

PEKING REVIEW

5

January 28, 1966

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Johnson Administration Gives Itself Away

Behind the smokescreen of "peace offensive," Washington is throwing more men, munitions and money into its aggressive war in Vietnam.

Be A Conscious Revolutionary

Renmin Ribao reviews nationwide discussions on "all our work is for the revolution."

Art Goes to the Villages

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

VICE-PREMIER CHEN YI ANSWERS QUESTIONS PUT BY CORRESPONDENTS

This booklet contains important remarks by Vice-Premier Chen Yi made at a press conference attended by Chinese and foreign correspondents on September 29, 1965. It also contains his replies on December 30, 1965 to questions from Takano Yoshihisa, Peking correspondent of the Japanese paper "Akahata."

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 28, 1966 Vol. IX No. 5

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January 28, 1966

THE WEEK

Spring Festival

Spring Festival, or the Lunar New Year which this year fell on January 21, was celebrated with great gusto throughout the country. This year, because the annual three-day holiday included Sunday, there was an extra day, Monday, for celebration.

This festival of festivals for the Chinese people was highlighted by family reunions and dinners and parties, special film shows, theatrical performances and many other festivities. According to time-honoured tradition, there was the endless crackling and booming of firecrackers which gave a distinctively cheerful note to the national merry-making. The prevailing mood of the nation at this year's celebrations was one of unrestrained optimism springing from last year's good harvests and industrial gains as well as confidence and determination to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan and win still greater victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Huge red palace lanterns and decorative arches all over the city added to the capital's festive air. Holiday-makers by the tens of thousands packed the cinemas, theatres, parks, sports grounds and other entertainment and recreation centres during the week-end. The Great Hall of the People and nine other locales in Peking on the evening of January 20 were scenes of gala celebrations by more than 50,000 army men and civilians who came from all walks of life and represented China's various nationalities. Symbolic of the great unity of the people, who are closely rallied round the Chinese Communist Party, was the big gathering at the Great Hall of the People where Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling, Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders joined the people in the celebrations. They exchanged greetings

with all present and, together with them, enjoyed a rich programme of theatrical performances portraying the heroism of the Vietnamese people in their fight against the U.S. aggressors, the anti-U.S. revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Chinese people's firm support for the oppressed peoples fighting for liberation from imperialist and colonial rule all over the world.

The festivities lasted far into the night. Before they began, Chairman Liu and the other leaders received representatives of outstanding companies of the People's Liberation Army and Public Security Forces, outstanding soldiers, sharpshooters, crack gunners, model workers on the industrial, agricultural, financial and cultural fronts, as well as representatives of people's militia units, demobilized army men, families of servicemen, and family members of those who had laid down their lives for the revolution.

One feature stood out at the gatherings: the close relationship between the army and the people. The representatives of naval units from east and south China, which had sunk or damaged U.S.-built warships of the Chiang Kai-shek gang last year, and outstanding soldiers from the P.L.A. were among those most welcome. Wherever they went, they were greeted by warm applause—an acknowledgement of their role in safeguarding the motherland.

This family-like relationship between the people and their army found expression in the varied activities during the festival. Everywhere in the country, from the Fukien front on the east coast to the far-flung frontiers in the west, theatrical troupes put on special performances for army units, servicemen and civilians paid mutual visits and

army-civilian celebrations took place. Chatting together, they wished each other new successes in the coming year and pledged to hold the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking still higher and make fresh contributions to the socialist cause.

Nationwide Celebrations

In Peking, besides the grand gatherings on January 20, there were also other festivities over the Spring Festival. On January 20, Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, joined leaders of the democratic parties and non-party democrats in the celebrations. Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, spoke at this gathering. He congratulated all present on their contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past year and hoped that they would unite still more closely, study Chairman Mao's works and Marxism-Leninism, and make fresh successes in transforming the society and remoulding their own ideology.

Colourful festivities marked the holiday in Shanghai, China's largest metropolis. The city's more than 40 professional theatrical companies and troupes staged performances with modern revolutionary themes, many of which were specially arranged for the festival. Shanghai workers took the opportunity to hold meetings where they sang revolutionary songs, recounted revolutionary stories, exchanged experience in the study of Chairman Mao's works and encouraged one another to put politics first and do their best to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan.

In subtropical Canton, a flower show highlighted the celebrations. The myriads of camellias, daffodils, orchids, peonies, peach blossoms and other flowers drew huge crowds throughout the holiday. The annual show which took place in a park spilled over into the thoroughfares in the busiest part of the city. Successful efforts were made by the florists this year to convey the rev-

olutionary optimism of the times through their displays. Attracting particular attention was a "four-storey high torch" consisting of 1,700 pots of favourite Chinese flowers and adorned with the slogan "Carry the revolution through to the end." Equally fascinating was the flower stand displaying plum blossoms on a snow-covered precipice. A magnificent piece of floral art which had as its theme Chairman Mao's famous poem *Ode to the Plum Blossoms*, this was a graphic illustration of the steadfast and unyielding nature of this hardy flower which blooms even in the severest cold, a peerless beauty in the snow and a harbinger of the new year's approaching vernal blossoms.

Indonesian Rightists' Anti-Chinese Activities Protested

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on January 17, lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the rabid anti-Chinese activities which the Indonesian Right-wing forces had carried out since January 10.

Organized by the Right-wing forces, thousands of people in Djakarta carried out provocations in front of both the Chinese Embassy and Consulate-General on January 10 and 15. They carried banners and placards with anti-Chinese slogans and shouted: "Down with the People's Republic of China!" "Drive out the Chinamen!" "Hang the Chinamen!" and "Down with Radio Peking!"

Acting in co-ordination, Indonesian Right-wing papers launched vicious attacks and stirred up feelings against China and against Chinese nationals, and called for the severance of diplomatic relations.

The Chinese note said that these anti-Chinese activities by the Indonesian Right-wing forces at the instigation of the imperialists constituted another unbridled act of provocation against the Chinese people and poisoned relations between China and Indonesia further. The note pointed out that despite the series of grave incidents during the past few months, the Chinese Government had restrained itself and made every effort to safeguard the friendship be-

tween the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. But the Indonesian Government had not kept its promise that it would take measures to check the anti-Chinese activities which were growing more and more open and unrestrained. The Chinese Government expressed great regret at this and demanded that the Indonesian Government take effective measures to check the Rightists' hostile activities.

Indian Persecution of Chinese Nationals Condemned

A strong protest against the Indian Government's detention and maltreatment of law-abiding Chinese nationals was lodged by the Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on January 12. The note demanded that discrimination and persecution of Chinese be stopped immediately.

Since October 1962 when the Indian Government launched massive armed attacks against China, large numbers of innocent Chinese nationals have been arrested and thrown into a concentration camp and jails in various places, while others have been subjected to persecution. Chinese residents in India who have returned home recently have disclosed that several hundred innocent Chinese are still being detained in the Deoli concentration camp and in prisons in Calcutta, Bombay and Nowkong, suffering from maltreatment. Though the Chinese Government has repeatedly demanded their release, the Indian Government has equivocated to evade responsibility.

The Foreign Ministry's note recalled that in August 1963 the Indian Government had unreasonably rejected the Chinese Government's demand for continuing to send ships to bring back the victimized. Stern refutation and repeated demands by the Chinese Government compelled the Indian Government to say in its notes of September 4, 1963, and January 8, 1964, that it was "taking necessary steps for the welfare and rehabilitation" of the detained and that they were "being released and rehabilitated." Facts over the last

(Continued on p. 11.)

Peking Review, No. 5

Johnson Administration's Self-Exposure

IN the past month, the Johnson Administration has staged a most shameless farce over the Vietnam question. While nearly every day singing "peace," "peace," "peace" in a high key, its actions have been for war, war, war. Just look at the facts.

Deeds Belie Words

On December 28, the United States sent 4,000 more troops to south Vietnam.

On January 18, it dispatched another 9,000 aggressor troops to south Vietnam.

On January 19, Johnson formally asked for an extra 12,300 million U.S. dollars to finance the war of aggression in Vietnam.

On January 20, McNamara announced that the United States planned to increase its armed forces by over 450,000 men.

Facts have again irrefutably proved that the louder the U.S. aggressors sing the tune of "peace," the more feverish are their efforts to fan the flames of their aggressive war in Vietnam.

It is now exactly a month since the United States on December 24 began its "pause in the bombing" of north Vietnam and launched with much fanfare its so-called "peace offensive." During this period, the Johnson Administration has on different occasions played the same tunes of "peace" which are long, wordy and malodorous. But what have the U.S. aggressors really done?

Have they stopped their aggressive war in south Vietnam? Just the contrary. They have been applying on an even bigger scale the "scorched earth" policy of "kill all, burn all and destroy all."

Have they withdrawn a single soldier from south Vietnam? Just the contrary. They have shipped in another 13,000 aggressor troops to the south Vietnam battlefield.

Or have they perhaps shown some small bit of "consideration" for the south Vietnamese people? Just

the contrary. They have been using poison gas with still greater frenzy, and displaying still greater savagery in their killing.

Anyone who respects facts will see that the Johnson Administration has not the least desire to solve the Vietnam question peacefully in accordance with the aspirations of the Vietnamese people. What it is interested in is throwing in more troops, more ammunition and more dollars for bellicose activities against Vietnam.

From what the U.S. aggressors did yesterday and what they are doing today, it is not difficult to predict what they will do tomorrow. In the past, every time they chanted a "peace" psalm, they added a faggot to the flames of their aggressive war. They are now busy with their "peace talks" hoax and at the same time stepping up efforts for war escalation. They are resorting to political deception because they realize that they can no longer hold back the victory of the liberation struggle of the south Vietnamese people by military means alone. However, once their political deception becomes totally discredited, they will revert to new adventures and seek in vain for a way out by expanding the war.

