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far east

Reporter

UNITED STATES NEO-COLONIALISM -GRAVE DIGGER IN ASIA

By Maud Russell



UNITED STATES NEO-COLONIALISM -GRAVE DIGGER IN ASIA

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The United States press is full of details concerning the presence and actions of the United States Government in Asia - details, which if studied, clearly reveal the neo-colonial policy of the United States and the growing struggles of the peoples of Asia for their liberation.

In the earlier centuries empires were seized by the industrialized Western powers in their drive for raw materials and markets. This was naked colonialism. Today there is a more modern and efficient system: neo-colonialism. Raw materials and cheaper labor and control of Asian economies can be got in a more effective way. There is no need to openly seize the country: today there are compradores (subservient natives*); they are given a fraction of the profits of exploitation in return for their collaboration with the neo-colonialists in keeping these countries as semi-feudal sources of raw materials and markets for consumer goods.

The tools of the United States neo-colonial policy are investments in these countries, aid programs (grants, loans, credits), cultural exchange programs, and above all military activity (war, bases, building up the military forces of their Asian client regimes). All these involve dealing with the compradore collaborators and feudal landlords who participate in the exploitation of their own peoples for their own private and class gain.

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

The following details, about some of the countries where American investors are already established, are suggestive rather than exhaustive.

*As it was in China, there are compradore capitalists, those collaborators with foreign investors, and there are "national capitalists" who want their countries free of foreign exploitation.

India

In India, when the colonial power, Great Britain, "left" there was no intention that India would be "free" to develop her own modern economic set-up. Britain left the base for neo-colonialism. The partition of the country into India and Pakistan weakened both by creating frictions between the two - an application of the policy of "divide and rule". The partition created economic problems for each: Pakistan had a deficit of rice-growing land in proportion to her rice-eating population. India got 90% of the factories but the jute growing land which fed the factories of India lay 70% in Pakistan. A substantial part of India's raw cotton was grown in what became Pakistan - forcing India, after partition, to spend substantial sums to import cotton. Britain left the legacy of an entrenched parliamentary system which makes it easy for the exploiting powers to use either the governing party or the opposing parties: with the right people in charge of the government the necessary regulations giving advantages to foreign investors are easily secured.

Nor were the British investments in India cancelled; they remain and with them much of the British managerial personnel. These foreign investments have since been greatly increased by the entrance of the United States into the Indian investment field.

Just to go back to 1963, the American press was publishing facts about foreign investments and the Indian ruling regime's collaboration. "Industrialist Says New Delhi Seeks Foreign Investment" read a headline in the New York Times. The story quoted Bharat Ram, a leading industrialist of India, as saying that the old official bias against foreign investment has gone; that the Indian Government was taking additional measures to encourage such investment. "There is no question that measures to encourage such investments are going to be more liberalized...More liberal policies should bring an increase of American private investment in India which offers exceptional profits and development possibilities. The fact is that the new tax reductions now in view should also stimulate business in India with the result of more economic activity for both domestic and foreign capital....

Areas that offer good possibilities now for foreign investment include the very large industries in engineering and chemistry."(NYT 4/18/63) "Investors Show Interest In India" read a headline in the Christian Science Monitor. They had the encouragement of the Indian Investment Center branch set up in New York in November 1961 "to explain Indian law and policy...assist the potential investor in really understanding the Indian investment climate...putting him in touch with like-minded Indian investors." The "need for an investment center was recognized by New Delhi authority after much research on the subject by American experts and considerable prodding by such eminent Indians as G L Mehta, former Indian Ambassador in Washington and now Chairman of the Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation, the biggest foreign-loan lending body in the country."(CSM 3/13/63) In an interview Mr Mehta noted "India has been giving increasing encouragement to private and foreign capital and was determined to continue this policy. 'We feel India presents investment possibilities as good as or even better than in many other areas. Investment in India represents the essence of good business, mutual advantage to both parties in the bargain.' He described the Investment Center as a kind of financial 'match-maker' for Indian and American companies."(NYT 5/8/63)

In August 1963 the Indian Investment Center marked its second anniversary by announcing that it had helped bring 36 foreign companies into joint ventures with Indian concerns, with a total outlay for these projects of \$75 million. Of the 36 foreign companies 15 were said to be American. (NYT 8/9/63)

