situation and energetically promote the struggle of the peoples for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

The two parties pointed out that U.S. imperialism is the international gendarme suppressing the just struggle of the people in all lands, the major bulwark of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the most dangerous enemy of world peace, and the common enemy of the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is pushing ahead with its policies of aggression and war, frantically engaging in arms expansion and war preparations, actively preparing for nuclear and conventional wars, and is carrying on "special warfare" in southern Viet Nam. It is resorting to armed suppression, political fraud and economic infiltration to push forward neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America in an attempt to control the vast intermediate zone between the socialist camp and the United States. While threatening the socialist countries with war, U.S. imperialism is pressing ahead with the policy of "peaceful evolution," carrying out subversive, infiltrating and corrosive activities in an attempt to bring about the restoration of capitalism in them. That is why the people of the whole world must heighten their vigilance and continue to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The two parties denounce the U.S.-British-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty as a big fraud to fool the people of the world. This treaty is designed to monopolize nuclear weapons. It can neither prevent U.S. imperialism from developing nuclear weapons nor stop it from supplying nuclear weapons to its allies. It can only weaken the defences of the socialist camp and help U.S. imperialism in unilaterally building up nuclear supremacy and in more unscrupulously carrying out nuclear blackmail. Since the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, the United States has repeatedly carried out underground nuclear tests, stepped up the manufacture and development of many types of nuclear arms, further strengthened the network of bases for guided missiles with nuclear warheads, intensified the deployment of nuclear submarines abroad and actively engineered the establishment of the multilateral nuclear force of the NATO bloc. The conclusion of the tripartite treaty has increased the threat of nuclear war. Facts have shown that making one concession after another to imperialism can only encourage the aggressive forces, increase the danger of war and jeopardize world peace.

**The two parties hold that a new world war can be prevented, a nuclear war can be averted and world peace can be safeguarded so long as all peace-loving forces of the world, namely, the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement, the revolutionary movement of the peoples and all peace-loving countries and people unite and form the broadest possible united front to wage an unremitting struggle against the aggressive and war policies of imperialism headed by the United States.**

The two parties reaffirm that the Governments of China and Albania always stand for general disarmament

and for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Albanian Government fully supports the proposal of the Chinese Government for the convocation of a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Both parties maintain that it is necessary to strengthen constantly the defence capabilities of all countries in the socialist camp so long as imperialism rejects general disarmament and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

**The two parties pay warm tribute to and resolutely support the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the winning, upholding or strengthening of national independence. They hold that the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America are at present the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in these regions is a powerful support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the socialist camp, a great support for the struggles of the broad masses of people in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America and Oceania against monopoly capital, and a mighty force of the people of the world in defence of world peace. It is the international duty of the socialist countries and the international proletariat to support the national-democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.**

Both parties support the Korean people's struggle against the occupation of southern Korea by U.S. imperialism and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. They firmly believe that the just struggle of the Korean people will surely attain final victory.

Both parties support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and heartily hail the successive and great victories won by the people in southern Viet Nam in their patriotic anti-U.S. armed struggle. U.S. imperialism cannot save itself from total defeat in southern Viet Nam although it is frenziedly struggling and has replaced its old lackey there by a new one.

Both parties strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for violating the 1962 Geneva agreements, interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and trying to subvert the Laotian National Union Government and rekindle the civil war in that country.

They strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its subversive and disruptive activities against Cambodia, and both give their support to the just stand of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Government and people of Cambodia in defence of national independence and state sovereignty and to the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Government of Cambodia.

The two parties resolutely support the just struggle of the Indonesian Government and people against "Malaysia," a product of neo-colonialism. They also firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the people of North Kalimantan against colonial rule.



Both parties strongly denounce U.S. imperialism for dispatching its Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, and support the just struggle of the Asian and African peoples against its new step of aggression and for safeguarding the peace and security of that region.

Both parties express their sincere sympathy with and resolute support for the Japanese people engaged in struggle, and believe that they will surely win still greater victories in their struggle against the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," for the dismantling of U.S. military bases and against the stationing of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japan.

Both parties support the struggle of the people of the Arab countries against imperialist aggression and oppression and for winning or upholding national independence, and support the Arab people of Palestine in their demand for the restoration of their legitimate rights.

Both parties warmly hail the great victory of the African national-liberation movement. They wish the new emerging independent African countries continuous successes in their efforts to oppose old and new colonialism, consolidate national independence, uphold state sovereignty and develop national economy.

Both parties pay warm tribute to the Algerian people for their historic victory in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and are happy to see that under the influence of the banner of anti-imperialist armed struggle held aloft by the Algerian people, more and more African peoples have taken the path of armed struggle. Both parties declare their resolute support for the peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nyasaland, Gambia, "French" Somalia, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Southwest Africa who are fighting heroically for independence and freedom. They firmly believe that their struggle will surely be crowned with victory.

The two parties strongly condemn the colonial rule and racial discrimination in South Africa, and declare their vigorous support for the South African people's national-liberation struggle.

Both parties point out that the Asian and African countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. But the present distribution of seats in the principal United Nations organs is most unreasonable and unfair to Asian and African countries. They firmly support all efforts made by these countries to increase their seats in the principal U.N. organs.

Both parties warmly acclaim the brilliant victories attained over the past five years by the Cuban people under the leadership of Premier Fidel Castro in building socialism and in combating U.S. imperialist aggression and defending their fatherland and revolution. Both parties strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its obstinate policy of aggression, intervention and subversion against Cuba, and resolutely support the five-point demand of the Cuban Government and the struggle of the Cuban people against the U.S. imperialists' new provocations. Both parties maintain that the banner of revolution held aloft by the Cuban people has indicated the correct path for the other Latin American peoples to free themselves from U.S. imperialist control and win national liberation.

They firmly believe that the Cuban and other Latin American peoples, inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the two Havana Declarations, will continue to advance triumphantly.

**Both parties firmly support the mass struggles waged by the working class and other labouring people of the capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania against monopoly capital and for better living conditions, democratic rights and social progress. They unflinchingly back up the just struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. They are convinced that the developments in the strike movement and other forms of struggle waged by the working class and other labouring people of the developed capitalist countries show that the class contradictions in the capitalist world are sharpening day by day and that the great day when the storm of the proletarian revolution will inevitably sweep the cradles of capitalism and the nerve-centres of imperialism is not far off.**

The two parties strongly denounce U.S. imperialism for actively fostering West German militarist-revanchist forces, resuscitating and equipping the Bonn troops commanded by Hitler's generals with weapons of mass destruction, turning West Berlin into a dangerous centre of international provocation, instigating West German revanchists to swallow up the German Democratic Republic, and trying to turn West Germany into a breeding ground for aggression and war against the socialist countries and the European peoples. They reaffirm the crying need for concluding a German peace treaty and for settling the West Berlin question on the basis of this treaty. Both parties consider that the 6th U.S. Fleet prowling in the Mediterranean is a threat to the socialist camp and to world peace and so condemn it.

**Both parties hold that the socialist camp is the base for the proletarian world revolution and a powerful bulwark for the defence of world peace. The common tasks of all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp are: to adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies; to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts; to unfold extensive mass movements, give full play to the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, and in a planned way carry out socialist construction, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence; to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism; to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defend world peace; to oppose the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and to help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world. By faithfully carrying out these tasks, the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history.**

Both parties point out that the socialist countries have all along stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems on the basis of the famous



Five Principles. The obstacle to peaceful coexistence comes from the imperialists. It is necessary to fight resolutely against the imperialist policies of aggression and war in order to realize peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence between the socialist and imperialist countries does not, by any means, negate the fundamental contradictions between socialism and imperialism, nor does it mean the liquidation of antagonism and struggle between socialism and imperialism. Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems; it can never be extended to apply to the relations between the oppressed and oppressor classes and between the oppressed nations and imperialist oppressors.

Both parties hold that the relations between socialist countries are international relations of a new type. Relations between socialist countries, big or small, economically more developed or less developed, must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and must also be based on the principles of mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism. It is necessary to oppose great-nation chauvinism and national egoism in the relations between socialist countries. It is absolutely impermissible to impose the will of one country upon another, or to impair the independence, sovereignty and interests of the people of a fraternal country on the pretext of "aid" or "international division of labour."

China and Albania have always supported each other and closely co-operated in international affairs.

Premier Chou En-lai points out that the People's Republic of Albania, standing staunchly on the southwestern outpost of the socialist camp, has made outstanding contributions to defending the security of the entire socialist camp and the peace of Europe and the world. Premier Chou En-lai reaffirms that the Chinese Government and people strongly denounce the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists for all their intrigues to isolate and injure Albania, and firmly support all efforts of the Albanian Government and people to safeguard their fatherland and preserve the peace and security of the Balkans.

The Albanian side reaffirms that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people fully support the correct policy of the People's Republic of China in international affairs. This correct policy is a barrier to the aggressive plots of U.S. imperialism and a great factor in guaranteeing peace in Asia and the world and in promoting the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and nations. Today, no major international question can be settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Any conspiracy to isolate the People's Republic of China, obliterate its consistent policy of peace and its great role in the international arena, or to halt its forward march is doomed to an ignominious defeat.

The Albanian side reaffirms its support for the struggle of the Chinese Government and people to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity and its full support for the Chinese people's right to liberate Taiwan and the other Chinese islands occupied by U.S. imperialism.

It reaffirms its opposition to the U.S. imperialist scheme to create "two Chinas," its stand for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, and its support for China's correct position for a peaceful settlement of the China-India boundary question.

**Both the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour stand fast on the conclusion of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement that under the present conditions revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement. In order to meet the needs of the last ditch struggles of imperialism, the modern revisionists tamper with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in all aspects, arbitrarily emasculate the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and replace the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship with the theories of class conciliation, class co-operation and class capitulation. They misinterpret all events and things of the day with an opportunist stand, viewpoint and method and draw incorrect conclusions. They try in every way to mislead the international proletariat and the people of the world and abolish the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world for the purpose of prolonging the life of imperialism.**

Both parties are of the agreed view that the revisionist Tito clique of Yugoslavia has betrayed the socialist camp and served as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism to sabotage world revolution. It frenziedly opposes the socialist camp and tries to undermine its unity in every way. It sabotages the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the service of U.S. neo-colonialism. It is disseminating revisionist poison everywhere in an attempt to disintegrate the anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples and impair the people's revolution. Any attempt to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of the 1960 Statement, of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

**Both sides hold that it is now the sacred duty of the Communists of all countries to combat modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. Both in their words and deeds, the modern dogmatists always follow the baton of the modern revisionists. The struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists against the modern revisionists has a vital bearing on the future of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations and on the destiny of mankind. Communists must use their Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to make class analyses of contemporary social phenomena and correctly explain them. They must draw the correct conclusions and show the correct direction and path for the revolutionary struggle to the international proletariat and people of the world so that the destruction of imperialism will be accelerated.**

As the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, which serves imperialism, is unfolding in intensity, the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism are also developing, the ranks of Marxist-Leninists expanding, the political consciousness of the revolutionary people the

world over is rising and the cause of the proletarian world revolution is advancing.