In his State of the Union Message on January 12, Johnson made it quite plain when he indicated that if his "peace talks" trick failed, the United States "will give

our fighting men what they must have: every gun, every dollar and every decision—whatever the cost or whatever the challenge." Neither did McNamara mince his words when he said on January 20 that "[the United States will] provide whatever military forces are necessary to defeat the communists and to guarantee south Vietnam's freedom." Facts show that the U.S. aggressors are sliding down the slope of war expansion and they are bent on imposing a still more cruel and barbarous aggressive war on the people of Vietnam and all Indo-China.

A life-and-death trial of strength is now being carried out on Vietnamese territory. Either the aggressors are driven out according to the will of the Vietnamese people, and so the cause of Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity is accomplished,



L.B.J.'s "Peace" Dance
Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

or Vietnam is divided and south Vietnam is occupied according to the will of the aggressors and thus the Vietnamese people are plunged into the abyss of enslavement and dismemberment. This is a life-and-death struggle. The enemy is most ferocious and cruel. But the outcome of this struggle will inevitably run counter to the wishes of U.S. imperialism and it will end in the defeat of the aggressors.

Indomitable Will

A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in a statement issued on January 21, strongly condemned the United States for sending reinforcements to south Vietnam behind a "peace" smokescreen and reiterated the warning of the Vietnamese people. He said that no troops of the U.S. aggressors could retrieve their critical situation in south Vietnam. In its New Year commentary, the South Vietnam Liberation Press Agency pointed out that the

Vietnamese people harboured no illusions whatsoever on the "peace" ballyhoo from the war-like Washington bigwigs, and that they must concentrate all their power to strike still harder blows at U.S. imperialism. All these forceful words once more express the indomitable will of the 31 million Vietnamese people to safeguard the country's independence and national dignity and resist imperialist aggression.

The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Vietnamese people's firm stand of carrying through the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the end. The Chinese people are convinced that the Vietnamese people who have been tempered in the raging flames of anti-imperialist struggle in the last 20 years will redouble their efforts to smash the Johnson Administration's plan for war expansion and destroy the U.S. invaders.

(Slightly abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial, January 24, 1966.)

Be a Conscious Revolutionary

— More on "All Our Work Is for the Revolution" —

SINCE we published the editorial, "All Our Work Is for the Revolution,"¹ on October 11 last year, a great number of people and cadres all over the country have written to us. They tell how they studied and discussed this editorial, raised their level of revolutionary consciousness, realized more fully the link between their ordinary day-to-day work and the great goals of the Chinese revolution and world revolution, gained a broader and longer-sighted view, and understood more clearly the aim of their efforts and work. As a result, they have become keener on their work.

Such a warm response to the idea of all our work being for the revolution reflects the unprecedentedly high level of political consciousness of the Chinese masses and cadres displayed in the current upsurge of studying Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This is a basic reason why the high tide of Chinese revolution and construction is mounting so rapidly today.

In our country and under the leadership of the Communist Party, every kind of work — including work in the political, economic, military and cultural fields — is a part of the overall cause of socialist revolution and construction and is revolutionary work. The labour and work of the masses and cadres on all fronts are

directly or indirectly linked with the cause of the Chinese revolution and world revolution.

For the Chinese and World Revolutions

When we say "all our work is for the revolution," this means for the Chinese and world revolutions, and for the class struggle in the domestic and international spheres. The slogan itself proceeds from a class standpoint. In our country classes have not yet been eliminated; the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is still going on. In the international sphere we are also waging serious class struggles against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and modern revisionism. The aim of our revolution is to carry the socialist revolution to final victory in our country, carry the proletarian world revolution to final victory, and build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man. To bring about this great goal calls for the concerted efforts of the revolutionary peoples of the world, and in China it requires all the people to work hard and do a good job at their specific tasks. Everyone's day-to-day labour and work is linked with that great goal of the Chinese and world revolutions and with the domestic and international class struggle.

Revolution is a cause of all the people, not of a few persons. It is something that not only concerns the cadres and the People's Liberation Army, but also

¹ *Peking Review*, No. 43, October 22, 1965.

Discussion on "All Our Work Is for the Revolution"

A WIDE response throughout the country followed publication of the editorial "All Our Work Is for the Revolution" in *Renmin Ribao* last October. It has been studied and discussed by workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres, shop assistants, storemen, postmen, technicians, engineers, theatrical directors, doctors, professors, scientists. . . . And they lost no time in sending in letters and articles to *Renmin Ribao* and other leading papers expressing their views on this important topic. Many from their own personal experience confirmed that a lofty goal inspires one with boundless strength, that it is only when one links his own work with the cause of building a great socialist motherland and promoting the world revolution that one can find inexhaustible energy to do one's work and go on creating and advancing.

Quite a number seized the opportunity to review their own day-to-day behaviour in the light of the spirit described in the editorial and with the example of those two great revolutionary fighters, Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, as the criterion. That helped them to pinpoint their own shortcomings, and also determined them to intensify their efforts in remoulding their ideology and raising their level of revolutionary consciousness on the model of the outstanding personalities of our time so as to serve the people wholeheartedly and make a greater contribution to the revolution. Many endorsed the opinion that if one wants to realize in one's life the idea that all our work is for the revolution, then one must make a constant study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works and employ them as a powerful weapon to remould one's ideology and improve one's work.

all the worker and peasant masses and other working people. In our country, joining the army, taking part in political movements, farming, working in the factories, nursing, child care or working in the service trades all have a bearing in the revolution. Different occupations and posts are necessitated by the division of labour in revolutionary work as well as by the social division of labour. When everyone understands the relations between one's labour and work on the one hand and revolution on the other, and works diligently to contribute one's abilities and wisdom to the revolution, the revolutionary cause will forge ahead.

Mobilizing Revolutionary Initiative

"All our work is for the revolution" is a slogan that mobilizes the revolutionary initiative of the broad masses of the people. This slogan helps people to a clearer understanding of the great significance and far-reaching prospects of their labour and work.

What we ask from a genuine, conscious revolutionary is that he should understand that all his efforts and work are for the revolution, does his best with a revolutionary spirit in his labour and work and makes his maximum contribution to the revolution.

Only when the broad masses and cadres have such a revolutionary consciousness, can they put the revolutionary interests above all else, completely comply with the needs of the revolution, and always consider problems and act in the light of revolutionary needs. Then they will go to any place the revolution calls for. No matter how far away it may be or how hard life there may be, they will gladly go to where they are assigned. They will take any place as their home; they will strive to adapt themselves to local working and living conditions wherever they may be, in-

tegrate themselves with the masses there and there make their contribution to the work of revolution and construction. They will do any work that is called for by the revolution. No matter how dirty, fatiguing, ordinary and unnoticed it may be, they will go all out and do it conscientiously. Like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh,² they love their profession and try hard to master it so that remarkable achievements can be made at ordinary posts. People may differ in their abilities, but if they work diligently, they will all benefit the revolution and the people, they will be able to give help to and learn from each other in the course of labour and work and advance shoulder to shoulder. This is what the revolution demands of us.

To sum up, the idea that all our work is for the revolution has two meanings. First, it means that under our Communist Party's leadership and in our socialist country all work is revolutionary work. Second, it means that people working in various fields should carry on their labour and work with revolutionary spirit and become conscious revolutionaries.

Studying Chairman Mao's Works

To make the transition from a state of not being politically conscious to one of being conscious, everyone who works has to go through a process of ideological remoulding. Thousands upon thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers have become politically conscious step by step through diligent study of Chairman Mao's works. Three of Chairman Mao's articles — *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *Serve the People* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* — have played a significant part in enhancing the revolu-

² *Peking Review*, No. 14, April 5, 1963, and No. 46, November 12, 1965.

tionary consciousness of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as well as cadres. A conscientious study of these three articles will enable us to foster an outlook of working wholly for the emancipation of the people and for their interests. It also helps us to understand the need of cultivating a communist and internationalist spirit of complete devotion to others without any thought of self, and why in struggling with the class enemy and with Nature we should show a revolutionary perseverance similar to that of the Foolish Old Man. To consciously remould ourselves by comparing our own thinking with such revolutionary thoughts and spirit as are here described will help us to embrace the proletarian world outlook in the course of practice and to place the interests of the revolution beyond everything else. In the class struggle, both domestic and international, we shall be able to follow the examples of Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, making wholehearted devotion to the revolution, fearing neither hardship nor death and dedicating ourselves to the revolution.

In studying Chairman Mao's works, our aim is to remould our ideology and guide our work, devoting our best efforts to applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking in practice. In tackling any problem, we must conscientiously find out how to deal with it in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and take actions accordingly. Only by a repeated and prolonged course of study and application, can we arm ourselves ideologically with

Mao Tse-tung's thinking step by step and become genuine, conscious revolutionaries.

The idea that all our work is for the revolution enjoys an ever-increasing influence today. The broad masses of the people and cadres on all fronts are engaged in selfless labour and work with soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, high spirits and robust morale. This revolutionary fervour of the masses must be highly valued. In these circumstances, Party organizations and leading personnel of all departments in every field must maintain a sober head at all times, treasure the masses' enthusiasm and initiative, be keenly concerned with their well-being and pay attention to the proper alternation of labour and rest as well as to safety in production.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction in China are entering a new period of development. We have started the Third Five-Year Plan. Great and bright prospects are unfolded before us. We must raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, link our labour and work with the great goals of the revolution, undertake all labour and work with revolutionary spirit and become conscious revolutionaries. With everybody working and striving in this way, we will assuredly succeed in making greater contributions to China's revolution and construction and to supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world.

