

PEKING REVIEW

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March 4, 1966

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CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI ON VIETNAM QUESTION

In Yangtan People's Commune

A comprehensive survey of a rural people's commune.
The first of six articles by *Peking Review's* own
correspondents who spent several weeks in the country-
side to find out how things stand there.

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PEKING REVIEW

March 4, 1966

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A Rising Generation of Heirs To the Revolution

EIGHT and a half million young people joined the Communist Youth League of China last year, the largest number ever to qualify for membership in a single year.

As the Communist Party's invaluable assistant, the Youth League is a school which educates the young in the communist spirit. It plays an important role in rallying the nation's youth—one of the most active and dynamic forces in the socialist era—in building a strong and prosperous socialist China.

Last year's big addition to the Youth League's membership is more than an increase in number. It reflects the rapid progress by China's youth in the revolutionization of their thinking and is an unmistakable indication of the gradual maturing of a new generation of heirs to the revolution.

Since building socialism and communism is an arduous task which will take five to ten or more generations, the educating of revolutionary successors—a vital political and strategic question—has always received the Party's close attention.

Throughout the period of transition to communism, there will be class struggle, an important aspect of which is the struggle to win over the youth. Class enemies both at home and abroad place their hopes of bringing about the restoration of capitalism in China on the degeneration of youth. That arch-enemy of the Chinese people, the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, openly prayed for what he called a "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism in China, and when unable to realize his fond wish, he pinned his hopes on our third and fourth generations. Not

reconciled to their defeat, other U.S. reactionaries have been day-dreaming that they might in the long run turn the trick in the same way they had succeeded with the Khrushchov revisionists. The latest protagonist of such wishful thinking is U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy. Last month in California, he made no bones about the United States looking to the future in anticipation of eventual evolutionary change in China, a change in which the present leaders, as he put it, "in due course will be replaced with a new generation of leaders."

All this is a fool's paradise. Educated by the Party in the spirit of the great revolutionary traditions, staunch and reliable young revolutionaries are advancing on the road of socialism. They are steeling themselves and maturing in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for pro-

duction and scientific experiment. And it is through tests in these movements that last year's new League members were selected—young activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works, good fighters in the class struggle and shock workers in the struggle for production.

Most of the new members are from working class or former poor-peasant families—the exploited in the old society and the most resolute to take the socialist road today. Of the 490,000 new members in Szechuan, Liaoning and Kansu Provinces and in Shanghai, 80 per cent are of working class or poor-peasant origin. They have a high level of class consciousness, are full of revolutionary fervour and maintain close ties with the masses. Many other newcomers are from families of exploiting classes; they have remoulded their ideology and are determined to carry forward the revolution.

As the nucleus of the nation's youth, the Communist Youth League will rally them to great endeavours and contribute to the early realization of the ideal state of the future whose groundwork has been laid with the establishment of the socialist system.

Eastward Shift in U.S. Global Strategy

DEFEATS and mounting casualties on the battlefield have set off a heated debate inside the Washington establishment over the Johnson Administration's policy of aggression against Vietnam. Congressional tempers are frayed and hot words are exchanged. Public figures, generals, journalists, students and intellectuals have joined in the "great debate." On the question of Vietnam, never before have so many American people expressed so much dissent over Washington's policy. And never before has the capital's mood been so uneasy and anxious.

Over and above the din being raised within U.S. ruling circles is the clamour for the "containment" of China. For some time, the U.S. press has been writing about the United States moving the preponderant weight of its military power from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and converting its Russia-facing strategy to a China-facing one. The first explicit official statement to this effect came from Defence Secretary Robert McNamara on February 23. In his report to a closed session of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Subcommittee on Defence Appropriations, he admitted

that "the focus of the U.S. defence problem has shifted perceptibly [from Europe] toward the Far East."

Many factors account for this wheeling about in U.S. global strategy. For one thing, there is Washington's urgent need to save itself from complete defeat in Vietnam. Pentagon strategists fear that such a defeat will bring in its wake what they call "falling dominoes," which in plain language means other countries will rise like south Vietnam to shake off the U.S. imperialist yoke. China's firm support to revolutionary struggles is looked upon by U.S. imperialism as a thorn in its side, and this is why it is trying to build a "containing wall" around China. The Khrushchov revisionists who have betrayed the interests of the revolutionary peoples are becoming increasingly subservient to the U.S. imperialists, and this enables the latter to direct most of their military power eastward. The "new opportunities," as McNamara said in his report, have been provided for the "free world" by developments in the Soviet Union which make "overt aggression" against the United States and its Atlantic allies "increasingly unlikely." *Time* magazine (February 18) wrote in the same vein that "Moscow once was the menace and Europe the cockpit" but that the "threat is now posed by Red China."

It is not strange that China, which unequivocally supports the revolu-

Japanese C.P. Delegation in Peking

A Japanese Communist Party delegation led by General Secretary Kenji Miyamoto arrived in Peking on February 28 after a visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

That evening, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party gave a banquet in honour of the Japanese comrades. Vice-Chairmen Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai and General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping attended.

Liu Shao-chi spoke at the banquet and proposed a toast to the further development of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Japa-

nese Communist Parties formed in the struggle against imperialism, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism, and to new victories in the revolutionary struggles of the two peoples.

Kenji Miyamoto, in his speech, said that the Japanese C.P. delegation's visit would strengthen the militant friendship between the two Parties and between the Japanese and Chinese peoples. He wished the Chinese people still greater successes in their socialist construction and the Chinese Communist Party still greater development.

tionary struggles of the peoples everywhere, should now be looked upon by U.S. imperialism as its chief enemy and obstacle in its ambitious drive to dominate the world. This is not the first time that anti-communist slogans are being used as a smoke-screen for expansionist schemes. Hitler and the Japanese warlords used them as a pretext for enslaving the people at home and for aggression abroad. Shortly after World War II, when the Soviet Union was a bulwark preventing the domination of the world by Washington, U.S. imperialism pro-

claimed far and wide about containing Soviet expansion and about a U.S.-Soviet war. Shouting about a U.S.-Soviet war is no longer the vogue. Instead U.S. imperialism is now openly talking about a confrontation with China.

The eastward shift of U.S. global strategy is a desperate effort by Washington to avert defeat in Vietnam and a grave step in its preparations for launching a war against China. In achieving its aims, U.S. imperialism will first have to strengthen its domination over the countries around China. In outlining U.S. counter-revolutionary strategy in the Far East, McNamara stressed the importance of India, Thailand, Laos, the Philippines, Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan and south Korea. This amounts to admitting that U.S. imperialism will tighten its control and use them as pawns in its aggression.

Oppression generates opposition. U.S. imperialist plans to enslave the Asian peoples will only arouse their strong opposition and hasten the arrival of a new, great anti-U.S. revolutionary storm.



Moving into the East?

Cartoon by Jack Chen

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on Vietnam Question

As U.S. imperialism has not given up its aggressive aims, any peace talks initiative, whatever the subjective wish, is objectively bound to help the United States prolong its occupation of south Vietnam and perpetuate the division of Vietnam. All Afro-Asian countries have the duty to support and help the Vietnamese people, and must not take a middle position between the aggressor and the victim of aggression.

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, discussed the Vietnam question in his speech at the banquet in honour of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, on February 24. Following are excerpts of Chairman Liu's speech. — Ed.

IN order to seize south Vietnam and divide Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has torn the Geneva agreements to shreds and launched an unprecedentedly brutal war of aggression in south Vietnam. Their national existence threatened, the Vietnamese people have no choice but to rise up in resistance. The great Vietnamese people are a people with a high political consciousness and a glorious tradition of anti-imperialist struggle. They will certainly triumph in their just struggle. The United States cannot save itself from a defeat which is foredoomed, no matter how many reinforcements it sends in and no matter how modern the weapons it uses.

In order to salvage something out of its failures, U.S. imperialism, while expanding the war, is now making various "peace" gestures, and prating about its "sincere desire for peace." But the whole world can see that, while clamouring for a "peaceful settlement," U.S. imperialism is in fact expanding the war. The recent Honolulu conference has further revealed that the intention of the United States is to maintain the darkest and the most reactionary rule of its puppets, which has been imposed on the south Vietnamese people, and to carry on its sanguinary and murderous war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. U.S. imperialism has in no way given up its aggressive aims. How can there be any talk of its sincere desire for peace?

In these circumstances, any peace talks initiative, whatever the subjective wish, is objectively bound to help the United States achieve its aim of prolonging its occupation of south Vietnam and perpetuating the division of Vietnam. In his speech at the opening session of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in May 1965, President Nkrumah said that the Vietnam question "can only be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves" and that "for any appeal for negotia-

tions to merit consideration, it must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign military presence." These words are completely correct. They represent a forceful reply to the various "peace talks" manoeuvres now being engineered by the United States.

The Vietnamese people long ago pointed out the only solution to the Vietnam question, namely, that the United States must accept the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, it must stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its forces as well as those of its vassals from south Vietnam, it must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems by themselves. If, instead of doing all this, the United States persists in its reckless course, the Vietnamese people are determined, as they have long since declared, to fight on till the U.S. aggressors are thoroughly defeated. In his recent letters to the heads of various countries, President Ho Chi Minh said in clear-cut terms: "The Vietnamese people will never submit to the U.S. imperialists' threats. . . . So long as the U.S. army of aggression still remains on our soil, our people will resolutely fight against it."

All of us Afro-Asian countries had been subjected to imperialist and colonialist oppression and aggression for a long time. We are affected by the fate of the Vietnamese people as deeply as if it were our own. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is a powerful support to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. All Afro-Asian countries have the duty to support and help the Vietnamese people, and must not take a middle position between the aggressor and the victim of aggression. Together with the other Afro-Asian peoples, the Chinese people are determined to carry the struggle through to the end in supporting and aiding the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and stopping the U.S. imperialist aggression.

China Lodges Strong Protest With Indonesia

On February 25 another anti-China outrage, engineered by Right-wing Indonesian forces supporting Nasution, took place in Makasar, southwest Sulawesi. The local Chinese Consulate was attacked and the Consul and other consulate personnel were assaulted and injured. This gross encroachment upon the privileges of a diplomatic mission and the personal safety of consulate personnel is a shocking violation of principles guiding international relations and a most serious provocation to China.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a note of protest to the Indonesian Embassy in China on February 27 demands that the Indonesian Government make a public apology, punish the culprits and their instigators, compensate the Chinese Consulate for all its losses and ensure against the occurrence of similar incidents. The note reads in part as follows:

ON February 25, 1966, after the mass meeting pledging loyalty to President Sukarno which was presided over by the Governor of Makasar, over 300 hooligans, who claimed to come from the "Indonesian College Students' United Action Command," rushed to the gate of the Chinese Consulate in Makasar at 09:00 hours (local time) carrying clubs, stones and sharp weapons and madly shouted such slogans as "Crush the People's Republic of China!" "Drive out the People's Republic of China!" "Drive out Chinamen!" and "Long live Nasution!" At 09:15 hours these hooligans pushed down the iron gate of the Consulate, broke into its compound, attacked everybody they ran into and hit the consulate personnel with stones. Chinese Consul Shih Chin-kan was attacked and injured in the chest and elbow. All other consulate personnel were also attacked and injured. Particularly serious was the injury suffered by Lin Shen-mu, a consulate functionary, who bled from a wound in the abdomen. Some hooligans even drew daggers for threatening. At the same time, they smashed up the office rooms and living quarters of the Consulate. The doors, windows and roof tiles of the Consulate and the metal tables and chairs, electric lamps and fans and telephones in the office rooms were most seriously damaged. The hooligans even smashed a bust of the Chinese people's beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, carried away the Chinese national emblem and the copper plate of the Consulate, forcibly hoisted the Indonesian national flag on the consulate flagstaff and inscribed the slogan "Long live Nasution!" on the gate and the wall. This outrage lasted one hour and ten minutes.

It must be pointed out that two days before this outrage, that is, at 23:00 hours (local time) on February 23, the hooligans of the Indonesian Right-wing forces already made an attack on the Chinese Consulate in Makasar. They wildly shouted anti-Chinese slogans in

front of the Consulate and threw stones into the compound. Against this the Chinese Consul lodged a strong protest with responsible officials of the provincial government of Makasar, who promised to ensure the safety of the Consulate and guaranteed that similar incidents would not recur. The Chinese Embassy, too, lodged a protest with the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and asked the Indonesian Government to truly guarantee the safety of the Chinese Consulate in Makasar. But the Indonesian Government and the local authorities in Makasar failed to adopt the necessary measures. When the hooligans attacked the Chinese Consulate in Makasar on February 25, the troops and police on the spot looked on with folded arms and allowed the hooligans to perpetrate their outrages. Even after the departure of the hooligans, the troops and police unreasonably prevented the Chinese Consulate from hauling down the Indonesian national flag which had been hoisted on the consulate flagstaff, and brazenly declared that this was the order of the Commander of the Makasar base. Despite repeated representations by the Chinese Consulate, the Indonesian national flag was not hauled down and taken away until six o'clock in the afternoon. While the Chinese Consul was protesting against this outrage to the face of responsible military and political officers of Makasar, the local navy commander present went so far as to defend the hooligans and direct unfounded charges against China. These facts fully prove that this outrage, which was obviously engineered by the Right-wing forces supporting Nasution, had the connivance and support of certain military and political authorities of the locality.

This barbarous outrage of smashing up the Chinese Consulate in Makasar and assaulting and injuring the Chinese Consul and consulate personnel by the Indo-

(Continued on p. 21.)

In Yangtan People's Commune

How it is organized, how it works, how its members live and their future plans.
The first of six articles, the result of an on-the-spot survey made by a team of
Peking Review correspondents.

YANGTAN People's Commune in Shansi Province is a day and a night rail and road journey from Peking. It is in Chuwo County, in the area known as Tsinnan (the south Shansi) Basin famous for its cotton and wheat. This is in the heart of the Yellow River loess lands that saw the birth of Chinese civilization five millenia ago.

In June, last year, we reached Houma on the Hui, a tributary of the Fen. This is the administrative centre of Chuwo County. Yangtan is one of the fifteen rural people's communes that make up the county.

We put up that night at the hostel run by the Chuwo authorities and there next day we met Fan Cheh-ju, deputy secretary of the county Communist Party committee. He smiled with pleasure when we told him that we were going to visit Yangtan.

"A good commune," he commented. "That's up on the southern slopes of Ta-erh Mountain, 30 km. north-east of here. That commune has had to deal with some of the worst natural conditions in the whole county. Dry soil; very uneven; mostly on the slope. There are no streams up there and before liberation the people were at the mercy of both drought and heavy rains. In those days it was a wretched, poverty-stricken place. The people lived mostly in loess cave houses. Half the year they half starved. Things got better after libera-

tion and the land reform and the setting up of the farm co-ops, but it was the commune that brought about a radical change. It's a fine place now!"

