PEKING REVIEW

January 31, 1964



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Introducing

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung, speaking to Japanese guests, pledged the Chinese people's full support for the Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.
- After a week in Guinea, Premier Chou En-lai flew to Khartoum on a friendship visit to Sudan. The Premier is scheduled to visit Ethiopia during his current African tour.
- China and France have decided to establish diplomatic relations.
 Ambassadors will be appointed within the next three months.
 - The Chinese press published the full texts or excerpts of:
- the reports and resolutions of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of Ceylon held in Colombo on January 19-21. The Congress established a revolutionary leadership to uphold Marxism-Leninism. It condemned the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for following in the footsteps of the Tito clique and for trying to revise Marxism-Leninism and weaken the international communist movement.
- the communique of the ninth session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party held last December, pointing out that Marxism-Leninism will triumph over modern revisionism.
- the January 21 editorial of the Vietnamese paper Nhandan on the above communique, expressing determination to defend Marxism-Leninism in opposition to modern revisionism and lead the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause to new victories.
- a resolution of the second plenary session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, calling on Marxist-Leninists throughout the world to unite and smash modern revisionism.
- —an article by the editorial board of the Korean paper Rodong Shinmoon commemorating the 40th anniversary of Lenin's death, stressing the need to uphold the revolutionary banner of Lenin and oppose modern revisionism in order to lead the revolutionary cause to victory.
- the January 18 editorial of the Albanian paper Zeri i Popullit, pointing out that the Albanian-Chinese joint statement signed in Tirana on January 8 reiterated the determination to defend the purity and integrity of Leninist principles.

Premier Chou En-lai in Sudan

On January 27 Premier Chou Enlai arrived in Khartoum on an official visit at the invitation of Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sudan. A 21-gun salute boomed when the special plane carrying Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen Yi landed and they were greeted by Ibrahim Abboud and other Sudanese leaders.

After a brief airport ceremony, the visitors drove to the Republican Palace where they stayed. All along the way, huge crowds wearing the traditional white clothes of the Sudanese people thronged the streets

to greet them, waving Chinese national flags and placards with Premier Chou's portraits on them.

State Banquet

In the evening, President Ibrahim Abboud gave a state banquet in the beautifully illuminated hall of the Republican Palace. Welcoming Premier Chou, President Abboud said: "Your visit to awakening Africa has made us very happy. Flags of revolutionary struggle have been raised everywhere on the African continent. The struggle has won victory in some areas, is growing daily in others, and will inevitably lead to the hoisting of ever

more flags of freedom and peace." Expressing admiration for China's ancient civilization and the victories gained by the Chinese people in recent years under difficult conditions, President Abboud said: "The friendly relations and sincere co-operation between our two countries will be developed because these relations are established on the basis of mutual respect and mutual confidence. I am sure that the contacts between our two countries will increase in the days to come."

Premier Chou En-lai, in reply, President Abboud, the Sudanese Government and people for their hospitable reception and enthusiastic welcome. "Sudan," said the Premier, "is a country with a long history and ancient culture while the Sudanese people have a glorious tradition in fighting imperialism. In recent years, the Republic of Sudan, under the leadership of the Sudanese Government headed by President Abboud, has achieved many successes in eliminating colonial forces and developing its national economy and culture. The Government of the Republic of Sudan has pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and is playing a positive role in international affairs."

Referring to the profound friendship between the Chinese and Sudanese peoples, the Premier said that they had supported each other in the long years of struggles against imperialism and colonialism. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, he continued, the friendship and cooperation between them had developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. Said the Premier: "The Republic of Sudan has always supported the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and opposed the imperialist plot to create 'two Chinas.' For this, the Chinese Government expresses its gratitude." The Premier expressed confidence that his visit would contribute to the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

That evening, all the main streets around the Republican Palace overlooking the Blue Nile were splendidly illuminated. On January 28, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen went on a sightseeing tour of the city and were enthusiastically greeted by the people everywhere.

Protest Against U.S. Move Into Indian Ocean

The U.S. decision to extend the operations of its 7th Fleet to the Indian Ocean has been denounced by over a dozen mass organizations in China, including the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Peace Committee and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. They call this move a new provocation and a grave step intensifying U.S. aggression and war preparations in Southeast Asia.

These protests marked part of the activities of the "Common Action Week" organized from January 20 to 26 at the call of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. Many Afro-Asian solidarity committees, peace and other mass organizations in Korea, Viet Nam. Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Pakistan and elsewhere issued statements condemning this brazen U.S. challenge to world public opinion. Together with the Panamanian people's demand to recover the canal zone. the week of common action has carried the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism to a new height.

In its statement issued on January 23, the China Peace Committee voiced the Chinese people's resolute opposition to the entry of the U.S. 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean. By this intrusion of U.S. arms, the statement pointed out, the U.S. Government intended to undermine and suppress the national-liberation movement of the people of countries in Southeast Asia, obstruct the Indonesian people's struggle against "Malaysia" and exert pressure on Pakistan, Cambodia, Cevlon and other countries. "This U.S. aggressive scheme is a serious threat to the independence and sovereignty of the countries in Southeast Asia and in the broad regions around the Indian Ocean, and to the peace and security of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world," the statement said.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in its statement, called this new move by the United States a serious threat to peace and security in Asia, particularly in Southeast Asia. "For many years," said the statement, "the notorious U.S. 7th Fleet has kept up tension and engaged in intervention and aggression in the Taiwan Straits of China and in the Far East. Now, that fleet is plotting to enter the Indian Ocean and expand its activities of aggression against the countries around the Indian Ocean in order to suppress the daily mounting struggles of the people in these regions to win and safeguard their national independence, sovereignty and security." Calling on the people of the Asian and African countries and the rest of the world to heighten their vigilance still further, to unite still more closely and form the broadest possible united front in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the statement declared: "The Chinese people firmly oppose the entry of the U.S. 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean. The U.S. Government must immediately cancel this criminal plan and pull the 7th Fleet completely out of Chinese territorial waters around Taiwan and out of the Far East!"

P.L.A. Conference on Political Work

An all-army conference on political work convened by the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army recently ended in Peking. It reviewed what had been done to strengthen the army's political and ideological work in 1963, summed up the big successes and rich experience gained in the movement to develop "four-good" companies, and had detailed discussions on the tasks of political work in the army during 1964.

The "four-good" title of honour is given to companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military training and in living arrangements. The guiding motto of the "three-eight" working style is made up of three phrases ("hold firm to the correct political orientation, preserve a hard-working and simple style of work, and be flexible and mobile in strategy and tactics") and eight Chinese characters (which mean in English unity, vigour, seriousness and liveliness).

The conference called on all members of the army to hold even higher

(Continued on p. 16.)

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement

Chinese People Support Japanese People's Great, Patriotic Struggle

On January 27 Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Kazuo Suzuki, Member of the Standing Committee of the Japanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Vice-President of the Japan-China Friendship Association and Director General of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Association, who is now visiting China; Kin-kazu Saionji, Member of the Standing Committee of the Japanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Deputy Secretary-General of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions; and Yoshihisa Takano, Peking correspondent of "Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan. In his talk with the Japanese guests, Chairman Mao Tsetung made the following statement on the recent patriotic, just struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism.— Ed.

THE massive anti-U.S. demonstration by the Japanese people on January 26 is a great, patriotic movement. On behalf of the Chinese people, I extend high respect to the heroic Japanese people.

Recently, a large-scale mass movement has started throughout Japan to oppose the entry and stationing in Japan of U.S. F-105D nuclear aircraft and nuclear submarines and to demand the dismantling of all U.S. military bases, the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces, the return of Japan's territory of Okinawa, the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and so on. All this reflects the will and aspirations of the entire Japanese people. The Chinese people whole-heartedly support the just struggle of the Japanese people.

Since World War II, Japan has all along been subject to U.S. imperialist political, economic and military oppression. The U.S. imperialists have not only oppressed the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie, religious circles and medium and small entrepreneurs of Japan; they also have brought many big Japanese entrepreneurs under their control, interfered in Japan's foreign policy and treated Japan as a dependency. U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Japanese nation.

Japan is a great nation. It will never allow U.S. imperialism to ride roughshod over it for long. The past few years have seen the constant broadening of the patriotic, united front of all strata of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialist aggression, oppression and control. This is the most reliable guarantee for victory in their patriotic, anti-U.S. struggle. The Chinese people are convinced that the Japanese people will certainly be able to drive the U.S. imperialists from their soil and that their aspiration for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality will surely come true.

THE Chinese and Japanese peoples should unite, the people of various Asian countries should unite, all oppressed people and nations of the world should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, all countries and individuals subject to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite and form a broad united front against U.S. imperialism to frustrate its plans for aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

U.S. imperialism, get out of Japan, get out of the Western Pacific, get out of Asia, get out of Africa and Latin America, get out of Europe and Oceania, get out of the countries and places that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying!

Premier Chou En-lai in West Africa

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

In Mali

A S he stood at the airport in Bamako just before his departure on January 21 for Conakry, the Guinean capital, Premier Chou En-lai told Radio Mali's correspondent: "We came to visit Mali bringing with us the sincere friendship of the 650 million Chinese people. Now we are leaving your Republic inspired by the profound sentiments which the people of Mali cherish for the Chinese. In these days, living among the Mali people, we have felt as if we were truly at home."

Unforgettable Five Days

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the other members of their party were given a most cordial welcome by the Mali people during their five-day (Jan. 16-21) stay. In honour of the visit the Government of Mali decreed a holiday for all government offices and public and private enterprises in Bamako and its outskirts. Mali's ruling party, the Sudanese Union, called on all party members "to accord a welcome deserving of the great Chinese-Malian friendship."

In Bamako, more than a hundred thousand people turned out to welcome their Chinese guests. Koulikoro, Mali's trading and processing centre some 60 kilometres northeast of Bamako, has a population of only eight



At the mass rally in Koulikoro Malian girls present bonquets to Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi

thousand but here tens of thousands of welcomers crowded into the town. In Segou, second biggest city in Mali, and Markala the Chinese Premier's representatives were also warmly greeted. Villagers along the 240 kilometres route from Bamako to Segou lined the route and waved gaily as the Chinese guests drove past. The Mali people put on their holiday best and danced and cheered their Chinese visitors. Thundering drums proclaimed the militant friendship of the Chinese and Mali peoples.

Koulikoro held a big rally when Premier Chou Enlai and his party were introduced there on January 17 by President Modibo Keita. Its Mayor, Mamadou Diarrah, Political Commissar of the ruling Sudanese Union, and Premier Chou En-lai spoke at the rally and exchanged gifts. The Mayor made the Premier an honorary citizen of Koulikoro. In his speech he spoke of the fruitful cooperation between Mali and China, which was in the interests of the peoples of both countries. He declared, "We have always valued highly the Chinese People's Republic's support for and solidarity with the general struggle of the African peoples for national independence and economic, social, and cultural progress."

In Segou, Samba Lamine Traore, General Director of the Niger Office (a big state-owned agricultural enterprise), told the Chinese visitors about the significant achievements this enterprise had made since it was nationalized in March 1961. Thanks to China's help, he said, sugar-cane had been successfully grown. In the past, some people had asserted that sugar-cane could never be grown in Mali; now the Mali people with the help of Chinese experts had proved that sugar-cane not only could be grown but grew very well in Mali. With the help of Chinese experts the Mali people had also obtained good results in rice growing. "Since you are here, you can see for yourselves how highly our people praise the good sons and daughters of China who are faithful to Sino-Malian friendship," the General Director said.