Both sides point out that the struggle against modern revisionism is a protracted, complicated one. But truth will surely prevail over falsity, and Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour are always making every effort to uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. This unity must be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in strict keeping with the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It is absolutely impermissible to violate Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. The struggle for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism is inseparable from the struggle against the splitting activities of the modern revisionists. The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is facing temporary difficulties owing to the splitting and disruptive activities of the modern revisionists. However, confronted with their common enemy — imperialism, all the peoples in the socialist camp desire unity, the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world desire unity, and the revolutionary people of the world desire unity. The splitting and disruptive schemes of the modern revisionists will surely meet with complete failure.

The two fraternal Parties and peoples of China and Albania will, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian internationalist unity and the banner of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, and together with the other people in the socialist camp and the revolutionary people the world over, fight to the end for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Both sides are firmly convinced that the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to the People's Republic of Albania and the cordial talks between leaders of the two countries have not only deepened the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and the two countries, but have also made a positive contribution to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

#### CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

#### MEHMET SHEHU

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania,

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour

Tirana, January 8, 1964.

## Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at Tirana Mass Meeting

*Following is the full text of the speech made by Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the mass meeting held in Tirana on January 8. Boldfaced emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,**  
**Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,**  
**Dear Comrade Haxhi Lleshi,**  
**Dear Comrades:**

For years we have been looking forward to this opportunity of visiting heroic Albania and meeting the comrades and friends of fraternal Albania. Now our wish has been fulfilled. We have come late, but at last we are with you. At this grand and enthusiastic rally here today, allow me to extend, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the entire Chinese people, the most cordial regards and highest respect to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the esteemed and beloved leader of the Albanian people and a close friend

of the Chinese people, and to the people of Tirana and the entire Albanian people.

We have been given the warm welcome of comrades-in-arms and a solicitous and kinsman-like reception by our Albanian brothers and sisters everywhere we have been in your beautiful "Land of the Eagles" over the past few days. During every moment of our stay here we have experienced an inspiring and sincere friendship based on proletarian internationalism. In the name of Comrade Chen Yi and in my own name, I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our hearty thanks to the Albanian people and leading comrades.

**Everywhere we go in your country, we are moved by the fighting spirit characteristic of revolutionary, socialist Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "New socialist Albania is marching forward like a warrior in a manner befitting a socialist state which is living and fighting in the great Leninist era. The body of this warrior is scarred by enemy swords and bullets, but his forehead is smooth and serene, without wrinkles or marks. His eyes are like the eagle's, and his heart is pure and warm like revolution." Yes, standing firm before our eyes is this heroic Albania.**

**The Albanian people are a revolutionary people who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees, a people who are not to be subdued by force or corrupted by riches. The People's Republic of Albania is a heroic country which was born in the flames of struggle against fascist aggressors and has grown up in the revolutionary storms against imperialism and its lackeys. Whether in the face of storm and stress or in the struggle against modern revisionism, the Albanian Party of Labour is a glorious Party always holding aloft the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Such people, such a country and such a Party are the most dependable comrades-in-arms of all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over and the implacable enemies of imperialism, reaction, and modern revisionism.**

The history of Albania is a magnificent epic of resistance to foreign aggressors and of the fight for independence and freedom.

Five hundred years ago, the immortal national hero Skanderbeg led the Albanian people in a valiant fight against the Turkish aggressors. For 25 years, they heroically fought a bloody war and recorded a brilliant chapter in Albania's history.

Fifty-one years ago, the great patriot Ismail Qemali lit the torch of independence in the city of Vlora, illuminating Albania, then a land of suffering. But the dark rule of the Zogu monarchy plucked the fruits of revolution away from the Albanian people.

At the critical moment of the fascist invasion of the country 22 years ago, the Albanian Communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, confronted the brutal enemy, rallied and organized their comrades-in-arms and proclaimed the birth of the proletarian Party of Albania, thus opening a new era in the country's history. Under the correct leadership of the Party, the long suffering Albanian people carried out a protracted and heroic struggle in extremely difficult conditions in which the enemy's strength far surpassed theirs. They finally succeeded in defeating the Italian and German fascist aggressors, and founded the first state in Albanian history with the labouring people as masters of the country.

For centuries the great Albanian people, standing firm like the mountains withstanding the raging storms, waged one heroic struggle after another against foreign aggressors. They achieved great victories in their struggles against the Turkish aggressors, against Italian fascism, and against the Hitlerite bandits. They have set a brilliant example of winning liberation by relying on their own strength.

The 19 years since the founding of the People's Republic of Albania have been years of resolute struggle by the Albanian people against aggression and subversion by imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism and its vassals have from the very beginning tried to strangle the newborn Albania.

As a special detachment of U.S. imperialism, the renegade Tito clique, has always stood in the forefront against socialist Albania. It has resorted to subversion, sabotage, armed provocation, and all other means in an attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and to change the nature of the Albanian state.

In the last few years, the modern revisionists have brought great political, economic, and military pressures to bear on Albania, vainly attempting to force Albania to abandon revolutionary principles and obey the baton of the revisionists.

Long-tested in the flames of revolution, the Albanian people, naturally, have not been cowed by these freaks and monsters. Closely rallying round the Party of Labour, they have shattered their schemes and intrigues one after another, and defended their own revolutionary gains and the purity of Marxism-Leninism. Now, it is clear to the people of the world that neither the ferocious and vicious imperialists nor the truculent modern revisionists can do the least harm to Albania. Revolutionary Albania stands firm like a rock on the southwestern outpost of the socialist camp. And the red banner of Marxism-Leninism is proudly flying over the Adriatic Sea.

**The Albanian people's great revolutionary spirit of defying the powerful and truculent, and, being fearless before difficulties, of upholding principles and persevering in struggle has inspired all the revolutionary people of the world and has set them a brilliant example. The Albanian people's struggle and their victories show that all seemingly powerful imperialists and reactionaries are paper tigers, strong in appearance but weak at the core, that the strength of the people persisting in struggle is inexhaustible and that Marxism-Leninism is invincible.**

The People's Republic of Albania has always pursued a foreign policy of peace. It has always been loyal to proletarian internationalism, endeavoured to safeguard and strengthen the friendship and unity of all peoples of the socialist camp, actively supported the struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations of the world against imperialism and colonialism, and stood for peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems. The imperialists cannot prevent Albania's international prestige from increasing day by day, nor can the modern revisionists drown the Albanian voice of justice. Socialist Albania has become an important and steadfast force in the great struggle of the people of the world for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy, and socialism.

Comrades!

The Albanian people have made outstanding contributions in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, and have scored brilliant successes in the cause of building socialism.

From 1951 to 1960, the Albanian people successfully fulfilled two five-year plans. They are now exerting themselves for the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan which is on an even grander scale. Thirteen years of hard work have altered the poor and backward state of Albania. Before liberation, it was an agricultural country which had hardly any industrial base, now it has become a socialist agricultural-industrial country with an industry equipped with modern technique and a collectivized agriculture.

Now, Albania's industrial output for 13 days is equal to that for the whole year of 1938.

Now, Albania's agriculture has already completed its socialist transformation and is advancing towards the goal of self-sufficiency in food supply.



Hunger and unemployment have been eliminated in Albania. With the increase in industrial and agricultural production from year to year, the people's living standard has been markedly raised.

In Albania, a thoroughgoing cultural revolution has taken place; illiteracy has been wiped out; and a new culture which has a healthy socialist content and serves socialist construction has been established.

The brilliant successes of the Albanian people in socialist construction have been won in a state of encirclement by the enemies and in spite of the perfidy of those who originally styled themselves as comrades. This is a most remarkable victory. This is the victory of the Albanian people's revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the fraternal Albanian people on their great victory.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "We are fully confident that our people will surely be able to perform miracles with their dextrous hands and clever minds." There is no doubt that the industrious and brave Albanian people, who have already performed many miracles, will perform many more in the future.

The Albanian people are industrious, the land of Albania is fertile and its resources rich. **The Chinese people firmly believe that the fraternal Albanian people, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Enver Hoxha and relying on their own strength, will certainly be able to complete successfully the Third Five-Year Plan and build their country step by step into a prosperous and strong socialist land with a developed economy and culture. The brilliant achievements of the Albanian people in socialist construction point to the bright future for all oppressed nations striving for liberation and all new emerging countries striving for a happy future.**

All victories won by the Albanian people in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and modern revisionism and all their successes in socialist construction are the result of the correct leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

**The Albanian Party of Labour is a revolutionary Party founded on the basis of the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism. The history of its past 22 years is a record of upholding the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, of combating all kinds of opportunism, and of resolutely defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism.**

**The Albanian Party of Labour is a revolutionary Party which is good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice in Albania. It is precisely because of this that Albania's revolution and construction have been able to advance steadily from victory to victory under difficult conditions.**

**The Albanian Party of Labour is a revolutionary Party maintaining close links with the broad masses of the people. That is why the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha enjoy high prestige among the Albanian people and have won their wholehearted love and support.**

The Albanian Party of Labour, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,

and resolutely defending the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, has waged unremitting struggles against modern revisionism. No matter what heavy pressure the modern revisionists have brought to bear on Albania, and no matter how many measures they have adopted to isolate and hurt it, the Albanian Party of Labour has all along persisted in its correct stand and categorically refused to forsake the duty of Communists and the historical mission of the proletariat.

**The Albanian Party of Labour, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the great helmsman of the Albanian people, a staunch and long-tested contingent in the international communist movement. The Chinese Communist Party is very proud of having the glorious Albanian Party of Labour as its close comrade-in-arms.**

The Albanian Party of Labour has accumulated rich experiences in its revolutionary struggles and construction work. These valuable experiences are the common treasure of the international communist movement and the revolutionary peoples. The Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people will continue to learn from these experiences.

Albanian comrades have often referred to the support and assistance given by China to Albania. I should like to point out here that it is, first of all, Albania which has given us great support and assistance. Support and assistance among the fraternal socialist countries have always been mutual. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people, under the most trying conditions, have steadfastly persevered in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and modern revisionism and in the cause of socialism. This in itself is a tremendous support to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people and also an important contribution to the socialist camp as a whole and to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

**Comrades! The present international situation is excellent. The world revolutionary forces are growing in strength, the imperialist camp is disintegrating and the modern revisionists have unveiled their vicious features before the people of the world. All this is favourable to the revolutionary people of the world and unfavourable to the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries.**

The strength of the countries in the socialist camp is growing with each passing day. Although the unity of the socialist camp has encountered certain difficulties, the political consciousness of the people of the socialist countries is rising and their strong desire for unity brooks no contradiction. The imperialists' attempt to profit by the differences in the international communist movement is bound to fail.