Comrade Fan was himself going to Yangtan and we arranged to go with him. He was an excellent guide. He had joined the revolution while still in his teens 20 years ago, and had worked in Chuwo for the past ten years. He knew

the place inside and out and, drawing on a quick memory, could rattle off facts and figures. He told us:

"Chuwo County has a population of nearly 220,000 people. We farm 580,000 *mu* of crop land, mainly wheat and cotton. And some tobacco; around 20,000 *mu* of it. It's been a famous local product here for the last 400 years. Those are the main crops, but there are also beans, sweet potatoes, peppers, eggplant, tomatoes, cucumbers and so on. And fruit: dates, persimmons, pomegranates, peaches, apples, walnuts. . . ."

We made the trip to Yangtan conveniently by bus which, travelling a circular route, touches directly on thirteen of Chuwo's fifteen communes. The other two adjoin Houma. Our bus made good time on a well-kept road, asphalted for part of the way. Irrigation channels and ditches kept the land well-watered and the yellow loess soil of Chuwo is very fertile when well watered and tended. The maize stood half as high as a man and the cotton plants swung their leaves as if in welcome. Along the roads and channels grew lines of aspens and willows. They gave the countryside a settled, prosperous air.

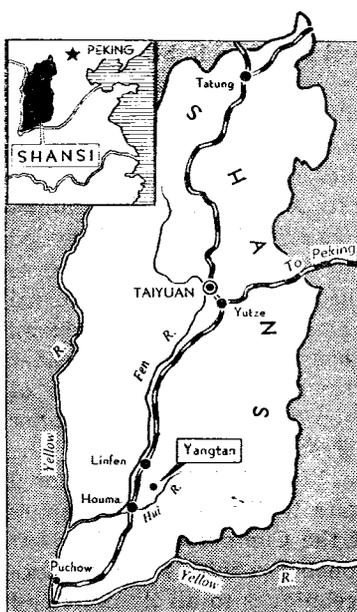
"This looks like south of the Yangtse. Who said the fields of north China were dry and barren!"

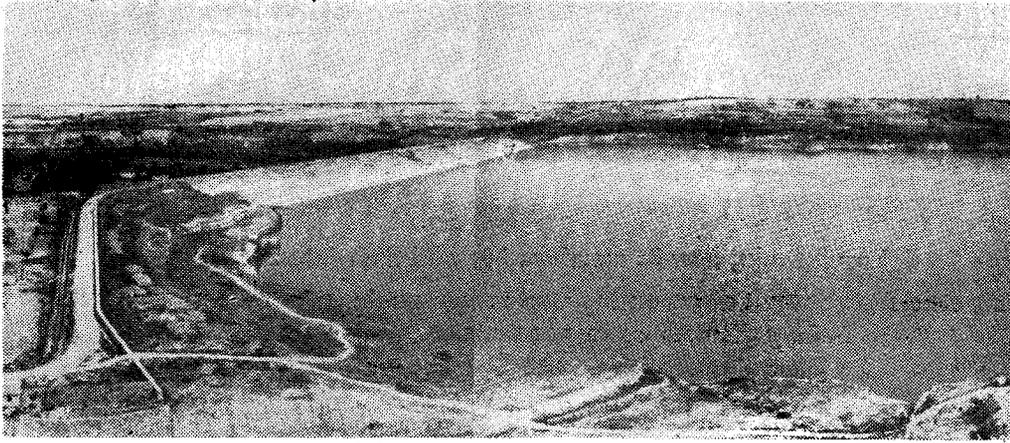
Comrade Fan couldn't let that pass.

"Things change," he reminded us. "If you had come here before 1958 you would have seen the crops here looking yellow, dry and sparse. The whole of this county had only 20,000 *mu* of irrigated land. Even getting water to that amount was hard work. The water came mostly from wells, and men and cattle turned the wheels. A long drought would dry up the wells and there would be terrible hardship. When the communes were formed in 1958, one of the first decisions of the peasants was to build a reservoir on the Hui, dig channels to the fields and so give a good guarantee to Chuwo County against drought and famine."

The Strength of the Communes

"Before liberation no one had ever dreamt of such a scheme. After 1949, the idea was raised several times but there were so many difficulties that it never got past the discussion stage. We didn't have any qualified civil engineers. How could tens of thousands of people be mobilized and organized? Where would the materials come from? And so on. But when the





The Hui River Reservoir

communes were formed they seemed to set the people . . . well, how shall I say it? . . . give them extra strength, inspire them.

"The boundaries between the small co-operatives disappeared and the peasants could be organized on a big scale. We really had plenty of manpower here in Chuwo and under the communes it could be mobilized and deployed properly. We all got the spirit of the Party's general line too: Go all out, aim high and get greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. People began thinking big and doing big. We soon learnt the know-how and with all the communes co-operating it took us only a little over a year to finish the Hui River Reservoir." Later we saw the work.

They had built an earth and rockfill dam 650 metres long and 30 metres high. The base width was 180 metres, tapering to 7 metres at the top to carry the roadway. This had blocked the neck of a valley which could hold 75 million cubic metres of water. Besides building the dam, they had cut 200 kilometres of channels. Altogether 6 million cubic metres of earth were moved, enough for a wall a metre high and broad extending 6,000 kilometres, longer than the Great Wall.

The reservoir paid immediate dividends. In 1958 the Hui irrigated 30,000 *mu*; the next year water from the reservoir irrigated 90,000 *mu*, and the year after that 160,000 *mu*. Now channels and ditches carry its water to 180,000 *mu*. It was also a timely investment. From 1959 to 1961 the county suffered from drought, but thanks to the reservoir each year a larger and larger area could be irrigated. Good harvests resulted. In those three years irrigation helped increase output by a total of 39,270,000 *jin* of grain, maize and wheat; 2,770,000 *jin*¹ of cotton and around 90 million *jin* of vegetables. This was an enormous encouragement to the commune members and the lesson was well learnt. "When we worked individually," they said, "we never managed to beat the drought, but now, with our communes, even in a drought year output goes up!"

¹ All figures relating to cotton here and later refer to ginned cotton.

Other small reservoirs built by the communes brought irrigation to a total of 36 per cent of the county's cultivated land.

From the irrigated land of the valley, our bus now began the climb up the lower slopes of Ta-erh. The scenery changed abruptly. In place of the spreading fields of the Chuwo plain we passed by thousands of terraced fields that

encircled the flanks of the mountain like so many giant steps.

Hearing of a threatened drought, we had been worried that Yangtan, whose fields are above the plain floor, would be affected, but we found the wheat growing as well as that in the irrigated fields of the Hui valley and the cotton was also not doing badly.

Comrade Fan explained: "That's because we made the terraced fields in such a way that they hold back the water when it rains. That's one of the benefits the commune brought. You'll see how it works when you visit them and take a closer look."

Our bus climbed a final slope and turned a corner that brought us to the centre of Yangtan village by the commune's central co-op store.

Yangtan's Deputy Party Secretary

Next day we were greeted by Wang Teh-ho, commune deputy Party secretary and also Party secretary of the Yangtan Production Brigade. Getting on for fifty now, he is lean of face and body. He was dressed in typical north China peasant style: white cotton jacket and black trousers with the bottoms rolled up to his strong calves. A white towel was tied lightly round his head in lieu of a hat. He had just come from the fields. When we enquired about him later we were told that he was originally a poor peasant of Yangtan who had been bitterly exploited by the landlords. He had been among the first to join the Communist Party in Yangtan after liberation. Trained and guided by the Party, he had been in the van in the great revolutionary movements that had surged across the Shansi countryside. He was an activist in the land reform, leader of the first mutual-aid team in Yangtan, leader of the first elementary farm co-op and leader too of the first advanced farm co-op, that was the forerunner of the present Yangtan Production Brigade of the Yangtan People's Commune. Wang Teh-ho is a national model farmer and a Delegate to the National People's Congress. As a member of the Commune Management Committee he is mainly concerned with farm production: spreading advanced techniques to all its units and

raising the yields of the main crops. We heard much praise of him in the time we were in Yangtan.

He briefed us on the general background of Yangtan Commune. It has 26 villages containing 2,400 families totalling 11,000 persons. These make up 10 production brigades with 61 production teams farming 40,000 *mu* of what is technically called "dry land" on the lower slopes of Ta-erh Mountain. Higher up the mountain the commune owns more than 10,000 *mu* suitable for orchards and afforestation.

We could have had no better guide for a visit to the commune. With him we climbed up Ta-erh Mountain to get a birds' eye view of Yangtan. It was a magnificent sight. Away to the right glittered the silver ribbon of the Fen. Southwest over the plain lay Purple Mountain shrouded in the mist of distance. Looking down we now saw that Ta-erh stands like a three-peaked mass on a pedestal of terraces. These number thousands. No one has counted them but going up in a straight line at one point we counted over three hundred on one side of the road. At the bottom they formed broad fields of wheat and cotton; where we stood, they were little more than ledges on which herbs and saplings were growing. Just below us were orchards of persimmons, apples and pears. Higher up we startled a flight of pheasants that flew heavily to right and left of us. Here the saplings grew in little niches cut in the steep rocky slope.

The terracing is a major feat of engineering. The edge of each terrace contours the slope (at right angles to the fall of the ground). It is of tamped earth 50 cm. to a metre or more high and forms a wall broad enough to walk on. The field surfaces are canted so that the outer edge is higher than that against the side of the next terrace. This keeps rainwater from spilling over the edges. The thrifty Yangtan farmers use the fallow, sun-baked outer side of the terraces as fertilizer.

Terracing the Slopes

This terracing is one of the major activities of capital construction on which the present prosperity of the commune is based.

On the way down the slope Comrade Wang pointed out a small plot of unploughed land strewn with stones and overgrown with weeds.

"That's what our land looked like in the old days. We leave it unploughed so that the youngsters can get an idea of what things were like. In those days we worked individually, each for himself. We were always afraid either of drought or heavy rainstorms. The 40,000 *mu* of land which was farmed then was split up into 15,000 small plots on the lower Ta-erh slopes, in the ravines and higher up. Many of them were stony, like this. If it didn't rain, it would be too dry even for the kaoliang (sorghum) to grow. When it rained heavily in the summer the run-off would sweep the topsoil away and carry the plants with it as it ran down the mountain side. Yields were low both for cotton and wheat. When their little stores of food ran out, the poor peasants had to eat bran and wild vegetables. They wanted to change all that, but to think that our land would look like this" . . . and he swept his arm over the neatly terraced, crop-laden slopes . . . "would have seemed like a wild dream."

"Did they know about terracing in those days?"

"Oh, yes! They knew. But how to get it done? That was the point. There was one well-to-do middle peasant here called Li Kuo-tung. He and his family tried to terrace the side of one small ravine. That family worked on that job for fifty years and failed. The trouble was that such a project has to be treated as a whole: the whole ravine must be terraced, otherwise . . . say you build terraces here," and he indicated a spot towards the mouth of a ravine, "but the farmer higher up fails to terrace his fields, then your terraces will be either undermined or destroyed by soil and water coming down on top of them from above."

"When we formed elementary and advanced farm co-ops there seemed to be a better chance for success. They had more manpower to deploy than mutual-aid teams and controlled a larger area, but still the job couldn't be done satisfactorily. This is a job that has to be done on a big scale to succeed. That is why only the commune could do it. It could plan for

About China's Rural Communes

PRACTICALLY all the farmlands of China are cultivated by state farms and rural people's communes. The communes are large-scale, socialist collective economic organizations; they run diversified economies including farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery; and they are also the basic organs of state power. They are thus an entirely new form of social organization in China's rural areas.

In structure and management, all communes are basically the same. Yet they naturally differ considerably from area to area in level of management, levels and nature of production, standards of living and so on. In the rich lands of the Yangtse and Pearl

River deltas some flourishing communes are raising annual yields of up to 1,200 *jin* of rice or 150 *jin* of cotton (ginned) per *mu*. Wheat yields per *mu* in the best lands of the central China wheat belt rise to 300-400 *jin*.

Yangtan Commune, here described, rates "average" among the communes of the northern province of Shansi, but its Yangtan Production Brigade is regarded as an "advanced unit." This brigade raised its record average yield of 138 *jin* of cotton per *mu* in 1963 and 402 *jin* of wheat per *mu* in 1965. Yangtan Commune is regarded as a typical commune of a dry, hilly area of north China's cotton and wheat belt.

the whole area and had the manpower to tackle the work systematically and over a long period. The peasants worked in their production teams and brigades, but the commune planned the whole job here and co-ordinated its plans with the neighbouring communes. Naturally it consulted and took advice from the teams and brigades because these know their own land better than anyone else. It unified the work of the brigades. So step by step we terraced the slopes and ravines. It was a lot of work: We built 170 kilometres of earth embankments. That meant moving 328,000 cubic metres of earth. We also rationalized the arrangements of plots by filling in and levelling up fields. We started with 15,000 small plots and ended with 9,000 larger ones.

It is hard to over-estimate the importance of terracing. In this part of Chuwo County there is no river water readily available for irrigation. Except for rain, snow and a small spring or two, water comes from underground cisterns where rainwater is collected and from wells, some of them over 70 metres deep, from which water was drawn by windlass. So the main effort has been put into terracing as a means of soil conservation and of preserving every drop of water that falls from the skies, and meticulous cultivation of the terraces so as to retard evaporation.

Better Transport and Mechanization

From where we stood on Ta-erh Mountain we could see the well-kept motor road running from Houma to Yangtan and then winding along the Ta-erh slopes to all the Yangtan brigades. Communications, Wang Teh-ho told us, were another important problem tackled by the commune.

"We have ten production brigades, but when we started, four of them could not be reached by lorry. Six brigades moved their goods mostly by shoulder pole. The commune repaired the old roads, built new ones, and put all the field paths in order. We laid 38 kilometres of motor road to link up the brigades. We arranged the fields so that 80 per cent of all the commune's land can be worked with tractors."

The tractors and their drivers, we learnt, come from the Chuwo County Farm Machinery Station and the machines are used mostly for heavy ploughing and threshing. It is not worth using tractors on plots under three *mu* in area.

There are 42 engines, steam, gasoline and diesel in the commune. Every brigade has a fleet of small carts running on two cycle wheels, 640 of them all told, versatile little things that carry manure, fuel, water,



Terraced fields of the Yangtan Commune

cotton and what not; 68 pneumatic-tyred carts pulled by horses, mules or oxen. The Yangtan Brigade has three lorries. The backbreaking work of carrying heavy loads on men's backs has ended.