New Country by the Niger River

Tremendous changes have taken place in the lands of the new emerging Republic of Mali since gaining its independence in 1960. The Chinese visitors applauded the many remarkable successes that the Republic of Mali had achieved in eliminating the colonialist past. Foreign military bases in Mali have been removed. They saw themselves the great dam of Markala built with the sweat and blood of the people of Mali and now restored to the people together with the Niger Office and other nationalized, colonial enterprises. They saw that the people of Mali, united under the leadership of President Modibo Keita, were vigilantly guarding the fruits of their independence, working industriously to build their country, develop their national economy and culture and eliminate step by step the poverty and backwardness left by colonial domination and were resolved to embark on the road of socialism. As Premier Chou said, "The Niger River was the cradle of

the ancient civilization of West Africa. We are confident that through the industrious labour of the Mali people this new emerging country by the Niger River will become prosperous and strong."

New Milestone

During their visit Premier Chou En-lai and President Modibo Keita had cordial and friendly talks and reached identical views on questions regarding the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Mali and on international problems of common interest to the two parties. A joint communique was published after the talks on January 21. This was hailed by Chinese press and public opinion as a new milestone on the road of development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. Its main points are as follows:

Both hold that the present international situation is dominated by the great struggle carried on by the peoples of the world to safeguard world peace and promote human progress. They reiterate their determination to increase their efforts to defend world peace and develop international co-operation by struggling for general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and by combating imperialism and colonialism in all forms and striving for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Both reaffirm their complete and unreserved support for the African, Asian and Latin American peoples in their sacred struggle to regain their national independence and defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Both endorse the idea of a second conference of the independent countries of Asia and Africa.

The Mali side paid glowing tribute to the policy and efficiency of Chinese aid which conforms in every way to mutual respect and to the spirit of mutual aid and equality between nations.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly enunciated the eight principles observed by the Chinese Government in providing economic and technical assistance to other countries.

President Modibo Keita accepted the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to visit China.

In Guinea

CHEERING throngs and an atmosphere of joy marked the arrival on January 21 of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and his party in Conakry, capital of Guinea. Arches of verdant palm leaves spanned the route from the airport to the guest house. The gaily decorated streets of this city on the Atlantic Ocean were strung with streamers inscribed "Long live the friendly people of the People's Republic of China!" and other slogans. Huge portraits of Premier Chou and President Sekou Toure adorned the main thoroughfares.

Virtually the entire population of Conakry was on hand to welcome the Chinese Premier who had been invited by the Guinean President.

Warm Friendship

As Premier Chou alighted from his plane, President Toure stepped forward to greet his guest. The two men embraced and shook hands on this, their second meeting—in 1960 the President of this West African land visited China. A 21-gun salute boomed while the welcoming ceremony took place at the airport.

Following this, the two men drove in an open car to the guest house. All along the 15-kilometre route Premier Chou received loud hurrahs from jubilant crowds of workers, peasants, office workers, teachers and students. "Tam tam" drums, lively Guinean music and cheers and songs praising Chinese-Guinean friendship added to the holiday mood. (The "tam tam" is a drum used specially for celebrations and welcoming honoured guests.)

The welcome reached its peak at the Patrice Lumumba Printing House where the car was halted by the pressing crowds. There two women workers presented the Chinese Premier with bouquets and cola amid great applause and cheers.

Wherever he went during his 6-day visit the Chinese Premier basked in warm friendship: at the soiree held in his honour by President and Madame Sekou Toure, highlighted by a colourful programme of folk songs and dances by several hundred Guinean artists; in Kindia where a spectacular parade of some 6,000 people, one-sixth of the city's inhabitants, was followed by a mammoth meeting of the entire population to hail the representative of the Chinese people; and in Labe, the biggest city of central Guinea, where the Chinese guest received a rousing welcome from 200,000 people—five times the city's population—most of whom came from other cities and villages, with many arriving two or three days earlier from 200 kilometres away.



Premier Chou En-lai (left) and President Sekou Toure (right) wave to the welcoming crowds in Conakry

The extensive welcome reflected the important meaning the Guinean people gave to the Premier's visit. As pointed out by *Horoya*, organ of the ruling Democratic Party of Guinea, which published two special numbers for the occasion, it "is an important visit of friendship, solidarity and peace because from the very beginning it has given the lie to the forecasts and hypotheses which were spread by the inveterate enemies of Afro-Asian solidarity and freedom with the obvious aim of creating an atmosphere of distrust." The solidarity of the African and Asian peoples, it added, "originated from our consciousness of the realities of our times and of the misery of the past—foreign occupation with its accompanying humiliation, exploitation and the denial of human rights."

Common Ground of Opposing Imperialism

Praising the Guinean people's tradition of fighting imperialism and colonialism, Premier Chou in his speech at the soirce stressed: "Particularly praiseworthy is the Guinean people's firmness in face of the political and economic pressures exerted by imperialism. Holding high their heads as masters of their own country, they have continuously overcome many obstacles created by imperialism and demonstrated their ability to run their country."

The Premier said that the Guinean Government's just position on the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons fully testified to the Guinean Government and people's immense concern and their high sense of responsibility for world peace and the destiny of mankind. "All countries, big or small," he emphasized, "can make their own contributions to the world people's

cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace. Though small in size, some countries, undaunted by brute force and maintaining a just stand, have played an active role in international affairs. Guinea is one such country."

In conclusion, Premier Chou declared that the 650 million Chinese people will always be the most faithful friend of the people of Guinea in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and in safeguarding national independence, developing the national economy and defending world peace.

Militant friendship between the Chinese and Guinean peoples also was emphasized in President Sekou Toure's speech. "It is particularly agreeable to us in this connection to express, in the name of our people and our Party, warm thanks for the important and distinguished help which your Party and Government have given the Republic of Guinea in its fight for the consolidation of our independence and the rapid development of our economy." The heroic struggles waged by the Chinese people against the twin domination of imperialism and feudalism have been and remain a source of inspiration and an example of purposeful courage for all peoples subjected to the world forces of suppression and exploitation, President Toure declared.

During his visit, which ushered in a new stage in Sino-Guinean relations, Premier Chou conferred with President Toure. Agreement was reached on the further development of friendship and co-operation and on international questions of mutual interest between the two countries. On January 26 a Sino-Guinean joint communique was issued. [Full text will appear in our next issue.]

The Chinese Premier and his party left Conakry on January 27.

Document

Sino-Mali Joint Communique

Following is the full text of the Sino-Mali joint communique issued in Bamako on January 21, 1964. Boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.

A T the invitation of His Excellency Modibo Keita, President of the Government of the Republic of Mali and Head of State, His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid an official visit to the Republic of Mali from January 16 to 21, 1964, accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials of the People's Republic of China.

During their sojourn Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the other members of the delegation visited Bamako, Koulikoro, Segou and Markala, where they were given warm and enthusiastic welcome and grand and sincere hospitality. They saw with satisfaction the achievements of the Republic of Mali and were very happy to have had contacts with workers of factories, farms and institutions of scientific research in Mali.

During the visit Premier Chou En-lai held talks with President Modibo Keita. Present at the talks on the Chinese side were Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiaopeng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wang Yu-tien, Director of the Department of West Asian and African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Lai Ya-li, Chinese Ambassador to Mali. Present at the talks on the Mali side were Idrissa Diarra, Political Secretary of the Sudanese Union Party-R.D.A.; Jean-Marie Kone, Minister of State in Charge of Planning; Barema Bocoum, Minister Delegate in Charge of Foreign Affairs; Seydou Badian Kouyate, Minister of Development; Mamadou Talla, Technical Adviser to the Presidency; and Birama Traore, Mali Ambassador to China.

The talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The two parties exchanged views fully on international questions of common interest and on the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

They were glad of the complete identity of views on the questions discussed.

Premier Chou En-lai paid special tribute to the remarkable successes achieved by the Republic of Mali under the leadership of the Sudanese Union Party-R.D.A. and President Modibo Keita in the struggle for national liberation, for the liquidation of the colonial system of oppression and exploitation and for economic construction.

The two parties hold that the present international situation is dominated by the great struggle carried on by the peoples of the world to safeguard world peace and promote human progress. They reiterate their determination to increase their efforts to defend world peace and develop international cooperation by struggling for general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and by combating imperialism and colonialism in all forms and striving for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

The two parties note with satisfaction that the upsurge of the national-liberation movement and the attainment of independence by many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America constitute a most important factor in safeguarding the peace of the world.

The two parties salute the victories won by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They urge these peoples to mobilize their forces against neo-colonialism and heighten their vigilance in upholding national independence.

The two parties reaffirm their complete and unreserved support for the African, Asian and Latin American peoples in their sacred struggle to regain their national independence and defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and express firm faith in their victory.

The two parties strongly condemn the criminal policy of apartheid in South Africa and racial discrimination in other regions of the world, and resolutely support the South African people in their struggle for equal rights and national liberation.

The two parties note with satisfaction that since the historic Bandung Conference, Afro-Asian solidarity has effectively contributed to the liberation of peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This solidarity is a valuable support to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for the safeguarding of their sovereignty and in their national construction.

The two parties endorse the idea of a second conference of the independent countries of Asia and Africa, and are determined to work for its success.

The two parties reaffirm their support, without any reserve or precondition, for an equitable Afro-Asian representation in the principal organs of the United Nations, to reflect the ever growing role played by the African and Asian countries in the international arena.

The two parties exchanged views extensively on the experiences acquired by the two countries in national construction and the prospects for the economic development of the African and Asian countries. They hold that to consolidate national independence the young countries must, first and foremost, count on their own forces, rely on their own people and fully tap their own natural resources, while foreign aid is only an auxiliary means.

The two parties hold that foreign aid must accord with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and no conditions or privileges must be attached to it. Such aid should aim at the real development and the liberatoin of the national economy of the African and Asian countries.

The two parties reviewed the relations of friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Mali. They sincerely rejoice in the happy results achieved in all spheres in conformity with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. They wish the two peoples new successes on the road they have chosen.

The Mali side paid glowing tribute to the policy and efficiency of Chinese aid which conforms in every way to mutual respect and to the spirit of mutual aid and equality between nations.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly declared that in providing economic and technical assistance to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly observes the following eight principles:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both parties decide to do their utmost to further consolidate and develop their relations of friendly co-operation and further enhance the ties of friendship between the two peoples.

The Chinese Government reaffirms its support for the Mali Government and people in their just struggle to uphold national independence and in all their efforts to build an independent and prosperous country.

The Mali side reaffirms its support for the Chinese Government and people in their just struggle in defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Both parties are convinced that Premier Chou En-lai's present visit to the Republic of Mali will effectively contribute to the strengthening of the friendship of the Chinese and Mali peoples, to the development of the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries, to a better understanding of the questions of common interest, and to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity.

On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai renewed the invitation for President Modibo Keita to visit the People's Republic of China at a time convenient to him, which he already accepted.