The tide of national-democratic revolution continues to surge forward in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The patriotic anti-U.S. armed forces of the south Vietnamese people have won one victory after another and have become ever stronger in the course of their fighting. The fact that U.S. imperialism killed its old running dogs, Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, and propped up a group of new lackeys in their place signifies that it is at the end of its tether in south Viet Nam.



The struggle against imperialism headed by the United States is vigorously surging ahead in Japan, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, as well as in other Asian countries.

In Africa which we have just visited, the tide of the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism has swept the length and breadth of the continent. Armed struggles for independence and freedom are being waged by the people in quite a number of countries where imperialism still maintains its direct colonial rule.

Defying the threat and intimidation of U.S. imperialism, the heroic Cuban people, holding high the revolutionary banner of the Havana Declarations, have persisted in their struggle against it. The struggle of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys has developed on an ever larger scale, and more and more people have taken the path of armed struggle.

Facts have shown that an excellent revolutionary situation presents itself in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These regions are the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. The people of the world have seen that U.S. imperialism, which is armed to the teeth, has been unable to check the development of the armed revolutionary struggle of the south Vietnamese people; that U.S. imperialism which is seeking to control Japan in every respect cannot suppress the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle; that U.S. imperialism as world gendarme has been unable to arrest the triumphant march of the Cuban people's revolution which has taken place on the threshold of the United States. All this is eloquent proof that it is not the forces of imperialism and reaction, but the forces of the awakened revolutionary peoples that are really powerful. So long as the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples unite and persist in struggle, they will surely be able to defeat imperialism and its lackeys.

The working class and other working people in the capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania are also actively waging various mass struggles. The rise of the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial oppression is a manifestation of the sharpening class struggle within the United States.

The inherent contradictions inside the imperialist camp are becoming more and more acute. Owing to the law of uneven development of capitalism, the weight of the United States in the balance of forces within the imperialist camp continues to decline while the weight of the West European countries and Japan is increasing. The struggle among the imperialist countries to redivide the world market is growing ever more fierce. The struggle between the United States with its policy of political and military control and the other imperialist countries which are resisting this control is becoming more and more exacerbated. The overt and covert rivalries and double-dealing among the few major imperialist countries have never been so sharp since the end of World War II as they are now.

The inherent nature of U.S. imperialism, outwardly strong but inwardly weak, has shown itself ever more clearly. Though extending its aggressive tentacles to every corner of the world, it has reduced itself to the position of being trounced everywhere, and has sunk into the

plight of being overburdened financially, economically, and militarily. In the face of the numerous internal and external difficulties, the scramble among the U.S. ruling groups has become extremely sharp. U.S. imperialism today is like a big tree which is worm-eaten to the core; although outwardly it looks huge, it is becoming increasingly rotten within.

Modern revisionism has arisen at this very juncture when imperialism is nearing its inevitable doom. To meet the needs of imperialism in its deathbed struggle, modern revisionism has tampered with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and has attempted to paralyse the revolutionary will of the people of the world and tried its best to disintegrate the revolutionary ranks from within, and to help imperialism to prolong its life, thus playing a special role which imperialism itself can hardly play.

Lenin said, ". . . The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." While fighting against imperialism, all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people must oppose modern revisionism which serves imperialism.

At present, a great, worldwide debate is going on between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. The essence of this debate is whether it is necessary to uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to adhere to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to persist in the cause of proletarian world revolution, and to carry on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new. This debate has a vital bearing on the future of the world revolution and on the destiny of mankind.

With the intensification of the struggle against modern revisionism, the ranks of Marxist-Leninists are growing, the political consciousness of the revolutionary people of the world is daily rising, and the modern revisionists are facing a more and more difficult situation.

The broad sections of the people in the socialist countries have come to realize more and more clearly the anti-revolutionary essence of modern revisionism and are ever more strongly opposed to the line and policy of modern revisionism, which are in the service of imperialism. An increasing number of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have seen through the modern revisionists' hypocrisy and plots of disruption in dealing with the national-liberation movements and have distinguished genuine friends from false ones. The proletariat and the broad sections of labouring people in Western Europe, North America, and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening and they will eventually nail the lies of the labour aristocracy and push the cause of revolution to a new height.

Marxism always develops in the course of struggle. Lenin said in *Marxism and Revisionism*: "Marxism had to fight at every step in its course." Since the birth of Marxism, there have already been several great debates, each one inevitably resulting in the tremendous development of the cause of proletarian world revolution and of Marxism. Today, the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world are surging forward and new revolutionary experience is being accumulated in abundance. Marxism-

**Leninism will develop, provided such experience is summed up in a correct and systematic way in the course of the struggle against modern revisionism. With many fraternal parties which adhere to Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour has made significant contributions to this development.**

It is not strange that some persons who were once Marxist-Leninists have become the opponents of Marxism-Leninism and renegades to the cause of proletarian revolution in the course of development of the international communist movement. As far back as 1873 Engels said, "the movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; . . ." Nevertheless, the locomotive of the revolution keeps on running towards its great goal, while those who fall behind the times, those who betray the revolution, eventually become miserable creatures crying in a corner.

In the last analysis, the future international situation and changing the face of the world hinge on the peoples' revolutionary struggles. Wherever there is oppression revolution is inevitable. Only revolution can resolve the various contradictions in the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "Imperialism will not last long because it has been consistently doing all sorts of evil things. It makes a point of grooming and backing up anti-popular reactionaries in various countries. It forcibly seizes and occupies many colonies and semi-colonies and has set up many military bases. It threatens peace with atomic warfare. In this way, imperialism has forced more than 90 per cent of the people of the world to rise against it or prepare to fight it." Whatever nostrums the modern revisionists may work out, none of them can help cure this incurable disease of the imperialists, nor help to prolong their lives. The doom of the imperialists is sealed. The future prospects of the modern revisionists who are in the service of imperialism are no good either.

Comrades!

China and Albania are closely-linked, fraternal countries; the Chinese and Albanian peoples are brothers who share their trials and tribulations; the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour are comrades-in-arms sharing a common ideal.

We have always inspired each other, learnt from and supported each other, and marched forward shoulder-to-shoulder in the cause of socialist construction, in the struggles against imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries, and modern revisionism and in the cause of defending world peace.

**The great friendship and militant unity between our two Parties, two countries, and two peoples are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; they are long-tested in the revolutionary storms of combating imperialism and modern revisionism and are eternal and unbreakable.**

The Chinese people will never forget that the Albanian Government and people have consistently supported the Chinese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and to defend state sovereignty and territorial integrity; that they have supported the restora-

tion of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposed the plot of "two Chinas" hatched by U.S. imperialism and its followers; and that they have supported the Chinese Government's correct stand and reasonable proposals on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Chinese people will never forget that when the modern revisionists wantonly slandered and attacked the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, adhering to its correct stand and defying all pressure, hardships and danger, courageously stepped forward, resisted this evil trend, and mercilessly exposed and dealt blows at the modern revisionists' anti-China scheme.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people hold in high esteem and are sincerely grateful for the high sense of principle and fearless spirit of proletarian internationalism of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people.

**At this grand assembly, I wish to pledge once again in the name of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government, and the entire Chinese people: no matter what may happen in the world, whatever perilous storms may arise on the revolutionary path along which we are marching together, we will for ever steadfastly stand beside fraternal Albania and give her unqualified and unflinching support in her just struggles.**

Marxist-Leninists of the whole world, unite!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries, unite with all the oppressed peoples and nations!

Let us

hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and oppose modern revisionism and modern dogmatism,

hold aloft the banner of revolution and oppose capitulationism.

hold aloft the banner of defending world peace and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war,

hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and oppose great-power chauvinism and national egoism,

hold aloft the banner of unity and oppose splittism.

The future of mankind is infinitely bright. The great ideal of proletarian world revolution will certainly be realized.

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the People's Republic of Albania!

Long live the glorious Albanian Party of Labour!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha, the esteemed leader of the Albanian people and the close friend of the Chinese people!

Long live the unbreakable friendship between China and Albania!

Long live the unity of the peoples of the socialist camp!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

# Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to Tunisia

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, as guests of President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, made a two-day visit to that country on January 9-10 during their continued African tour. This visit has produced important results much to the satisfaction of the Chinese and Tunisian peoples.

## Joint Communiqué

During their short visit, the Chinese guests were given a warm welcome by the Tunisian Government and people. Premier Chou En-lai had frank and cordial talks with President Bourguiba and a Sino-Tunisian joint communiqué was issued on January 10. Both countries decided to establish diplomatic relations and strengthen their friendship and develop their economic ties. The two leaders exchanged views on the international situation, expressing support for the African peoples' efforts for decolonization and for the Palestine people in their struggle for the restoration of their legitimate rights. Both expressed their eager hope to see general disarmament and a total ban on nuclear weapons rapidly achieved. (For full text of the communiqué see page 24.)

## Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

Speaking at the banquet he gave in honour of President Bourguiba, Premier Chou En-lai hailed the agreement to establish diplomatic relations between China and Tunisia as a landmark in the history of the development of Sino-Tunisian relations. "The Chinese and Tunisian peoples," the Premier said, "have a traditional friendship. This friendship has been renewed and developed since Tunisia's attainment of independence and China's liberation. Economic and cultural exchanges between our two countries and friendly contacts between our two peoples have become ever more frequent. To promote Sino-Tunisian friendship is the common desire of our two peoples and also the aim of our present visit." The Premier added: "China and Tunisia are members of the Afro-Asian community; they are both old and young. Our two countries have common aspirations and common tasks in consolidating national independence, safeguarding national sovereignty, developing national economy, promoting Afro-Asian solidarity and defending world peace. These common tasks are more pressing than the differences between



Premier Chou En-lai chats with President Habib Bourguiba

us on certain questions. We can certainly march forward arm in arm in the spirit of seeking common ground between us while reserving our differences."

Praising Asian-African solidarity, the Premier said: "Since the Bandung Conference, we Asian and African countries, in the spirit of seeking a common ground while reserving differences, have been struggling in unity against imperialism, and have won one victory after another." As for certain disputes between the countries of Asia and Africa, he said, "the Chinese Government has always called for a negotiated peaceful settlement of these disputes, including boundary questions left over by history, instead of recourse to force."

The Chinese guest then stressed China's consistent foreign policy of peace. He stated: "Working together with the peace-loving countries in Southeast Asia, China has spared no efforts to maintain the peace and security of that area. The source of menace to the peace of Southeast Asia is self-evident. It is crystal clear who has undermined the agreements concluded at the two Geneva Conferences in 1954 and 1962, and who has opposed the non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality pursued by many Southeast Asian countries. The stern condemnation and just appeal made repeatedly of late by His Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Royal Cambodian Government are palpable evidence of this.