Even more encouraging is the fact that Yangtan Production Brigade began to use electricity on a considerable scale last year. Electrically powered machines are now doing such heavy manual labour as ginning cotton, threshing and milling wheat and cutting hay for livestock feed.

The old kerosene lamps have given way to electric lights in the offices and organizations of the commune and Yangtan Brigade. Bulbs will be installed in homes too. The other brigades are getting ready to install electricity. The current comes from the thermal power plant of Linfen, north of Houma.

Diversified Growing Economy

Later we toured the Yangtan Brigade's property. We saw its 15,000 *mu* of land terraced and tended with a gardener's meticulousness; its market gardens, orchards, piggery, stables, carpenters' and blacksmiths' workshops, cotton ginning and packing workshop, oil press, tile and brick yard, vinegar making shop, tree nurseries, timber stands, granary, store houses, experimental fields and veterinary station. Yangtan is making a serious effort in animal-breeding. In the well-equipped artificial insemination station is a magnificent chestnut stallion from the far-away Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang, and a great black and white bull. Fifty colonies of bees sweeten life for the brigade members. And a meteorological station keeps them posted on the weather.

Wang Teh-ho explained how the commune was systematically diversifying its economy and allocating and training members to develop not only farming in several branches, but forestry, animal husbandry and other side-occupations. Even the farm co-ops were limited in their productive activities. The commune

has broken out of those limitations both in scale and variety of occupations.

One afternoon as we rested on the slopes, Wang Teh-ho described how one of the earlier farm co-ops had tried to go in for forestry. "But it failed. They had no specialized forestry group. They planted saplings but many died. After the commune was formed almost every brigade organized a special forestry group. These learnt their jobs properly. Experienced comrades were assigned to guide them. They organized nurseries, planted saplings and looked after them well. Forestry developed rapidly. The rest of the commune members were organized to take part in the big 'four sides' campaign. Trees were planted at the sides of roads, ditches, houses and villages. We planted 1.2 million trees this way. Besides that, the forestry groups have reclaimed 1,225 *mu* of mountain slopes and planted 200,000 trees there."

We could see the results of all this activity beautifying the whole landscape. Big-leafed aspens, fast growers, predominated along the roads. Smooth-barked plane trees varied the tall spiky silhouettes of the aspens. The annual prunings from the trees provide firewood. The fruit trees are already bearing. Along with the persimmons and walnuts for which the area is famous, the Yangtan Brigade members got their first half *jin* of apples each last year.

"Come back in a few years and you'll see that upper Ta-erh Mountain will no longer look bare. We'll be growing timber all the way to the top and fruit and other trees below."

A shepherd with a flock of sheep and goats bleating their way to a higher pasture, brought up the subject of livestock. The teams and brigades manage and care for all the draught animals. As to pigs, the commune strictly follows the policy laid down by the Party and People's Government that they should be raised both on a collective and private basis and with the stress on individual efforts. As a result the commune now has 3,800 pigs, an average of 1.6 a household and three times as many as when farming was on an individual basis. The teams or brigades run piggeries, breeding and veterinary stations but most pigs are raised in members' farmyards. The commune has 4,500 sheep and goats, an average of 1.9 per household or double the number they had when the peasants farmed individually. These valuable side-occupations have not only raised incomes and living standards directly but supply good quality fertilizer, enrich the farmland and so, by helping to raise better crops, further enrich the commune and its members. Yangtan puts the raising of livestock and increased output of farmyard manure high on its list of the ingredients of prosperity.

It Adds Up to Socialist Well-Being

Yangtan Commune stretches ten kilometres from north to south and 15 kilometres from east to west. It had too much for us to see even during our long stay.

March 4, 1966

Its brigades have mills, oil presses, ginning mills, bean noodle and bean curd making shops, lime kilns and brick and tile yards, sewing and tailoring workshops, granaries, and market gardens. Several have vineyards. Except for those run by the large Yangtan and Shanxia Brigades, most of the industrial enterprises are small affairs with three or four permanent staff and extra help when needed. What industry there is primarily serves local productive needs and the members' livelihood. Any surplus is sold to the state.

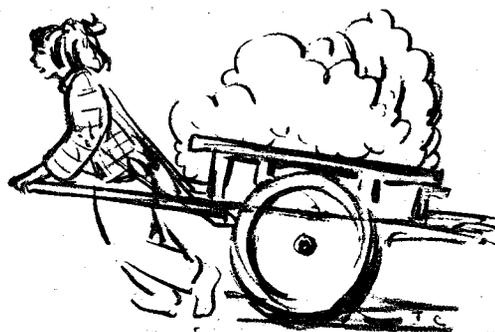
From the technical point of view Yangtan attributes its advances in the first place to its successful terracing as well as improved methods of cultivation and better field management. These latter include: increased and more efficient use of organic fertilizer from its livestock; more efficient deployment of manpower and other resources; close planting of cotton to give an average of 5,000-6,000 plants per *mu* compared to 3,400-4,000 in the past; a reduction of 6.6 centimetres in the space between rows of wheat; the use of insecticides to battle pests; gradual mechanization and electrification. Some chemical fertilizer is being used and the amount is increasing. It is at present around 10 *jin* per *mu*. And the lion's share is going to the cotton fields.

The leaders of Yangtan Commune, however, stressed that in all this "politics comes first." Nothing would have been possible without the political awakening of the peasants and their organization of socialist farms.

Back at commune headquarters, a comrade prepared for us the chart reproduced below. It puts into figures what Wang Teh-ho had just told us.

CROP (Average yield per <i>mu</i>)	Period of Individual Farming 1951	Period of Advanced Farm Co-op 1956	Percent- age In- creases	Under the People's Commune 1965	Percent- age In- creases (Compared with 1956)
WHEAT	104.2 <i>jin</i>	168.9 <i>jin</i>	62.1	303 <i>jin</i>	79.4
COTTON	30.2 <i>jin</i>	45.3 <i>jin</i>	50.0	71 <i>jin</i>	56.7

This is a remarkable record. For the Yangtan peasants it is nothing less than statistical proof of the success of their commune.



Learning to View Things in an All-Round Way

by HSU YIN-SHENG

This is the second in our series of articles on how people in all walks of life in this country are learning to creatively apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking to solving their problems. In this article, Hsu Yin-sheng, who together with Chuang Tse-tung won the men's doubles title at the 28th World Table Tennis Championships in 1965, gives us a concrete example of how Chinese players view their specific questions in the light of materialist dialectics. The first of this series, "A Revolutionary Outlook in Treating Burns," appeared in our No. 6 issue, 1966. — Ed.

MANY people were surprised when our women's team won the Corbillon Cup for the first time at the 28th World Championships. They won because they were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. By this, I mean that they had learnt to look at problems from all angles and, as a result, they were able to raise their morale and go out to win, and that they had also acquired the art of coping with their opponents better.

It had been quite different before. Up against world champion calibre opponents, our women players would be nervous. As they saw it, their rivals were well-experienced and excellent both in singles and doubles—this one had good footwork and that one was noted for her left-handed attack. As for themselves, it seemed that they were not up to much.

See Yourself and Others by the "One Divides Into Two" Method

Nevertheless, a careful analysis revealed that things actually were not the way they had pictured them to themselves. For instance, in 1964 there was the player from abroad who won all her 12 matches from Peking to Canton. It seemed as if she really had no equal. But this was only one side of the story. The fact was that our players had taken the lead in several games and might have won. We lost simply because we did not play well enough.

Concerning the 28th World Championships, our women's opponents, strong as they were, had weaknesses. They had suffered defeats at our hands. Once again pitted against us, how could they avoid being nervous?

As world champions, they were naturally afraid of losing their titles. For us, all our four players were

young and "championless." They had nothing to lose. What on earth could prevent them from going out to win? Sizing up the situation in an all-round way, from psychological factors to technical problems, our women players were able to gain confidence in themselves and consequently went into their contests with morale high.

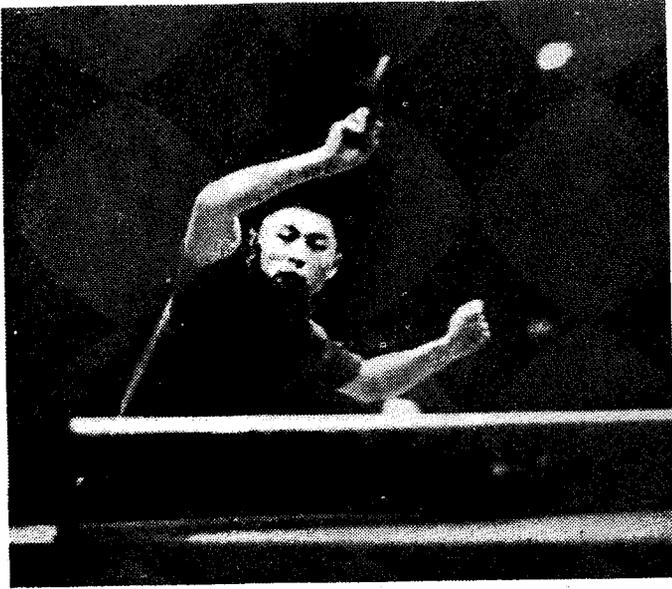
In meeting difficulties, the correct approach is both to despise and take full account of them. In the 28th World Championships' final for the women's team title, both Lin Hui-ching, playing against Japan's Naoko Fukazu, and Cheng Min-chih, playing against Masako Seki, ran into difficulty after each had won her first game. Each lost her second game when her opponent switched from attack to safe chopping returns.

It was at this point that both Lin and Cheng thought things over and came to the same conclusion: Their opponents were well-known offensive players, powerful drives and smashes were their specialties. That they had forsaken the offence for defence showed that they had thrown away the initiative by giving up their strong points for their shortcomings. And our specialty was cutting stroke defence—we could do it with greater steadiness and patience than they could.

Reassured, Lin and Cheng went on to outplay their Japanese opponents and took their matches. However, had this been in the past, they more than likely would have lost for they would have only seen the advantages in their opponents' switch in tactics and not the conditions which favoured themselves. For example, in the 1964 Peking International Invitation Tournament, Cheng Min-chih was out in front in a match against Naoko Fukazu. Although she was doing very well she still lacked faith in herself and eventually lost the match.

Honour as a Motivation

The men's team, as well as the women, had the problem of looking at all sides of the question of honour. We had won several World Championships in succession and had had many honours bestowed upon us at home. Talking among ourselves, we always say that it is a good thing to have 650 million pairs of eyes looking at us and that this should not only be a great encouragement but a motivation as well. Some, however, think differently. They say that the thought of



Hsu Yin-sheng in action

so many millions of people watching them makes them nervous in competition. To them, winning has become a burden.

The right attitude for these players is not to worry about losing our titles. We should tell ourselves the fact that we won these titles is proof that there is nothing mysterious about them. Such an attitude will give us added confidence in continuing to hold on to the titles. At the same time, we should forget about the Cups already taken and play in any new World Championships as if we had never won. Thus, we always tell ourselves that once a new championship is under way we have returned the Cup and are striving to capture it for the first time. Thinking along these lines relieves us of any possible psychological load.

Getting Rid of Blind Action

In any competition, one blind stroke alone can lead to a number of bad consequences. Sometimes, a player fails to smash back a high shot which is close to the net and thus loses a good chance for a point. As a result, he may be so upset that he goes on to drop five or six points. Like an actor on the stage making a mistake in his dialogue, one slip often leads to another. And in our case, one point unduly lost, if not properly analysed, could lead to the loss of the match. Cheng Min-chih had this experience in her match with Naoko Fukazu at the 1964 Peking International Tournament. In the lead, she took a chance and tried to get another point by returning with a smash, which was unsuccessful. Disturbed by her recklessness and the lost point, Cheng then dropped several more in succession and finally lost the game. Just as a player can lose a match because he fails to size up the situation when he lost a point, so failure to really understand the defeat of one team member can lead to the defeat of another. We had many such experiences in the past but now we are better able to judge and

handle such situations. For example, Chang Hsieh-lin lost the first match of the series in the China versus Japan Swaythling Cup final at the 28th World Championships, but Li Fu-jung who played next didn't lose heart. Instead, he told himself: "It doesn't matter, I'll win my match and equalize the score."

Unknown and Well-Known Players

The Chinese teams' successes are the result of our collective efforts. This collective has some well-known players, and also many heroes whose names are quite unknown. But the latter have been very important in contributing to our victories. To defeat a strong rival, we have to learn how to return the strokes which are his specialty. This raises the question of suitable partners in practising since it has an immediate bearing on improving our tactics and skills. Aware of this need, some of our best players have volunteered to change their own style to learn new ones so that we can practise with them, although this means giving up their opportunity of becoming "well-known." To cite one instance, the Japanese team came up with the topspin loop drive prior to the 26th World Championships and claimed this was their unbeatable secret weapon. To see what was so secret about it, some of our players mastered this Japanese loop drive before the Championships. Two of our team-mates who volunteered were Hu Ping-chuan and Hsueh Wei-chu who, judged from their level of play, had a good chance of success at the forthcoming Championships.

Hitting loop drives is hard work. In one practice session, after half an hour of play, when we were just beginning to perspire, Hu and Hsueh were already soaked in sweat. A slight change in the angle of our bats would send them scurrying from side to side. Then, there were the times during our training when we would slow down the pace because we felt they were too tired. But the two would remind us: "Don't worry about us. If you don't practise hard now, you'll be in trouble in real competition." This is the kind of spirit our unknown heroes have. It fills us with pride. In China there is nothing that cannot be done if it is for the good of the collective.

When it comes to international matches, we should not reconcile ourselves to remaining unknown. We fight hard to distinguish ourselves; this is revolutionary heroism which has nothing in common with the quest for personal gain. To be unknown or well known, therefore, equally contributes to the revolution and the honour of our country.

Victory Is Not the Sole Yardstick

In competition, some people always like to rate a player by his scores—the victor is the hero. If he wins, then everything he does is right, and vice versa. Such a view fails to take all sides of the question into consideration. In the men's singles at the 28th World Championships, Chang Hsieh-lin was defeated by Eberhard Schoeler of West Germany in the first two

games. Chang, unruffled, played on steadily and brought the score to two all. Both Chang and Schoeler were the world's best chopping-stroke players and it sometimes took them more than a hundred shots to settle one point. In the fifth game, Chang went down by the narrow margin of two points. The match was lost, but not his good sportsmanship. And he was warmly praised. Some foreign friends said he was "the finest loser the world has ever seen."