("Renmin Ribao's" editorial, January 8.)

In the Cultural Revolution

Art Goes to the Villages

by CHOU KAI



WHEN a music lover in Peking asked some time ago where his favourite singer was, he got the seemingly unlikely reply: "In the Langya Mountains." Far from being disappointed, he commented: "That's fine!" That comment reflects the general understanding and approval of Party and Government policy in the matter of art serving the people. It also reflects the public appreciation of the conduct of the professional artists who have answered the call to go out and serve the masses, particularly in the countryside.

The troupe that went to the Langya Mountain area of Yih sien County, Hopei Province, was the Central Nationalities Music Ensemble. This talented group of musicians and singers is one of China's finest. It specializes in the music and songs of China's many nationalities, and is well known and loved in the capital and many other big cities. It has enjoyed an equal

success in the countryside. In four months around Langya it visited 16 production brigades of eight communes in six districts and, besides helping with the farm work, gave musical and operatic performances at 44 evening performances to audiences totalling over 210,000 people. Small groups of performers have also arranged 69 concerts in the fields and in the homes of peasants. Working, eating and living with the commune members gave them many opportunities to coach the amateur artists of the farms. They popularized a selection of twenty revolutionary songs, put on lantern slide shows, told revolutionary stories and gave lectures on Chairman Mao's works. They held regular newspaper readings and led talks and discussions on current events and policies; they gave haircuts and helped repair farm tools for the peasants. They composed over a score of songs and ballads eulogizing the outstanding personalities of the area and learnt new songs from the peasants.

One of the first things that artists learn on such tours is how eager the peasants are for their art and how deep is their need for it.

On one occasion members of the troupe went to give a show in Chiyu village, deep in the mountains. It was a 20-kilometre hike through a steady drizzle over rough country and across rivers. They had planned to rest and put on their show the day after they arrived, but when they reached their destination they found that commune members from a distance of ten kilometres around had hurried over to Chiyu despite the rain and the slippery mountain paths to see them perform. It was impossible that they should make that journey for nothing. That same evening the troupe held a courtyard concert and the delighted applause of the commune members banished their fatigue.

Such experiences are common to all the troupes which are going out to serve the working people.

In a Fine Revolutionary Tradition

The present mass flow of artists to the villages follows the fine tradition created by the cultural troupes of the people's army during the revolutionary civil wars and the war against the Japanese invaders. In the face of great hardships, the travelling propaganda troupes of those days made a big contribution to the struggle by spreading the revolutionary message and heartening the people's fighters.

It was as early as in 1942 that Chairman Mao laid it down as a policy that revolutionary artists and writers should serve and integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and people's fighters who form the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. Therefore following this policy and tradition, from the very early days of liberation, the various art troupes of the urban areas made it a regular practice to take their performances out on tour to other cities, the smaller towns, factories, and army units. But the present movement in scale and content is a new development of that policy and tradition under new conditions. It is a manifestation of the deepening socialist revolution on the cultural front.

The great historical advance of the Chinese socialist revolution has placed new demands on the arts and artists. In the factories, farms and army units, the masses are fighting in the front lines of the socialist revolution and construction. There they want and need a socialist culture that stimulates their enthusiasm in revolution and production, that is closely integrated with their life, their urgent problems and desires. They



A troupe of the Central Opera and Dance Drama Theatre presenting the ballet *The White-Haired Girl* in a village north of the Great Wall, by the Kuanting Reservoir

demand a socialist art placed wholly at the disposal of the working people. This means that if our artists are to meet these needs they must create art with a new contemporary socialist content and find new forms designed to make maximum use of our cultural forces.

To produce that art based on close knowledge of the life of the people in various spheres of activity, our artists must closely identify themselves with the people and remould their outlook and ideology in tune with the people. They have had considerable success in this. They are now staging plays and operas on modern revolutionary themes; they portray the new heroes of the working people in socialist revolution and construction; they combat the hostile influences of feudalism and capitalism in the ideological field. By routing out-of-date ideas and ways of doing things they help to clear the ground for the growth of new socialist thinking.

But that is still not enough. Their art must not only come from the heart of the life of the people; it must be brought to the doorsteps of the people where it can engender living force to propel society forward. Our artists are duty bound to answer these historic, revolutionary demands. Thus, under the impact of socialist construction and the socialist cultural revolution comes this mounting upsurge in the movement to bring socialist art to the factories, army units and villages, even the most remote.

Ulanmuchi — New Organizational Form

Such activities of our singers and dancers, musicians and actors and other stage artists take a variety of forms. All troupes maintained by the administrative regions or counties orientate their work mainly towards the countryside. Those maintained by the Central Government, provincial or municipal governments are in general required to devote at least three months every year to performances in rural areas, factories or

army units. Members of troupes go out in groups in rotation and the trend today is to do things "the Ulanmuchi way."

This is a term that much has been heard about in the last year or so. Meaning "red cultural team" in Mongolian, it is a form of team created by artists and writers of Inner Mongolia as part of their effort to put their arts at the service of the herdsmen. Such a team usually consists of a dozen performers each of whom is a specialist in one field—music or singing, acting or dancing—but all of whom are versatile all-rounders or at least with several strings to their bow. These teams travel the year round by horse or cart with light stage props to serve the herdsmen on the vast grasslands of Inner Mongolia. They not only produce new works and give performances but coach local amateur cultural groups and join the people in their everyday work. They are thoroughly at home with the people at work or play.

Today this revolutionary Ulanmuchi spirit in serving the masses has become a model for all China's art troupes. In the first half of 1965, six art troupes under the Ministry of Culture including orchestral, song and dance and opera troupes, organized six long-term and nearly a dozen short-term cultural work teams which toured the factories, mines and rural areas of Hopei Province. Kwangtung Province, among other areas, is organizing socialist "cultural caravans" of the compact, versatile, mobile Ulanmuchi type for work in the countryside of each county.

To Serve Means to Learn

In going out to the people with the sincere desire to serve them, artists soon find that the prerequisite is to learn from them. There can be no question of being able to reflect the people's life and struggles, of inspiring them and enabling art to play its educational role unless the artist knows the people's life, and knows it intimately.

The Langya Mountain area where the Central Nationalities Music Ensemble worked for four months last year is the site of the monument to the Five Heroes of Langya. Twenty-four years ago during the war against the Japanese invaders these five took the brunt of the attack of a Japanese force in order to give the local inhabitants a chance to escape. They fought to the last and when their ammunition gave out they leapt off a precipice rather than surrender to the enemy. There are few remaining vestiges of war here now. But there are many revolutionary veterans who told members of the work team moving stories of the battles of old. Old Mother Liu Yu-lou, for one, told them how she had suffered savage tortures when the enemy tried to get from her information about the wounded revolutionary fighters and the people's grain she had hidden.

Stories like these made the young artists realize how hard won was the people's power. They got a truer appreciation of the fine qualities of the workers and

peasants who formed the main forces in the revolutionary wars. A marked change took place in their whole outlook on life.

No less compelling is the education that intellectuals and artists have got from the enthusiasm and spirit of self-reliance and enterprise of the masses in the socialist revolution and construction.

Working and living in the Nangunlunggou Production Brigade of the ZaiBei Commune, in Pingshan County of Hopei Province, members of the Central Song and Dance Ensemble saw how the people there under the leadership of the Party fought against conditions of endemic floods and poor soil. That production brigade has a labour force equivalent to only 92 able-bodied members, yet through their own efforts they have built more than 550 check dams to block the sweep of water down their valleys, terraced field plots out of the rocky hillside and cut a 45-kilometre canal around the mountain to bring water to their arid areas.

Changing the Face of the Land

It was once said of this mountain district that "in a good year it yields barely enough grain for half a year's food." But its farmers' efforts have brought about a radical change. Brigade members now live in brand new houses overlooking picturesque terraced fields and orchards. They have a marketable surplus of 30,000 to 40,000 *jin* of food which they sell to the state.

Working alongside the peasants of Nangunlunggou, the comrades of the Central Song and Dance Ensemble realized, in a way that no amount of reading could teach them, how hard is the struggle to change the face of the land. As one of them wrote: "Without the resolute support of the millions upon millions of poor and lower-middle peasants, the victory of the Chinese revolution would have been impossible. I realize better now what immense sacrifices they made for the revolution; and how hard and selflessly they work for socialist construction." Willy-nilly they compared their outlook with that of the peasant labour heroes and saw how tawdry, how completely incompatible with the spirit of socialism were individualistic sentiments bound up with the idea of seeking individual fame and fortune. Discussing these questions, they agreed that serving the workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly called for a radical change of outlook and also closer links with the masses in life and work, thought and sentiment.

It is such lessons learnt from the peasants that imbue our artists with a new concept of their social function, a new moral imperative. On one occasion the members of the ensemble learnt that an old man living up in the mountains could not get down to see their show because of his crippled leg. Ten of them promptly took their instruments and went up the mountain to give him a performance in his own courtyard. He was

moved to tears by this thoughtful act. Such incidents are now by no means isolated.

On the Themes of the People

The cultural work teams have learnt that the peasants take a specially keen interest in performances if their themes concern local events or personalities. A political point becomes ten times more convincing if linked with the personal experience of an audience. And thanks to their experience in working in the villages they are well able now to "localize" their compositions. While the Central Song and Dance Ensemble was working in Pingshan County, they staged *The Tomb of the Wild Dog*, a song and dance opera which they composed about a poor peasant who was forced by a landlord to arrange a ruinously elaborate funeral for a dead dog. They based this on an actual local incident. Afterwards Mother Chao Hsiuching, chairman of the local women's organization, told the comrades of the ensemble: "When you were performing that play up on the stage, I was weeping down in the audience. In the old society, we poor peasants were treated worse than the landlord's dogs. I turned the flour mill for the landlord. Driven by hunger, I stole chaff to eat while the landlord's dog ate rice and meat!"