"It is the hope of the people the world over that the big powers take the lead in contributing to the preservation of peace. For this very reason, China has been continuing its talks on an ambassadorial level with the United



States in Warsaw despite the fact that China's territory Taiwan is being occupied by the United States and the U.S. 7th Fleet has been threatening China's security. The Chinese Government has consistently advocated peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and has time and again proposed that China and the United States reach agreement at the Warsaw talks on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The whole world is aware of the restraint exercised by China. I am convinced that the heroic people who have recovered Bizerta and their leaders will certainly understand how great is the patience of the Chinese people and that it cannot be called peaceful coexistence when the armed forces of the United States continue to occupy China's territory Taiwan."

### President Bourguiba's Speech

In his speech at the banquet, President Bourguiba said: "I wish to express to you in the name of the Gov-

ernment and the people of Tunisia our deep sympathy with and high regard for the Chinese people whom we consider a great member of the Afro-Asian family.

"I hope that the contacts in the past two days which enabled us to understand and respect each other will find expression in co-operation in economic and cultural fields. We have a number of fields in which there are matters for exchange. We can exchange products, even ideas. All this can only contribute to world peace and understanding and bring different viewpoints closer, and will constitute a phase in the process of People's China and the African continent getting closer together. Another fact which I would like to stress is the establishment of diplomatic relations to which we have looked forward for a long time."

It is certain that with the joint efforts of the Chinese and Tunisian peoples, there are broad prospects of development for their co-operation and traditional friendship.

## Document

# Sino-Tunisian Joint Communiqué

*Following is the full text of the Sino-Tunisian joint communiqué issued in Tunis on January 10, 1964. — Ed.*

**H**IS Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid a friendship visit on January 9 and 10, 1964, to Tunisia, where they were the guests of His Excellency Habib Bourguiba, President of the Tunisian Republic.

During this visit the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Tunisian Republic, had, in the presence of their principal assistants, an exchange of views on relations between the People's Republic of China and the Tunisian Republic and on the international situation.

They expressed pleasure at the frankness and cordiality which prevailed in their talks.

They noted with satisfaction the exchange of visits between representatives and delegations of the two countries, and consider that these visits contribute to a better understanding between the two peoples and a better understanding of their respective experiences and are conducive to the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Tunisian Republic are gratified with the progress made in the field of decolonization by the accession to independence of many African peoples. The two parties expressed their support for the African peoples who are continuing their efforts at decolonization in order to eliminate poverty and back-

wardness left over by colonial domination, develop their independent national economy, achieve equality between nations and defend world peace.

They expressed their firm support for the Palestine people in their struggle for the restoration of their legitimate rights.

The two parties consider that the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment adopted by many states of Africa, Asia and Latin America in accordance with their own realities constitutes an important factor for strengthening understanding between the peoples, for enlarging peace areas and for maintaining world peace.

Convinced that the elimination of the threat of war and the preservation of world peace remain the noble aim to which mankind aspires, the two Governments expressed their determination to facilitate the settlement of conflicts between nations by peaceful means without resorting to armed force and to support any initiative in favour of a relaxation of international tension based on the principles of non-aggression, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful coexistence.

Aware of the danger for humanity of a general conflict aggravated by the risk of use of thermonuclear weapons, the Premier and the President expressed their eager hope to see general disarmament and a total ban on nuclear weapons rapidly achieved.

The two parties agreed to strengthen friendship between the two peoples and to develop their economic relations and exchange of visits, and to this end they decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.

# Premier Chou En-lai Answers Tunisian Journalist

Premier Chou En-lai answered questions put to him by a reporter of the Tunisian paper "Al Amal" on January 10 before his departure from Tunis. Following is the full text of the questions and answers. — Ed.

## 1. What are your impressions of your current visit to the Republic of Tunisia?

**Answer:** Tunisia has an industrious people, rich resources, and beautiful landscapes. All this has left us with an admirable impression.

We have seen that your fine traditional culture is being revived, your national economy has developed and your people are working hard to build up the country. We wish the Tunisian people new successes in the current year.

We are especially happy to see that your territory of Bizerta has returned to the fatherland. We wish you new victories in the cause of consolidating national independence and upholding state sovereignty.

## 2. What is your opinion on the prospects of development of friendly relations between China and Tunisia?

**Answer:** Friendly contacts between the Chinese and Tunisian peoples had existed for a long time before they were interrupted as a result of the aggression against and oppression of our two countries by colonialism. After our two countries won national independence one after another, the traditional friendship between the two peoples was restored and developed. Friendly visits between our two peoples have since increased steadily and so have their economic and cultural ties. Two trade agreements have been concluded between our two countries, one in 1958 and the other in 1960. The Tunisian Government and people stand for the restoration of China's legitimate

rights in the United Nations. The Chinese Government and people support Tunisia's struggle to uphold her national independence.

Our present visit to the Republic of Tunisia and the decision of the two countries to establish diplomatic relations mark a new stage in the development of friendly relations between China and Tunisia. The Chinese and Tunisian Governments and peoples can support and closely co-operate with each other in consolidating their national independence, upholding their state sovereignty, developing their national economies, promoting Afro-Asian solidarity, and safeguarding world peace.

## 3. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the developing countries?

**Answer:** We Asian and African countries created brilliant cultures as early as the dawn of history. Today we are comparatively backward economically and culturally. This is the outcome of foreign aggression and oppression. The colonialists of the West boast of their modern civilization, but their civilization was to a large extent built at the expense of the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples. Since gaining independence, we Asian and African countries have been exerting ourselves to abolish poverty and backwardness. The developing Asian and African countries will surely succeed in bringing about a new upsurge in their economies and cultures by mainly relying on their own efforts, while supporting and assisting each other. There is no reason why we Asian and African countries should not attain what the Western countries have been able to attain. The Asian and African countries which evolved magnificent, ancient cultures will certainly make outstanding contributions to the great cause of creating a new human culture.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p.4.)

on December 29, was seen by 25,000 people, nearly one-sixth of Bamako's population, on that first day. By the end of the first week, 100,000 people had seen it.

Sited on the bank of the River Niger, the exhibition hall covers a floor-space of more than 2,000 square metres. It includes sections devoted to agriculture, textile and other light industries, handicrafts, public health, culture and education. During the preview the day before, President Modibo Keita and other distinguished Mali guests were shown around by Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the Chinese Council for the Promotion of

International Trade. They were especially interested in the machines and farm implements on display and in the section devoted to Sino-Mali friendship with its tea shrubs and sugar-cane grown by Mali personnel with the help of Chinese experts. Said President Keita at the opening ceremony: "Thanks to Chinese co-operation and the achievements made in Mali to the extent of our possibilities, it is possible that in the next several months Mali will no longer need to import tea and sugar." Following the preview, he told the press how highly instructive to the Mali people he considered the exhibition to be. He wrote in the visitors' book: "Here is a truthful display of technique put at the service of man so that he can bet-

ter his living conditions. This is the lofty aim of socialist construction which found its finest expression in this exhibition."

The exhibition, still on, is a centre of attraction drawing an endless stream of visitors from various parts of Mali. Every section of the hall is thronged. There is great interest in the big variety and high standard of articles of daily use and the fine quality of Chinese silk. The stands featuring Sino-Mali friendship are a focus of attention. Said one Malian after his visit: "China is our sincere friend. It has not only helped us plant tea shrubs and sugar-cane, but also helped us train our own technicians." Entries in praise of Sino-Mali friendship already fill hundreds of pages in the visitors' book.

# Belgian Marxist-Leninists Decide to Rebuild Communist Party

**B**ELGIAN Communists who uphold Marxism-Leninism have decided to rebuild the Communist Party of Belgium on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The decision was made at a national conference held in Brussels on December 22, 1963. The conference elected a nine-member Political Bureau, with Jacques Grippa as Secretary of the Central Committee. It also adopted three resolutions and published a communique.

The communique states that the National Conference of the Communist Party of Belgium was held in Brussels on December 22, with Henri Glineur, founder of the Party, as chairman, and with the participation of representatives from all regions of the country. A report on the political situation and the Party's tasks was made by Jacques Grippa, and a report on rebuilding the Communist Party of Belgium on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was made by Maurice Delogne.

After discussion, the communique continues, the National Conference adopted a resolution saying that the various decisions of the congress of so-called communists held at Easter 1963 were of no value at all, and declaring the Communist Party of Belgium reconstituted on a national scale on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The National Conference decided to convene a National Party Congress in the spring of 1964.

It approved the establishment of Wallon and Flemish Communist Parties, which, together with the Brussels Federation, would henceforth form the Communist Party of Belgium, the communique says.

The participants from Wallon held a meeting to found the Communist Party of Wallon. They adopted an appeal to the people of Wallon and elected a 24-member Central Committee with Henri Glineur as the Chairman of the Communist Party of Wallon.

The participants from Flanders held a meeting and announced the founding of the Flemish Communist Party. They decided to hold their Party Congress in the spring of 1964 and elected a congress organisational committee to be led by Achille Van Tournhout, the communique says.

The resolution adopted by the National Conference on rebuilding the Communist Party of Belgium says that the revisionist group which called itself the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium and which used Party funds to publish *le Drapeau Rouge*, had completely repudiated Marxism-Leninism. "It has betrayed and is betraying the working class and the labouring masses. It prac-

tises the collaboration of classes in all domains," the resolution points out.

The resolution says: "We denounce this revisionist group and the so-called central committee which comes out of it as anti-Marxist-Leninist organisations which pursue an anti-communist policy and make fraudulent use of the name of the Communist Party."

The resolution also denounces the revisionist group for its series of impermissible manoeuvres made in flagrant violation of the regulations of the Party, its despicable acts against the comrades and organisations upholding Marxist-Leninist positions, its splitting activities and the many deceptions it has practised against the Party.

The resolution points out that the so-called Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium held in Antwerp at Easter, 1963 was a "fraudulent congress in that it confirms the transformation of a revisionist-controlled organisation into a reformist party." "Therefore," the resolution says, "we declare that the various resolutions adopted at that congress are of no value. We declare the party constitution, reports and 'expulsion' measures adopted at the Antwerp 'congress' null and void. We announce the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Belgium on a nationwide scale on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

The resolution announces the election of a Central Committee which will lead the Party until the convocation of a National Congress in the spring of 1964 and will be charged with drafting the Party reports and Constitution to be submitted to the National Congress for consideration.

The resolution declares: "In the international field, the Communist Party of Belgium and its Central Committee elected at the present conference intend to uphold and take every measure to restore and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

"The Communist Party of Belgium and its Central Committee will act according to the precept: 'Marxist-Leninists, unite!'"

**T**HE conference's "Resolution on the Programme of Action" prescribes a programme of action for different aspects of the struggle of the Belgian labouring masses including the immediate pressing demands of the Belgian working class for material rights, the struggle for federalism and the defence of democratic freedoms.