On the other hand, winning may not necessarily mean that you have given a good account of yourself. At the last Peking International Tournament, Chou Lan-sun played Nobuhiko Hasegawa of Japan in the team match and defeated him. Afterwards, Chou was criticized by the team leader and coach for failing to play well, and for a while Chou was reluctant to accept this criticism since he had won his match. Later, he began to see the point of the criticism and reviewed his own play and that of his opponent. Soon he was pitted against the same rival again in the men's singles. This time he showed splendid form, played magnificently and won. We had another player who, like Chou, came out the victor, but who was defeated by the same opponent later because he failed to sum up his experience. This was a lesson for all of us. We should always bear in mind that a winner also has his shortcomings and a loser his merits. Under given conditions, victory and defeat are mutually transformable.

When we were about to return home after the conclusion of the 28th World Championships, some of our women team-mates said that whatever criticism there was should be light since they had done so well. I thought exactly the opposite. Just because they won, it was even more necessary to look into their weaknesses so that they would make stricter demands on themselves and win new victories on the basis of what they had already accomplished.

Then there is the case of Chang Hsieh-lin. He was in fine form at the 27th World Championships, but still he came in for a lot of critical analysis afterwards. At the 28th, he didn't play as well, and the team leader, coach and other comrades, aside from helping him analyse his problems, discussed his merits and gave him a lot of encouragement. It's quite true that when things go wrong it is even more essential to discover the good points and build up confidence. Because European and Japanese players have been carefully studying his strokes, Chang Hsieh-lin has more difficulties than the rest of us. But his recent setbacks have not discouraged him, and we should take a correct attitude in getting our team-mate back to his winning ways.

Use What You Learn

Some people say that our women players owe much of their recent success to the talk I made to them. (The author's talk entitled "How to Play Table Tennis" was

published in *Renmin Ribao* on January 17, 1965. — Ed.) Actually, it was they who did the playing; my talk served only, as the old saying has it, "to throw a sprat to get a mackerel." By sharing my hard-earned lessons with them, I hoped that they could be spared some trials and errors. Some said that my speech was a philosophical thesis without philosophical terminology. Frankly, I would not have been able to use any philosophical terminology even if I had been told to do so. In an editor's note, *Renmin Ribao* said that there was dialectical materialism in the talk. This shows that dialectics is no mystery and that we can find plenty of it in playing table tennis. And this makes us feel even more confident that we can study Chairman Mao's works well.

In studying Chairman Mao's writings, the essential thing, I would say, is to apply what one has learnt to one's practice, to link it with oneself. Chairman Mao has told us: "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people." After studying this passage, we should be more ready to accept criticism, even if it might be a little too severe. Yet there are people who have studied this many times and still resent criticism. When they come up against it, they do not listen. In that case, what's the use of studying?

The same is true when we come to Chairman Mao's reference "to get rid of the baggage and start up the machinery." He has said: "To get rid of the baggage" means to free our minds of many encumbrances. Many things may become baggage, may become encumbrance, if we cling to them blindly and uncritically. . . . Even one's age may become ground for conceit." I have said that I was the sun at three to four o'clock in the afternoon. (A reference to Chairman Mao's comparing youth to the sun at eight to nine o'clock in the morning. — Ed.) This showed I regarded myself as a "veteran." In playing table tennis, many things also can become baggage or encumbrance in the absence of correct understanding. One's experience in a national or international competition, too, turns out to be one's baggage. Some say that it's more difficult to play in a national game because many of the spectators are acquaintances. That is to say, it's easier to play abroad. But then such people would say it's easier to get rattled in an alien environment. Some look on newcomers as a headache because they are more reckless. That is to say, a veteran is easier to deal with. But then there would be a new complaint: that this veteran is more experienced and varied in tactics. There are those who say that the fact that a player is a champion makes it difficult for him. In that case, those who have no title should find it easier going. But in fact, they feel that it's difficult just the same. All this shows that anything can become a baggage if you act blindly. In studying Chairman Mao's works, we must concretely analyse our actual problems and solve them in a scientific way, and we must remould ourselves by using Chairman Mao's thinking. This will enable us to continue to make progress.

Yankee Imperialist Cultural Aggression In Asia and Africa

by CHEN YAO-KUANG

Cultural infiltration is an important part of the U.S. strategic plan for world domination. The U.S. imperialists variously call it "ideological offensive," "psychological warfare," "cultural diplomacy," etc. Whatever the term, it is a means to facilitate Washington's political control and economic plunder and serves to promote its policies of war and aggression.

SINCE World War II, U.S. imperialism has become the last fortress for world reaction while the vast intermediate zone in Asia and Africa has become the stormy centre of world revolution. In its attempt to cope with the mounting revolutionary movement in these areas, U.S. imperialism has used counter-revolutionary dual tactics with increasing vigour. While carrying out its economic control, political intimidation and armed intervention, it has stepped up cultural aggression, trying to capture and enslave the oppressed nations and peoples ideologically and make them meekly accept its domination.

The "Fulbright Act" and the "U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act" passed under the Truman Administration marked a new stage in direct government participation and control of U.S. cultural activities overseas. The setting up of the United States Information Agency and the "People-to-People Programme" under the Eisenhower Administration introduced new methods in this respect. The Kennedy Administration threw more money and manpower into propaganda, "education" and "technical aid." In addition, it formed the "peace corps" and launched the "kinsmanship campaign" in Africa. The Johnson Administration took over the heritage of Kennedy and stepped up activities in these fields.

Counter-Revolutionary Aims

In a nutshell, the aims of U.S. cultural aggression in Asia and Africa are: to whitewash the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression, prettify decaying American society and the monopoly capitalist system, plant reactionary ideas in the minds of other peoples, advertise the "American way of life," and undermine the national culture and national consciousness of other countries: in a word, to lead the people of these countries

away from revolution, and from the battle against imperialism and colonialism, and finally make them obediently acquiesce to U.S. economic plunder and political enslavement.

"Cultural Diplomacy." Robert H. Thayer, former head of the U.S. Bureau of International Cultural Relations, reveals the all-pervading activities of so-called cultural diplomacy in the following terms: "When I refer to cultural diplomacy, I am using the word 'culture' in a very broad and very simple sense. I am using it to mean every possible facet of the way people live their everyday lives: the things they do, the way they dress, what they produce, how they react, what they aspire to, as well as the way they think and express their thoughts by words or song or story. The culture of a people in the sense I am using it is the life of a people, and cultural diplomacy is the act of successfully communicating to others a complete comprehension of the culture of a people. The objective of American cultural diplomacy is to create among the peoples of the world a perfect understanding of the life and culture of America."¹ Former U.S. Under-Secretary of State Chester Bowles was more outspoken. He said in 1963: "As long as ideas influence the minds of men, and as long as men and their aspirations are a major component of power, ideas—both good and evil—will continue to upset nations, defy armies, and write history."² This explains why Washington is making huge investments in cultural aggression.

At present, more than 20 federal agencies and tens of thousands of people are working in this field. Government expenditure for this purpose in fiscal 1965 amounted to U.S. \$1,000 million. Besides, much U.S. cultural infiltration is carried out by "non-governmental organizations." The scale of their activities is even larger than that of the government agencies.

Educational Infiltration: Many Ways

"Educational Exchange" Programme. Education is one of the oldest forms of U.S. ideological infiltration. Since World War II, the U.S. Government has

¹ Department of State Bulletin, October 12, 1959, p. 510.

² Department of State Bulletin, May 27, 1963, p. 822.

made great efforts to strengthen the "educational exchange" programme. The "Fulbright Act" in 1946 and the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act in 1948 gave the programme big financial support. In April 1960, the State Department set up a Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs to take charge of it. The 1961 Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act gave the government still more power to carry out educational penetration abroad.

Of course, Washington is not doing all this for nothing. As the former director of the Office of Educational Exchange in the State Department, William C. Johnstone, puts it, "It is basically a political job, for this programme is an effective arm or instrument of American foreign policy. In its simplest form, the job of this programme is to implant a set of ideas or facts in the mind of a person. When this is done effectively, it results in action favourable to the achievement of American foreign policy."³ In plain language, the programme is intended to indoctrinate foreign students with American ideas, train pro-American intellectuals and recruit from among them agents for U.S. imperialism.

The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act shifted the emphasis of the "educational exchange" programme to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since World War II, the number of foreign students in the United States has increased by 300 per cent. Early in 1963, some 64,000 foreign students were studying there and more than 70 per cent of them came from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At present Asia accounts for the largest number of foreign students in the United States, but African students have been increasing the fastest in recent years. The reason for this was given by the former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Philip H. Coombs. "When you're dealing with an African student," he said, "you may be dealing with a fellow who will be prime minister in five years."⁴

Strategic and Political Bargain. The U.S. Government has also brought many intellectuals, scholars, lecturers and specialists in various fields from Asian and African countries to do "advanced studies" in the United States. Calling for more government funds to win over foreign students, an American propaganda official said: "Using these funds to bring a new generation of Asian, African and Latin American leadership to America for part of their education could be the strategic and political bargain of the 1960s."⁵

Another form of U.S. educational penetration is to set up schools in Afro-Asian countries, where local

students are taught by American teachers using American textbooks.

Still another form is to send American "professors" and "specialists" to "help" develop education in Asian and African countries. They seize every opportunity to poison the minds of the local youth with reactionary ideas, and to gather information. More than 2,200 were sent to 92 countries and regions in the academic year 1960-61, and 3,000 in the following one. By the spring of 1964, 20,000 Americans had been sent abroad to engage in these so-called educational activities.

The Agency for International Development and a host of "non-governmental organizations" including the Ford Foundation are also taking part in educational infiltration. In 1963, through 103 government "foreign aid" contracts, the agency made it possible for 62 American universities to participate in the U.S. government's educational penetration overseas, and appropriated U.S. \$120 million for the purpose. At present, it spends \$25 million a year in giving technological and vocational training to more than 6,000 people from various countries, 55 per cent of them coming from Asia and Africa.

The United States has managed to train a handful of pro-American leaders and Right-wing intellectuals from among Asian and African students. For example, according to statistics of the U.S. Institute of International Education for 1963, among Japanese diplomats, 40 have been educated in the United States under its sponsorship alone. However, sometimes the scheme backfires. The U.S. press has admitted that a lot of the students return home with a feeling of resentment and a bad impression of the United States.

Hypocrisy of Missionary Activities

Another weapon in the U.S. "ideological offensive" is missionary activities. According to statistics for 1958, out of the 29,000 American missionaries abroad, more than 15,000 were in Asia and Africa. In 1961, those sent to Africa by Protestant denominations totalled 8,500, or 11 times as many as American diplomats there. There were 3,800 in India and Japan, the two major targets of U.S. ideological infiltration. Out of the 1,100 American citizens in Southern Rhodesia, 700 were missionaries. By 1963, American missionaries overseas had increased to 33,000.

In the past, in the name of philanthropy, American missionaries have run schools and hospitals in the hinterlands of many Asian and African countries in order to poison the minds of the local people. They also used this means to gather local information and carry out subversion in co-ordination with the political, economic and military needs of the U.S. Government. But now, the mounting struggle for liberation in Asia and Africa has compelled U.S. imperialism to modify its tactics and adopt more hypocritical and covert methods in its missionary activities overseas.

American missionaries today profess support for national independence and sympathy towards social progress so that they can worm their way into local

³ Charles A. Thomson and Walter H.C. Laves, *Cultural Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Indiana University Press, 1963, p. 84.

⁴ *Time*, September 8, 1961.

⁵ Wilson P. Dizard, *The Strategy of Truth*, Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C., 1961, p. 173.

mass movements, and side-track them into a path of "reformism" and away from anti-imperialism and revolution.

They have evolved a whole set of cunning stratagems to trap different types of local believers. Churches are deliberately given an indigenous character and religious rites a national form. Local churchmen are encouraged to take the limelight while American missionaries act behind the scenes. Ceremonies which are not easy for local believers to grasp no longer receive the usual attention, and a host of activities outside the churches are organized. Meetings are arranged and lectures on special subjects given to spread the virus of reactionary ideas.

These missionaries also use modern means of communication to put across imperialist ideas and the "American way of life." In Africa, American churches in recent years have made greater efforts to set up broadcasting and book distribution networks. What they are trying to sell goes far beyond the province of religion. By running schools, medical and health services, they try to sneak their way into the local trade union and youth movements so as to increase their influences.

Recently American missionaries have been advised by their church headquarters to preach "love" and "forgiveness" as a means to calm the anti-imperialist temper of the Afro-Asian people. Actually they miss no opportunity to engage in criminal underhand activities. The execution of the American missionary doctor-cum-special agent Paul Carlson by the Congolese (L) people in 1964 shows what is up the sleeve of U.S. imperialism in its foreign missionary operations.

Myth of the "Peace Corps"

A new type of American missionaries is the so-called "Peace Corps." The "Peace Corps" was set up under the Kennedy Administration in 1961. In fiscal 1966, its expenditure amounts to U.S. \$115 million, and it has a 13,500-man force. The "Peace Corpsmen" are to be seen in some 48 countries and regions.

These "Peace Corpsmen" mask themselves as teachers, physicians, surveyors, irrigation technicians, agro-technicians, sports coaches and what not. Not all of them know their professed trades. On the other hand, they are carefully hand-picked and have to undergo special training. They are in fact a "cover" for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. An article in the *New Republic* (December 11, 1965) under the title "Containing Central Intelligence" said: "Secret warriors and intelligence agents must often shield their true identity, purpose and operations. . . . One shocking example of how far the C.I.A. has got into the habit of infiltrating other American overseas agencies for the purpose of

'cover' is the Peace Corps." An American reporter has suggested that 2 million "Peace Corps Volunteers" . . . "could conquer the world for democracy."⁶ Sargent Shriver, ex-director of the Peace Corps, declared that the sending of 25,000 "Peace Corps Volunteers" to Panama could change its attitude towards America.