Tung Hsiung, an old peasant and veteran guerrilla fighter of the anti-Japanese war, heartily approved of the items put on by the troupe reflecting the past.

He said: "The young people of today have no experience of our hardships in the old society. You should put on more performances like this so as to give them a good education on the meaning of the class struggle."

When the people started a campaign to collect more manure in the area where the cultural team of the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre was working, they immediately composed and performed a set of ballads, skits and operettas on this theme. These had an effect that could be measured concretely in weight! People took heart from the plays. They saw the significance of the drive more fully and saw better their own role in it. The leading cadres were enthusiastic. "These performances are a mobilizing force. They have made everyone keener!" they said.

Such results from their performances on a wide range of modern themes are a further education for our artists. They enable them to see more clearly the role which art and literature performs and how important it is to carry their socialist message out among the masses. They understand better the relation between politics and the arts and between popularization of the arts and elevation of their artistic level.

It is in such ways that the activities of our art troupes are spreading and developing in the countryside throughout the country. These activities are becoming an increasingly important part of the surging socialist cultural revolution.

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(Continued from p. 4.)

two years, however, have shown that these Indian government statements are completely false. The stark facts are that while several hundred innocent Chinese are still being held in the concentration camp and jails, deprived of freedom and subjected to all sorts of inhuman treatment and persecution, their property has been placed in custody as "enemy property." In addition, the Indian Government has in the last few years constantly ordered peaceable and law-abiding Chinese to leave India within a time limit and subjected them to discrimination and persecution. All this reveals that India is deliberately continuing its policies of opposing China and discriminating against Chinese nationals, and worsening Sino-Indian relations in order to meet the needs of its internal and external policies.

In view of these crimes which grossly trample upon the principles of international law, the Chinese note reiterated the demand that the Indian Government immediately release all the victimized Chinese, return their property and compensate them for their losses, stop all discrimination and persecution, and guarantee the personal freedom of the Chinese and the safety of their lives and property.

Sino-Japanese Friendship And Trade

Two trade organizations, the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and the visiting delegation of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Association, in a joint statement on January 22, condemned U.S. imperialism for its aggression against Vietnam and denounced the Sato government of Japan for its hostile policy towards China.

The statement noted that over the past few years trade between China and Japan had continuously developed after obstacles set up by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries had been overcome. But, it said, the present scale of Sino-Japanese trade was far from satisfactory in the light of the common desire of the people of both countries and the objective possibilities for commercial development. However, the further growth of Sino-Japanese trade is being blocked as a result of U.S. imperialism's expansion of its aggressive war against Vietnam and the Sato government's tagging along with Washington's policies of war and aggression.

The Japanese delegation voiced its determination to fight against the Johnson Administration's war of aggression in Vietnam and against the Sato government's assistance to U.S. imperialism, to oppose the "Japan-South Korea Treaty" and to develop Japanese-Chinese trade and friendly relations.

The Interrelation of Political and Economic Independence

by HSU NAI-CHIUNG

AS a result of the protracted and arduous struggle of the people of Asia and Africa, scores of countries on the two continents have become independent in the 20 years since the end of World War II. The fact that so many in so short a time gained political independence—though in different degrees in different countries—is an indication of the momentous force of the postwar, particularly post-Bandung, national-liberation movement. This victory of the people's revolution has markedly undermined the imperialist colonial system and laid the groundwork for the development of independent national economies in Asia and Africa. This is an event of historic significance.

The national-liberation movement has now entered a new stage in Asia and Africa. The people's political consciousness has risen to new heights and revolutionary movements are surging forward as never before so that today the demand for complete elimination of imperialist domination and influence (including that exercised through local placemen) and realization of full independence, both political and economic, has become the ardent aspiration of the people of Asia and Africa. At such a time, it is all the more necessary to analyse the interrelation between political and economic independence. The present article is an attempt to do this.

The basic question in any revolution—and the national revolution is no exception—is one of state power. The primary task of all oppressed peoples and nations who seek liberation, therefore, is to overthrow imperialist colonial rule and to strive for political independence. However, it is far from sufficient merely to win political independence, which is only “the first step in a Long March.” **After winning political independence, the Asian and African countries need to make full use of their political power to go on to win economic independence. Only thus will they be able to thoroughly rid themselves of imperialist control and colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation and approach full independence.** If, on the other hand, the Asian and African countries after their independence do not continue to carry forward the national-democratic rev-

olution, do not take effective revolutionary measures and actively strive for economic independence, then they will not be able to win final, secure and full independence, and the danger exists that they will lose their hard-won political independence.

The political independence won by many Asian and African countries is far from secure and has to be consolidated. In the new conditions of the postwar period, the imperialist countries headed by the United States have adopted neo-colonialist tactics and are trying to maintain their colonial rule through hand-picked and specially trained agents. By forming military blocs, establishing military bases, setting up “federations” and “communities,” making use of “aid” and carrying out aggression and intervention under the aegis of the United Nations, these imperialist countries have sought to keep, and in some cases have succeeded in keeping, a number of newly independent countries under their control. Thus, while these Asian and African countries are allowed to have formal political independence, they are in fact still dependent on the imperialist countries economically or even politically. Apropos this situation, Lenin's warning more than 40 years ago is still relevant. In his *Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions* written in 1920, Lenin pointed to the need “constantly to explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers in creating, under the guise of politically independent states, states which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily. . . .” Today, when neo-colonialism—a type of colonialism far more vicious, cunning and ferocious than old colonialism—is seriously threatening the newly won political independence of the Asian and African countries, this warning has a special practical significance.

It is true that since winning political independence many Asian and African countries have made great efforts to develop their national economies and scored many successes in this respect. However, in a number of countries, their economic life-

lines and economic sovereignty are still in the hands of foreign monopoly capital. In some countries, the situation is aptly described by the saying: "While the wolf has been driven out through the front door, the tiger has sneaked in at the back." In many Asian and African countries, the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists still retain, in varying forms and to varying extent, various economic privileges (e.g., the right to lease land, guarantees for the security of their investments and tax reduction or exemption for their enterprises, and the right to survey and extract mineral resources), and, by means of "aid," impose on the recipient countries many unequal treaties which directly encroach upon their sovereign rights.

Even today, the monopoly capitalists of the imperialist countries still control a great many of the mineral resources and extracting industries of the Asian and African countries, as well as the production of a substantial share of their agricultural exports. The foreign monopolies have also grabbed vast expanses of Asian and African land. The big oil companies of the imperialist countries have leased some 729 million hectares of oil-bearing land from the Asian and African countries — an area which is about 72 per cent of the combined home territory of the United States, Britain and France. Also under foreign monopoly control in some Asian and African countries are the main branches of industry, key branches of communications and transport, postal services, banking, the issuing of currency, customs, foreign trade and even internal wholesale or retail trade. Using their monopolistic positions in these fields, the imperialist countries have not hesitated to apply overt and covert pressure to force these Asian and African countries to comply with their will. This includes intervention, control and subversion to achieve their political ends. In these circumstances, how can these countries keep intact and consolidate their political independence?

The Asian and African countries' economic backwardness and poverty are a legacy of prolonged imperialist colonial rule. An overwhelming number of these countries still retain a mono-crop economy or a lopsided economy which is distinguished by an overdevelopment of the extracting industries. After World War II, this abnormal state has become still more aggravated in a number of countries because of intensified activities by old and new colonialists. In these countries, the output — in terms of money — of a few agricultural products and/or minerals often accounts for some 60 to 70 per cent of the total national output and 50 to over 90 per cent of all exports. Also, as many as 50 to 80 per cent of the labouring population in these countries are engaged in producing primary products. What is more, about three-fourths of the mono-products exported by these countries depend on some individual imperialist country as the buyer. At the same time these countries rely on the imperialist countries to supply them with most of the industrial goods

needed for economic construction and to sustain the people's livelihood. Still worse, they have to rely on the imperialist countries, primarily the United States, for such a vital commodity as food grain, which is a prime necessity for the people. Statistics reveal that in recent years Asian and African countries have been importing some 20 million tons of food grain annually.

Such a colonial economic structure — marked by mono-product economy and mono-market outlet — actually constitutes the economic basis for imperialist colonial control and exploitation. Unless this abnormal structure is demolished, it is impossible for the Asian and African countries (and also the Latin American countries) to get rid of their economic dependence on the imperialist countries. In the long run, economic dependence will inevitably lead to political dependence. This is because, on the one hand, the economic dependence of the Asian and African countries on the imperialist countries makes it possible for the latter to use, whenever they please, their monopoly positions and economic privileges as a lever to influence the domestic and foreign policies of these countries and carry out political intervention and control; on the other hand, the imperialist countries, in order to perpetuate the basis for their exploitation, will always try their utmost to keep intact and, if possible to strengthen, their political control of the newly independent Asian and African countries.

In the postwar years, because of increasingly ruthless exploitation by the imperialist countries, many newly independent Asian and African countries have suffered growing financial and economic difficulties. Taking advantage of these troubles, the imperialist countries have exported huge amounts of capital and granted many high-interest bearing loans to these countries so that they can extract fabulous profits from the debtor countries and bind them hand and foot. According to incomplete statistics of the "World Bank," the debts incurred by Asian and African countries amounted to U.S. \$5,000 million by the end of 1955; by the end of 1964, this figure had risen to an estimated total of U.S. \$20,000 million. There was a fourfold increase in nine years, the average annual rate of increase being 16.5 per cent. In some countries, the rise in foreign debt is still more striking. India, for example, witnessed an average annual 38 per cent increase in its foreign debts between 1955 and 1962. In recent years, Asian and African countries have paid out a total of about U.S. \$2,500 million annually in servicing debts. Without doubt, the imperialist countries do not hesitate to turn this financial dependence to their own advantage to interfere in the internal affairs of the Asian and African countries.