Under the heading: "Struggle for the Safeguarding of World Peace, Against the Imperialist Nuclear Threat and Nuclear Blackmail" the Programme calls for:

"The prohibition and destruction of all atomic and nuclear arms—popularisation and active support for the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China on this question;

"The denunciation of the forces of aggression and war in the world headed by U.S. imperialism;

"The removal of all bases and armed forces on foreign soil;

"The creation of de-nuclearised zones as suggested in the statement of the Chinese Government on July 31, 1963;

"Solidarity with the people of various countries, the victims of aggression; and

"The recognition of the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic and the Korean Democratic People's Republic."

"Within the framework of the struggle to leave the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation," the Programme demands that "subjection to the aggressive policy of NATO be shaken off," and that "the consequences of this subjection be got rid of."

Under the heading: "Active Proletarian Internationalism" the Programme demands:

"Solidarity with the entire socialist camp, and with each socialist country in detail;

"Solidarity with and support for the revolutionary classes and peoples in the struggle against oppression; sup-

port, in particular, for the national liberation movement in the Congo, the anti-imperialist struggle in south Viet Nam, in Venezuela, South Africa and Angola, support for the Algerian revolution; and support, in general, for all anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of the national revolutions in Asia, Africa and South America; the denunciation of all colonialist and neo-colonialist forces;

"Support for the struggle of the American Negroes and, in general, the struggle against racism, particularly in Belgium;

"Solidarity with the actions of the working class and labouring masses of other countries, particularly with those in Spain, Portugal and Greece in the struggle for social liberation and anti-fascism."

**T**HE Programme stresses that "the necessary condition for carrying on effectively the immediate and actual struggles of the workers is to denounce and expose the lies and deceptions of bourgeois ideology and the demoralising theories of reformism and revisionist neo-reformism."

The "Resolution on the Establishment of the Communist Party of Wallon and the Communist Party of Flanders" adopted at the conference points out that the decision to establish the Communist Party of Wallon and Communist Party of Flanders is based on "the concrete and specific conditions of the struggle of the Belgian working class and labouring masses, especially the existence of the two nations and of the Brussels entity."

The resolution says that the Communist Party of Wallon and the Communist Party of Flanders together with the Brussels Federation henceforth make up the Communist Party of Belgium.

## A Giant's Progress

# Leading Steel Centre Forges Ahead

by PAI LIN-TSAI

**C**HINA'S biggest steel base, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in the northeast, is a giant modern integrated iron and steel works. From its many blast furnaces and open hearths huge quantities of pig iron and steel pour forth daily, while rolling mills turn out a wide variety of steel shapes and sections. Snaking through more than 500 kilometres of rails on company premises, electric locomotives haul in thousands of wagonloads of ore and coal every day. Turning around, these trains convey large shipments of forgings and rolled stock throughout China by way of supporting the nation's farm modernization and socialist industrialization.

Using one of the unequal treaties, the Japanese imperialists seized a concession for exploitation of China's natural resources, and in 1917 built Anshan's first blast

furnace. In the next 30 years, up to liberation, efforts to mould Anshan into an integrated enterprise did not fully materialize. On the eve of liberation, the retreating Kuomintang severely damaged the installations. When the People's Government took over, Old China Hands sneered that the premises were fit only for planting sorghum, claiming that Chinese were incapable of successfully operating a modern industry. They were quickly proved wrong.

In three years' time output at Anshan was restored to a point approximating the pre-liberation peak level reached in 1943. The First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) found large-scale construction under way and in the years 1958-60 Anshan was the scene of a spectacular leap forward. Compared to 1957, steel output in 1960 doubled, pig iron

output rose 70 per cent and forgings and rolled stock, 80 per cent. Other major products such as iron ore, sinter, coke and refractory bricks, also registered big gains; total output value shot up 96 per cent. Anshan, with an annual capacity of several million tons of steel, entered the ranks of the world's biggest iron and steel complexes.

### **Readjustment, Consolidation, Filling Out and Raising Standards**

The period of rapid growth made it possible and necessary for the company to devote greater efforts to consolidate its gains and overcome difficulties caused by three consecutive years of natural calamities (1959-61), and the sudden withdrawal of all experts, the scrapping of many agreements and contracts and the discontinuance of supplies of many important items of equipment and materials by the Soviet Government in 1960. Since 1961, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has implemented the Communist Party's policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards," and proceeded resolutely to base the enterprise on self-reliance.

In carrying out this policy, Anshan workers and staff members had the long-tested leadership of the Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Furthermore, in the course of swift development, they had amassed rich experience, laid a solid material and technological foundation, and heightened their own awareness and sense of responsibility as masters of the enterprise. Solid gains have resulted from three years of hard work.

**There has been a general and conspicuous improvement in the quality of products.** Anshan improved its products to varying degrees during the years of rapid progress. Since 1961 there has been further advance in meeting new requirements arising from the technical growth of the national economy. Many types of high-quality forgings and rolled stock have been made in Anshan for use in the manufacture of fertilizer equipment, motor vehicles, tractors, boilers, locomotives and steamships.

**A much wider range of products has been made available.** In the past three years, Anshan designed and turned out more than 260 kinds of forgings and rolled stock never produced in China before. A considerable portion of these have been supplied to the farm machine-building, automotive, chemical and light industries. Worthy of special mention is the fact that a number of shapes with complicated configuration has been successfully trial manufactured and lot produced, thereby greatly raising China's self-sufficiency in forgings and rolled stock. For example, 99 per cent of the materials needed by the Changchun Motor Works now come from domestic sources and more than half from the Anshan works. Five times as much rolled steel was supplied to agriculture by the state in the past three years as in the preceding four (1957-60) with a good slice of this coming from Anshan. The company's open hearths today are turning out twice as many types of alloy and low-alloy steel as in 1960.

**The weaker links in production have been fortified.** In the course of rapid growth, certain departments, not surprisingly, lagged behind others. The Anshan Iron and

Steel Company undertook new building and retooling to bring about a new balance. Dozens of projects surveyed, designed and built entirely by Chinese personnel have gone into production in the past three years: iron ore mines, limestone quarries, magnesite mines and machine repair, forging and power supply installations, etc. Many old workshops have acquired new equipment. The company's production system has thus been perfected and is in better shape to develop its potential.

After three years of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards, an efficient operation consistently overfulfils annual and quarterly quotas. Different plants keep improving technical and economic norms. Some open hearths, for example, are producing as much as 10.63 tons of steel per square metre of furnace bottom; coke consumption per ton of pig iron produced by some blast furnaces has been reduced to below 600 kilogrammes.

With production costs cut down yearly, Anshan increased the amount of profits turned over to the state treasury. In the first half of 1963, the amount exceeded the state plan by 22 per cent.

### **How Achievements Were Made**

An important factor behind Anshan workers' and staff members' new successes was the combination of bold thinking and action with a down-to-earth spirit of scientific analysis. Much of the complicated work involved in improving quality, increasing the variety of products and strengthening the weaker links in the production system had never been undertaken before. Undaunted by the difficulties, they worked hard, pressed forward and scaled the heights of modern technology.

The work force responsible for turning out new forgings and rolled stock was a young one. Most began their careers as technicians in the steel industry only after liberation. Members of the pass designing section are all young men trained in engineering colleges after the founding of New China. Engineers Lung Chun-man, Chao Chi-kun and Lin Chien-chun, displaying a spirit of daring to think and act in a revolutionary manner, developed a new technique for making groove channels—a type of highly technical rolled stock used in civil engineering, water conservancy and bridge pier building projects. To make their designs completely dependable, they worked closely with rolling mill technicians and experienced veteran workers under the guidance of leading cadres. They discussed and analysed the problems involved and finally succeeded in making groove channels.

On the basis of this achievement, a Chinese system of pass designing has been evolved in the last couple of years. It cuts the number of rollings necessary by a third while guaranteeing the variety and quality of products produced as well as safety in production.

Major technical problems were attacked in a spirit of the mass line by what is known as the "three-in-one" method—with leading cadres, technicians and the rank and file working in close co-operation. Workers and staff members were encouraged to discuss technical questions, and these discussions were integrated with research, on-the-spot investigations and operational experiments. By

closely combining theory and scientific experimentation with actual production a powerful impetus was given to the latter.

In applying the "three-in-one" method, technicians took the initiative to work together with rank-and-file workers in workshops and discuss technical questions with them. Hundreds of technical co-operation committees and over 1,000 technical co-operation teams were formed, drawing in 20,000 outstanding and veteran workers, technicians and engineers to tackle key technical problems.

Technical personnel engaged in more academic research. Since 1961 they have produced 86 monographs and made invaluable contributions to raising the technical level of iron and steel making.

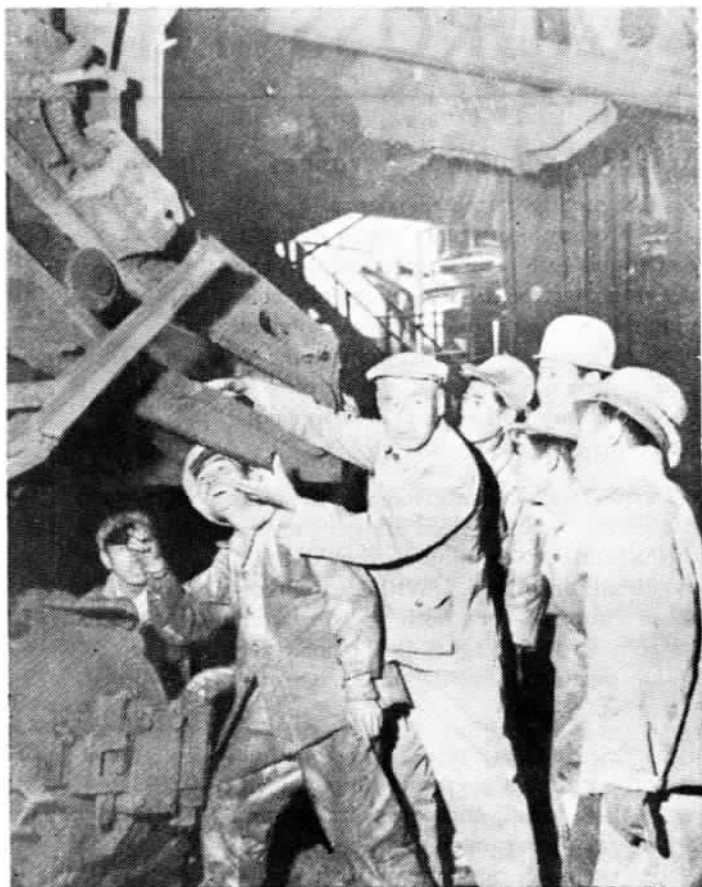
It has become a tradition at the Anshan Iron and Steel Company for **leading cadres to take part in productive labour and work out production problems together with the rank and file.** Managers and shop foremen of mines, iron-smelting and steel-making plants and rolling mills regularly participate in labour in the workshops. In the course of this they gained first hand knowledge of the situation and dealt with problems at close range. They lived together with the workers and had close ideological and emotional ties with them.