War by Words

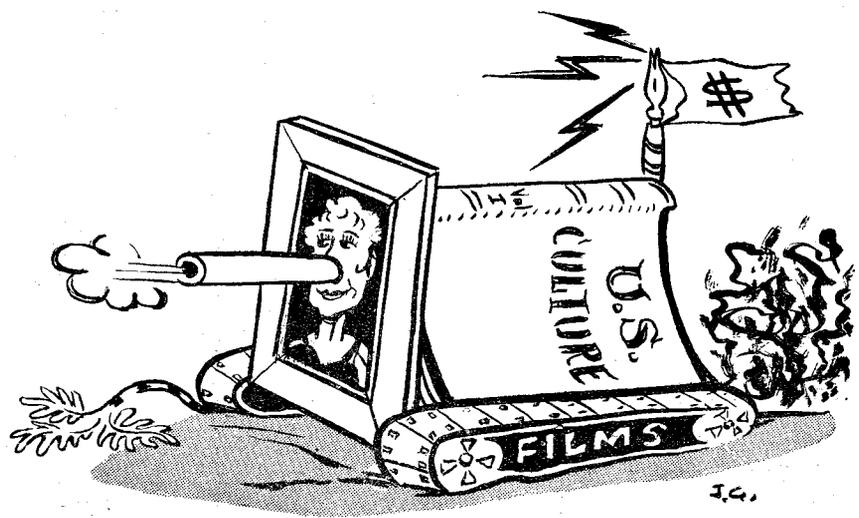
Coupled with disguised ideological penetration in Asia and Africa is the more obvious method of influencing the minds of men, i.e., war by words through government-controlled propaganda agencies.

Dante B. Fascell, chairman of a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said: "Words and ideas are as important as bread and guns. . . . In my opinion, the struggle which goes on in the world today will be resolved, ultimately, in the minds of men." Hence the all-out efforts of the United States to use every medium of propaganda at its disposal to deceive world opinion.

U.S.I.A. — Agency for Psychological Strategic Operations. U.S.I.A. is the major propaganda agency of the U.S. Government. As a U.S. propaganda official said of it, "U.S.I.A. is the planning and logistic bureau for the government's overall psychological strategy operations." Its weapons include radio, television, films, press, books, exhibitions and exchange of personnel.

In its 19th report to the U.S. Congress, the United States Advisory Commission on Information defined the task of U.S.I.A. as: to promote "understanding of the American economy; appreciation of American culture; confidence in American military strength; interest in American education; recognition of America's peace efforts; appreciation of American economic assistance; respect for America's scientific progress; awareness of America's agricultural abundance as well as bounty: balanced understanding of America's racial

⁶ *Nation*, July 27, 1964.



problems and progress; recognition of America's space achievements." All this boils down to one purpose, that is, to deceive the peoples of other countries, convert them into loyal worshippers and followers of the United States, and make them meekly accept its policies of aggression and war.

U.S.I.S. Spies on Local Leaders. U.S.I.A. overseas activities are carried out mainly through its branches known as the United States Information Service and the U.S. cultural centres abroad. In its routine work, the U.S.I.S. distributes official news bulletins and books and pamphlets in the English language, holds exhibitions on the "American way of life," shows American films and gives cocktail parties to win over local notables and intellectuals. But the main task of the U.S.I.S. is to pick up local information, particularly information about local leaders, their attitudes and reactions to U.S. policy. It has gone so far as to organize public opinion polls in violation of the sovereignty of the countries concerned. In this way, American spies penetrate the various social strata of local communities to cajole, foment division or sow discord. It also engages in subversive activities by working in cooperation with the State Department, C.I.A., and the U.S. military intelligence departments.

V.O.A. — "Rumour-Mongering Factory." The Voice of America forms an important part of the U.S.I.A. Using 38 languages, it makes round-the-clock broadcasts of 800 hours a week, spreading lies and rumours. More and more people, however, have come to understand its true character. It is now widely denounced by Afro-Asian opinion as a "rumour-mongering factory." Even the bourgeois American press is disquieted by the crudeness of its work and the tall lies it manufactures. A *New York Times* editorial (August 1, 1965) said: "The credibility of its [V.O.A.'s] news reports has been brought increasingly into question."

Hollywood Films — Falsehood, Folly and Fiddle-Faddle. Films are also a major weapon in the U.S. "ideological offensive." Hollywood films take up 53 per cent of the total showing time of the cinemas in Asia, and 63 per cent in Africa. In Japan, the Philippines and Thailand, the figure is 70-80 per cent. Falsehood, folly, and fiddle-faddle are the outstanding features of these films. In recent years, to dovetail in with the U.S. policies of war and aggression, Hollywood has produced more and more films which publicize war, play up nuclear horrors, vilify the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations and whitewash U.S. aggressive policies. Of course, pornography, murder, mental perversion and all kinds of human absurdities — which are the old familiar hallmarks of Hollywood — are still there and these films are mass-produced as of old. They are poison to the minds of men, particularly to the younger generation.

American Books to Corrupt Afro-Asian People's National Consciousness. Large quantities of American books have been exported to Asia and Africa for the

same purpose of apologizing for the U.S. policies of war and aggression, prettifying the decaying American social system and planting pro-American ideas in the minds of Afro-Asian readers.

These books cover a wide range of subjects: sex perversion, murder, commercialized avant-garde theatre and pop art, Rock'n Roll music, etc. Other themes range from anti-communism, fascism, nuclear blackmail to reformism, pacifism, bourgeois humanitarianism, "affluent society," "welfare state," "people's capitalism," "whiteman's supremacy," and so on. Whatever the subject, the goal is the same: to corrupt the national consciousness of the Afro-Asian peoples and blunt their revolutionary will so as to facilitate the realization of U.S. imperialism's ambitions for world conquest.

Afro-Asian People's Resistance

Whatever tactics U.S. imperialism uses in its cultural aggression, Afro-Asian public opinion is not to be taken in. A U.S.I.S. official has had to admit: "Theoretically we should be winning the struggle for world opinion hands down. The unpleasant fact is that we are not."⁷ And the "unpleasant fact" is that the Afro-Asian people, from their experience of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, have come to realize that every film and book exported by the U.S.I.A., every scholarship granted by the U.S. State Department, every expert or adviser sent by the Agency for International Development, and every "Peace Corpsman" serves the interests of Washington's counter-revolutionary "ideological offensive."

As a matter of fact, U.S. ideological infiltration in Asia and Africa has come up against stiff resistance.

The "Peace Corps," which is regarded by Washington as a most "successful" experiment, is strongly condemned by public opinion in many Afro-Asian countries as an instrument of neo-colonialism, a "cold-war corps," and its members as C.I.A. agents. In some places, it is simply ordered to "pack up and go home!"

American missionaries in some African countries have been expelled because they carried out subversive activities.

Broad sections of Afro-Asian opinion condemn the penetration of American reactionary and gutter culture. The closing down of U.S. agencies for cultural aggression and the expulsion of American personnel engaging in this activity have been frequently reported. U.S.I.S. offices have become the targets for attacks in many places, its libraries raided and books burnt.

All this shows that, contrary to the wishes of U.S. imperialism, its attempt to use ideological infiltration as a means to facilitate its political control and economic plunder will only hasten the awakening of the Afro-Asian people.

⁷ *The Strategy of Truth*, op. cit., p. 6.

British Strategy East of Suez

The British Labour Government's "defence" statement made in the House of Commons on February 22, indicated that Britain is determined to put more emphasis on its military strategy east of Suez and especially in the Far East so as to collaborate with the United States in suppressing the popular revolutionary struggles in the Afro-Asian countries. By linking its "defence" with the aggressive American position in Asia, it is counting on Washington to help preserve its colonial interests in the area. A vain hope! It is linking its vested interests east of Suez with U.S. imperialism which is doomed. Sooner or later these joined imperialisms will go down in common ruin.

What Does "East of Suez" Mean?

The Labour government is doing its best to preserve the remnants of Britain's overseas colonial interests. This was underlined in the February 1965 government White Paper's emphasis on the "East of Suez" policy, which, in line with the Conservative thinking on "defence," views the Commonwealth countries and colonies as the bed-rock of Britain's survival.

Geographically, what the British policy-makers are referring to covers a vast area stretching all the way from the Red Sea across the Indian Ocean to Southeast Asia. Many Asian Commonwealth countries and British colonies, viz., South Yemen (British-occupied Aden),

Oman and other sheikhdoms on the Arab Peninsula, "Malaysia," and India and Pakistan on the subcontinent are located in this area. It is here that the Labour government will go on concentrating its "defence" efforts. Major British military bases in the area include Aden, Singapore, the biggest two, and Maldives; these link an important sea route farther to the east with Hongkong as the terminal for shipping colonial troops to the east to suppress national-liberation movements.

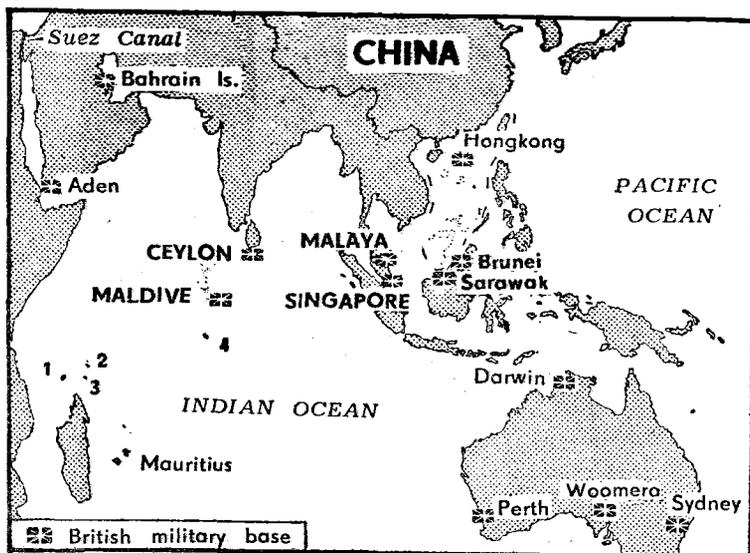
Some of Britain's biggest economic interests lie east of Suez. Kuwait, for instance, whose oil deposits rank first in the capitalist world, is Britain's main source of petroleum. Over one-third of the capitalist world's rubber and tin production comes from "Malaysia" while five-sixths of its dollar earnings from these exports are used to fill Britain's dollar gap. British investments in the area are heavy: £400 million in "Malaysia" alone, and another £360 million in India. This explains why the British Government, Tory or Labour, has always looked longingly at the enormous wealth of the area east of Suez and wanted to keep it exclusively to itself.

Why the Present Emphasis on "East of Suez"?

First, the policy reflects Britain's financial predicament. Haunted by economic difficulties, which can mainly be ascribed to huge military spending, especially overseas, the Labour government is unable to look after its colonial interests on all fronts at once; it has no choice but to put what it considers first things first.

In 1964, Britain's military outlay exceeded £2,000 million, or one quarter of its total budgetary expenditure, whereas overseas spending, which ran up to nearly £580 million, made up roughly 29 per cent of its military expenditure. According to official statistics, of the £700 million odd deficit in Britain's 1964 international payments, more than £200 million were expenses overseas to be paid in foreign currencies. Since the Labour Party came to power, a reduction of "defence" expenses by £400 million in the next four years has been contemplated. And it is also in the light of economic considerations that Labour has mapped out its "defence" policy with the accent on east of Suez.

Second, the policy is born of a new strategic principle which Labour has taken pains to work out, i.e., to make the "containment of China" the central task in foreign affairs and "defence."



U.S.-U.K. joint military bases to be set up: 1. Aldabra Is. 2. Des Roches 3. Farquhar Is. 4. Diego Garcia

Sketch map by Lu Chuan-yu

According to the same 1965 defence White Paper in which this new strategic principle was expounded for the first time by the Labour government, any conflict at the present time between the East and West in Europe "is unlikely," while "outside Europe we [Britain] must expect instability to continue and perhaps increase." Moreover, the White Paper said: "In the Far East the Chinese nuclear explosion casts a new shadow over the future. . . ." In other words, as the Wilson government sees it, in Europe, the dust has settled as a result of the U.S.-Soviet *detente*, but China, after its nuclear explosions, "has become the focus of all the world problems" and a thorn in the side of British colonial rule. Hence, the idea of the "containment of China," which has for the past year and more become the guide to the stand and action the Labour government has taken in the major problems concerning foreign affairs and "defence." This can be summed up in the words of Prime Minister Wilson who said early last year: "Any approach to foreign affairs which did not recognize the problem created by the detonation of a Chinese nuclear device was unreal and . . . outdated."

Third, the "East of Suez" policy is aimed at bolstering up Britain's tottering colonial rule in the area. It must be noted that the foundation of such rule has been weakened in the current political upheaval there by the mounting popular struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In South Yemen, the nationalists' armed struggle has been extended to 11 districts. The powerful anti-British movement of the people in Maldives has forced Britain to recognize their independence. And Mauritius will achieve independence at the end of 1966. In North Kalimantan, the people are waging a guerrilla war for independence and freedom. Last but not least, the British Commonwealth as a whole has been weakened by the many internal contradictions between countries in the area: India and Pakistan are at loggerheads while Singapore has quit "Malaysia." All these have made the Labour government decide to emphasize "defence" east of Suez.

Where the U.S. Comes In

In the defence White Paper, the Labour government urged Britain's allies, especially the United States, to share its defence burden east of Suez. The reason is twofold:

One, it is still too much of a load for the British Government, even though Labour has decided to concentrate its "defence" in this part of the world only. There are around 100,000 British troops stationed here, which is a greater force than that in the Rhine in Western Europe; this costs Britain £330 million annually, not to mention the indirect military spending amounting to another £170 million every year.

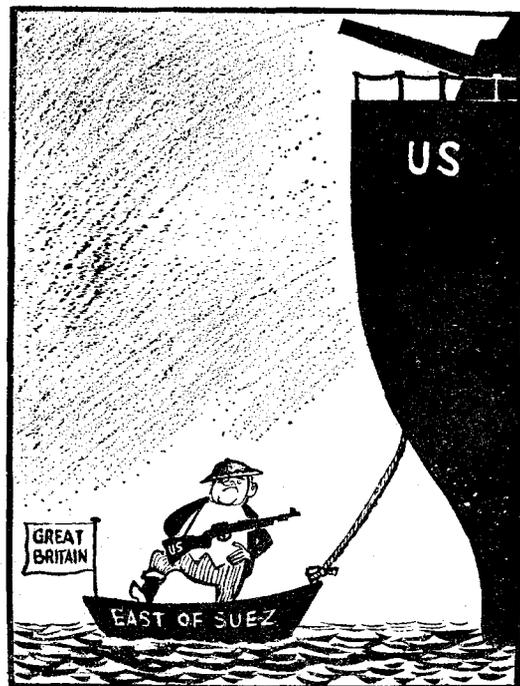
Two, Churchill's postwar "three-ring" policy to maintain Britain's special position in the capitalist world

has outlived its usefulness. The first ring — Britain's "special relationship" with the United States — has, in fact, lost its significance as a result of the American attempt to place West Germany on an equal footing with Britain in the NATO through the M.L.F. plan. Its traditional influence in Western Europe, representing the second ring, has waned with Paris and Bonn working together in the Common Market to edge it out. Britain's links with the Commonwealth countries, the last of the three rings, are loosening because of the U.S. and West German economic penetration into these countries, in addition to the military and political conflicts among Commonwealth members. Besides the Indo-Pakistan conflict and the "Malaysian" problem, many African Commonwealth countries have severed diplomatic relations with London because of events in Southern Rhodesia.