Establishing Diplomatic Relations

SINO-FRENCH JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Following is the joint communique issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the French Republic on January 27 on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France.—Ed.

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the French Republic have decided in mutual agreement to establish diplomatic relations.

For this purpose, the two Governments have agreed to appoint their ambassadors within three months.

Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

On January 28, a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China was authorized to make a statement concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the French Republic. Following is the full text of the statement. — Ed.

IT was in the capacity of the sole legal Government representing all the Chinese people that the Government of the People's Republic of China entered into negotiations and reached agreement with the Government of the French Republic on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. According to international practice, recognition of the new government of a country naturally implies ceasing to recognize the

old ruling group overthrown by the people of that country. Consequently, the representatives of the old ruling group can no longer be regarded as representatives of that country to be present side by side with the representatives of the new government in one and the same country or international organization. It was with this understanding that the Government of the People's Republic of China reached agreement with the Government of the French Republic on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors between China and France. The Chinese Government deems it necessary to reaffirm that Taiwan is part of China's territory and that any attempt to detach Taiwan from China or otherwise to create "two Chinas" is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government and people.

Greeting the Establishment of Sino-French Diplomatic Relations

Following is the full translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of January 29 "On the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between China and France." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE People's Republic of China and the French Republic have decided to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. This is an event worthy of congratulation.

The establishment of Sino-French diplomatic relations accords with the interests of the peoples of both countries. China and France are great nations and play important roles in international affairs. Although the two

countries have different social systems, yet both peoples love peace and have a traditional bond of friendship. The establishment of normal diplomatic relations between China and France is not only conducive to the further development of friendship between the two peoples and to the promotion of economic and cultural relations between the two countries, but also to the realization of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and to world peace.

Another Major Achievement of China's Foreign Policy

The establishment of Sino-French diplomatic relations is another major achievement of China's foreign policy. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for peaceful coexistence among all countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung declared: "This Government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty."

Proceeding from this principle, China in the past 14 years has established diplomatic relations and developed friendly ties with more than 40 countries. China also strives to promote friendly contacts with the people of many countries which have not yet established diplomatic relations with it. The role played and influence exerted by China in international affairs are daily increasing. Its international status and international prestige are also rising every day. China has friends in all parts of the world.

Bankruptcy of U.S. Non-Recognition Policy

U.S. imperialism has sought by every means possible to isolate China. It has not only stubbornly persisted in its policy of "non-recognition of China" but has also forced others to follow this policy. But what else can this ridiculous ostrich policy achieve other than expose the awkward situation of U.S. imperialism which is hostile to China and yet can do nothing about it.

The existence of the People's Republic of China is an objective reality. Whether it is recognized by others or not, the great People's Republic of China exists, develops and grows strong. Considering itself a colossus which is superior to others, U.S. imperialism thinks that so long as it does not recognize China, the latter will be isolated. This is simply wishful thinking. Facts have proved that it is not China but U.S. imperialism which does not recognize China that has become ever more isolated. Has not the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France once again proved that the scheme of U.S. imperialism and its followers to isolate China is doomed to complete failure?

The "non-recognition" policy of U.S. imperialism has led it into a blind alley. To extricate itself from this dilemma, U.S. imperialism has in recent years vainly attempted to play the "two Chinas" trick in order to legalize its permanent occupation of China's territory of Taiwan.

Day-Dreaming About "Two Chinas"

The Chinese Government and people resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas." They will never tolerate such a scheme on whatever occasion, in whatever way. This firm and unshakable position that China takes is known to the whole world. Both before and after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, the U.S. press has raised a hullabaloo asserting that China has "mitigated" its opposition to "two Chinas" and that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France will "unlock the door" for "two Chinas." This is nothing but a distortion with an ulterior motive and is a day-dream.

As the statement issued by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China on January 28 has pointed out, it was in the capacity of the sole legal Government representing all the Chinese people that the

Government of the People's Republic of China entered into negotiations and reached agreement with the Government of the French Republic on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. There is only one China in the world, and that is, the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China. The Chiang Kai-shek group, overthrown by the Chinese people as early as 1949, is composed only of a handful of fugitives sustained by U.S. imperialism, and is absolutely not qualified to represent the Chinese people. Recognition of the new government of a country naturally implies ceasing to recognize the old ruling group overthrown by the people of that country. This is an international practice accepted by all countries. Consequently, it need hardly be said that recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of China by any country implies that it ceases to recognize the Chiang Kai-shek group leading a precarious existence in Taiwan, and naturally it cannot permit the representatives of this group to be present side by side with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in that country or in any international organization.

U.S. Imperialism – Greatest Saboteur of Normalization of Relations

Taiwan is an inalienable part of China and is by no means an "independent political entity." It is only with the armed protection of U.S. imperialism that the Chiang Kai-shek bandits can still entrench themselves in Taiwan up to the present. China's sovereignty over its own territory Taiwan cannot in any way be altered by U.S. imperialism or anybody else. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. They have the full right to make Taiwan return to the fold of the motherland in whatever form they consider appropriate. The Chinese people will resolutely smash any attempt to create "two Chinas" and any plot to detach Taiwan from China.

Needless to say, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France is a very unpleasant thing for U.S. imperialism, which is bent on trying vainly to isolate China, and for its followers. But what can they do if they feel displeased about this? Should all others always do the bidding of U.S. imperialism?

U.S. imperialism has always done its utmost to prevent the establishment and development of normal relations between China and other countries, and has regarded this as a step to isolate China. Following the announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France, the U.S. State Department went so far as to issue a statement slandering China and expressing "regret" over the decision of the French Government. This not only shows that U.S. imperialism is desperately clinging to its policy of hostility towards China but also shows that it is the greatest saboteur of the normalization of international relations. But no matter what trouble U.S. imperialism may create, China will establish and develop friendly relations with more and more countries. This is an inevitable trend which cannot be checked by anybody.

The Chinese people welcome the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. They sincerely wish that the friendship between the Chinese and French peoples will grow day by day and that the friendly relations between China and France will develop further.

Oppose U.S. Imperialist Aggression In Arab Countries

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of a commentary published in "Renmin Ribao" on January 27 under the title "Oppose U.S. Imperialist Aggression and Intervention in the Arab Countries." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

ON January 20, the U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Alexis Johnson, made a speech in Washington on "American policy in the Near East." With characteristic U.S. imperialist arrogance, he engaged in mud-slinging and name-calling directed against the Arab countries; he interfered in Arab affairs, told the Arab countries to serve "American interests" and blatantly threatened them with the use of force, declaring that the United States would not "stand idle" in the Near East's "regional disputes." This Johnson speech lays bare U.S. imperialist aggressive designs against the Middle East. It has naturally aroused deep indignation among the Arab peoples.

The Johnson speech was directed against the recent mid-January Arab Summit Conference, at which the heads of the Arab countries, as proposed by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, met in Cairo to discuss questions of common interest in general and the question of Israel diverting the course of the River Jordan in particular.

Aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, Israel has gone ahead alone with the project to change the course of the River Jordan. It has intensified its efforts in this, disregarding the strong opposition of the Arab peoples. Such arbitrary action taken by Israel seriously infringes on the rights and interests of the Arab countries which utilize the Jordan's waters; it is also a serious step in carrying out the Zionist policy of expansion and to serve as a pawn of the imperialist and colonialist forces in creating tension in the Middle East. The Arab Summit Conference sternly denounced Israel's aggressive act in changing the course of the River Jordan; it also unanimously agreed to eliminate the differences among the Arab countries and strengthen their unity to safeguard their constructive efforts taken on the basis of collective co-operation, and to defeat all aggressive, expansionist schemes threatening the Arab peoples. The positive achievements of the conference have won the regard of the people of all the peace-loving countries, but they have aroused hatred on the part of U.S. imperialism. The Johnson speech is U.S. imperialism's move to give Israel's Zionism its open backing and to blackmail and threaten the Arab countries.

U.S. Grip on Arab Lands

According to Alexis Johnson, U.S. policy towards the Near East can be boiled down to the following five points: to "help" the Near East to "create political stability, to advance economic development, and to modernize the social systems"; to "limit" Soviet influence; to ensure "the security and integrity" of Israel by "action"; to ensure the continued flow of oil to Western Europe "at economically reasonable rates"; and to ensure commercial and military freedom of access to this area by sea and air. To put it bluntly, this five-point policy is aimed at realizing U.S. political, economic and military control over the Arab countries. This is the consistent practice of U.S. imperialism's aggression against the Arab countries. Johnson has himself conceded in his speech that "the administration of President Johnson intends no fundamental changes in our Near Eastern policies"; that the U.S. policies towards the Arab countries are in "pursuit of our own objectives" and "based on the United States' interest as we see it."

As the crossroads between Europe and Asia, the oil-rich Middle and Near East occupies a unique position in U.S. imperialist global strategy for world domination. Since the close of World War II, U.S. imperialism has persistently ignored the interests of the Arab peoples, slighted the sovereignty and dignity of the Arab countries and done its utmost to carry out its aggressive plans and expand its power in the Near East. Soon after the end of the war, that is, in 1947, simultaneous with its intervention in Greece and Turkey, the United States proclaimed its notorious "Truman Doctrine" and made active preparations to penetrate the Middle and Near East. At the same time, it energetically fostered Israel's Zionists, using Israel as a springboard for aggression and intervention in the Near East. U.S. oil monopoly capital forced its way into the Middle and Near East to plunder the oil wealth of that

In May 1950, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain and France published in London their so-called Tripartite Declaration in which the United States arrogated to itself the right to have its say in that area. Under the signboard of fighting "international communism," Washington as early as 1951 was planning actively to set up a "Middle East Command" to suppress the national-independence movement in the Middle and Near East; this was later developed into the Baghdad Treaty bloc, which was replaced by the CENTO bloc after the Iraqi revolution.

In 1956, Washington supported Britain and France in opposing Egypt's just action to recover the Suez Canal. At the same time, in an attempt to seize control over the canal, it proposed an "international condominium." When all these schemes failed, the United States, in early 1957, announced the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine," with a view to suppressing the raging anti-imperialist wave of the Arab peoples and taking the opportunity to edge out Britain and France. This "doctrine" made clear U.S. in-

tentions to organize aggression and intervention in the Middle and Near East by both economic and military means. In 1958, the United States failed in its armed intervention in Lebanon. After Kennedy assumed office, U.S. imperialism, besides continuing its armed threat and economic aggression in the Arab countries, did its utmost to undermine the unity of the Arab countries; it made use of Israel to create tension continuously so as to provide the United States with the opportunity to intervene there.

It is clear that the American policy on the Near East as announced in the Johnson speech is in actual fact a replay of the notorious "Truman Doctrine" and "Eisenhower Doctrine."

Creating Tension in the Middle East

In his speech, Johnson brazenly tried to undermine Arab unity and stir up animosity among the Arab countries. He deliberately divided the Arab countries into "more conservative and traditional states" and those with "modernist democratic forces" and put great emphasis on the Arab countries being "at odds" with each other. Openly backing Israel's expansionist policy, he made no mention at all of the legitimate right of the people of Palestine to return to their homeland. This is a dirty trick deliberately designed to create tension in the Near East. Reiterating the U.S. President's threat that the United States would take action to deal with any "direct or indirect aggression" in the Near East, Johnson made it clear that the United States would assert control over the sea and air routes in that area to facilitate U.S. economic and military aggression. All this has completely exposed the vicious U.S. designs to interfere in the internal affairs of the Arab countries and encroach upon their sovereignty.