Since 1961 many plant directors and administrative personnel in charge of production and technique have gone into the workshops to study the quality situation, find ways and means to improve it further and, with the rank and file, work out plans and measures to solve the problems involved step by step. In carrying out these plans and measures they again made scientific experiments with the workers at blast furnaces, open hearths or rolling mills. By doing this and by encouraging the rank and file to put forward rationalization proposals, effective methods were found to improve quality. As the workers put it: "When cadres and the rank and file work together with a single purpose, they can turn dirt into gold."

Management of production and technique has been streamlined in every way. Different departments have become more closely co-ordinated. The rank and file took an active part in management and developed a keen sense of responsibility, helping run the enterprise diligently and frugally and trying to save state property. In this way, production proceeded smoothly and an encouraging new situation emerged.

**The training of a technical force.** For the constant raising of the technical level of workers and staff members, Anshan started technical training classes, expanded its spare-time technical schools and set up a large technical library. More than 1,000 workers and technicians are studying iron and steel making, steel rolling, equipment of metallurgical plants, the electrification of industrial enterprises and other subjects in the spare-time college run by the company. Capable engineers have been appointed instructors either by the state or the company.

Fifteen per cent of the college-trained technical staff are spare-time college graduates and form the backbone of



**Meng Tai, well-known model worker and vice-director of Anshan's iron-smelting plant, working with the rank and file on an innovation**

the technical force in Anshan's mines and plants. Li Chen-ming, section chief in charge of equipment in the seamless tube mill, graduated from the mechanical engineering department last summer. With only a few months of regular education before liberation, he started as a child labourer at the age of 15. By keeping up spare-time studies ever since liberation, he has become an outstanding technician. Li is an example of one who has combined rich practical experience with newly acquired theoretical knowledge. He has successfully introduced more than a hundred technical innovations in the last few years, helping to raise quality and increase the variety of seamless tubes produced.

In just a few years the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has trained 80,000 skilled workers and technicians in its spare-time schools and technical training classes. This is in addition to training other tens of thousands for metallurgical enterprises all over China.

The technical level of all employees has risen greatly especially since 1960 and Anshan now has a technical force more than double that of 1952. It is a smoothly operating technical force of the working class dedicated to the socialist cause. It has mastered all the techniques of a big modern integrated iron and steel works ranging from geological surveying, designing and plant building to the organization of production. Since the sudden withdrawal of all Soviet experts in 1960 this force has, by its own efforts, improved both management and production and scored great victories.



# ACROSS THE LAND

## 1963 Agricultural Advances

THE steady climb in overall grain production, which began in 1962, continued last year. Compared to the previous year, still bigger gains were made in cotton, sugar, hemp, tobacco and tea crops. A bumper fruit harvest and a steady supply of vegetables to the cities completed the 1963 agricultural production picture.

Despite serious waterlogging in some northern cotton-producing areas, cotton output estimates topped 1962 by about one-third. With state purchase quotas for both cotton and tobacco exceeded, the 1963 crops are being used by textile and cigarette factories.

Cattle, horses, mules and other draught animals were up 3 per cent over 1962. Net increases in sheep, goats and pigs ranged between 6 and 14 per cent. A rapid growth in poultry round out the general improvement in the nation's animal husbandry.

In the vast countryside, side occupations, which make up a significant part of the collective income in a great many regions, rose between 20 and 30 per cent during the first half of the year compared with the same period in 1962.

The 1963 agricultural front was not without its problems. North, northeast and south China regions were hit by a dry spell lasting from the winter of 1962 until the following spring. Heavy summer rain inundated some areas of farmland between the Yellow and Huai Rivers. These adversities were overcome by the people's communes.

Playing an important part in the general agricultural improvement was increased government assistance. In addition to receiving large numbers of farm machinery at reduced prices, agriculture last year got 15,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 640,000 h.p. pumping equipment and 1.4 times as much chemical fertilizer as in 1962.

Wheat, rape and other winter crops were sown over a larger area and with better quality seed. Plans are under way not only for a continued increase in grain and industrial crops for 1964, but for all round development in

farming, forestry, animal husbandry, rural side lines and fish breeding.



Good soyabean harvest in Heilungkiang Province

## "Haiho Must Be Controlled"

THE Haiho River must be controlled," reads Chairman Mao Tse-tung's inscription at the Tientsin exhibition which depicts last year's fight against floods in Hopei Province. On a widespread watery battlefield the people of Hopei bested the unruly forces of nature pitted against them last summer.

The exhibition in this north China provincial capital deals not in future plans but, through photos, documents, charts and models shows the grueling battle which took place last August after a cloudburst hit southern Hopei and sent the Haiho River rampaging.

From August 2-6 between 300-700 mm. (12-28 inches) of rain fell in the catchment area of four of the river's five major waterways. With all the swollen Haiho tributaries converging on a point close to Tientsin—north China's largest industrial city and a major seaport—the city faced the grave possibility of the never to be forgotten tragedy of 1939 when most of this metropolis was inundated.

In response to the call of the Communist Party and People's Government an immediate contingent of flood-fighters was formed. People's Liberation Army officers and men, government cadres, workers and commune members worked round the

clock guarding, strengthening, and raising and building dykes. At the same time, the large and medium-sized reservoirs which had been built along the Haiho held back a considerable part of the flood waters and eased pressure on the dykes.

Crest after crest of the surging waters rushing down on Tientsin was held within the channels of an unyielding wall of earth and stone, behind which stood the determined collective effort of the people. Vacationing students and Tientsin housewives also helped the men on the dykes. The battle ended when the river receded to its normal level and the city

emerged unscathed.

To the city's oldtimers, memory itself clearly contrasts 1963 with the flood of 1939. Then it was everyone for himself. Last August it was all for one and one for all. For all of Tientsin's residents, however, the exhibition was testimony to the summer victory over flood and a tribute to a new way of life.

Chairman Mao's inscription reflects the Chinese people's determination to overcome natural calamities.

## New Hall of Science

PEKING'S new hall of science, with facilities for meetings and lectures as well as for relaxing get-togethers by scientists, was opened on New Year's Day. Located near the scientific centre in the capital's northwest, the hall is made up of one four-storeyed and two six-storeyed buildings—combined floor space being 47,000 square metres.

The hall of science's more than 30 meeting rooms will be the site for annual conventions, symposiums and lectures by scientific societies affiliated with the Chinese Scientific and Technical Association, which sponsored it. Most of the meeting rooms are equipped for film and slide showings. An 800-bed hotel attached to the new hall is open to visiting scientific workers from all over the

country. Scheduled for completion in the fall is a 600-seat lecture room.

A feature of the meeting rooms are the models and specimens related to the specific scientific society using each room. For example, a Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) bronze human figure, marked with all the points where acupuncture can be applied, is found in the room for the Chinese Medical Association. In the Electronics Society room a small electronic brain will be set up to keep chess-minded scientists on their toes.

Another feature is a reading room, run by the Institute of Scientific and Technical Information, which includes the latest issues of more than 1,600 kinds of foreign scientific journals, papers, reference books and digests.

For China's busy scientists there will be relaxation in the form of billiards, table tennis, tea and chess rooms, and films and TV.

### Electricity in Kweichow

**I**N southwest China's Kweichow Province it now takes 8 days to produce the amount of electricity turned out in 1949, the year of liberation. Many old power plants have undergone large-scale extension and new small thermal power plants and rural hydro-electric stations, generally equipped with Chinese-made generators and turbines, are aiding electrification in mountainous Kweichow. Since 1957 generating capacity has quadrupled in the province.

Before 1949 Kweichow's backward power industry was relegated to the provincial capital in Kweiyang and a few county towns. The biggest and best in the province, the Kweiyang station, had a total generating capacity of no more than 2,040 kw. Today every county town has a power plant.

Increased electric power has enabled rural areas to use it for driving pumps and rice husking machines. Every house in Kweiyang is now equipped with electric lighting and large numbers of villagers, including Miao people and other national minorities, are using it for the first time in their lives.

### Housing in Wuhan

**T**OTAL floor-space in Wuhan, the triple city straddling the middle reaches of the Yangtse River, has been

increased by 150 per cent in the past 14 years. The city's 1949 figure of 6.51 million square metres of housing has been nearly doubled. Half of the floor-space in the 1963 building programme was accounted for by apartment houses of 4 or 5 storeys.

Practically all new housing is for workers, who pay on an average only 5 per cent of their wages for rent. The houses are located away from factory fumes and noise and are easily reached by bus, trolley or train. They are comfortable to live in and are provided with verandas, shutters or canopies to minimize the effect of the long hot summers of central China.

Each of the three cities of old Wuhan had two main residential sections—one for the high officials and capitalists and the other the slums occupied by the working people. The poorest had no homes at all, living wherever they could find shelter.

Since 1949 new houses have been built in a great many former slum areas and housing conditions in the rest have been much improved. Besides houses, large numbers of factories, warehouses, shops, hospitals, theatres, cinemas and schools have also sprung up. For example, half of Wuhan's 740 schools are less than 14 years old.

### Rural Winter Schools

**I**MPROVED and expanded winter schooling for adults has been a yearly fixture in the countryside since liberation. This winter more than 10 million farmers are studying in spare-time schools run by the people's communes, an increase over past years.

In Shansi Province 1.2 million peasants in 13,800 schools are attending political, technical, agronomy, accounting and cultural classes. Shantung Province has 1.5 million men and women commune members in classrooms after work. Less populous Heilungkiang Province in the northeast, where winter strikes early, had 200,000 enrolled by the end of November.

Larger attendance has been accompanied by higher teaching standards and better textbooks. In late autumn many teachers went through refresher courses or training courses; textbooks suited to local and current requirements have been re-edited or improved. Like all textbooks in China

today, these can be afforded by everybody.

Classes range from those for beginners to adults wanting to complete middle school. For those desiring something more ambitious there are special correspondence courses which are organized by the winter spare-time schools.

### Briefs

China's first gigantic gantry crane has been installed on the Sanmen Gorge dam on the Yellow River with a lifting capacity of 350 tons to a height of 72 metres. It is used to raise and lower the dam's 12 big sluice gates. Manufactured by the Taiyuan Heavy Machinery Works in Shansi Province, the crane was designed by 35 technicians whose average age is 26, the eldest being 32.

In the first half of last year, three canneries in Fukien Province produced as much canned food for export as all of the nation's canneries produced for sale abroad in the previous peak year for exports—1957. Chinese canned goods now go to more than 50 countries and regions. Braised pork, boned chicken, steamed mushrooms, sea food and fruits are among the more than 500 varieties of foods being canned in China for domestic and foreign consumption.