In the circumstances, a Britain which has lost its special position in the capitalist world must now be content with being Washington's junior partner. Wilson, said the *Sunday Times*, now wants Britain to remain a power with a world role, but only on the basis of interdependence with America.

The shift from the "three-ring" policy to the East of Suez policy of relying on its allies for "defence" must be viewed not only as a major change in Great Britain's strategic thinking but also an important sign of the decline of the British Empire.

At the same time, collaboration between Britain and the United States east of Suez is welcomed by Washington. Over the past year, it has constantly urged London to strengthen the latter's "defence" east of Suez.



Junior Partner

Cartoon by Miao Ti

The American economic stake here is a very large one. Besides keeping the Philippines and Thailand under its thumb, Washington is gradually supplanting Britain in India. American capital owns 53 per cent of the Middle East oil output and, to protect this huge interest, an American naval force is now stationed at the British base on Bahrain Island.

Moreover, the "containment of China" has of late become a point of emphasis in U.S. global strategy. Some of the evidence is: McNamara's shouting about "containing" China at last December's NATO meeting; recent U.S. military deployments in Indo-China for war expansion; prompting Japan to transfer its military buildup in Hokkaido—originally directed against the Soviet Union—to Kyushu, which is geographically closer to China. In this sense, the Labour government's "East of Suez" policy fits in nicely with the American strategy. As early as the 1964 Honolulu conference, the U.S. military already had a mind collaborating with Britain in "containing" China by making use of British bases east of Suez.

Anglo-American Military Co-operation East of Suez

At present, this covers the following three aspects:

1) Working for a so-called nuclear protective umbrella in the Indian Ocean to nuclear-blackmail China and threaten the national-liberation movements in Southeast Asia. Thus, the United States now has a Polaris submarine cruising the Indian Ocean while Britain has stationed nuclear bombers in both "Malaysia" and Australia. As disclosed by the British press, a plan for nuclear attacks on China in case of war has been worked out jointly by the U.S. and British air forces—to this day the British Foreign Office has not denied this.

2) Setting up joint military bases on the Indian Ocean islands. After prolonged joint investigation, four islands have been chosen for this purpose: Diego Garcia, Aldabra, Farquhar and Des Roches. On Diego Garcia, which Britain acquired from Maritius for \$8.4 million, a signalling and tracking station is to be established and built step by step into a base for the nuclear umbrella against China.

3) Forming a military alliance between Britain, the U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand. Last December, during his Washington visit, Wilson brought up a number of proposals on military co-operation between these four countries, proposals concerning geographical and strategic division of responsibilities and the sharing of costs. Britain's idea is for it to undertake a greater commitment along the western coast of the Indian Ocean, while the United States, with the help of the other three countries, is to be mainly responsible for "defence" on the Indo-China Peninsula, the Indian subcontinent and the Far East. Early this year, British Defence Minister Healey also visited Washington and Canberra to discuss military co-operation between the four countries. London and Washington also contemplate turning the Australian port of Darwin into a naval base which will serve as the hub of the four countries' military co-operation.

There are, however, also Anglo-American clashes of interest in their joint military endeavour east of Suez. Britain has been apprehensive that the United States may tear Australia, New Zealand and "Malaysia" away from its sphere of influence. As London sees it, its plan for 4-nation military co-operation will provide Britain with an opportunity to hold Washington in check. If it is asking for U.S. co-operation in "defence" east of Suez, this is because it cannot afford doing it alone. In the words of the American columnist Joseph Alsop, the British plan is to let "Britain . . . provide the islet and the United States . . . build the base," in other words, to consolidate the British position east of Suez on the strength of the United States. This is, naturally, something the United States least wants to happen.

The Americans now need British support because of the difficulties they face in the area, more so at a time when they are bogged down in their aggression in Vietnam which is exhausting both U.S. manpower and financial resources. This is why the contradictions between the two countries have not yet come to the fore. In the long run, as they work for closer co-operation in the area, it is safe to say that such contradictions will deepen. Sooner or later, the United States will expand its influence east of Suez further at the expense of the declining British Empire.

— YAO NIEN-KENG

(Continued from p. 6.)

nesian Right-wing forces constitutes a gross encroachment upon the privileges of a diplomatic mission and the personal safety of consulate personnel, a shocking violation of principles guiding international relations, and a most serious provocation to the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people express great indignation at this. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

March 4, 1966

The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government immediately make a public apology for this incident and punish the culprits and those who instigated them, see to it that the Chinese national emblem and copper plate of the Consulate which were carried away be returned promptly, compensate the Consulate for all its losses, ensure against the occurrences of similar incidents and take truly effective measures to protect the Chinese missions and personnel in Indonesia.

Failure of U.S. "Operations" Proves Invincibility of People's War

WHEN the U.S. aggressor forces in south Vietnam started a series of "offensives" in January, Washington propaganda bragged that "the tide of battle has turned," the "initiative" was now in the hands of the Americans, and that the situation could be viewed with "restrained optimism." But what are the facts? Far from gaining any "initiative," the U.S. aggressors are still in a position of being trounced everywhere. They are being sucked deeper and deeper into the morass and will eventually meet their doom.

In spite of a bewildering assortment of code names, the U.S. "offensives" which started in late January were mainly in two areas — the An Lao area in coastal Binh Dinh Province and the region around Saigon.

The one against the An Lao area was a pincer drive which commenced on January 28. One arm of the pincer was "Operation Masher" (later renamed "Operation White Wing") while the other was "Operation Double Eagle." The 20 battalions (more than 10,000 men of the U.S. First Cavalry Division plus south Korean mercenaries and south Vietnam puppet troops) taking part in "Operation Masher" pushed from the north of

Bong Son to the northwest. But they were badly mauled by the liberation armed forces who put 1,500 raiders, mostly Americans, out of action in engagements from January 28 to February 4.

"Operation Double Eagle" found more than 5,000 U.S. marines land in Quang Ngai Province for a drive southwest. However, they failed to contact any liberation forces, and on February 7 a U.S. spokesman in Saigon said that they had linked up with the First Cavalry Division in An Lao Valley.

"The link-up completed a giant loop around communist infested mountains," an American news report boasted. But later the tune changed. The U.S. troops, to their "disappointment," missed the "main forces of Viet Cong" in the "giant loop," and "the enemy had disappeared," other reports noted.

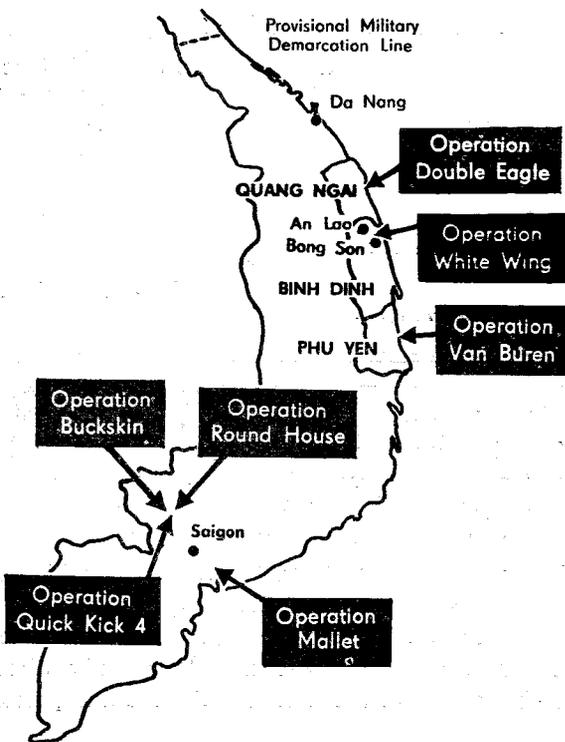
Such was the much-vaunted pincer drive. The two detachments began their withdrawal on February 17, knowing that any delay would mean annihilation. But even during its withdrawal, the First Cavalry Division was fiercely attacked by liberation forces.

The U.S. aggressor was eager to overrun Binh Dinh Province not only because of its strategic importance, but also because the expanding liberation area there has posed a serious threat to his coastal strongholds. But the new "mopping-up operation" proved to be another failure.

"Operation Buckskin," "Operation Mallet," "Operation Round House" and "Operation Quick Kick 4" launched in the neighbourhood of Saigon were a continuation of the previous plan of the U.S. and puppet forces to "pacify" the liberated areas in the five provinces around Saigon. But these "search and destroy" operations either failed to find the liberation forces or were chewed up by them.

The Cu Chi victory was one of the liberation forces' remarkable successes in countering these operations. Between January 8 and February 5, they put out of action a total of 2,500 U.S. aggressor and Australian satellite troops in the area of Cu Chi, Gia Dinh Province. This proved that the bigger the operation launched by the U.S. forces, the heavier their losses.

"Operation Van Buren" was actually intended to seize the paddy harvest in Phu Yen Province where the food supply in many places under the control of the U.S. aggressors and their puppet could only last one



month. More than 1,100 of the U.S. and puppet troops out to rob the peasants of their harvest were killed or wounded and the "operation" ended in failure on February 21.

These recent American "operations" were aimed at reinforcing U.S. positions in a number of provinces and to offset last year's reverses when the south Vietnam battlefield took on a new look with the liberation forces winning unequalled victories — guerrilla actions broke out everywhere and the liberation forces knocked out whole battalions and even entire regiments of U.S. and puppet troops.

The U.S. aggressors had hoped by their "operations" to occupy more districts and consolidate them by

throwing in their main forces in a few areas. This is an application of their "ink blot" strategy — essentially a defensive strategy with the goal of holding Saigon and a few major cities and coastal pockets from which to extend their positions and gradually open up the main highways and railway lines. Just as this strategy failed last year so has it again failed.

A total of more than 40,000 troops were employed in the recent U.S. "operations," almost all the combat forces that the U.S. aggressors can throw into action in south Vietnam at present. But the result shows that however fierce and desperate their efforts may be, the aggressors cannot possibly stand up to the overwhelming power of the people's war in south Vietnam.

Facts on File

Armed Struggle Develops in Thailand

THE people's armed struggle in Thailand is on the rise. More and more people are taking up arms against the twin evils of U.S. imperialism and the traitorous Thai dictatorial regime. Since 1961 when people in the northeast and the south first resorted to arms, the struggle has developed and spread to the central and western parts of the country.

Armed Struggle Arises Out of Sharpening Contradictions

The contradictions between U.S. imperialism and Thai national interests and the class contradictions inside the country have become sharper. This has resulted from Washington's efforts to turn Thailand into a new-type colony and using it as a major base for aggression (see *Peking Review*, No. 42, 1965, p. 8), and from the brutal exploitation and oppression of the people by a reactionary regime bent on serving as a faithful partner in Washington's war of aggression in Vietnam.

Confronted as they are by impending national disaster, the people of Thailand see that their way out — the winning of complete independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity — is to overthrow the Thanom Kittikachorn regime by people's war. The forming of the Thailand Patriotic Front on New Year's Day 1965 is a milestone in the people's struggle. The Front, which has become the focal point for rallying all patriotic Thai forces, has brought the people's revolutionary struggle to a new high.

It is the northeast, where the struggle rages most fiercely, that the Washington and Bangkok authorities are most worried about at present. In this poverty-stricken and highly strategic region, which accounts for one-third of the country's total area and popula-

tion, U.S. imperialism has built many military bases and strategic highways to expand its aggression in Indo-China. It is here, according to the Thanom regime's own figures, that 84.62 per cent of the peasants' harvests go as land rent. Usury is rampant — the same figures reveal that the lowest interest paid by peasants in 1965 was 50 per cent, although 100 per cent was more common and rates of 200 and 300 per cent were not unknown.

According to a high Bangkok official, the people's armed forces in this region have set up guerrilla bases in Nakhon Phanom, Sakon Nakhon, Udorn, Ubon and Surin Provinces. Thai papers and Western news agencies report that the rapidly growing people's armed forces frequently inflict heavy blows on the troops and



Sketch map by Su Li

police of the reactionary regime. An example of this took place last December 29 when the people's forces in Nakhon Phanom Province threw back an attack by 800 reactionary troops and police. A *Reuter* dispatch on January 16 indicated that the people's armed forces were most active in Sakon Nakhon Province. It also reported that military and civilian officials there "eat and sleep in fear" and that "they sense that they are surrounded by unseen enemies."

The developing armed struggle has struck terror into the hearts of the Thai rulers. From Deputy Prime Minister Praphas Charusathien, concurrent Interior Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, has come the warning that "the Communists [people's armed forces] had infiltrated into central Thailand as close to the capital as 60 miles."

The danger of Thailand becoming another south Vietnam has been disturbing Washington's dreams for some time. On January 5, Bangkok's Deputy Minister of Defence Thawee Chullasap said today's situation in the northeast is similar to that in south Vietnam five years ago. Even while U.S. imperialism flounders in Vietnam, American officials and the press have been openly pointing to Thailand. On February 8, Lieutenant-General James M. Gavin told the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee that as matters now stand, he expected the Vietnamese conflict to spread to Thailand and that "the most decisive fight will take place in Thailand."

Backed up by enormous U.S. military and economic "aid," the Thai reactionaries have been making desperate but vain attempts to stamp out the fire before it gets out of hand. "Annihilation campaigns" and "mopping-up operations" have been conducted one after another. Taking a leaf from Washington's south Vietnam book, Deputy Interior Minister Thawin an-

nounced on January 24 that the Thai cabinet had approved a plan for moving inhabitants out of the "dangerous places" into "independent villages" (another name for "strategic hamlets") to be set up. Four days earlier, Prime Minister Thanom disclosed the establishment of a "special command" composed of the army and police for the suppression of the people's forces.

Interior Minister Praphas told a meeting of "the territorial defence volunteers units" (police reserves) late in January that his ministry had decided to station a "territorial defence volunteers unit" in every one of the 37 frontier provinces and to install "intelligence units" in 24 frontier districts as a means of helping the regular troops suppress the people's forces.

However, despite such efforts by the Thanom regime and the help of Washington, the people's struggle goes on unchecked. Thus, Deputy Interior Minister Thawin had to confess that the Thai authorities face great difficulties in "mopping-up operations" and "annihilation campaigns" which always end in failure. He also admitted that the people's armed forces were enjoying popular support and that the Thai authorities could not obtain information from the residents on guerrilla activities. Commenting on the people's armed struggle last December, Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman expressed great anxiety when he said that the underground flames within the country were more dangerous than disasters coming from the outside, and that the sparks could start a prairie fire.