Such a state of affairs shows that **so long as the newly independent Asian and African countries fail to attain genuine and secure economic independence, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will always try by every means to use their monopoly positions to**

carry out intervention, control and even subversion. Only when genuine economic independence has been achieved, particularly when an independent national economy has been established by self-reliance, is it possible to smash the pressure, obstruction and sabotage of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and establish secure and full political independence.

II

Upon winning political independence, the Asian and African countries face the following major and urgent tasks: to adopt appropriate and effective measures to eliminate the economic influences of the imperialists and to abolish all their political, military, economic and cultural privileges, to nationalize imperialist-owned industries, mines, plantations and other enterprises, and to put the nation's economic lifelines and economic sovereignty in the hands of the people. These measures, however, will inevitably affect the interests of imperialist monopoly capital and the latter will inevitably rely on their own state machine and resort to every means, including counter-revolutionary violence, to make a last-ditch struggle. Hence, it can be affirmed that the process of recovering economic sovereignty from the imperialists and eliminating their influence in the economic sphere is inevitably a process of repeated tests of strength with imperialism, and the struggle will inevitably be accompanied by political struggle.

The imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists share a common abhorrence for the development of independent national economies in the Asian and African countries. The reason for this is simple: they understand that once independent national economies are established and developed, the economic basis for their colonial rule will be undermined, their control over the Asian and African countries will be broken and they will be deprived of the means to carry on their colonial plunder and reap their superprofits. Can Standard Oil (New Jersey) survive without the petroleum resources of the Middle East, and Venezuela? And where will Dunlop be if Malaya is no longer under the sway of British monopoly capital?

The imperialists have always treated their colonies and semi-colonies as sources of raw materials, markets for their commodities and profitable places for investments. By means of capital export and non-equivalent exchange, they have always ruthlessly exploited the Asian and African countries. It is estimated that in recent years the imperialists have annually taken out from these countries some U.S. \$10,000 million in profits and interest and by means of non-equivalent exchange. This is why imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are always trying to obstruct, sabotage and meddle with the development of independent economies by the Asian and African countries.

The development of an independent national economy and winning of full economic independence concerns the vital national interests of the newly independent Asian and African countries. It is at the same time opposed to the basic interests of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists who want to retain their colonial rule. Hence, the struggle for the development of an independent national economy necessarily reflects itself in political struggle, in serious political struggle against the imperialists, first of all against U.S. imperialism. Revolution is the locomotive of history. Only by continuously pushing forward the national revolution against U.S.-led imperialism can the productive forces of the newly independent Asian and African countries be liberated and their independent national economies be gradually established and developed. Thus, continued and intensified struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and its lackeys remains the primary, and most urgent, task confronting the Asian and African countries today.

III

For the newly independent Asian and African countries, the struggle for political independence and the struggle for economic independence are interrelated. **Without secure and full political independence, genuine economic independence is impossible; without genuine economic independence, secure and full political independence cannot last. In other words, political independence is the precedent for economic independence, while economic independence is the basis for political independence.** Whether before or after independence, the winning, maintaining and consolidating of political independence is always the primary task for all Asian and African countries. Political independence takes precedence over economic independence. At the same time, the two are interdependent and complementary. Before independence, all efforts must be directed first of all at winning political independence so as to prepare the conditions for economic independence. After independence, Asian and African countries, while continuing to consolidate their political independence, need to make full use of their political power to obliterate the influences of the imperialists and their lackeys, carry out agrarian and other social reforms, establish and develop independent national economies and thus consolidate the political independence already secured. In the process of striving for economic independence, it is necessary to combine economic struggle with political struggle so that they complement and promote each other. The end purpose of both is to achieve full independence. To win full political independence and genuine economic independence will require a long and arduous struggle, the whole process being marked by zigzags — with quantitative changes leading to qualitative changes — and by sharp and complex struggles with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other reactionary forces at home and abroad.

The People Fight Ahead

by FEN HSI

As in the rest of the world, a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization is taking place in Latin America. And like revolutions everywhere, the national-democratic revolution there advances in zigzags, with inescapable ups and downs. However, as 1966 gets under way, the tide is definitely more favourable to the oppressed people of the continent and less favourable to the hated Yankee imperialists.

NINETEEN sixty-five was a year of sharp struggle between the 200 million Latin American people and Yankee imperialism and its underlings. As the national-democratic revolution on the continent deepened, the Washington-created and -backed dictatorial regimes became less and less stable and challenge to U.S. hegemony came from all sides.

The Dominican Armed Struggle

The April uprising in the Dominican Republic was an explosion of the people's pent-up hatred for the military rulers and their Washington masters. It showed that the irreconcilable contradiction between the Latin American people and Yankee imperialism inevitably led to armed struggle. Thus, despite the more than 30,000 troops, 300 aircraft and 40 warships the Johnson Administration brought in to put down the patriotic forces — approximately 10,000 of the 3 million Dominicans were killed — and despite various kinds of trickery to get the Dominicans to lay down their arms, the fight against U.S. military intervention and occupation has continued.

The Dominican people's armed struggle has encouraged the continent's revolutionary people and punched a hole in the arrogance of Yankee imperialism. The storm of protests which swept the continent attested to Latin American solidarity and to the fact that revolution in one country is closely linked with that of the others.

It is necessary to resist counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This is the valuable lesson the Latin American people have learnt at the price of much

suffering and bloodshed. One of the salient features of the Latin American national-democratic revolution in 1965 was that the idea that salvation lies in armed struggle was taking root in the hearts of an increasing number of people.

Anti-U.S., anti-dictatorial armed struggle was going on in about half of the Latin American countries. Despite U.S.-directed suppressive campaigns, armed struggle continued in Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala and other countries. In still other countries, new armed struggle broke out.

In Peru, a new people's revolutionary armed force was established last June, shortly after U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic. All Washington's efforts to strangle the armed revolution in the cradle have not been able to prevent the guerrillas from remaining active in the Andes.

In Colombia, Washington's "special war" testing ground in Latin America, the guerrillas have weathered repeated "mopping-up" operations directed by U.S. military advisers. Although conditions are harsh, they have opened up a new guerrilla front and morale is high.

In Venezuela, too, the guerrillas are persisting in struggle in the western, central and eastern parts of the country despite stepped-up government suppressive campaigns which were also directed by U.S. advisers.

In Brazil, a group of patriotic soldiers took up arms last March in the south against the U.S.-backed



Reptile from the north

Cartoon by Jack Chen

Branco regime. Although they failed, their bold initiative is bound to have wide repercussions.

Fight Against Pro-U.S. Dictatorships

The year also witnessed the continued advance of popular struggles against pro-U.S. dictatorships and U.S. economic pillage and for improved working and living conditions. This was another cogent feature of the Latin American political situation in 1965.

In Bolivia, where a U.S.-reared dictatorial government was in power, more than 30,000 tin miners in 17 mines staged general strikes and mammoth anti-U.S. and anti-government demonstrations last May. They openly opposed the U.S.-inspired scheme to denationalize Bolivia's tin mines. They took up arms to resist repression by several thousand government troops and occupied Catavi and other chief mining districts, and fighting lasted more than 10 days.

The Panamanians have continued their fight to uphold national sovereignty. January 1965 saw another huge demonstration — by 75,000 students and workers — to recover the Panama Canal Zone from U.S. occupation (for latest development see *P.R.*, issue No. 4). In Peru, the people launched a campaign last February against continued seizure of the country's oilfields by the U.S. International Petroleum Company. The struggle raged over several provinces for more than three months. In Chile, the miners marched to Santiago to demonstrate their opposition to plunder and exploitation by the U.S. copper trusts. In Ecuador, despite bans by the military regime, tens of thousands of workers, students and city people marched, demonstrated and struck in February, May and July to protest U.S. interference in the country's internal affairs and called for an end to dictatorial rule. Even in Brazil, the fascist tyranny of the pro-U.S. ultra-Right-wing military officers failed to stem the anti-U.S. demonstrations. Patriots came out against the dictatorial regime when the special inter-American foreign ministers' conference took place in Rio de Janeiro in November.

Waves of strikes swept the continent. Participants included workers, farm labourers, teachers, public employees and doctors. In Uruguay, for example, about 650 strikes took place between January and October 1965. These were directly or indirectly related to the struggle against the predatory policy of the U.S. monopolies.

Reorganization and Division

Another prominent feature of the continent's political situation was the profound reorganization and division of the political forces in face of the surging national-democratic revolution. As the revolutionary forces grew in both strength and scope, a broad united front against Yankee imperialism was being formed throughout the continent.

Last year saw the emergence of a number of political parties and organizations adhering to revolutionary principles and persisting in revolutionary practice. In a number of countries, old parties split and many new parties and groups came into existence, evidence that more and more people have seen through the reactionary nature of the traditional parties. As the collusion between the Johnson Administration and the Right-wing forces became still more obvious, a growing number of middle-of-the-roaders have to varying degrees taken an open anti-U.S. stand. Consequently, the pro-U.S. Right-wing forces have become more and more isolated from the people. The Branco regime in Brazil, for example, received a severe shock when it tried to make political capital by staging elections for governors in 11 states last October. Contrary to its expectations, a large number of the official nominees lost. This has brought on open doubt over the stability of the Branco rule in the U.S. bourgeois press.