Johnson also emphasized in his speech that it was U.S. policy to continue to supply Western Europe with oil at "economically reasonable rates." This in point of fact means to oppose the Arab countries' demand for increased oil revenues and make it possible for U.S. monopoly capital to continue its plundering of oil in the Arab countries. This is a poisonous plot of the United States to undermine the economic development of the Arab countries in conjunction with activities of political subversion and armed intervention in these countries designed to strangle their independence.

The Johnson speech once again shows clearly that there is nothing in common between the interests of U.S. imperialism and those of the people of the Arab countries. Commenting on the Johnson speech, Syria's Radio Damascus said: "There can only be one interpretation of American policy: that it is a selfish policy entirely in the service of American interests. To say that American interests and aims are identified with those of the people in the Middle East is a lie." This hits the nail squarely on the head.

Since World War II, the Arab peoples one after another have, through protracted struggles, freed themselves from the shackles of colonialism and achieved their independence. The vital interest of the Arab peoples is to defend their national sovereignty, consolidate their national independence and develop their national economies. To achieve these objectives, the Arab countries oppose imperialist aggression and pursue a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment in international affairs; they

seek Arab unity and solidarity and devote themselves to developing their national economies. All this is within the scope of the sovereignty of the Arab countries and their internal affairs; all other countries have no more than the obligation to respect this; they have no right to interfere under any pretext. No big power should dictate to the Arab countries or subject them to control as it pleases in order to attain its own selfish ends. This is the fundamental condition for political stability and economic development in the Arab region.

For a long time now political upheavals have been of constant occurrence in the Arab region, and in consequence the Arab countries have been unable to develop their national economies rapidly and successfully. The root cause of this lies entirely with the aggressive and interventionist activities of imperialism headed by the United States. In an attempt to drag the Arab countries into the aggressive military blocs it has set up and to undermine their national economies, U.S. imperialism has frequently instigated Israel to make military provocations against them and create tension. The United States has also carried out subversive activities against the Arab countries and sown discord among them. In addition to robbing the Arab countries of their oil it has dumped its commodities on them and made havoc of their national economies. Nothing that U.S. imperialism has done in the Arab region is of good report.

Implacably Hostile to Arab Peoples

It is precisely because of this that the Arab peoples have always regarded opposition to imperialism as their primary task. In the joint communique issued after the recent talks between U.A.R. President Nasser and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, the two parties exposed the imperialists' attempts to control the Asian and African countries by political, economic and other means and even by subversive activities and downright armed intervention and aggression. The communique stressed that "it remains the foremost common task of the Asian and African peoples at present to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win or safeguard national independence." This represents the common view of all the Arab peoples.

Johnson's speech shows that U.S. imperialism is implacably hostile to the Arab peoples. Only by closing their ranks and staunchly opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention can the Arab peoples safeguard their independence and sovereignty and become masters of their own lands instead of being slaves of U.S. neo-colonialism. In this sense, Johnson has become a good teacher by negative example to the Arab peoples.

The Chinese people have always given firm support to the Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and backed up their efforts to safeguard their national independence and develop their national economies. The five-point stand adhered to by the Chinese Government in relations with the Arab countries — a stand enunciated by Premier Chou En-lai during his recent visit to the U.A.R. — is a tangible manifestation of the respect of the Chinese Government and people for the sovereignty of the Arab countries and their warm sympathy and sincere friendship for the Arab countries and peoples. The Chinese people, as always, will stand firm by the Arab peoples in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists' schemes of intervention and aggression.

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph Over Modern Revisionism

Communique Issued by the Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

Following is the full text of the communique issued by the Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party held in December 1963.—Ed.

I N December 1963 the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party held its Ninth Session to discuss the international situation and the Party's international tasks.

The session unanimously holds that the world balance of forces is becoming ever more favourable to peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and unfavourable to imperialism and other reactionary forces. The revolutionary upsurge which has arisen since the end of World War II is powerfully and continuously developing.

The first major change in the world since the end of World War II is the formation, consolidation and development of the socialist system comprising 13 countries, namely, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. This is the bulwark of world revolution, and at the same time, the bulwark of world peace.

The second major change is the upsurge of the national-liberation movement which is causing big breaches in the colonial system of imperialism and the rapid disintegration of its rear. Over 50 countries with a total population of more than 1,000 million have won national independence to varying extent.

The third major change is the fact that imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper into the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism and is continually weakening. Its internal contradictions are daily deepening. The class struggle in the world is becoming ever more acute and fierce.

Imperialism is showing itself more and more perfidious and ferocious as it weakens. It is frantically implementing extremely reactionary policies, stepping up the arms race, preparing for a new world war, unleashing local and "special wars," putting into practice a neocolonialist policy and the so-called strategy of peace, using modern revisionism to paralyse and undermine the world revolutionary movement, carrying out the plan of "peaceful evolution," attempting to restore capitalism in a number of socialist countries and to divide the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement. U.S. imperialism has become the most dangerous enemy of all peoples and of all mankind. However, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is now in

a weak position. On the other hand, the forces of national independence, democracy and socialism are strategically on the offensive.

The session holds that the final objective of the international communist movement remains as always the overthrow of imperialism as a whole, the abolition of all regimes of oppression and exploitation in human society, and the building up of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

To achieve this aim, it is necessary to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, to strengthen the solidarity of the working class, the labouring people, the oppressed nations and other forces of peace and democracy throughout the world, to build up socialism and communism in the socialist system, to carry out revolution in the capitalist system and to defend world peace. It is necessary to combine the revolutionary struggle closely with the struggle for peace, to direct the spearhead of struggle at the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, to fight back imperialism step by step and to overthrow it part by part, to win victory for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, to march forward to the total liquidation of imperialism and other reactionary forces, and to bring about a socialist and communist world.

According to the spirit of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, the international communist movement is being confronted with the following great tasks:

- to complete the socialist revolution and successfully build up socialism and communism in the socialist system, to consolidate, strengthen and develop this system;
- to carry out national-liberation revolution, to thoroughly eradicate colonialism, old and new, to complete the liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism;
- to carry out a resolute struggle against monopoly capitalists, and for democracy and peace, to march forward to the carrying out of people's democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries;
- to carry out a resolute struggle against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists with a view to safeguarding world peace, preventing a new world war and bringing about peaceful coexistence between states with different political and social systems;
- to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement

on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To ensure the successful fulfilment of the above-mentioned great tasks, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, together with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, must endeavour to struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against modern revisionism, Rightwing opportunism, which constitutes the main danger to the international communist movement, and, at the same time, against dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, on the ideological and political front, an acute struggle is going on in the international communist movement between two lines: the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of modern revisionism. The struggle between these two lines reflects the fierce class struggle to solve the issue of who will win between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale. The result of this struggle has a close bearing on the future of the international communist movement and the future of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Modern revisionism distorts and discards the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It advocates the policy of class conciliation and unprincipled co-operation with imperialism, blots out the demarcation line between ourselves, our friends and our foes, sabotages the revolutionary cause of the working class, divides the socialist camp and the international communist movement, etc.

The 1960 Moscow Statement has clearly pointed out:

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

To oppose modern revisionism is essential if we are to restore and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, to rally all forces opposing imperialism and other reactionary forces, to increase the fighting capacity of these forces and to ensure solid successes for the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the people throughout the world.

The session holds that the revolutionary cause of our people and that of the world's people are closely linked together and exert mutual influence. The resolution of the Third National Congress of our Party has pointed out: "The Vietnamese revolution is part of the international movement of struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace."

Our Party's stand is the stand of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is duty-bound to attend to the revolutionary interests of our working class and people, and at the same time, to attend to the revolutionary interests of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations of the world. To lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory, it has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions

of our country. In the struggle against modern revisionism, it firmly stands on the position of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely defends the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, defends the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, defends the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, defends the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China and the other fraternal Parties. In the future as in the past, our Party pledges itself to continue to strive, together with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Our Party draws a clear political distinction between the Tito revisionist clique, lackey of imperialism, and people within the international communist movement who commit the error of revisionism or Right-wing opportunism. Our attitude with regard to the Tito revisionist clique is to expose and oppose them consistently, and, with regard to the mistaken people within the international communist movement, to struggle for the sake of unity and to achieve greater unity through struggle.

To resolutely oppose modern revisionism is not only an international duty of our Party, but also an urgent requirement to safeguard its cohesion and unity, to safeguard the correct revolutionary line of its Third National Congress and to push ahead the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the country. The successes of the Vietnamese revolution over the last few decades (the success of the August Revolution, the victory of the protracted resistance war against the aggressive French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists, the great achievements of the socialist revolution in the north, the repeated victories of our south Vietnamese compatriots in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents, etc.) have proved that our Party's past and present line is a Marxist-Leninist one.

However, Rightist ideologies still exist among a number of our cadres and Party members. We must overcome these Rightist ideologies, prevent the influences of modern revisionism, strengthen the cohesion and unity of the Party, and ensure the successful implementation of the resolution of its Third National Congress and those of the Central Committee.

The Ninth Session of the Party Central Committee, therefore, decides that the following urgent work be carried out:

—To strengthen political education, to give our cadres and Party members better comprehension of the Party's line on the Vietnamese revolution, its stand and viewpoint on the questions of the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement and the international duty of the Party. On this basis, to consolidate the class stand, to promote the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, to combat the influence of modern revisionism, to overcome Rightist and other erroneous ideologies, to enhance socialist collectivism, to foster proletarian revolutionary ethics, to combat individualism, to promote discipline, to fight liberalism, to enhance education on patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the cohesion and

unity of the Party, to create an exalted revolutionary spirit, to step up the patriotic emulation movement, to build socialism in the north, to extend active support to the patriotic struggle of our south Vietnamese compatriots and to take a practical part in the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

— To strive to improve and strengthen the work of the Party and state in the field of foreign relations, to ensure a better fulfilment by our Party, state and people of their international duty of contribution to restore and strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and to increase the forces of the socialist camp in every field, to actively support the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples, and the movement of struggle for democracy and socialism of the working class and the labouring people in the capitalist countries, and to actively defend peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

THE restoration and strengthening of the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement are of the utmost importance for the consolidation and development of the socialist system as well as for the promotion of the world people's movement of revolutionary struggle and in defence of peace. The Viet Nam Workers' Party earnestly wishes that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China continue talks to achieve solidarity and to create good conditions for the convening of the conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The Viet Nam Workers' Party pledges itself to strive, together with all fraternal Parties, to restore and strengthen the cohesion and unity of the international communist and workers' movement.

The struggle for the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism is a protracted and complicated one. But we are firmly confident that the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the radiant truth of our epoch, which has won glorious victories in the past struggle

against Right-wing and "Left-wing" opportunism, will also win victory over modern revisionism and other opportunist trends.

We are also firmly confident that through the struggle against modern revisionism, the cohesion and unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will certainly be strengthened, the world socialist system will further enhance its great historical role, Marxism-Leninism will be further developed and enriched, and will more brilliantly enlighten mankind's forward path. The struggle of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations all over the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism will certainly win ever greater victories.