The Railway Corps of the Chinese People's Liberation Army built 540 kilometres of narrow-gauge railways and 140 kilometres of motor roads in the timber areas of northeast China between April and December last year. Another 200 kilometres of railways and roads will soon be completed.

Malaria, cholera and smallpox—widespread before liberation—are now rare in multinational Yunnan Province, southwest China. The incidence of malaria in Menghaipa, Hsi-shuangpanna Tai Autonomous Chou, for example, is 3:10,000. Formerly seven out of ten persons there had attacks from malignant malaria each year.

The Chinese Aquatic Products Society was recently inaugurated in Peking. China now has 23 research institutes in this field with nearly 1,000 technical personnel and 17 colleges and secondary schools specializing in the study of aquatic products.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Afro-Asian Solidarity

### Time for a Second Bandung

Much water has flowed under the bridge since the first Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in 1955. The most striking of the great changes that have taken place in both continents is that a host of nations in Africa have won independence. The spirit of Bandung, acting as a catalyst of the times, has guided the Asian and African peoples forward in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It has inspired them to greater endeavours—for those who have achieved independence to consolidate it against the attempts of former overlords to stage a comeback in a new guise, and for those who are still groaning under alien rule to strike harder against their oppressors until freedom is finally won.

Eight years have elapsed and the peoples of Asia and Africa feel that the time has come for a second Bandung Conference. It is a widespread aspiration, now more articulate than ever. The general feeling is that there must be another forum for the people of the two emergent continents to discuss common problems and review the experience gained during this period.

The calling of a second Afro-Asian conference has assumed great importance for yet another reason. Imperialism, whose nature remains unchanged, is relying more and more on changes of tactics to shore up its crumbling rule in face of mounting popular struggles. If another conference patterned on Bandung is convened, it will provide a suitable meeting place for the new emerging forces to compare notes so that, as the *Malayan Monitor* pointed out, "every trickery, new and old, practised by the imperialists can be detected in time and nipped in the bud."

When President Ayub Khan of Pakistan visited Ceylon at the end of 1963, the question of holding another Afro-Asian conference was discussed and the proposal was endorsed in the communique subsequently drawn up by President Ayub Khan and the Prime

Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Bandaranaike. Indonesia, which had the honour of playing host to the first conference, indefatigably supports the idea. President Sukarno has instructed the Presidium of the Indonesian Cabinet, which consists of his three deputy premiers, to work for the convening of a preliminary meeting early this year.

The Burmese journal *Ludu* says it is high time that such a conference be held to press on with the struggle against imperialism and find solutions to the problems confronting the Afro-Asian peoples. However, it warns against the obstruction coming from India and the Tito clique. In a recent interview with Radio Pakistan the Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria said that he entirely agreed with President Ayub's view that a second conference should be held. The Iraqi Foreign Minister declared on January 5 that his country would be willing to be among the sponsoring countries. The idea of convening another Afro-Asian conference has indeed taken wings.

## Nehru's India

### More Migs

Last week the Indian Ministry of Defence announced that the Soviet Union would send another six Mig-21 jet fighters to complete the agreement to supply twelve of these Soviet aircraft. But if it is twelve Mig-21's that the Indian Air Force wants then it really needs eight, for two of the first six collided in a formation flight on December 21.

India has been building up its air force with the assistance of the United States and Britain as well as of the Soviet Union. According to a report of the Indian Information Service, during the past twelve months India has strengthened its transport fleet, bought more helicopters from the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and pushed on with its own manufacture of fighter planes. In addition, it has sent pilots to the three supplying countries for specialized training in the handling of

what the I.I.S. calls "sophisticated equipment."

These measures plus the "air umbrella" exercise last November have caused grave concern among the people in many parts of Asia, and especially in Pakistan. In a broadcast speech on January 1 President Ayub Khan said, "Looking back it has been a year of great anxiety for us because of the arms aid secured by India on the pretext of the threat of Chinese aggression. It is now recognized on all hands that China has no such designs." The bugbear of Chinese aggression, he pointed out, had been created by the Indian rulers to strengthen their weakening hold on the country and to obtain "heavy financial and military aid both from the Western countries and Russia." Pakistan, he said, is now in great danger of Indian aggression, and other countries of the region which are weaker than India are also perturbed.

## Oman

### Armed Struggle

In the joint communique Premier Chou En-lai signed with President Nasser during his recent visit to the U.A.R., there was a special sentence reaffirming China's support for the independence cause of the Omani people. This refers to the armed struggle which though little publicized in the British press has been going on for more than six years on the southeastern tip of the Arabian Peninsula.

Oman's experience with British colonialism dates back to the late 18th century. An imamate was founded after a revolt in 1913 and internal "independence" was recognized by London in the 1920 Treaty of Sib. In 1955, the Union Jack was back again, this time when the Sultan of Muscat invaded the Oman because his British masters coveted its oil and wanted its territory as a base for conspiracy against nearby Arab states.

In 1957, the Omani people staged a great uprising which freed Nizwa the capital and most of the country. But the British struck back by waging a typically ruthless colonial war—punitive campaigns and wanton air bombings which killed many innocent people and caused great destruction. Still the Omani people refused



to kowtow. In a protracted war, they have extended the fight from their base in the Green Mountains to other areas such as Dhufar, Jaalan and Dirco. Mining roads, ambushing patrols and staging surprise raids against British posts and ordnance depots, the hardy guerrillas have proved more than a match for the 20,000 colonial troops in the Oman.

The Omani people have more friends than have the British. Slavering U.S. imperialism, seeking its own ends, furnishes the British troops with arms and uses the United Nations to deny Oman its right to self-determination. But ranged with Omani freedom fighters are the Arab people and the other peoples of Asia and Africa. Their struggle is part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism. With troops tied down in Aden, Cyprus, Malaysia and other "trouble spots," the British colonialists have their hands full.

### In America's Shadow

#### "Not Good Enough"

American displeasure at the sale of 400 buses to Cuba by a British firm has provoked a public war of words across the Atlantic. Immediately Leyland Motors announced the contract the U.S. State Department reproved Britain. "It certainly does not help in our efforts to isolate the Cuban regime and thereby weaken the economy," said its spokesman. He threatened that all British ships carrying the buses to Cuba would be blacklisted by the U.S. Government.

From London came a tart retort within hours of the American statement. "We do not apply general economic sanctions," said a spokesman of the Foreign Office on the night of January 7. "If someone makes plastic gnomes and sells them to Cuba we cannot stop him." The Board of Trade reminded the Americans that "manufacturers are at liberty to sell as and when they find the opportunity" and that "there has never been a boycott of Cuba by Britain. That is the situation and we do not see any reason to depart from this at present."

Taking up Washington's attack against Whitehall, the American press

poured out its wrath the following day. The *New York Herald Tribune* splashed the headline "British Flout Cuba Embargo" across its front page. A syndicated editorial of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, describing the sale as "an act unfriendly to the United States," accused Britain of wanting to "grab a fast buck" without considering the consequences.

These huffings and puffings stung Fleet Street into challenging the right of the United States to wield the big stick. American interference and attempts to stop the sale were described as "absurd" and as "blackmail." The *Guardian* said "a blacklist is an ugly thing" and it warned that "in the end it is likely to hurt the blackmailer far more." The *Daily Mirror*, one of the most widely read newspapers in Britain, told the United States to mind its own business.

## African Panorama

**Accra, Ghana.** Nana Nketsia, Director of the Institute of Art and Culture, urged African historians to pool their efforts to write African history in the light of the cultural revival brought about by the great national movement on the continent. No imperialist historians, he said, should be allowed to write African history, for they do so only to justify neo-colonialism.

**Cairo, U.A.R.** In 1963 the Suez Canal Administration collected 71 million Egyptian pounds from 19,146 ships. Both figures are records and greatly exceed the pre-1956 totals. When the canal was nationalized by Egypt in that year only ships drawing 35 feet or less could use it. Now ships drawing 38 feet pass through easily.

**Lusaka, N. Rhodesia.** Kenneth Kaunda, the nationalist leader, demanded the establishment of an African government in Southern Rhodesia which is at the present ruled by a white minority. Something stronger than example and persuasion, he said, should be used to show the people's disapproval of the present government's racial policy.

**Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.** Joshua Nkomo, the nationalist leader, who was to take part in "Focus on People," was banned from appearing in this television personality programme by the white-controlled board of directors.

Britain's sensitivity and resistance to America's attempts to reduce it to a subordinate position in world affairs are now coming into the open. On this occasion, members of Parliament and business leaders also vented their resentment. *Crossbow*, organ of a group of influential young Tories, to some extent reflected this body of opinion when it earlier called for a "hard rethinking" of the Anglo-American relationship. It said that the "present form of link" is not what Britain wants, that it is a "curious lopsided relationship," and that Britain "in America's shadow is not good enough." The present exchange of invective over trade with Cuba, while illustrating the attitude of the carnivorous U.S. shark towards the "sardines" of the Caribbean, has served to widen the cracks in the Atlantic alliance.

**Nairobi, Kenya.** Streets will be renamed and statues pulled down to eliminate the vestiges of colonial days "which might detract from the dignity of Kenya's independent status," announced the City Council. A statue of Lord Delamere, a leader of early British "settlers," has already been demolished, and Delamere Avenue renamed Kenyatta Avenue.

Members of Parliament protested against defamation of the Prime Minister by the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*.

**Kampala, Uganda.** Six Britons who styled themselves members of the League of Ex-Empire Loyalists have been ordered to leave the country for ridiculing Kenya's independence and insulting Africans.

**Algiers, Algeria.** In a building decorated with the national flags of Cuba and Algeria and posters carrying the famous Cuban slogan "Fatherland or Death!" President Ben Bella presided at the official opening of the Office of the Algeria-Cuba Friendship Committee.

**Tunis, Tunisia.** The Tunisian Secretary of State for Agriculture has announced that the Tunisian Government has bought back 263,000 hectares of land originally held by foreign settlers.

# THEATRE

## Drama Festival Featuring Contemporary Life

The national conference of writers and artists held in Peking last May set off a lively round of debates, in the press and elsewhere, on certain questions concerning theatrical developments in this country.<sup>1</sup> How can today's reality best be reflected in drama, especially in such old, traditional dramatic forms such as Peking, *kunqu* or Shaohsing opera? What should be the proper approach to China's cultural heritage? How shall certain old operas and plays be reassessed and adapted to today's needs? Should traditional "ghost operas" have a place on the socialist stage? What about myths and legends? Noted theatrical artists and critics, and readers, too, have taken up whole pages of the newspapers and magazines giving their views on these and other questions.