Against the background of a growing united front of the Latin American people, Washington's rule ran into an unprecedentedly acute crisis. Its policy of military threat and political control became increasingly ineffective. **Opposition to Yankee imperialism came not only from the Latin American people, but also from sections of the ruling circles in a number of countries. This was another significant characteristic of the 1965 political situation.**

Ineffective Big Stick

U.S. armed aggression against the Dominican Republic was openly denounced by the heads of state of six countries and the parliaments of seven countries of Latin America. With the exception of the Branco regime in Brazil, not a single influential Latin American government was ready to provide troops for the so-called "inter-American force" — a euphemism for the U.S. occupation army — in the Dominican Republic. In September, when the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution calling for "the use of force if necessary by any American country to prevent a communist take-over in any nation of the Hemisphere," a storm of protest swept the continent. Government spokesmen and congresses in many countries officially opposed and condemned this brazen interventionist principle. At the special inter-American foreign ministers' conference last November, Washington's plan to set up a permanent "inter-American force" in the Western Hemisphere was shelved as a result of opposition by Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and others. According to Western press reports, this conference showed that "the vitality of the Organization of American States is now at its lowest ebb."

Also, at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, when the draft resolution on the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate seat was put to the vote, three Latin American countries did not follow the U.S. line and abstained. Two Latin American countries acted in the same way when the draft resolution on the "Tibet question," used by the

Johnson Administration to whip up anti-China feelings, was put to the vote. The American press described this as an "unprecedented step." Such action was an open challenge by Latin American countries to U.S. hegemony.

In the economic field, hatred for the U.S. monopolies gave rise to collective protest actions unprecedented in scale. In the latter part of 1965, 16 sugar-producing countries and 11 cotton-producing countries in Latin America successively lodged joint protests against U.S. legislation on increased taxes for sugar imports and on U.S. cotton dumping. At the end of the year, the Mexican Congress approved a government bill prohibiting the penetration of foreign capital into

Mexican banks. This measure was a blow to Washington.

What happened last year proved that the "Johnson Doctrine," Washington's current hard line after the "Alliance for Progress" became more and more discredited, has not helped stem the anti-U.S. tide on this continent. On the contrary, it has greatly accelerated the revolutionary process there. The situation in Latin America is volcanic. Even the U.S. press has had to admit that "in countries from one end of Latin America to the other, tensions are building up," that "the danger is building up on our doorstep" and that no "effective answer" can be found.

Facts on File

U.S. Economic Penetration of Latin America in 1965

U.S. ECONOMIC penetration of Latin America reached new heights in 1965. A new round of intensified plunder of the continent's strategic and other materials was entered, and Yankee monopolies grabbed off greater superprofits.

Direct investments by private U.S. capital shot up during the year. According to figures released by the U.S. Department of Commerce, new direct investments in Latin America rose from \$76 million in the first quarter of 1965 to \$111 million in the second. In the first half of 1965, they surpassed the total in 1964.

Other data from the same source listed **total direct private U.S. investments in Latin America in 1964 as \$8,932 million**, and *Time* magazine reported (March 26, 1965) that by the spring of 1965 the overall total of such investments "stands at a record \$9 billion."

Johnson's Big Stick Serves U.S. Finance Capital. Wielding the big stick even more furiously, the Johnson Administration did all it could in 1965 to clear the path for private U.S. investments on the continent. According to another item in *Time* last spring, "The [U.S.] State Department has negotiated detailed agreements with 15 Latin American countries guaranteeing investors against losses from expropriation, currency inconvertibility, war, revolution or insurrection." The Brazilian paper *Tribuna da Imprensa* reported on April 4, 1965, that under an agreement signed between the Branco regime and Washington, U.S. enterprises in Brazil now enjoyed the same diplomatic privileges as those of U.S. consulates, and disputes between the former and the Brazilian authorities were handled by the U.S. State Department.

Washington has exerted harsh political and economic pressure on those Latin American countries which

have resisted private U.S. investments because of their exorbitant terms. The *Washington Post* on November 14, 1965, divulged that U.S. "aid has been reduced as a means of pressuring the Peruvian Government into agreeing to an investment contract with the International Petroleum Co., owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, that the Peruvians are reluctant to accept."

Bludgeoning such as this by Washington has whetted U.S. financial magnates' appetites for still more investments. Early last February, a "Council of Latin America," embracing 175 corporations belonging to three major U.S. business groups with financial magnate David Rockefeller as its head, was formed. The organization's function is to plan and co-ordinate further economic penetration by private U.S. capital in Latin America.

Vietnam War and Stepped-Up U.S. Plunder of Strategic Materials. Washington's escalation of its aggressive war in Indo-China has been accompanied by stepped-up U.S. plunder of the continent's strategic materials. The *New York Vision Letter* pointed out last August 4: "Continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam will have a major effect on Latin American exports of metals and other strategic goods. . . . Today, about 30 of the 77 items on the strategic materials list were imported in varying quantities from Latin America."

Many American businessmen visited Latin America last year. From agreements signed with Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Chile and British Guiana, they obtained for U.S. monopolies the right to explore, exploit and refine on a large scale such strategic materials as petroleum, copper and bauxite. The Aluminium Company of America signed an agreement with Brazil on jointly setting up an "aluminium complex" with an investment of \$51 million and a projected yearly output of 25,000 tons. This would almost double Brazil's present annual aluminium output. In 1965, the U.S.-owned Colombian Oil Company, International Petroleum Company and Texaco Corporation explored and exploited oil in Colombia in an area of more than 2,650,000 hectares, a 66 per cent increase in size over 1963. The American-

owned Braden and Anaconda copper companies also signed an agreement with Chile last year to double the country's copper exports within six years.

The Facade of "Economic Integration," "Development" and "Joint Enterprise." Up against growing anti-U.S. sentiment in Latin America, Yankee monopolies are trying to hide their pillage behind a facade of "economic integration," "public-owned enterprises" and "joint enterprises." In Central America, the development of the "Central American economic integration" plan has brought on a flood of private U.S. capital which has set up subsidiaries or annexed local enterprises by virtue of "joint management."

Joint management of "development corporations" or "financial corporations" with Latin American private- or government-owned capital is another method by which U.S. finance capital tears off huge chunks of the continent's economy and exercises political control. For example, the Inter-American Bank for Development and other U.S.-controlled financial organizations have sent personnel to the Amazon River area, which constitutes 42 per cent of Brazil's territory, and to the Tachira

River area in Venezuela and Colombia to map out "development" projects. The U.S. press disclosed that a "Tachira Valley Authority" was being planned and this would lead to substantial U.S. control over the oil, steel and manufacturing industries in that area.

Forty Per Cent Profit Rate. Joint enterprise, whether with government- or private-owned companies, is thus a form of covering up and a means of stepping up ruthless U.S. plunder of Latin American wealth and exploitation of the Latin American people. The Braden and Anaconda copper companies, when they are in joint operation with Chilean firms, will have their profit tax slashed from the present 86 per cent to 44 per cent. As Chilean Congressman Aniceto Rodriguez pointed out, in 25 years these two companies will make almost as much profits as they earned in the last 50 years, which was \$4,400 million. And from Wall Street itself comes the admission from a leading member of one of the top U.S. capitalist clans, David Rockefeller, that U.S. enterprises in Latin America are now operating there at an extremely high profit rate, sometimes as high as 40 per cent.

World Trends

Franco-American Antagonism Deepens

by HSIN WEN

Franco-American conflict has become the principal contradiction within the disintegrating imperialist camp. The two-nation battle is not only going on inside the Western bloc, with Washington fighting a losing battle to retain domination and Paris resisting. The confrontation has become worldwide, covering a whole range of important political, economic and military problems.

THE struggle often finds France acting on the offensive, challenging U.S. hegemony in the West. French attacks have shaken the aggressive military blocs under the American thumb, thus compounding the confusion in the imperialist camp.

Rebuffed on all sides, Washington has always tried to defend its position and rebound from its reverses by doing everything possible to isolate and weaken Paris.

Key points in Franco-American antagonism in the past year were:

1) French President de Gaulle spoke out clearly against joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. domination of the world;

2) France frowned upon the U.S. war in Vietnam and U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and opposed the Johnson Administration's attempt to drag its allies into its military adventures;

3) Seeing that the position of the United States had been weakened in both cases, France challenged the United States in the United Nations and also rejected the dollar as a world currency.

4) Taking advantage of the U.S. predicament in south Vietnam and other difficulties, France demanded a thorough shake-up of NATO, bringing the organization to the brink of collapse. It opposed the United States on the question of nuclear armament, a key NATO question.

Soon after New Year, 1965, de Gaulle launched his offensive against the dollar—one of Washington's weapons to maintain economic domination overseas and pursue neo-colonialist designs. At a press conference, the French President attacked the gold exchange standard—under which the dollar and pound sterling are accepted by the other Western countries to balance international accounts and as reserve holdings—and

called for a return to the gold standard to end the privileged status of the dollar.

Later, France quit the gold exchange standard bloc and turned in its large dollar holdings to the United States for gold. Other West European countries soon followed suit, which resulted in the outflow of a large amount of American gold and endangered the dollar's stability and dominant position in the capitalist world.

Another front opened by France in 1965 was to attack the U.S. tool for aggression — the United Nations. In 1964, France refused to share the expenses of the "U.N. force" which had served U.S. aggression in the Congo (L). In 1965, de Gaulle attacked the United Nations politically. At a press conference, he pointed out that the real cause for the U.N. crisis lay in its manipulation by a few big powers to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations. Specifically, he accused the United States of manipulating the United Nations to adopt the resolutions sanctioning armed aggression against Korea and to interfere in the internal affairs of the Congo (L).

At the U.N. Security Council discussion on the Dominican situation, France openly denounced the United States for sending marines to intervene in the Dominican Republic. During the U.N. General Assembly debate on the restoration of China's legitimate seat, France also took issue with the United States.