Our people's successes in the struggle for socialism in the north, for the liberation of the south and the peaceful reunification of the country are making a practical contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp, and constitute a support for the movement for national liberation and world peace.

The session calls on the entire Party and people to further enhance the spirit of self-reliance, to build socialism through labour and thriftiness, to value and make good use of the fraternal countries' aid, to emulate with one another in a patriotic spirit, to fulfil the 1964 state plan and to march forward to the successful completion of the First Five-Year Plan, to step up the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, and to complete the socialist transformation, to consolidate the north into an ever stronger base of our people in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their agents, for the peaceful reunification of our country.

Long live the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the unshakable solidarity among the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties!

Long live peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

Long live world peace!

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

the great revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking in the new year, to stick to the "four firsts" (that is, giving first place to the human factor, political work, ideological work and living ideas), and achieve new high levels in the work of developing "fourgood" companies.

While affirming achievements, the conference held, shortcomings in our work should not be ignored. All comrades in the army should firmly remember the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung that work should always be evaluated by the Marxist method of dialectical analysis, seeing and studying achievements as

well as shortcomings and mistakes. Only in this way could one avoid marking time and becoming proud and complacent, only so could the work be pushed ahead better.

The conference emphasized the importance of studying the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and applying them to practice more often, more effectively and on a greater scale, of carrying on effective education in socialist policies and making good use of living examples. In this way, it said, the masses of cadres and soldiers would have a clear idea of the current class struggle; their class consciousness and their ability to comprehend policies and implement them correctly would be increased; they would be immune from the influence of the

spontaneous tendency to drift towards capitalism and the bourgeois way of life; and, when confronted with sharp and acute class struggles, they would be able to see things clearly, hold their ground firmly and stand the test.

The conference held that a stimulating atmosphere should be created in the army units, in which everyone would discuss the "four-good" company idea and endeavour to be a "five-good" soldier (good in political ideology, military skill, "three-eight" working style, carrying out the tasks assigned and physical training). Along with this, a mass movement should be launched in which everyone should compare himself with, learn from and emulate the advanced and help the backward.

"Marxist-Leninists of the World Unite, Continue to Smash Revisionism!"

The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held its Second Plenary Session in December 1963, at which a resolution entitled "Marxist-Leninists of the World Unite, Continue to Smash Revisionism!" was adopted. The full text of the resolution follows. — Ed.

THE Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held from December 23 to 26, 1963, in Djakarta discussed the development of the international communist movement which is now undergoing a process of selection, crystallization and consolidation.

The Plenary Session welcomes the political report made by Comrade Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, and points out that it is necessary for us to maintain an independent and equal stand more firmly in our relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries as stipulated by the 1960 Moscow Statement. Thanks to this stand the Indonesian Communist Party can make a more critical analysis of the problems in the international communist movement and integrate the Party more concretely with the Indonesian revolutionary movement. It is due to this correct stand that the differences within the international communist movement have not had an unfavourable influence on the Indonesian Communist Party. The great polemic in the international communist movement has become a worldwide "University of Marxism-Leninism."

The Plenary Session agrees to the proposition that there are today in the international communist movement four types of Communist and Workers' Parties: (1) Marxist-Leninist Parties; (2) Parties whose leadership is controlled by revisionists but in which there is Marxist-Leninist opposition; (3) Parties which are completely controlled by the revisionists, but Marxist-Leninists expelled by them have set up Marxist-Leninist organizations; and (4) Parties whose leadership is under complete control of the revisionists but alongside of which new Communist Parties have been set up.

The Indonesian Communist Party is of the first type.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, the Indonesian Communist Party adopts an attitude as objective as possible towards the differentiation and selection which are now taking place within the Communist Parties of many countries.

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the publication of the 1960 Moscow Statement, the Plenary Session is glad to note that the correctness of the statement has been proved by revolutionary practice in every corner of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as in the world as a whole. The Plenary Session maintains that only when we really insist on upholding the statement, its content and spirit, and implementing it in words and deeds without revising this part or that part of the statement at will in liberal and anarchist fashion can we maintain the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement and lead the international communist movement, the strongest movement of our times, forward and win victory. The experiences of the struggle of the Indonesian people and other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America show that the anti-imperialist struggle is linked with the anti-revisionist struggle. Therefore, a more determined struggle against imperialism means a more determined struggle against revisionism and vice versa.

Even though there exist serious differences in the international communist movement, the situation of the movement today is not gloomy and it will never be gloomy. The light of Marxism-Leninism is shining in all countries. In some places, the light is brighter, in others, dimmer; but complete darkness is found nowhere. There is no reason whatsoever to be pessimistic. We have every reason to hold high the banner of revolutionary optimism in the international communist movement.

The Plenary Session holds that mutual understanding between the Communist Parties of different countries should be reached by holding more bilateral talks so as to prepare for an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. The meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties should strengthen the Marxist-Leninist movement and proletarian internationalism, and strengthen the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The Indonesian Communist Party does not want the meeting to weaken these at all.

The Plenary Session appeals to all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and all Communists to hold aloft six banners to strengthen the international communist movement, namely, (1) the banner of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism; (2) the banner of revolution against capitulation; (3) the banner of concrete peace against abstract peace; (4) the banner of proletarian internationalism against great-nation egoism; (5) the banner of unity against splitting; and (6) the banner of revolutionary optimism against pessimism.

Revolutionary Leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party Established

THE Seventh National Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party met in Colombo from January 19 to 21. In addition to electing a new Central Committee, the Congress adopted a political report by Kumarasiri, an organizational report by Sanmugathasan, a "Resolution Rectifying the Errors of the Past Central Committee" and other documents.

A solemn session on the morning of the 19th marked the beginning of the Congress.

Veteran revolutionary A.D. Charleshamy in his opening speech underlined the importance of the Seventh Congress as a congress that would rescue the Ceylon Communist Party from the quagmire of revisionism and provide a true Marxist-Leninist line and revolutionary leadership to the Party.

Premalal Kumarasiri, Secretary of the Organizing Committee, charged with preparing for the Congress, then announced that 399 delegates and 149 observers from 109 Party branches were participating.

Kumarasiri pointed out that a special resolution laid down by the Sixth Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party called for the holding of the Seventh Congress before December 1962 and that a demand for its convening had been raised by more than 70 per cent of the Party members. The revisionist leadership not only ignored the demand but dragged the Party into the slough of revisionism. Hence, he said, the Marxist-Leninists were forced to convene the Seventh Congress on their own initiative. He stressed that this was an official and fully constituted congress of the Ceylon Communist Party.

A resolution, submitted to the Congress by Kumarasiri and passed unanimously, said that the Congress approved the appeal "To All Marxist-Leninists Inside the Ceylon Communist Party," adopted on November 17, 1963, and signed by 116 members of the Ceylon Communist Party and approved by the majority of its members and district committees.

The resolution said that the Congress approved the action of the organizing committee set up by the signatories to the appeal in convening the Seventh Congress in accordance with a directive given it.

In the afternoon of the 19th Kumarasiri made a political report on behalf of the organizing committee.

This and the organizational report made by Sanmugathasan were unanimously passed by the Congress on January 21.

The Congress also unanimously adopted on January 21 a resolution entitled "Resolution Rectifying the Errors of the Past Central Committee."

The resolution stated: "The Seventh Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party repudiates the resolution adopted by the past Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party, after the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., attacking

and slandering the brother Party of Labour of Albania and negating all the achievements of Comrade J.V. Stalin."

It said: "This Congress salutes the Party of Labour of Albania for its heroic fight against the revisionists and their campaign of intimidation. It also salutes the memory of the great proletarian revolutionary leader, J.V. Stalin whose achievements shall always remain the source of inspiration to all Communists.

"While repudiating the resolution of September 26, 1963 adopted by the past Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party 'On the Questions of the International Communist Movement' attacking the correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint of the Communist Party of China, this Congress endorses 'A Reply to the Majority of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party' issued by ten members of the Central Committee on October 27, 1963 reaffirming the correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint on a number of international questions.

"This Congress also repudiates the past Central Committee's endorsement of the action of the Soviet Government in signing the partial nuclear test ban treaty."

As each sentence of the resolution was read, it was received with resounding applause. The adoption of the resolution was greeted with a long ovation by the delegates and observers.

On the same day, the Congress unanimously adopted another resolution. It said: "The Seventh Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party reaffirms its adherence to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to the policies agreed to by the international communist movement and embodied in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement of 1957 and 1960.

"This Congress condemns the attempts by the leadership of the C.P.S.U., following in the footsteps of the Yugoslav League of Communists, to revise the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and rob them of their revolutionary content; and to depart from the agreed conclusions of the international communist movement and thereby weaken and divide the international communist movement.

"This Congress reaffirms the conclusion of the Moscow conference of the Communist Parties in 1960 that the main danger to the international communist movement at present is from modern revisionism. It calls upon Communists all over the world to fight resolutely against modern revisionism and to safeguard the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, to preserve the unity of the international communist movement and to lead the international proletariat forward towards the achievement of socialism on a world scale."

On the evening of January 21 the Congress elected a new Central Committee to replace the old revisionist leadership amidst a long standing ovation. The new Central Committee is composed of 35 members, including N. Sanmugathasan, Premalal Kumarasiri, D.N. Nadunge, D.K.D. Jinendrapala, Higgoda Dharmasena, N.L. Perera, K. Kulaveerasingham, W.S. De Siriwardene, K.A. Wimalapala and K. Manickavasagar.

The Congress successfully concluded to the sound of militant slogans by delegates and observers: "Long live Marxism-Leninism!" "Long live the Ceylon Communist Party!" and "Long live the new leadership!"

Pen Probes

The Presidential Breed

FOR Americans at large the November once-every-fouryear presidential power struggle between the donkey (Democrats) and the elephant (Republicans) will present them with one more Hobson's choice. Whichever party gets into the White House, one thing is certain: the head of the First Family will not be lacking in funds.

While American history finds it difficult to turn up a president who ever was a poor man there is no question today that lots of cash is a requisite of a presidential hopeful. A recent article in the American magazine Parade put it bluntly: "Only millionaires or friends of that breed can aspire successfully to the presidency in the future."

In the "affluent" American society, where the overwhelming majority are far from affluent, running for president means a campaign requiring "airplanes, automation, television and poll-takers—all expensive," not to mention wheeling and dealing for the votes of this or that faction at the national convention which chooses the candidate.

When the 1964 presidential campaign gets under way in less than half a year the Democratic and Republican candidates, after the traditional convention ballyhoo is over, will be men with bulging bank accounts.

The Democratic candidate, President Johnson, virtually assured of his party's nomination, is a "self-made millionaire." According to U.S. News and World Report on December 16, "President Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Johnson own property that has an estimated value of several million dollars. Their wealth is not large by comparison with the Kennedy fortune, but they are better off than most first families of the past. . . ."

The Republican Party camp has a plethora of millionaires ready to grab the presidential nomination. Leading the pack of the announced candidates is Nelson Rockefeller, grandson of oil magnate John D. Rockefeller. Parade announced that Rockefeller had a tidy fortune estimated at \$50 million annually. In case this Governor of New York State gets pinched there is always his \$5 million a year in dividends and interest. Already "Rocky" has set up headquarters in New York City in a five-storeyed building where he has hired a braintrust made up of speech writers, researchers, political advisors and others, a contingent costing him half a million dollars a year.