### 18 New Operas and Plays

Some aspects of the first question have been answered by last month's Peking drama festival featuring contemporary themes. This week-long event brought together eighteen Peking operas, *kunqu* operas, *pingju* operas, Hopei *bangzi* operas, *quju* operas as well as modern plays and puppet shows. Some portrayed the events of past revolutionary struggles, but most of their themes were taken straight from the life of today's rural people's communes, from the contemporary life of the people — workers, armymen, intellectuals, shop assistants, cadres, city dwellers. Many were written in recent months. The public interest was enormous. Fifty thousand people came to see the shows. Some were theatrical workers from as far afield as Heilungkiang and other northeastern provinces and Kweichow in the southwest, seeking useful tips

<sup>1</sup>An important point made by that conference was that the Chinese Communist Party's policy for art and literature of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge" should continue to be even better implemented. Since then there has been a big increase in the number of discussions and experimental ventures in the arts.

for their own work. Millions heard or saw the programmes on radio and TV.

### Traditional Forms, Modern Themes

*Kunqu* opera performances came in for some considerable attention. With its 400 years of tradition and flowery, literary language and ancient melodies, great difficulties are met with in attempting to adapt this form of opera for other than classical themes, and yet a state of thematic stagnation cannot be accepted. There was therefore great interest when the North *Kunqu* Opera Theatre presented the festival with *Hung Hsia*, the story of a peasant heroine in the early days of the revolution. The troupe boldly introduced certain innovations. It changed the archaic language used in *kunqu* singing and speech into more modern speech, altered the rhythm and beat of certain melodies, and added new melodies to existing ones. The aim was, without losing the essential flavour of *kunqu* opera, to make this form more comprehensible to today's audiences, more suitable to characterizing contemporary people and with a pace closer to that expected of contemporary drama. *Crossing the Luting River*, an episode of the Long March, and *The Pool of Sorrow*, about the peasants' struggles against landlord oppression, were also in modern *kunqu* form. They, as well as *Hung Hsia*, were rated successful by both critics and audiences. The Peking opera *Underground Liaison Man* and the Hopei *bangzi* opera *At the Foot of Meilin Mountain* also depicted contemporary themes in traditional operatic forms. The latter was the first opera on a contemporary theme ever presented by the Youth Hopei *Bangzi* Opera Theatre. These operas also introduced innovations in the acting, singing and music. Such programmes showed that these and other traditional opera forms have great potentialities for portraying contemporary events.

Other hits at the festival were the modern plays *By the Chienkan River* and *The Fen River Flows On*, the *pingju* operas *The Xiangyang Department Store* and *The Girl Accountant*,

and the *quju* opera *Good Health!* All reflect up-to-the-minute aspects of city or rural life. This is one reason for their popularity — contemporaneity. The main reason, however, can be better understood if we look into the birth of *By the Chienkan River*.

Its author is Liu Hou-ming, a young writer of children's stories. He went last year to Shunyi County near Peking as a member of a rural cultural work-team and lived and worked with the people's commune members. In this way he learnt a great deal about local happenings and especially about the disruptive activities of some unregenerate landlords and other evil elements. It was at the request of the commune cadres that he subsequently began his play: they asked him to write one about these events in order to educate the younger generation. When the work-team returned to Peking three months later the play was as great a hit there as it was in the villages. It gives a vivid description of the class struggles in the villages. Its plot is tight-knit and its characterizations true to life; its language is the rich, pithy language of the peasants.

### Drawing Inspiration From Masses

This was true in one way or another about most of the other successes at the festival. Their authors, actors and



A scene from *The Fen River Flows On*



producers had profited immensely, and sometimes decisively, from their experiences in going out among the masses of the people and drawing their dramatic material directly from the reality, the labours and struggles of the countryside. Directness of observation enables these works to reflect the spirit of the times and gives them vitality and authentic local colour. To produce a good contemporary drama on the burning issues of the day, as Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and one of the many who saw and praised *By the Chienkan River*, rightly said, can only be done if playwrights and actors and producers go out to the countryside, to the factories and mines, schools and army units and absorb their life.

The Peking festival of contemporary drama followed upon a number of similar festivals held in Chekiang, Kwangtung and Anhwei Provinces. It will not be the last. It is intended to hold further discussions and reviews of new works through similar festivals, and keep up the constant exchange of experiences among the theatrical workers of China in order to foster more and better plays and operas portraying the contemporary scene and further develop the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" and "weeding through the old to let the new emerge."

## GRAMOPHONE DISCS

### **National Minority Music**

Shanghai's China (Gramophone) Record Co., whose discs are widely circulated at home and abroad, can now offer you a choice of music from 33 of the national minorities of the country.

China's national minorities are musical peoples. Each has its treasured store of folklore music and song handed down and enriched century after century by folk singers and instrumentalists. In the Kwangsi Autonomous Region of the Chuang People, locals ask the way and receive their answers in song. Among the Li people on Hainan Island, the building of a new house, a housewarming, weddings and births are all made musical occasions. In the yurts of the Kazakh

herdsmen in Sinkiang, the two-stringed *dombra* goes from hand to hand as old and new verses flow fluently from many lips. On the wide grasslands of Inner Mongolia, no group of horsemen is without a *matouqin*, the horse-headed fiddle.

This rich store of national minority music was completely ignored by the few record companies, all foreign-owned, of old China. In thirty years, the Pathé Record Company in Shanghai never produced a single disc of national minority music. With the liberation, the musical organizations of New China immediately turned their attention to finding, preserving, developing and recording this valuable part of Chinese music. The discs now being sold are the pick of their discoveries.

The *Twelve Mukam*, one of the great folk masterpieces of the Uighur people in Sinkiang, will soon be heard on a set of microgroove records that plays for over 20 hours. It is a musical epic recording the ancient history of the Uighur people, their legends, their love tales, their struggles, triumphs and sufferings. Its twelve parts, with over a hundred solo and choral pieces, both vocal and instrumental, are the collective work of poets and musicians created over the centuries. The *Mukam* were sinking into oblivion when the Sinkiang Musicians' Union went in search of them. Researchers travelled the length and breadth of the whole vast territory before they were able to find the handful of old ballad singers who still knew parts of them and record their performances. Several of these venerable musicians have since passed away, but their art has been preserved.

A popular song over the radio and among record-collectors is *The Nanno Mountain Is a Mountain of Tea* (No. M45). It is sung in the Hani language by Sali, a girl of the Hani nationality in Yunnan Province's Hsishuangpanna. When members of the China Record Co. went to Hsishuangpanna to collect folk songs, they heard about this famous 19-year-old folk singer. Many of her songs she composed herself: about a young girl dressing for a festival, about tea picking, about going to the market fair. The recording team spent four nights recording her songs alone.

One unique disc (No. 5827) gives an example of the many beautiful folk instruments played by the national

minority peoples: this is the "Little Three-Stringed Guitar" of the Lahu people who live by the Lantsang River in Kweichow Province. One of the most talented players of this is the blind minstrel Chang Lao Wu. He begged in the streets with his music before liberation; now he is a professional musician with an income that provides for all his needs. The local people describe his playing poetically as being like "the shifting clouds and flowing streams, and a hundred birds in song." The day that Chang Lao Wu's playing was recorded by the China Record Co., many admirers came to offer him congratulations. As he sat before the recorder to play for the whole nation, the old man's unseeing eyes filled with hot tears.

Verses sung to music by the poet-singer Poyuwen of the Tai people will be another interesting collector's item. Poyuwen was a poor wandering minstrel before liberation. Since liberation, he has had a chance to get a regular education and has become so well known that he was invited to visit and perform in Peking and meet Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He recently finished a long poem *The Rainbow*, parts of which are being recorded.

The staff of the China Record Co. have taken their recorders from China's northernmost tip to the great southwest and up into the highlands of Tibet. The discs they have cut enable all China to share the finest musical achievements of her many peoples.

Records are in 78, 45, 33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>, 16<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> r.p.m. and come in attractive covers or albums. Designing these is an art, by the way, that Chinese artists are bringing a distinctive national flavour to.

### **SHORT NOTES**

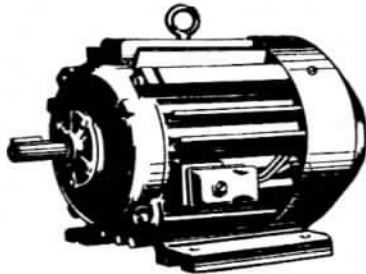
**East China Festival of Modern Plays.** Another big festival of drama with contemporary themes is currently being held in Shanghai. Sixteen theatre troupes from Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Fukien Provinces and Shanghai municipality are taking part. The festival features exclusively modern plays portraying present-day Chinese life. Drama troupes from 13 other provinces and municipalities have representatives attending festival activities, which include, besides the acting of 21 new plays, discussions by directors, playwrights, and actors on their writing and production.



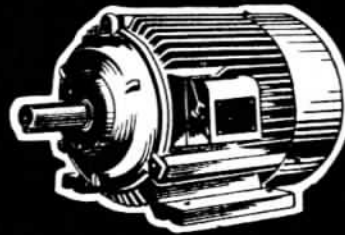
# INDUCTION MOTORS

TOTALLY-ENCLOSED, FAN-COOLED, SQUIRREL-CAGE TYPE

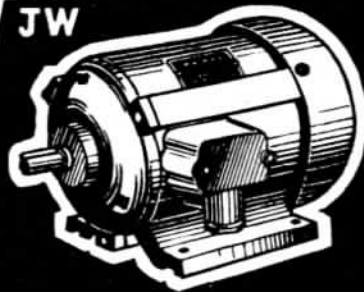
**JO**



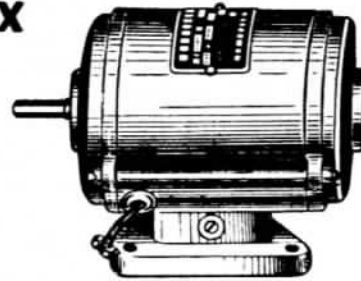
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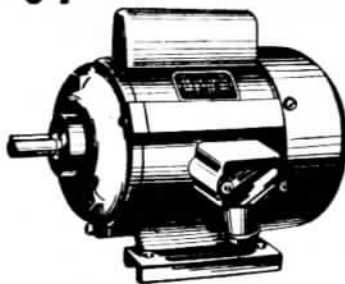
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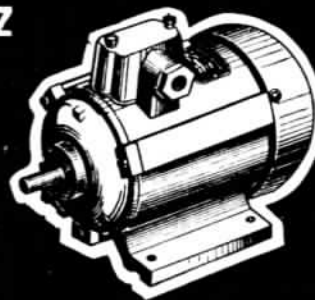
**JX**



**JY**



**JZ**



Type	Output	Phase
JO	0.6-100 kw	3
JO2	1-30 kw	3
JW	8-600 kw	3
JX	4-90 kw	1 capacitor run
JY	180-600 kw	1 capacitor start
JZ	60-400 kw	1 split-phase start

*Other items for export:*

Switchgear, various types  
 PVC or rubber insulated cables  
 Enamelled copper wires  
 AC or DC welders  
 Artificial graphite electrodes, etc.

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