In order to internationalize its war of aggression in Vietnam, and in accordance with the shift in strategic stress to the Far East, the United States attempted to use SEATO and NATO to force its allies to serve its policy of aggression in Asia, first of all, to support its expansion of the war of aggression in Vietnam and opposition to China. On this question, France and other U.S. partners refused, in their own interest, to pull Washington's chestnuts out of the fire.

For various reasons, France has shown "disapproval" of the Johnson Administration's war escalation in Vietnam and called for the "neutralization of Southeast Asia." De Gaulle emphasized again in a recent electioneering speech that France did not wish to be dragged, under the pretext of "Atlantic integration," into a war which it wanted no part of.

Last year also saw France stepping up its offensive against the United States within the North Atlantic bloc — the traditional battlefield of the two countries — and even threatening a showdown. For years, Washington has assumed command over its allies' armed forces in the name of military "integration." Furthermore, it has tried to "dissolve" these forces in an "Atlantic community" in which the United States would safely rule the roost.

De Gaulle, however, challenged the United States under the slogan of "national independence" and "Europe for the Europeans." He openly announced that, in 1969 at the latest when the NATO pact is due to expire,

France "will end, so far as we are concerned, the subordination described as integration . . . which places our destiny in the hands of foreigners."

For the same motives, France has bitterly opposed Washington's scheme to use nuclear weapons to control other NATO member nations. It has emphasized over and over that it must have its own nuclear power. It has resolutely opposed the U.S. attempt to let West Germany share nuclear weapons in any form — an American device to woo Bonn and turn West Germany against France. Paris is also strongly against the American designs to swallow up its independent nuclear power through Washington's "multilateral nuclear force" plan. After this plan ran into difficulties, France again boycotted the new American proposal for the establishment of a NATO "special nuclear committee," a proposal aimed at in part satisfying the West German ambition to possess nuclear weapons.

Relations between Paris and Bonn also reflected French antagonism to the United States. Paris is not only against Bonn's plan to acquire nuclear weapons through the United States, but also against its scheme to turn Western Europe, with American support, into a politically and economically integrated "federation" in which West Germany would get the upper hand by dint of its superior strength.

Thus, when the Erhard government showed increased signs of depending mainly on the United States, France turned down West Germany's pet plan to hold a meeting of the Common Market Six to discuss the question of political co-operation. Since the end of June 1965, France has boycotted all activities of the Common Market and thus inactivated the bloc for the last six months. The French boycott also killed the "Kennedy Round" talks on tariff and trade between the United States and the Common Market. This was a blow not only at West Germany but also at the United States.

Greatly nettled by these French moves in the past year, Washington has tried, by both tough and soft means, to make Paris change its line; but all these attempts failed. Consequently, the Johnson Administration resorted to interference in France's internal affairs. A month before the recent French presidential elections, the U.S. State Department launched a propaganda campaign with the obvious intention of disparaging de Gaulle. During the elections, the United States gave energetic support to the pro-U.S. presidential candidate. Nevertheless, to Washington's regret, de Gaulle was re-elected despite U.S. meddling.

France's fight against U.S. domination will go on. France under de Gaulle cannot be expected to bow to Washington's dictate and play second fiddle to the United States in tackling the problems of Europe. With the U.S. global position in general and its position in Europe in particular growing worse and worse, the tug of war between Washington and Paris is likely to become more fierce.

ROUND THE WORLD

won great victories in defeating the U.S. war of destruction. These feats of arms, it said, heralded the inevitable victory of a people's war.

In S. Vietnam

Power of a People's War

In the middle of this month the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces Command released a communique giving facts and figures to show the brilliant exploits of the army and people in resisting U.S. aggression throughout the year 1965. The past year, says the communique, was one in which the liberation armed forces had directly tried their strength with the well-equipped U.S. aggressor troops and come off victorious.

With revolutionary heroism and political and moral supremacy on their side, the people's forces, though poorly equipped, were able to exploit the moral weakness of the enemy and make full use of their superiority in close combat and bayonet fighting.

The communique goes on to point out that 1965 was also a year in which the people's war grew vigorously and advanced to new heights. It mentions the speed with which large numbers of the enemy's effectives were annihilated; in 1965 the

number of enemy battalions put out of action, for instance, was almost seven times that of the previous year. The war had now spread to the mountains, plains, cities, communication lines, strongholds and bases in the enemy's rear.

The communique notes that although the aggressors spent millions on espionage activity and used all sorts of modern means of reconnaissance, they still could not protect themselves in the face of a people's war. Last year, the liberation armed forces had developed their tactics and methods of war in regular and guerrilla warfare in so many different ways that the enemy could never catch up and cope with them. While repulsing enemy raids, the people's forces had set up "anti-U.S. perimeters" around many American bases as the number of fighting hamlets increased.

In an editorial which hails these resounding victories of the south Vietnamese people, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* (People's Army) of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam says that these victories were scored at the same time that the north Vietnamese army and people had also

In the Congo (L)

Resolved to Wage a People's War

Who made possible the murder by imperialism five years ago of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba? Was Lumumba opposed to an armed struggle and revolutionary violence as certain Congolese who enjoy the support of the imperialists and Khrushchov revisionists have asserted? Answers to these questions are now to be found, or, more exactly, confirmed, in a statement issued by the Congolese patriotic forces on the western front in commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the hero's death.

The statement recalled that after he was illegally removed from the premier's office by the traitorous Kasavubu, Lumumba, who was then already under house arrest, instructed his assistant to go to Stanleyville to prepare for armed resistance which he planned to lead himself. Later, Lumumba was killed and the resistance fell through. The statement noted: "The Khrushchov revisionists, who were not so well understood by our people at that time,

FEATS OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN 1965



- 40,000** battles fought
- 148,300** puppet troops knocked out
- 19,200** U.S. aggressor troops killed, wounded or captured
- 1,337** enemy aircraft downed or damaged
- 1,960** enemy army vehicles destroyed
- 166** enemy vessels sunk or damaged
- 46** military trains derailed
- 27,000** weapons captured
- 60,000** puppet soldiers deserted and dispersed

THE PASSING SHOW

know better than anyone else the real cause of the tragic death of Lumumba and the failure of our resistance in Stanleyville." It pointed out that the Khrushchov revisionists who "are conducting propaganda of demoralization against the war of liberation" "should not try to hide their betrayal behind this great revolutionary."

The statement summed up the lessons learnt in blood by the Congolese people. "Our people," it said, "tempered by their own experiences accumulated in the course of the past five years of struggle in all forms, will never again welcome the presence of the United Nations in the Congo, and will never fall for any sort of national reconciliation as advocated by the modern revisionists."

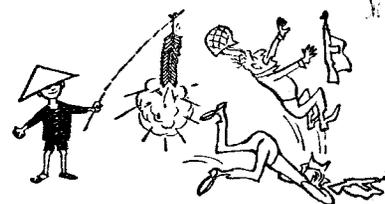
The patriotic forces of the western front, which embraces the provinces of Leopoldville and Kasai, began with dozens of men, armed only with spears and bows and arrows. The first armed uprising in January 1964 was staged in the Kwilu region by several hundred men; in the following month there were already 10,000 men arming themselves with weapons captured from the enemy. Today, under the leadership of Pierre Mulele, comrade-in-arms of the late Lumumba, they have built up the first revolutionary base in the vast countryside and jungles of the Congo.

Paying homage to the memory of Patrice Lumumba, the statement affirmed that the Congolese people would smash the double encirclement of the imperialists and revisionists. It called on all fighters engaged in the Congolese people's armed struggle to revive and spread Lumumba's revolutionary ideas through total mobilization, to strengthen unity in action, and to fortify their "determination to carry the struggle through to the end by means of a people's war."

And, true enough, all the enemies of the people will eventually be defeated in a people's war. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said in his statement (November 1964) in support of the Congolese struggle:

Happy Lunar New Year

Frightened by firecrackers left off by Saigon inhabitants celebrating the lunar New Year, some fifteen south Korean mercenaries on a truck began firing their guns. A truck load of American aggressor troops, coming from the opposite direction, thought they were under fire and exchanged shots with their "allies."



"U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers. The struggle of the Chinese people has proved this. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is proving it. The struggle of the Congolese people will surely prove this too."

Humphrey-Kosygin Talks

Khrushchov Revisionists' Main Concern

U.S. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey thinks "highly" of his New Delhi talks with Chairman Kosygin of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

On January 16, speaking on television, the U.S. Vice-President said: "It is a fact that the Soviets are trying to build a containment wall around China. This was part of the reason for [the] Tashkent [talks] and that was well done." The Soviet Union, he added, was trying to encircle China "with governments friendly to Moscow." Its main concern is Communist China "rather than anything the United States may be doing."

In his January 22 radio interview, the U.S. Vice-President expressed special satisfaction with his talks with Kosygin, who, he said, showed no "unusual emotional outbursts or sense of irrationality." Asked whether the U.S. has any realistic grounds to expect the Soviet Union to exert "a moderating influence" on the Vietnam question, Humphrey said: "Well, we live in this hope sir, but—and I think there may be some reason to place more hope in

the actions of the Soviet Union. It is my view that there is a very serious struggle going on between the Communists in Russia and China." For the Soviet leaders this "overshadows everything else that's taking place in the world."

Humphrey reiterated his belief that the leading clique in the Soviet Union "seeks to contain Communist China and possibly one of the best ways of fulfilling this objective of containment is to have peace in Southeast Asia."