Trailing behind Rockefeller are Republicans Goldwater, Scranton and Romney, all of them uninhibited by any lack of folding-money. Goldwater, the darling of the "radical right" and a favourite of the rising arms magnates in the United States has owned up to having picked up more than \$2 million worth of shares in the past year.

Scranton, Governor of Pennsylvania, came into an inheritance from his mother worth \$10 million while Michigan's Governor George Romney, former president and chairman of the board of American Motors, became a millionaire during his sojourn in the world of business.

Two other names which keep bobbing up as Republican likelihoods are Henry Cabot Lodge and Richard Nixon. The former, scion of an aristocratic Boston family, is now U.S. Ambassador to Saigon where he helped stage manage the November coup which reshuffled old American puppets for new. Nixon, who after losing to Kennedy in the 1960 election, moved to New York to take up what the American press referred to as a "lucrative" law practice.

By way of polling opinion on the question "Do you think it probable that in the future non-millionaires can be elected to the U.S. presidency, campaign expenses being what they are?" *Parade* went straight to members of the Senate to find out. Answers were forthcoming: "Very unlikely"; "the likelihood lessens with each passing election."

In years gone by the rulers of America were content to allow someone outside their circle to sit in the White House. This, it appears, has become outmoded. The bygone slogan "You, too, can become president" has been up-dated: "Become a millionaire and you, too, can become president."



Whether he is as handsome as Dicky



expansive as Rocky



wise as Barry



or politically agile as L.B.J.



the path to the White House for its next incumbent will surely be paved with gold

U.S. Colonialism in Panama

by MAO SUN

S PEAKING about the anti-U.S. eruptions in Panama, Senator Wayne Morse told his fellow countrymen: "We are reaping the harvest of some very bad mistakes. We have made the grave mistake that Belgium made in the Congo, the grave mistake that Portugal is making in Angola and Mozambique and elsewhere." A frank admission—though he should have used the present tense since U.S. imperialism is still committing the same mistakes. Anyway, coming from the mouth of an American politician, it means that U.S. misdeeds in this Central American state are so notorious that it is no longer expedient to try to hide them.

The U.S. record in Panama is a black one. Ever since the U.S.-Panama Treaty of 1903, the Yankees have ridden roughshod there and fleeced the Panamanians as only colonial masters can fleece subject peoples.

State Within a State

Right in the middle of Panama, the American colonialists carved a canal which they have treated as part of the United States. To protect this property, they have taken over some 500 square miles of territory — the canal zone. Here an American general in civilian clothes rules as governor and also president of the Panama Canal Company. His word is law for both Americans and Panamanians.

As many American papers admit, the canal is "an enterprise" — and quite a profitable one at that. Each year some 12.000 vessels pass through it. The tolls they

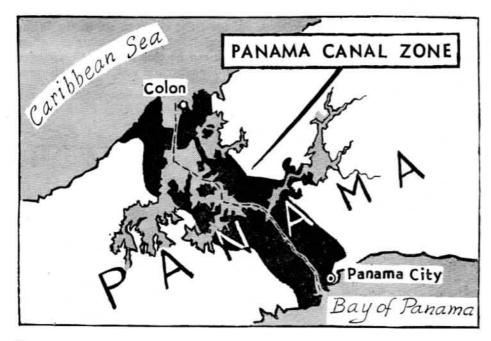
pay and the revenues from the canal railway and harbour facilities—also U.S. properties—add up to U.S.\$100 million a year. To date, a total of nearly 3,000 million U.S. dollars have been drained from the Panama Canal Zone into the U.S. Treasury. How much goes to Panama—the rightful owner of the canal? At first, Panama was paid only U.S.\$250,000 a year. This sum has been increased twice, at Panama's insistence, but the present figure of U.S.\$1,936,000 is still less than 1/50th of the total income!

More than 160 U.S. firms are operating in Panama — including the big American banks, oil companies, United Fruit, Goodyear Tyre, Hilton Hotels and Coca Cola. They exploit low-paid Panamanian labour and undercut local firms. In four years (between 1950 and 1954) they piled up profits totalling U.S.\$332 million. In November 1959, the U.S. authorities even banned the sale of Panamanian goods in the canal zone itself.

"We are just like old-time colonialists," confessed an American "Zonian" to Newsweek, which describes the canal zone as "one of the world's most rigidly segregated colonies." Truer words have never been written. In the zone, while Panamanians live in overcrowded shacks and slave for U.S. firms to eke out a bare subsistence, Americans live as overlords in their villas and practise segregation no different from that in Dixieland. The Gringoes take nearly all the high-paid jobs. They throng the best hotels and have their own clubs. And they have brought with them all the worst features of the American way of

life — gambling dens, brothels and the peddling of narcotics.

To make the Panamanians receptive to colonial exploitation, Washington has never hesitated to use force. Time and time again, pro-American politicos have been opportunely brought to power and governments not to Washington's liking subverted. This U.S. practice results in frequent coups and political upheavals. President Remon, for example, was assassinated in January 1955 when trying to negotiate with Washington on the canal issue. Significantly, following the present flareup, several U.S. newspapers predicted another military coup. The Washington Daily News noted that a rumour was abroad in the zone that presidential candidate Ricardo Arias was going to be the "strong man" after the coup. And





Good Neighbour

Cartoon by Chiang Fan

AP reported on January 16 that "many Panamanians feared an attempt by the 3,000-man National Guard, the little country's army, to overthrow Chiari and check the anti-American movement."

Vital Lifeline

To U.S. imperialism, the Panama Canal is supremely important because of its strategic value. It is a vital link in the global network of U.S. aggressive bases. The canal shortens sea voyages which would be thousands of miles longer around Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. Through it, cargoes are shipped between the east and west coasts of the United States, between North and South America and between the east coast of the United States and the Far East. In times of emergency, ships of the U.S. Pacific and Atlantic fleets can be moved through it.

This military and economic importance of the Panama Canal to U.S. imperialism was admitted by the military commentator Hansen Baldwin when he wrote in the New York Times (January 17): "Senior uniformed officers of the armed forces, particularly of the navy, think the Panama Canal is still of major strategic importance to the United States. The Panama Canal is still a transportation artery and short cut between the Atlantic and Pacific of key importance in a cold war crisis or any nonnuclear or limited conflict." He recalled that vast quantities of supplies for the U.S. war of aggression against Korea "were transported from southern and east coast ports via the canal. The war in south Viet Nam is being supplied in large measure through the canal also. At the time of the Cuban missile crisis, thousands of marines from the west coast were transported through the canal to the Caribbean danger area."

Cold war warrior Dulles declared arrogantly in 1956, when Secretary of State, that the Panama Canal was a U.S. "national waterway" and that the United States was determined "to exercise complete sovereignty over the zone, as no other country can." Today, this is still the official line of the Johnson Administration which insists that U.S. rights over the canal are not "negotiable."

Springboard for Aggression

In recent years the importance of Panama to U.S. plans for world domination has increased. It has become a major base for aggression against revolutionary Cuba as well as for suppression of the mounting national-democratic movements in Latin America.

A permanent garrison of nearly 10,000 U.S. troops and 36 military bases are maintained on Panamanian territory. A nest of U.S. military schools in the canal zone has trained more than 40,000 Latin American mercenaries in the art of "anti-guerrilla warfare." Like Okinawa and West Germany, Panama has become a major U.S. military complex, where "special forces" are stationed, "capable not only of instructing Latin Americans in counterinsurgency but also of fighting brushfire wars anywhere in South America" (Chicago Sun-Times). The troops who fired on the people of Panama this time were members of these "special forces."

U.S. imperialism can no more give up the Panama Canal than it can give up its worldwide aggressive schemes. Hard pushed by the mounting people's movement in Panama and facing condemnation by the world's peoples, it may make some minor concessions, such as increasing the annuity and backing down on the flag issue. It has done both before. But Washington will not of its own accord relax its military grip on the canal. Nor will it abandon its colonial rule over Panama.

Facts About the Panama Canal

THE Panama Canal links the Pacific with the Atlantic. It cuts through the Isthmus of Panama at its narrowest part and is approximately 50 miles long.

The canal was completed in 1914. Sixty to seventy thousand labourers, among them Panamanians, West Indians and Chinese, died in digging it and this gave the canal zone its own name — the Banks of Death.

The United States gained control over the canal zone by imposing the unequal 1903 U.S.-Panama Treaty on the Panamanians. In return for \$10 million and an annuity of \$250,000, it gave itself the right to occupy, use and control the canal for ever. Moreover, the U.S. has seized big tracts of land on the banks—five miles on each side of the canal axis.

The U.S. has turned the canal zone into an important military base for aggression. In 1963, it enlarged the Caribbean Command located in the canal zone into the U.S. Southern Command.

Chinese Artists in Action

All-Out for Panama!

On January 9, the "first thunderbolt of the year" rolled out from Panama and crashed over the heads of the U.S. imperialists. In the week following the Panamanian people's demonstration against Yankee imperialism and for the recovery of their sovereign rights over the canal zone, 16 million people took part in answering demonstrations in China's streets. Actors, dancers, musicians, artists, writers and poets formed a special detachment at every mass rally.

In the Streets

In Peking, dozens of the nation's top theatrical groups took their shows out to the streets as part of the mass demonstrations that flooded into the Tien An Men Square for three successive days. They performed skits, dances and songs rushed out overnight in support of the Panamanian people. A hundred and fifty members of the Central Modern Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre unfurled a sea of long, undulating blue silk streamers in a

dance representing the angry waves of the Panama Canal. Peking and kunqu opera actors stepped out of their usual operatic roles to act short, fiery propaganda skits. The celebrated actress Chu Lin and other actors of the Peking People's Art Theatre gave open-air group recitals of new poems. Closely surrounded by another crowd on the square was the famous woman composer Chu Hsi-hsien vigorously beating time as she taught it her latest work Panama Si, Yankees No! while musicians of the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra provided the music.

The capital's artists and writers marched arm in arm with the students, workers, peasants and other demonstrators. Here were the novelists Lao Sheh and Chou Erh-fu, the composer Lu Chi, the artists Liu Kai-chu and Yeh Chien-yu, the screen director Tsai Chu-sheng and the pianist Yin Cheng-tsung among many others. Also amid the columns was the noted artist Shao Yu, just returned from Cuba and using his pencil and sketch

pad now in the cause of another heroic Latin American people. Conspicuous among the sea of posters and placards were 8 huge posters done by students of the Central Academy of Fine Arts. These were truly works of international solidarity: U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of Panama! was the joint work of a Venezuelan student and his Chinese classmates. Students from Nepal, Viet Nam and Albania had each painted representatives of their own people on a poster showing the world's peoples fighting shoulder to shoulder against imperialist aggression.