In this case, Thanat was correct. The efforts of the Thai authorities to put down the people's forces by arms only add fuel to the fire. This has been fully demonstrated by the victorious development of the people's war in south Vietnam. Attempts by Washington and its Thai henchmen to turn Thailand into a second south Vietnam is sure to produce similar results.

FOREIGN PRESS REVIEW

"A Poor Man's War"

WHERE does Johnson get the cannon-fodder for his dirty war in Vietnam? "Primarily from the poor," writes James Reston in an article in the January 30 *New York Times*. Eschewing tattered slogans such as "freedom," "democracy," "communist aggression," etc., this columnist with a long-time pipeline to the White House and the Pentagon says: "This is a poor man's war."

One does not expect a real explanation of the workings of the American capitalist system from a loyal spokesman for the Establishment. But Reston's musings reveal, or at least bring to the surface, the thoughts and feelings of the American people who more and

more have been opposing the Johnson Administration's war policy.

"The facts are fairly clear," he writes. "Increased prosperity for many, increased sacrifice for many more . . . many lose their lives." At this point Reston is more than just disingenuous; he goes in for outright distortion. "Increased prosperity for many" simply means for the few big businesses that are raking in super-profits. When compared to the population of ordinary and poor Americans who have to sacrifice and die for the warmakers in Washington, "many" turns out to be not even a drop in the bucket.

"If the Army needs 15 million new pairs of pants, somebody has to make them and obviously somebody gains. More helicopters, more planes, more guns, more ammunition, more trucks and jeeps, for Vietnam, etc. . . ."



and columnists are grumbling. Sections of the "respectable" press also have been chiming in. And one of their main themes is that Johnson and his administration have been lying to the American people about Vietnam.

"The U.S. has repeatedly been caught in half-truths and awkward lies . . . confidence in our government has been severely shaken," lamented the *Washington Post* in a January 30 article.

To the world at large as well as growing sections of Americans, this is not exactly the latest news. Still it does reflect the quandary into which Johnson and his cronies have put such leading spokesmen of the "American way" as the *Washington Post*, which wrote:

"Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's optimistic reports on the war in Vietnam, for example have been regularly contradicted by events on the battlefield."

This is putting it mildly. Even a cursory check on McNamara's chatter about how Washington has been faring in Vietnam reads like something out of a liar's chronicle. For example, in May 1963 his Department of Defense officially declared: "We have turned the corner in Vietnam." Five months later, in October, he said that the major part of the U.S. military task would be completed by the end of 1965. By 1964, in March, the U.S. defense chief said: "We are confident these [military] plans point the way to victory." But as things stand today U.S. victory is just as far away from reality as it was two years ago.

McNamara's department gets some heavy treatment in the *Washington Post* article. It quotes aviation writer Robert Hotz's comment that "the Defense Department's credibility has sunk so low that most Pentagon reporters don't believe a story until it has been officially denied."

Even Washington's watered-down casualty figures — a growing headache for the fakers in the Defense Department — are not sacrosanct.

"Casualty figures are subtly misrepresented to make American losses appear less than they really are . . . Every man in a company might be killed and no other units involved, but the casualties would still be described as 'light' on the theory that one company is a small part of the full complement in the battle zone."

The extent of the bitter in-fighting taking place in the upper echelons of U.S. imperialism is made quite clear. Johnson himself is fair game.

"All presidents have sought to present the best possible face to the public, but none ever achieved President Johnson's stranglehold on the flow of information. . . . His anger over unauthorized news leaks has terrorized the few sources who used to talk freely. . . . Most people seem to agree that the government . . . should not lie or mislead. . . . When the government cannot tell the whole truth it should stand by its privilege to shut up."

Reston names no names but everybody knows it is the biggest capitalists who come away with the lion's share of war profits. (The monster monopoly General Motors enjoyed its biggest profit year in history last year with a record-breaking \$2,126 million haul.) Nor does he talk about the horde of swashbuckling American companies — averaging 20 to 30 per cent on their investments — who have followed Johnson's troops into south Vietnam in quest of new swag: building plants and roads and airstrips, and selling the troops down payments on cars in the United States which they may never live to drive.

With a passing reference to "the burden on our consciences," Reston reports from the headquarters of U.S. imperialism that "just as the poor boys are drafted more than the richer boys (better off than the poor, not rich — *Ed.*), so the poverty programs of the Government have been affected by the cost of the war in Vietnam." Johnson's "Great Society" remains what it always was — a windy bag of promises — only the hiss of the air running out of it is becoming more audible in the face of Washington's Vietnam commitment.

There are no answers to be found in Reston's soliloquy on the Achilles' heel of American imperialism, only Vietnam "is harder on the poor than anybody else." But hard facts confront the American people. Already the most unpopular war in their history, Vietnam has flagrantly exposed to them the U.S. Government's policy at home and abroad. Inside the United States, opposition continues to mount against a criminal and unjust aggression. And the existing recognition of a system which equates profits with the sacrifices and lives of the vast majority will continue to grow as the war gets "harder on the poor."

"Half-Truths and Awkward Lies"

The deeper the Johnson Administration sinks into the bottomless pit of its Vietnam aggression the higher the lid is lifted on the inner contradictions bedeviling U.S. imperialism. Inside the U.S.A., even champions of U.S. imperialist aims are finding Johnson & Company's way of running their war of aggression hard to swallow. Congressmen are balking. Big name generals

Imperialism and Reactionaries Never Learn

IN the current row over Johnson's Vietnam policy, quite a few leading lights of the Washington "power elite" have deplored the "harebrained" repetition of a fatal mistake—getting the U.S.A. ensnarled in an Asian land war. Recently *U.S. News & World Report* (January 3) saw fit to reprint a part of General Matthew B. Ridgway's memoirs first published in 1956.

Ridgway, who served as "supreme commander of the U.N. forces" in Korea for over a year and who during that period lost more than 300,000 of his men, had compelling reasons to write: "In Korea, we had learned that air and naval power alone cannot win a war and that inadequate ground forces cannot win one either."

But, according to Ridgway, no sooner had the badly trounced United States signed an armistice in Korea, than Washington began "serious discussion" of armed intervention in Indo-China. As the then U.S. Army chief of staff, Ridgway, so his memoirs say, opposed the idea. And this opposition, he asserts, "played a considerable, perhaps a decisive, part in persuading our Government not to embark on that tragic adventure." "That error, thank God, was not repeated."

God's guidance notwithstanding, the U.S. Government only a few years later again took the plunge, this time in south Vietnam. And now it is readying itself for deeper involvement in an even bigger Asian war.

Why do imperialism and all other reactionaries, and U.S. imperialism in particular, err again and again? Why can't they learn anything from the bitter lessons of their recent past? This is certainly not because the Washington policy makers have poor memories. Nor are Johnson, McNamara & Co. less clever than Ridgway.

Behind the phenomena of the U.S. rulers' repeated blunders is their essential class character which pre-determines that they will go on making mistakes, and ever graver mistakes at that.

The Fatal Error

Imperialism is aggressive by nature, and U.S. imperialism is no exception. But wherever there is aggression, there is resistance from the people. The fatal error of the U.S. imperialists, like all other decaying classes and forces, is that they invariably overrate their own strength and underrate that of the people. They only see the power of material things and do not see the power of man. The U.S. imperialists believe that they themselves, with their nuclear arsenal, lethal weapons, tens of thousands of aircraft and millions of tons of steel, are all-powerful. They ignore man's role

in war and the revolutionary people's courage and determination. From this stem all their miscalculations.

In spite of his self-glorification, Ridgway, or for that matter any other representative of U.S. imperialism, is no wiser than Johnson's war team on this fundamental question. In his memoirs, Ridgway boasted how he "sent out to Indo-China an Army team of experts in every field." "The area, they found, was practically devoid of those facilities which modern forces such as ours find essential to the waging of war." So, again, it was the lack of material facilities which convinced Ridgway and the U.S. Government that a land war in Indo-China at the time would not be a good proposition.

In a way the Johnson Administration is heeding Ridgway's advice. Isn't it working post-haste to build and expand ports, airfields and other material facilities in south Vietnam and other staging areas for the war? But with or without facilities, Westmoreland fares no better in south Vietnam than Ridgway did in Korea. The more G.I.'s who arrive, the more mortuary squads are needed. Prospects in the war are grimmer than ever for the U.S. invaders.

Making a fetish of material power and ignorance of man's role also pre-determine that imperialism and all other reactionaries cannot comprehend, let alone master, the objective laws governing the development of human society.

The people ardently seek progress and emancipation. They want to make revolution. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history." But U.S. imperialism is working against the people. It has arrogated to itself the role of world gendarme to quell the people's revolution everywhere.

As early as 1947 Chairman Mao Tse-tung said that "this is the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory." These words put in a nutshell the inexorable law of contemporary history. But U.S. imperialism is trying to stem this great historic tide.

Napoleon Bonaparte committed a big mistake: he tried to conquer Europe and the world and the result for him was a fiasco. Adolf Hitler did not learn, nor could he have learnt, the proper lesson. And he committed the same error. Now even the present-day West German revanchists and Japanese militarists hanker after Hitler and Tojo's past "glories." Still less can U.S. imperialism, the arch aggressor of our times, be expected to learn any useful lesson from history. It will go on making mistakes, each worse than the last, till the day of its doom. This is a law governing the actions of imperialism and all other reactionaries.

—Tung Feng-hao

ROUND THE WORLD

THE HUMPHREY MISSION

Hoist With His Own Petard

When John Adams, first U.S. Vice-President, complained that his was "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived," he could not have conceived of its occupant playing the unenviable role assigned to him by President Lyndon Johnson in the pursuit of his policy of aggression and war. Thrice within two months Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey has been sent hopping from place to place in Asia, touting his master's wares.

Humphrey's latest two-week journey began on February 10 and covered nine countries and regions. He had two missions. One was to be Johnson's barker, trying to sell the plan for a wider war in Vietnam decided on at the Honolulu conference and to scrape up more men from Washington's satellites for the war. The other was to line up an anti-China alliance, or, as the *Washington Post* observed, "to do in the Pacific what the United States did in the Atlantic."

Clinking money as he spoke, Humphrey repeated Washington's lies of "north Vietnamese aggression in the south" and "Chinese expan-

sionism." In India he fleshed out his talk with a \$100 million loan—and the Indian leaders vied with him in slandering China. By promising a pay increase among other things, he got 20,000 mercenaries from the puppet regime in south Korea. New Zealand, Australia and the Philippines were the only others which bowed to the U.S. demand for more cannonfodder. As an old Chinese saying has it, this is just like using a glass of water to put out the fire in a cartload of firewood going up in flames.

There was, however, also something else—something contrary to his expectations. The people everywhere "welcomed" this imperialist demagogue with anti-U.S. fury. From the start his heart was in his mouth. In Saigon, armed helicopters crisscrossed the sky as he drove through a city swept with mine detectors. In Seoul, a youth evaded the heavy security guard to throw a rotten apple at his car. In Wellington, the New Zealanders greeted him with the biggest demonstration ever against a U.S. official and four students chained themselves to the gates outside parliament house. In Manila, the airport entrance was blocked by demonstrators and Humphrey was whisked out the back entrance and sent on board a launch to a guest house where he was hidden for the night.

In Pakistan, a country which follows an independent foreign policy. Humphrey tried his best to poison its relations with China but failed. Public opinion and government circles were offended when he dangled out a \$50 million loan, which, according to an official American source, would hinge on Pakistan's and India's "common understanding of the activities and designs of

Communist China." His lie that Pakistan was "fully aware of the threat of Communist China" was immediately repudiated by Pakistan's Foreign Minister Bhutto in a policy statement. While the statement makes it clear that China "does not pose any threat to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent," it also reiterates that Pakistan "would not accept any limitation on its independence to order its foreign policy." Caught red-handed, the U.S. Vice-President was forced to apologize, saying that what was issued by the official U.S.I.S. in his name was "inaccurate and unauthorized"!

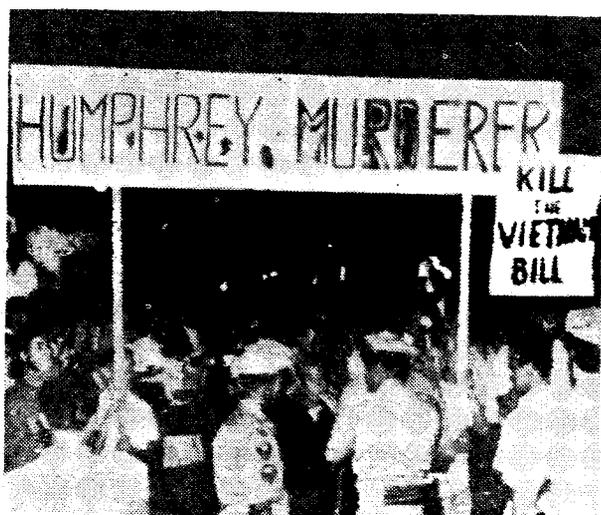
What has Humphrey achieved? He wanted to enlist support for American aggression in Vietnam, but he has actually played the role of mobilizing the people to fight U.S. imperialism. He wanted to mobilize people in the countries which he visited to "contain" China, but his trip has actually mobilized the masses there to oppose U.S. imperialism and form a still broader united front against it.

WASHINGTON-INSPIRED PARLEYS

Making Asians Fight Asians

Before Humphrey came home, William Bundy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, had arrived in Tokyo. Prior to setting out, he called on Asian countries to actively join the U.S. in its policy of military "containment" of China. In Tokyo, he talked with Japanese Vice-Foreign Minister Takezo Shimoda, what was said being kept secret "at the strong request of Bundy." According to Japanese news agency and radio reports, both U.S. policy in Vietnam and its China policy were discussed.

At the same time, the U.S. stooges in the Far East have been unusually active, really as mad as March hares. Puppet Pak Jung Hi of south Korea made a 10-day tour of Malaya, Thailand and Taiwan. Acting on Washington's instructions, he is busily preparing to call foreign ministers of the Southeast Asian and Pacific region together in Seoul this



Filipinos "welcome" Humphrey outside U.S. Embassy in Manila

Hygiene

News item: The U.S. has ordered 400,000 plastic "corpse bags" for its aggressor army in south Vietnam.

- With pampered G.I.s wanting modern final rites,
- Defeat in the paddyfields of south Vietnam
- And prospects of escalation
- Demand that Washington raise its sights.
- With the production of corpses mounting,
- Simplified disposal aids accounting;
- Bulky coffins take up too much space.
- Luckily
- The appeal to American genius is not in vain.
- Even the problem of piecemeal repatriation
- Yields to chemicalization:
- Death now comes wrapped in cellophane.



try statement, however, has given the lie to the British Prime Minister by issuing a brief account of the interview and adding that anything "which differs" from it "is sheer distortion of facts." It seems that Wilson is following in the footsteps of the U.S. Vice-President in his dealings with Pakistan and refuses to learn any lesson from it.