Humphrey also mentioned how he went to Japan to enlist the help of the Sato government in pushing the U.S. "peace talks" fraud. He disclosed that he gave Japanese Prime Minister Sato a document containing the 14 points. Later, in Humphrey's presence, Sato instructed the Japanese Foreign Minister "to convey to Moscow this sincere desire of the President of the U.S." and "to do everything within his power to encourage the Soviet Union to use a moderating influence in Southeast Asia and to bring Hanoi to the conference table."

Soviet-Japanese Collaboration

Conspiracy Against China

And so off to Moscow went Japanese Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina. During his one-week visit (January 16-22), Shiina was reported to have been very active as a salesman for the U.S. "peace talks" swindle. He attacked the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and asked the Soviet Union

NEWS NOTES

Not All Is News That's Fit to Print . . . Living in the "Free World" . . .
You Bet! . . . True and False

The *New York Times* boasts that it publishes all the news that's fit to print. Referring to the U.S. President's 1966 State of the Union Message asking for \$58,300 million in "defence spending," the newspaper wrote: "A look at the list of the largest defence contractors in the last fiscal year offers a pretty good indication where the money is going and where it will go in the next fiscal year." Since the U.S. monopolies have always battered on war, it has been clear from the very beginning where the money will be going — this is no news at all.

* * * * *
Cost of living in 20 capitalist countries has gone up considerably

in the 12 months ending October 1965. Among them: United Kingdom, 5 per cent; Japan, 7 per cent; India, 8 per cent; Brazil (August 1965), 56 per cent; Yugoslavia, 50 per cent.

* * * * *
The British weekly *Economist* has probed the possibility of "the containment of China" in 1966 but granted that "this is the great unknown of the mid-1960s. No one is going to bet on it yet." In a land where everyone always tries to bet something on everything, the *Economist* could at least bet on this: The Wilson government's collaboration with Washington to oppose China will get it nowhere. Other

British publications are already bitter that Anglo-U.S. relationships have been strengthened "at the expense of Britain's independence" and that England has become "an American appendage, always trying to appease Washington, sometimes trying to do Washington's shady work."

* * * * *
When a U.S. battalion was pulled out from West Berlin, a U.S. army spokesman hastened to say that this "has nothing to do with Vietnam." This is a lie! An American general declared that the move "does not indicate any change in U.S. policy in Berlin." This is true. The U.S. intends never to quit West Berlin. But its troops reduction there is made possible by the change in Soviet policy and is necessitated by a shortage of manpower in south Vietnam!

to exert its influence to help Washington realize its "14-point" plan. In a joint communique, both Japan and the Soviet Union steered clear of the fact of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and said instead that "the events in Vietnam constitute a menace to peace."

During Shiina's visit, the two countries signed an agreement on air services between Moscow and Tokyo and another on trade turnover and payments for 1966-70. They also agreed to conclude as soon as possible a consular convention. The Soviet officials were especially pleased by the signing of these agreements. "Even Foreign Minister Gromyko, always serious-looking, was all smiles at the moment. Three times he held Shiina's hand tightly in his own," reported the Japanese Kyodo News Agency.

There were reasons for the excitement. The same news agency said that "the Soviet Union has lately undertaken a series of active diplomatic moves to drive a wedge between China and the countries surrounding it." All information disclosed about the talks leads to

the conclusion that such Soviet-Japanese collaboration is only a variation of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Kyodo reported that in their talks, Gromyko told Shiina that "to work for the amiable development of Soviet-Japanese relations will do no harm to [Japan's] relations with third countries." According to Gromyko himself, "by third countries, he means the Western powers."

On the same day, January 20, Japanese Acting Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda relayed what Gromyko told Shiina to a meeting of the Japanese cabinet. Fukuda said that Gromyko obviously had in mind "the Japan-U.S. security set-up" and that the remarks meant that the Soviet Union was no longer demanding the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces stationed in Japan. Shiina himself was reported to believe that "this indicates an approach to promote peaceful coexistence . . . and a great change on the part of the Soviet Union."

While the Soviet leadership is courting Japan, the Sato government too has been seeking Soviet collaboration, which is what

Washington is urging it to do. The Japanese weekly *Economist* disclosed on December 21 last that during Sato's visit to Washington in January 1965, Johnson told Sato that it would be better to solve the Japan-U.S.S.R. question first rather than the Japan-China question. The weekly pointed out, "Japan-U.S.S.R. relations at the present stage are an extension of Japan-U.S. relations and they can be regarded as a form of American-Soviet co-operation."

Nippon Keizai Shimbun (November 14, 1965) said that following the signing of the "Japan-South Korea Treaty," the Sato government was "making all-out efforts to solve the problem of Japanese-Soviet relations" because the Soviet Union has "stepped up its moves for peaceful coexistence with the U.S. and other members of the free world." The paper added that the Japanese Foreign Ministry, taking the Soviet attitude as "a link in the chain of moves to isolate China," believed that Japan "should seize the opportunity to conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union" for the purpose of pinning down "the Chinese Communists."

CIRCUS ARTS

New Acrobatic Favourites

Revolutionary changes are taking place in the circus arts of China.

Seeing what was happening in other theatre arts under the impetus of the socialist cultural revolution, Chengtu's acrobats and tumblers, jugglers and conjurers began debating whether their arts could extend beyond displays of purely technical virtuosity. "If Peking opera can project the heroic image of our times, why can't we, with our somersaulting, balancing tricks and 'magic'?" they asked. Looking around, they saw that many in their field were thinking along similar lines and feeling their way to new things.

A try-out of their new ideas got a ready response from audiences of workers and peasants. Surprised and pleased, they gave an ovation to acrobatic militiamen performing astounding feats of agility and peasants doing all manner of tricks—boomeranging straw hats, juggling bowls, melons and cabbages in a harvest scene setting.

Encouraged by the reception given this experimental effort to portray, through the circus arts, something of the creative labour, the optimism and heroism of China's people in the socialist era, the Chengtu City Acrobatic Troupe, one of the country's largest, with 120 performers

and staff, has been putting on new programmes since last April.

Several items have already become popular favourites. In *Episodes From Commune Life*, trick cycling, balancing and other feats are woven into a sketch about a village postman on his rounds. Riding backwards on his cycle, he throws the tea bowls his peasant friends present him on to his head until 16 bowls, a tea cup and spoon have been piled up there in good order. . . . In *Mine Warfare*, during the anti-Japanese war a young militiaman, disguised as a bent old man, is discovered by some Japanese invaders. He is captured . . . disappears . . . and is recaptured, bound and tied up in a bag. Seconds later the Japanese soldiers are startled by familiar yells and curses from the bag and pull out . . . their own enraged squad leader. In the midst of the ensuing row, the escaped militiaman reappears with his comrades and the enemy is routed in a burst of exploding mines.

A third sketch, *Down With the Strategic Hamlets!*, is dedicated to the heroic south Vietnamese people. Agile guerrilla fighters storm an enemy strongpoint and leap through fire to crush the enemy. American invaders appear in Chinese acrobatics for the first time.

Enthusiastic popular approval has convinced this Szechuan Province troupe that they are on the track of the right answer to their question and have begun to tap new potentials of entertainment, artistry and skill. Members of rural communes come from miles around Chengtu to see the new shows. Where, in former years, a programme filled a theatre for about a fortnight, the new programmes have gone on attracting capacity crowds

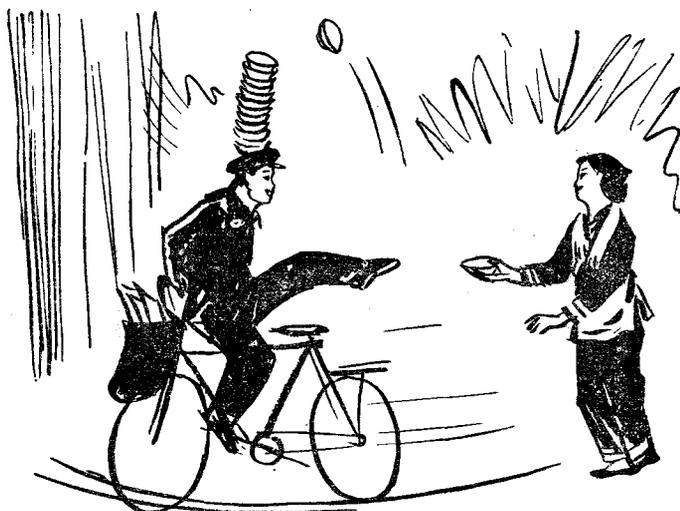
for months. Local critics describe them as "instilling new vitality into this age-old national folk art." Letters of delighted appreciation—many suggesting new ideas—reach the troupe every day. The proportion of workers and peasants in their audiences has steadily increased.

The Chengtu troupe made its debut with its new programmes after three months of experiments and rehearsal. In those days everyone in the troupe from script-writer to stage hand became an idea man. They found that linking their magic, juggling and acrobatics with contemporary revolutionary reality demands new accomplishments, new knowledge. Solutions have to be found to a host of new problems. In the matter of costumes, always a difficult one, it seems natural now for performers to dress in ways associated with their roles in the sketches. But many other problems, such as characterization, are not so simply solved. The Chengtu troupe is facing up to these challenges with new initiatives in study and training. It finds that closer living links with the farms and factories and defence forces is a key to many things.

SHORT NOTES

New Publication. The first issue of *Village Culture*, a new illustrated popular monthly, appeared in Peking in January. Answering the needs of the socialist cultural revolution in the countryside, it will carry articles and features on politics, science and technology, culture, health work and the people's militia as well as recitations and songs and other material for amateur cultural troupes and groups.

The first number contains seven special articles on how to do things the self-reliant way. They are by Chen Yung-kuei, Party Secretary of the Tachai brigade, banner bearer of China's go-ahead farms, and other comrades of pace-setting brigades and communes. Three essays by rural cadres and commune members tell how they have benefited from studying Chairman Mao's works.



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