Gatherings of Support

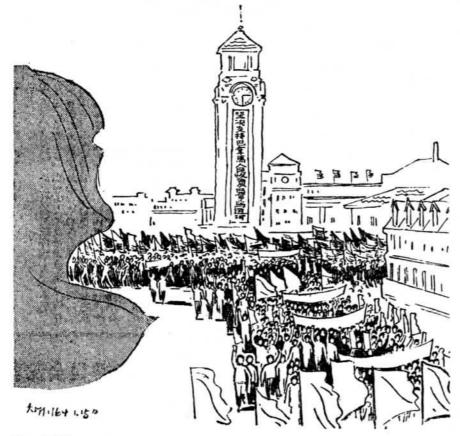
In Chungking, at a gathering of 2,000 artists and writers, Lo Kuangpin and Yang Yi-yen, authors of *Red Crag*, the best-selling revolutionary novel, lashed out against the new massacres perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists. In Shanghai and Changsha, novelists Pa Chin and Chou Li-po, opera actor Chou Hsin-fang, composer Ho Lu-ting, cartoonist Chang Lo-ping and singer Kuo Lan-ying were among the many who spoke at similar gatherings.

Many distinguished poets gathered at a meeting in the capital on January 16. To the audience of 1,200 poetrylovers, Tien Chien recited his Greetings to Distant Panama, Yuan Shui-po his President Johnson's Masterpiece, and Chao Pu-chu and others their new works. Tsang Ke-chia, editor of Shi Kan (Poetry magazine), addressing the meeting declared: "Today in this hall, Chinese poets are speaking out with their poetry. Each verse is a roll of drums; each urges higher the flames of struggle. We want our voices from Peking to be heard by the Panamanian people!"

Press, Radio, TV and Screen

Other eminent poets made their voices heard through the press. Kuo Mo-jo published his Storm Over Panama in Renmin Ribao the first day the demonstrators went onto the streets. A free rendering of the first three stanzas reads:

On the Pacific a call to arms; Clenched fists raised on the Atlantic; A storm roars out of Panama. All Latin America thunders out: "End the grip of the Dollar Octopus! Yankees, get out!"



Shanghai Demonstrators

Sketch by Chien Ta-hsin



Victory Belongs to the Panamanian People

Woodcut by Shu Fang

Panama is no "shore of death,"
But a land of life. We've toiled and
Sacrificed; given our lives,
We'll not fatten the Yanks more. We
demand

Full sovereignty on our canal zone! "So Yanks, go home!"

Sixty years of exploitation is more than anyone can bear; More than the Pacific can hold, Or the Atlantic; the very waves shout, Upheaving heaven and earth, engulfing

The monsters for ever. "Yanks, get out!"

Emi Siao asked in his verse The Panamanian People Has Stood Up!

> The canal is built through Panama, But it is not a Panama canal. Tell me, comrade, Why NOT?

> Panama's flag is lovely as a picture, But it must not fly over Panama. Tell me, friend, Why NOT?

After lines that excoriated Yankee imperialism, he exclaimed:

Panama's people have stood up.

With a roar like thunder they cry:

"Take your bloodied hands off
The throat of the Atlantic and
Pacific!"

"Give us back our canal!
Return us our sovereignty!"
The first thunderbolt of spring
Reverberates between two oceans!

Other poets and cartoonists collaborated to publish illustrated poems. The national press have devoted whole feature pages to poems, songs, cartoons, posters, and other contributions on the theme of Panama from both established artists and writers and workers and peasants whose sentiments poured spontaneously into a flood of art works.

Radio, TV and cinema, besides bringing news of the latest developments to the widest possible public in China, also produced special programmes composed and performed by their own staff members. In Support of the Panamanian People's Patriotic Anti-U.S. Struggle, the latest release of the Central Newsreel and Documentary Films Studio, is showing in the nation's cinemas, giving up-to-theminute coverage of demonstrations and rallies as well as background material on the struggle of the Panamanian people.

巴拿馬的風暴

(Storm Over Panama)



ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. V. Panama

After Bullets, Blackmail

Panama furnishes further proof that the Johnson Administration is as greedy and as deceitful as was its predecessor. After killing and wounding hundreds of Panamanians, it is putting on a bold face and protesting loudly about its concern for the preservation of "law and order"—all the while feverishly trying to soften up the Panamanian Government by cajolery, threats and deception.

Washington is negotiating with the Panamanian Government through the Inter-American Peace Committee. But it really hasn't the slightest intention of loosening its hold over the canal or the zone. The United States, announced Johnson on January 23, cannot abandon its "obligation to safeguard the canal against riots and vandals and sabotage and other interference, [an obligation] which rests on the precepts of international law, the requirements of international commerce and the needs of free world security." American troops, he claimed, "took only those defensive actions required to maintain law and order and to protect lives and property within the canal itself."

Panamanian President Chiari exposed the U.S. when he pointed out that Washington was conducting talks merely to win time and to mollify the resentment of the Panamanians against Yankee domination. But the Johnson Administration is doing more than that. It is trying to inveigle Panama into restoring diplomatic relations. It threatens to build another canal through Mexico or Colombia and to suspend "aid" to Panama - a U.S. blackmailing tactic now familiar to all. And just to show Washington means business, talk of a possible coup against Chiari has also appeared in American papers.

In Panama as elsewhere, the mailed fist remains the favoured arm of U.S. imperialism, though sometimes it is accompanied by pats on the back. "Concession will merely encourage more sweeping demands. . . The United States should be firm in resisting any erosion of its treaty rights

in the canal zone," says a report to Congress by a recent American mission to Latin America (U.S. News and World Report, January 27). And this is exactly how Johnson thinks. As the New York Times (January 19) noted: "Mr. Johnson is said to have sided strongly with the so-called hard-liners who opposed unnecessary concessions and stressed American national interests. His view, one observer remarked, was . . . more like that of the men in Congress who fear displays of weakness in such a crisis."

You cannot expect a leopard to change his spots.

Japan

Yankees Told to Go

More than 8,000 miles away across the Pacific, the angry waves of anti-Yankeeism which have been buffeting the Panama Canal Zone are now sweeping the shores of Japan. On January 26 hundreds of thousands of people turned out to demonstrate against the United States at some forty of its military bases in Japan. A great crowd of 125,000 workers, peasants, students and women massed near Tokyo alone to protest against the stationing at the Yokoda base of F-105D fighter-bombers, fitted to carry nuclear weapons. There, as in other parts of the country, the demonstrators voiced their strong opposition to U.S. nuclear submarines entering Japanese ports, the exercise "Quick Release" to airlift a U.S. brigade from Hawaii to Okinawa, and to the Japansouth Korea talks being master-minded by the United States. They also demanded the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Japan. This is a nationwide united action against U.S. imperialism, a curtain-raiser to the Japanese people's patriotic struggle in

The United States has already turned Okinawa, the southernmost prefecture of Japan which is under complete American control, into an extensive nuclear arsenal. Now the U.S. is busily redeploying its forces for war and aggression. The sending of F-105 D fighter-bombers to Yokoda, the biggest of all the U.S. military bases

in the country, is yet another move to turn all of Japan into a U.S. nuclear outpost. Of the 75 aircraft taking up this sinister new assignment, the first have already landed on Yokoda, and the local inhabitants demand that their menacing shooting and bombing exercises be ended at once.

Armed with "nuclear teeth" as they are, the U.S. imperialists hold no terror for the Japanese people. The first massive united action this year, taken on the morrow of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's arrival in Tokyo, is proof that they are continuing their valiant struggle in the fine traditions of 1963 and earlier years. They know that the battles they are fighting are not just their own. The nuclear war preparations of the United States which undermine the security of Japan also constitute a grave danger to peace in Asia and throughout the world. The one united demand of the Japanese people to all U.S. troops in Japan, to Rusk and his breed is - Get out of Japan and Asia.

Arab Solidarity

Summit Meeting

In Cairo the heads of state of all 13 Arab League members have successfully ended their discussions. The conference examined the situation arising from Israel's plan to channel the waters of the Jordan to the Negev, and thus pursue its expansionist policies to the detriment of the neighbouring Arab states.

This Zionist scheme has long had the backing of U.S. imperialism. The United States has consistently sought to build up Israel for its own strategic ends and to place itself in a still better position to rake in still greater profits from the Middle East oilfields. The Eisenhower Administration made repeated attempts to have the Jordan diverted. But each time it encountered stiff opposition from the Arab countries. Now the proposal is being revived under the Johnson Administration.

To meet this situation, the conference adopted "practical resolutions essential to ward off the imminent Zionist menace both in defensive and technical domains" and measures "to enable the Palestinian people to be organized and to play their role in the liberation of their country and exercise self-determination."

But Washington and the Wall Street business buccaneers who back Zionism to the hilt are interested in something more than Middle East oil and water. They intend to use Israel to bring the whole Arab world under the incubus of American domination. And they did not waste any time revealing their intentions. Three days after the Arab summit meeting the United States made a policy statement on the Near East through Alexis Johnson, its Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (see p. 12). But his declaration that "American objectives and interests are consistent with those of the people in the Near East" fooled no one, least of all the Arabs. It aroused immediate anger and resentment throughout the Middle East.

God's Shadow on Earth?

Arab newspapers, radio stations and individuals all denounced this American effrontery. The political and economic stability which Johnson described as being consistent with the interests of the people in the Middle East, they pointed out, is just so much poppycock. They came out against U.S. intervention in whatever guise. "All Arab countries reject the American statement on the Middle East," ran a banner headline in Cairo's Al Ahram on January 23. "Arab homeland is not within the American sphere of influence," said Al Gomhouria, another Cairo paper, the same day.

The day before, Al Ahram commented on the American statement in a lengthy article with the title "U.S. Is Not God's Shadow on Earth." Johnson's statement, it said, "is reminiscent of a statement by Charles E. Wilson, former U.S. Secretary of Defence and president of the General Motors Corporation, that what serves the interests of the General Motors Corporation serves at the same time the interests of the United States." In other words, what is good for the Wall Street money-bags must be good for the Arab people. It is typical of U.S. imperialism the world over.

Al Gomhouria ran three articles. In one it reviewed U.S. aggression in the Middle East since World War II. It told how the United States suppressed Arab nationalism, why it brought into being the Baghdad military pact and spawned the Eisenhower Doctrine and the vacuum theory after the tripartite aggression against Egypt. It also recalled the conspiracy of the United States against Syria and the landing of U.S. armed forces in Lebanon to strangle the Iraqi revolution in 1958. The United States, Al Gomhouria said, "is again trying to interfere in the Middle East, as it did in the Congo, where a chaotic situation has been created, and as it is doing in Asia where military dictatorships have been set up. The United States is also interfering every day in Latin America." "Whenever mention is made of the United States," it added, "Arab peoples together with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America immediately recall a long record of hostilities, manoeuvres, support of reactionaries and traitors, trouble making, civil wars and siding with backwardness."

Deputies of the Lebanese Parliament also went on record against the Johnson statement. Maurice Gemayel said that it revealed outright U.S. alignment with Israel. Amin Hafiz described it as a ruse to attract Jewish votes in the United States as the presidential election was drawing near.

Radio Damascus said that the American statement was an attack on the independence of the Arab countries, and that it reminded one of the late Secretary of State Dulles' foray into the Middle East, his clamour for filling the "political vacuum" there. U.S. policy, it said, could have only one explanation — selfishness.