JOHNSON'S WAR

One Man's Meat

When asked in Manila how he felt about the anti-U.S. demonstration there, Humphrey tried to be funny by saying: "Demonstrations make me feel at home. There are demonstrations at home too." He spoke more truth than he knew. Demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in general and against Johnson's war in Vietnam in particular not only take place today in all other parts of the world but in the U.S. as well. They certainly do not make Johnson feel comfortable. The other day he had to sneak in and out of New York City's luxurious Waldorf-Astoria because 7,000 people had assembled in a big anti-war demonstration outside.

Johnson went to New York to receive the 1966 National Freedom Award of the "Freedom House" Association. When he was defending his Vietnam policy, one man in the audience leaped to his feet and shouted anti-war slogans. Those demonstrating said that Johnson should receive a "genocide trophy" not a "freedom trophy."

Mounting opposition to the steady escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam is now engulfing the whole country. The U.S. Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union with a membership of 380,000 recently issued a statement expressing opposition "most vigorously" to the "further escalation of [the U.S.] military efforts." This is the first trade union affiliated to the Right-wing AFL-CIO to make such an open statement.

Among the intellectuals, more than 1,200 scholars from some 70 American institutions of higher learning published a full-page open letter in the *New York Times* on February 13

coming summer to form an "anti-communist" alliance. An American puppet summit has already been endorsed by Chiang Kai-shek and Thai Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn. The latter is touring countries in the Pacific and the south Vietnamese puppet, Nguyen Cao Ky, is to go to Japan in mid March. Many Japanese organizations are already protesting against the visit because, as they point out, the Sato cabinet's purpose in inviting Ky is to discuss Japan's part in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

The Sato government is working energetically for an anti-China alliance and for Japan once again to play the bully over the peoples of Asia. Besides taking part in the Seoul anti-communist conference, it has decided to call a so-called ministerial conference for Southeast Asian development in Tokyo in April. Tokyo officialdom has made no bones about making this "a sort of springboard" at which a "political line in opposition to China's tough anti-U.S. line" would be discussed. The Japanese paper *Mainichi Shimbun* reported that "the plan is being pushed ahead at American inspiration."

Wilson Sinks to New Low. In Europe, Britain's Harold Wilson visited Moscow with the Vietnam question a main subject for discussion. Soviet

support was also sought for the British Government's "East of Suez" plan (see p. 19). Speaking on Moscow TV, Wilson declared that his country and the Soviet Union "must be allies" in view of the fact that "the balance of danger is shifting from Europe to the vast areas of Asia and Africa." In his meetings with Kosygin, Wilson repeatedly stressed that Vietnam talks would have to start "immediately and without conditions." AP reported that "listening between Kosygin's lines, British officials professed to detect some signs to suggest Russia would like to help end the crisis."

As a political broker who "always keeps in touch" with Washington, Wilson has sunk to a new low with his Moscow performance. He sent British Minister of State Chalfont to call on the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. During the interview, the Vietnamese diplomat sternly condemned U.S. aggression and criticized British support for American policy. But Wilson would like to tell a different story of his own making. While describing the interview as a "good talk" and declaring that Britain had now established a line with Hanoi, he added that "Hanoi holds the key to peace in Vietnam," thus whitewashing the U.S. imperialist aggressors. A D.R.V. Foreign Minis-

in protest against the "expanded war offensive." The letter also condemned the U.S. forces for using napalm bombs and conducting chemical warfare in south Vietnam.

To refute his many critics, including those in ruling circles, Johnson at the Waldorf-Astoria used one-third of his time to talk about the American "tradition" of defending "freedom" at home and abroad. It was the same old Johnson all over again. He showed his true colours as he announced that if General Westmoreland required more men in south Vietnam, "his needs will be met." At other times he tried to pacify the "doves" by cooing that his was not "a war for unlimited objectives" and that the U.S. was not "caught in a blind escalation force . . . towards a wider war." To suit his diplomats, he indicated he would continue with his "peace" intrigue "undiscouraged."

On the international scene, too, Johnson's war has proved to be a case of one man's meat being another man's poison. Among America's allies, most are either indifferent or opposed to the war. Only a few show half-hearted support. In the first category is France whose interests are clashing with those of the U.S. in Southeast Asia. French opposition to U.S. policy in the area has, in fact, become one of the aspects of the Washington-Paris confrontation.



Americans besiege Johnson outside the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City

West Germany, whose main interest is far from Vietnam, is supporting American aggression there only to obtain backing for its own militarist and imperialist ambitions. It is full of misgivings over U.S. moves to shift its strategic emphasis eastward.

Britain is a willing tool. It supports Washington's every aggressive move and runs errands for the U.S. in its "peace talks" fraud in exchange for economic, military and political assistance to maintain its position as a "big" power. But London stresses that Britain is too hard up financially and lacks manpower to make any

"contribution" to the U.S. war effort in Vietnam.

Others, like some north European countries and Canada, have expressed "concern" or "disappointment" over the U.S. expansion of the war. According to the Western press, there are still others who maintain a "polite reserve." And even the most docile allies of the U.S. now find it more and more difficult to support Johnson's war.

U.S. News & World Report in a recent article aptly describes the U.S. predicament. It says: "Americans, linked in defence pacts with 42 nations, find these partners of scant help in today's world. . . ."

NEWS NOTES

Tanzania to Solve Its Own Problems . . . Africans on Guard . . . His Star in the Descendant

Tanzanian President Nyerere recently disclosed that because his country severed diplomatic relations with Britain on the Southern Rhodesian issue, London has reneged on its promise of a £7.5 million loan. "In the past," he said, "when we had problems, we expected other people to solve them for us, but now we must solve our own problems and we do not have to wait for somebody else to solve them for us."

* * *

On the third anniversary of Mali's Army Day, President Modibo Keita told the army to be on guard against imperialist subversion. On recent events in Africa, the President said: The imperialists did not want African states to pursue a policy of dignity and genuine independence. In order to perpetuate its exploitation, imperialism was bent on putting its puppets in power after sowing instability and disorder. He believed

that the African peoples and cadres would see the danger more clearly with each passing day.

* * *

When President Johnson was described as America's peace-loving citizen by Governor Brown at the California Democratic Council, there was tumult. About 200 people walked out in protest. Most of the delegates refused to support Brown for re-election. The fact is whoever comes out to speak for Johnson will be out of luck, among the American people as well as among the Democrats themselves.

ACROSS THE LAND

Wider Use of Low Alloy Steels

LOW alloy steels are increasingly replacing carbon steel in the machine-building, communications, chemical, oil, building and other industries in China. Fourteen varieties are now in use and dozens of others are being developed. In every case their introduction has brought better quality, higher efficiency, compactness, lightness and greater durability. Low alloy steel rails have a life-span double or even treble those of carbon steel.

Generally reckoned to be the "king" of steels, carbon steel makes up most of the steel used in the engineering, transport and building materials industries and currently accounts for about 90 per cent of total world steel output.

China, too, concentrated on carbon steel production until recent years when forceful voices began to ask why should we tail after others. Couldn't we strike out along a new path more in keeping with our own indigenous resources and needs? Our country has rich resources in heterogeneous iron ore deposits and alloy elements. If these could be exploited, large quantities of high strength, low alloy steels could be made to do the work of carbon steel more efficiently in many branches of industry. (Carbon steel—steel deriving its properties mainly from its carbon content—has many limitations: it is heavy, clumsy to work with, rather brittle and subject to corrosion.) Some foreign metallurgists had argued that it was not feasible to smelt these abundant native ores, but Chinese steel-makers were not at all convinced. Workers, technicians and leading cadres from steel mills, scientific research institutes and departments using steel jointly pressed ahead with their experiments. They succeeded in working out new techniques for exploiting Chinese ores to produce low alloy steels by relatively

simple methods. This paves the way for the greater, quicker, better and more economical growth of China's iron and steel industry based on domestic resources.

Heilungkang Drainage Project

FROM mid October to nearly the end of December, when work stopped for the winter, peasants moved 90 million cubic metres of earth to complete 70 per cent of the work on the Heilungkang drainage project. This is the biggest such enterprise in Hopei Province, and currently the most important part of the gigantic scheme to put the unruly Haiho River system under permanent control. They widened and dredged 900 kilometres of nine rivers and their tributaries, which form part of the Haiho River system and drain an area 19,700 square kilometres. They enlarged the new outlet already cut to the sea south of Tientsin city and built several score bridges over the widened channels.

The rest of the work will be completed this spring when commune members return to work. Thus the years originally assigned for this project have been reduced to months by the revolutionary spirit and skill of its builders—peasants, planners, technicians and engineers.

The completed work will protect 1.3 million hectares of Hopei farmland from waterlogging. It will directly benefit 6.5 million peasants. The Central Government provided 100 million yuan and building materials, but this project is mainly being built by the combined efforts of the rural people's communes.

How They Did It. As soon as the Heilungkang project was announced last autumn people in 80 counties volunteered to work for it, although it was fully explained that only 40 of the Hopei counties will directly benefit. "Ours is a big socialist family," peasants said. "Helping neigh-

bours is helping ourselves." "We're not hired labourers," a peasant of Houxiang commune said. "We're going to pull poverty and backwardness up by the roots." He was voicing the sentiments of all.

The fittest volunteers were chosen and came with their own tools. The communes and state farm machine stations sent along 2,000 tractors and large numbers of pumps, 300,000 carts and wheel-barrows. The old shoulder pole was dispensed with. Working with magnificent spirit, in October they were moving one million cubic metres of earth a day; in November that figure rose to 2.5 million cubic metres. They swept away the tangle of dykes and barriers built in the days of the landlords and bureaucrats, and which were in part responsible for the waterlogging and frequent floods in the area. They spread the fertile silt they dug up on to thousands of hectares of surrounding farmland. They also gave local communes a hand in finishing their winter wheat sowing.

Commune households around the building sites took the river-tamers into their homes and treated them like members of the family. Where there were not enough rooms the volunteer workers from other counties put up simple dwellings for themselves so as to save the state as much expense as possible.

Brief

The entire Department of Philosophy of the People's University of China has moved out to live, work and take part in the various activities of a people's commune in the outskirts of Peking. This follows the successful year-long experimental work-and-study course which ended in the summer of last year.

The experiment was based on Mao Tse-tung's teaching that "in order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." Students and staff in 1964-65 worked in factories or farms or served in army units for short periods in addition to their studies.

SONG AND DANCE

Art From Fighting Vietnam

— In Praise of the New Dances —

The poet Cu Huy Can, leader of the visiting Vietnam song and dance ensemble, told us Chinese dancers that they had brought us flowers grown in the midst of battles and gathered from near the trenches, flowers which they had hardly had time to trim. Having now seen their superb performance, we would like to add: flowers with a rich Vietnamese flavour, flowers touched with the glory of the struggle which the Vietnamese people are waging. They are at once an original development of Vietnam's artistic traditions and a product of the mighty struggle to drive out the Yankee aggressors.

The dances *Under the Great Banner of the Liberation Front*, *The Wooden Hand-Grenade*, *Wasp Warfare*, *With Fishing Net in One Hand and Gun in the Other*, *Meeting at the A.A. Gun Site*, and *On the Demarcation Line* present from various angles a vivid picture of fighting Vietnam. The first three items are tributes to the south Vietnamese people who have transformed their war against the U.S. invaders into a truly people's war. Not only arms captured from the enemy are turned effectively against him, but even child's toy hand-grenade and the very wasps of the forests.

Meeting at the A.A. Gun Site is a truthful portrayal of the combat life of the people in the north who, led by the Workers' Party of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh, are keeping a vigilant look-out on the demarcation line. As in the south, the people here too are fighting alongside their soldiers, with gun in one hand and hoe, hammer or fishing net in the other. Dancers, choreographers, and musicians, with their intimate knowledge and experience of life at the fighting fronts, collaborate to present performances of a high standard, both in artistry and ideological content.

Chinese dance workers are not unfamiliar with the singing and dancing of the Vietnamese people. We

have seen their fine performances on more than one occasion, but this is the first time that we have seen a whole programme designed to give a vivid, all-round picture of the life of the Vietnamese people in revolutionary struggle. This is indeed a big, new development. The heroic feats of the people are an immense source of inspiration and material for artistic creation. No less important is the fact that the Vietnamese artists are themselves revolutionary fighters, using their art weapons, with a deep insight into the fighting life of their people.

On behalf of his colleagues and comrades-in-arms, the choreographer Tran Minh presented Chinese dance workers in Peking with a gift — a model U.S. plane made out of a piece of an American pirate craft brought down at Ham Rong Bridge. It was inscribed with the date the plane was downed. Soldiers guarding the bridge gave it to Comrade Tran Minh when he joined them in the fighting there. In the year since we last met, Comrade Tran Minh created four of the dances now being performed by the ensemble on its China tour. Other choreographers, we learnt, have been likewise prolific. Their new dances reflecting the reality of fighting Vietnam, are outstanding contributions to the revolutionary dance art of Vietnam.



"Fishing Net in One Hand and Gun in the Other" Sketch by Ah Lao

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Attends Performance

The Vietnamese artists have concluded their Peking performances loaded with praise. Their last show in the capital, on February 26, was attended by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders. After their final curtain call they were given a rousing ovation by the audience and the whole theatre joined in their cheer of "Long live Chairman Mao!" Chairman Liu went on stage to offer congratulations and then posed for photographs with them.

Earlier, on February 23, Premier Chou En-lai saw their performance and received the leaders and leading artists of the ensemble during the interval.

This talented troupe is currently performing in Shanghai. Their schedule for the coming two weeks in China includes shows in Changsha in Hunan Province, and Nanning in Kwangsi. A farewell banquet was given in their honour at the Great Hall of the People on February 28 by the Ministry of Culture and the China-Vietnam Friendship Association.

In their battle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people, in the south and in the north, have set the peoples of the world a shining example. Their artists, skilfully using their art weapons in that struggle and heightening the morale of their people and their fighters, are examples for us to emulate. We wish the Vietnamese people victory in their struggle and great success in their militant art. We Chinese dance workers send revolutionary greetings to our Vietnamese counterparts, our comrades-in-arms fighting in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We wish the ensemble success on its China tour.

— Hu Kuo-kang
Vice-Chairman of the Union
of Chinese Dance Workers

Now's the time to think about it

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