Southeast Asian Limelight

Cambodia-Indonesia: In a joint statement issued in Phnom Penh on January 14, President Sukarno and Prince Sihanouk supported the holding of a Second Afro-Asian Conference. "The struggle against colonialism persists in certain parts of the world," declared the two leaders, noting that "colonialism, seemingly on the retreat, is reappearing subtly in the form of neo-colonialism, aggravated by practices of intervention and subversion."

Cambodia: Speaking to the nation over the radio, Prince Sihanouk announced that Songsakd, former president of the Bank of Phnom Penh who recently fled to south Viet Nam, is connected with the U.S. imperialists, south Vietnamese authorities and the traitorous "free Khmers." Songsakd, it is now revealed, gave 400 million riels (Cambodian currency) to the traitor Son Ngoc Thanh.

An emergency joint session of the National Assembly and the Royal Council has adopted a resolution condemning Songsakd, other Cambodian traitors and the U.S. imperialists who are trying their hardest to overthrow the Cambodian Government.

Malaysia: David Rockefeller, president of the Chase-Manhattan Bank, announced in Kuala Lumpur on January 15 that his bank planned to open a Singapore branch soon. This would be formed through the reorganization of the Netherlands Handels Bank whose Bangkok, Singapore and Hongkong branches Chase-Manhattan

bought last year. This American bank recently loaned the Rahman government U.S.\$5 million. Another New York financial house, the First National City Bank, in a recently issued special brochure, also talks of the "considerable potentialities" opened up for U.S. exports in Malaysia.

Thailand: The underground radio, the People's Voice of Thailand, has been calling on the Thais to rise against the Yankees and strive for the country's independence and neutrality. A five-point programme announced in its recent broadcasts demanded the withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops, an end to martial law and restoration of freedom of speech and political activities, observance of a policy of neutrality and peace, development of the national economy, and improvement in the lot of the working people. The radio charged that U.S. imperialism, by expanding its military bases in the country and planting secret agents in the Thai army, had turned Thailand into a colony.

Philippines: The Manila Times reports that a big smuggling ring has been uncovered at Clark Field, the U.S. Air Force base in the Philippines. Customs officials found 2,500 wrist watches in a "U.S. Military Aid Group" C-47 transport arriving from Hongkong with ten U.S. officers. The Philippines authorities, the paper says, have long known that U.S. personnel use the military bases to engage in smuggling; now they have irrefutable evidence with which to pin down the suspects.

ACROSS THE LAND

Workers' Spare-Time Schools

E IGHT Chinese workers in ten today have had an equivalent of a primary school or more advanced education. One half have attained middle school or college standards. In 1949, about 80 per cent of the workers were illiterate or semi-literate. The change was brought about by the steady influx into industry of young people from regular schools and from the steady and widespread development of spare-time schools for workers.

Between 1958 and 1962, nine million workers studied in spare-time literacy classes and schools. Of these, 600,000 completed junior or senior middle school courses and 15,000 completed college courses.

These after-work schools are generally run separately or jointly by factories and enterprises, trade unions or educational departments. Many workers also take evening or correspondence courses sponsored by regular schools, colleges and scientific institutes and radio and television schools. The courses generally follow systematic training plans, offering common subjects like Chinese, mathematics, physics and chemistry as well as theoretical and technical courses as required by the workers' trades.

At the moment there are more than 34,000 full-time faculty members assisted by 60,000 part-time teachers in spare-time schools. In Shanghai alone there are 19,000 workers and employees studying engineering in evening colleges. This equals 70 per cent of the student body in the city's regular engineering colleges.

This form of workers' education has contributed greatly in helping workers raise their political, cultural and technical levels. One out of six college-trained engineers and technicians in the Anshan steel centre are graduates of China's first spare-time engineering college in that city. At the No. 6 Oil Refinery, 345 workers became engineers or technicians through spare-time studies.

Ningsia Herdsmen Buy More Industrial Goods

A LIVELY market in consumer goods has grown up in northwest China's Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region, where once a single candle cost half a kilogramme of wool. A 1963 harvest 20 per cent heavier than 1962 and more livestock on hand have meant that peasants and herdsmen are selling large amounts of eggs, edible oil, meat, wool and hides to

state trading organizations. In turn, they are snapping up an increasing amount of industrial merchandise.

Local stores in China's largest community of Islamic Hui people carry a stock of some 10,000 varieties of manufactured goods to meet an expanding rural market. Twice as many bicycles were sold in the first ten months last year as in 1962. Sales of radios, silk and high-grade textiles, tea, sugar and chinaware from coastal industrial centres and Ningsia factories have hit a new high. Compared with 1950, sales of sugar, tea, and silk fabrics have soared from 10- to 26-fold.

This once isolated region was among the poorest in pre-liberation days. A backward economy and poor transport throttled economic progress and guaranteed high prices for manufactured goods. Even sewing needles and matches were not made locally. All goods came via camel caravan or up the Yellow River on small, manhauled junks.

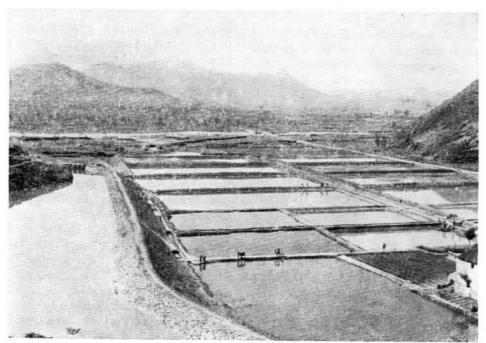
Trading organizations selling at equitable prices have been set up in every people's commune and production brigade. Since the Paotow-Lanchow Railway, the first in this region, was opened to traffic in 1958, prices of industrial articles have dropped 20 per cent. The building of roads also helped reduce transport costs.

Building Water Conservancy Works

W INTER is a slack farming season for most of the Chinese country-side but not an idle one. Groundwork for the year's crops is laid, land has to be turned over or irrigated and hibernating pests exterminated. Above all, the decisive factor is the building of new water conservancy works and the extension and consolidation of those in existence.

Well under way this winter is the water conservancy works drive. Compared with last year, more commune members are engaged on projects aiming at bigger harvests and countering future adverse weather. Concentration is on linking existing reservoirs, canals and ditches. Along with new works, regular maintenance is being carried out as usual.

In the year ending last September, people's communes brought an additional 1.4 million hectares under irrigation. For the farmers, water conser-



Irrigation channels and paddies in Chekiang Province

vancy's contribution has been well demonstrated and enthusiasm for building additional projects this winter is high.

More rapid development of water conservancy projects in major grain and cotton regions is ensured—on the Kiang-Han plain between the Yangtse and Han Rivers in central China, in the Yangtse and Pearl River deltas in the east and the south, and in the low-lying regions along the Yellow and Sungari Rivers in north and northeast China.

Irrigation and drainage in recent years is largely responsible for last year's rich cotton and rice harvest in the chronically drought stricken and waterlogged Kiang-Han plain. In the far-off arid highlands of Tibet irrigation has been extended to 80 per cent of the farmland, and this year peasants will irrigate several thousand additional hectares.

Yangtse River Traffic

THE changing face of China has not found the nation's largest waterway, the Yangtse River, unaffected. In addition to transporting millions of passengers yearly, the 5,800-kilometre river now carries almost half the nation's inland water freight, in terms of ton-kilometres.

Winding through nine provinces the Yangtse has long been a major trade artery. Its natural limitations are being whittled down. One-thousandton vessels can now sail 2,500 kilometres upriver from Shanghai, China's largest seaport. Larger freighters move industrial goods to the countryside and bring back farm produce to the urban centres. Refrigerated barges and special barges for handling diversified cargoes have been built for carrying pigs, oil and ore. Between 1953 and 1957 alone enough grain was moved along the Yangtse from Szechuan Province on its upper reaches to feed a million mouths for 40 years.

One of the important changes on the river has taken place along the 600-kilometre stretch between the ports of Chungking in Szechuan and Ichang in Hupeh Province where hundreds of jutting and submerged rocks made shipping hazardous. In addition, frequent fog and swift flowing water through the narrow sections made the Three Gorges along this run a navigator's nightmare. Night navigation

was not even attempted before 1954. Since 1949 millions of cubic metres of rock and silt have been moved and thousands of navigation aids installed. Resulting night voyages have thus made for faster sailings between the two ports—a round trip has been cut from nine to a little over four days.

In recent years the opening of direct freight service on the Yangtse has helped the rural areas. For example, runs between Shanghai and Hunan Province ports have eliminated delays formerly caused by having to tranship cargoes at Wuhan thereby halving the time taken to move freight.

Medical Care for Lumberjacks

L UMBERING areas in the Great Khingan Mountains in Inner Mongolia, one of the nation's largest, cover a vast stretch of difficult land linked by thousands of kilometres of rail and roads. However, for lumberjacks free medical care at the nearest clinic or hospital is simple.

All 90 permanent lumber settlements have their clinics, and there are over a dozen hospitals in the townships. The hospital in Yakoshih, site of the forestry administration, has a medical staff of 220 and more than 200 beds. All hospitals are able to undertake thoracic and abdominal operations. The Yakoshih Hospital can handle heart and other complicated operations.

Before liberation there was neither a single hospital nor a doctor in the whole area. Many lumbermen died of curable diseases each year.

Apart from four sanatoria, the forestry area has six homes for retired lumberjacks. During the lumbering season medical teams make the rounds of felling sites to give treatment, but more often their work is just to check on hygiene and teach first aid.

Best Newsreels and Documentaries

CHINA'S ten best newsreels and documentaries of 1963 were given citations by the Ministry of Culture on January 17.

Some of the winners dealt with the struggles of the people in various countries and their deep friendship with the Chinese people such as Support the American Negroes' Struggle, China-Cambodia Friendship Blossoms,

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Korea and Resolute Algeria which won a 1963 top award at the 5th International African Film Festival in Mogadishu, capital of the Republic of Somalia. Among others awarded were one on 1963's good harvest A Bumper Year for the People's Communes, Brief News, Highlights of World News and China Today. Minister of Culture Shen Yen-ping also awarded citations to the cameramen of the ten prizewinning films.

The meeting was attended by Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier. He congratulated the cameramen and called on the staff of the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio to make more and better films serving the workers, peasants and soldiers; the socialist revolution and construction; and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

Briefs

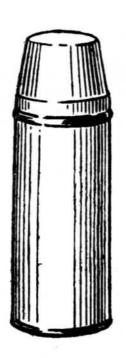
Last year marked a peak for China's woollen textile industry in the amount of new varieties and patterns of woollens manufactured in a single year. Two new mills in pastoral areas went into full production last year—in Inner Mongolia and Chinghai Province in the northwest. These and another eight mills being built or extended will add 60,000 spindles turning out 11 million sq. m. of woollen fabrics annually. The ten mills were designed by Chinese technicians.

The biggest winter haul of hair-tail fish to date—10,000 tons more than last winter—were caught by mid-January in the Choushan fishing grounds off east China's Chekiang coast. The increased use of motorized fishing junks and improved net casting methods considerably raised the catch per vessel.

A group of scientists completed a four-month study of the permanently frozen subsoil on the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau in west China. A small meteorological station (5,000 metres above sea level) and research station have been set up. Lying in the temperate zone, the frozen earth is covered by vegetation and thus differs from the tundra in the Arctic lowlands of Eurasia and in North America.

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