By mid-1965 Mr Mehta was saying, "In the last two years there has been a steady increase of American capital participation in India's industry. There are now some 200 American companies with either equity investments or licensing agreements in Indian enterprises. The total private direct American investment in India is now by conservative estimate \$300,000,000."(NYT 5/17/65) Late in 1965 the Times reported "Three American companies were reported yesterday to have reached an understanding with India to form a huge petro-chemical complex...The American companies

involved are Union Carbide, LTD - a subsidiary of Union Carbide Corporation, Dow International, a division of Dow Chemical Company, and American International Oil, Standard Oil Company of Indiana."(NYT 12/23/65)

By mid-1966 the Monitor reported, "India's largest fertilizer plant...will be built in Madras, with the assistance of the American International Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana; the Government will own 51% of the new company but American International will have a substantial equity stake; furthermore, the United States firm will have management responsibilities in the initial stages of the project." (5/19/66) "It is known that such companies as Allied Chemical Corporation are close to concluding a contract for a 68,000-ton a year nitrogen plant."(NYT 7/3/66)

In 1968 Tenneco Corporation, an American Oil Company, was making "a \$115-million offer for offshore drilling rights in the Gulf of Cambay, off the coast of Gujarat... It proposes to do the exploratory drilling at no cost or risk to India in return for a guarantee of partnership with the Government in exploration. The proposal, which the Petroleum Minister favors, would leave Tenneco with about 20% of the profits after taxes."(NYT 9/5/68) "General Motors Corporation today dedicated India's most modern semi-automatic automobile engine manufacturing plant at Uttarpara, near Calcutta.." (NYT 11/12/68)

Chester Bowles, American Ambassador, said here (Bombay) today that he hoped American companies would come into India in a big way in the next few years to invest in and develop India's economy. He said the opportunity provided by India for industrial investment was great."(Reuters NYT 11/13/68)

"India is cautiously opening the door wider to more foreign investment...the newly established Foreign Investment Board which will handle most of the projects has issued a list of industries where over-seas capital will be welcomed. Leading the list are fertilizers, off-shore oil exploration, chemicals, synthetic fibres and industrial machinery...Some foreign participants in an Internat-

ional Investment Seminar said it was necessary to have a gross profit of 30% in India in order to get a net profit of 10% after taxation. They compared this with the gross profit of 19.25% to make 10% in the United States, 16% in the United Kingdom, 13.3% in France and 11.75% in West Germany." (CSM 1/13/69)

Today's India is of pivotal importance in the neo-colonial program of the United States - not only for economic control of the vast resources of that land but also as a base for United States counter-revolutionary strategy. As the National Observer wrote, "India's survival as a non-Communist nation is essential to the West." (1/17/66) And India's ruling classes are willing collaborators in the United States' attempt to build up India as a citadel of reaction - to fight the growing revolutionary forces in India, to undermine the liberation struggles in the neighboring developing countries, and ultimately for aggression against China.

But India is only one, though the most important of the Asian areas where the United States neo-colonial policy is being carried on. Every developing Asian country feels the impact of American neo-colonialism in the form of investments.

Vietnam

"Investment in a war-torn country like South Vietnam?" starts an article in the Christian Science Monitor. But goes on: "The very idea sounds wildly impractical. But to those Americans with the right combination of patriotism, venture-someness, and hard-headed profit-seeking, investment in Vietnam may prove both morally and financially rewarding...The United States agency for International Development (AID) sponsored an American small business commission to South Vietnam...With United States tenacity, South Vietnam should be as attractive a field of investment as any other Asian country. In South Vietnam AID guarantees American investors up to 100% against war, expropriation, insurrection and inconvertibility. And it also guarantees up to 75% against all other risks,

including commercial risks. In addition, profit is a powerful incentive. Returns of 20% or more on invested capital are not unusual in South Vietnam. By investing today Americans can get in on the ground floor of an economic expansion which undoubtedly will enable Saigon to follow in the footsteps of Hongkong and Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea...The American military build up is creating new opportunities for local entrepreneurs not only in the Saigon metropolitan region but in totally new areas such as Camrahn Bay where a \$20-million port construction project is under way."(CSM 12/1/65)

It is the United States Government which is pushing American investment in Asian countries, and, like its client collaborators, offering fantastic profits, guarantees and protection.

Thailand

"American commercial investments in Thailand began, for all practical purposes, in 1966 when executives of ten American-owned businesses in the country formed the American Chamber of Commerce. There are 101 members of the Chamber, representing 75 companies." (CSM 1/17/66)

"American companies already established in Thailand include Firestone, Esso, IBM, Caltex, Union Carbide, Colgate-Palmolive, Merch...Investment incentives include a profit return of 25% or more a year, tax concessions, low labor costs, an 8% growth rate in the last five years and a financial position backed by more than a billion dollars of foreign exchange."(NYT 4/28/68)

"Thai Government and business leaders pressure for continued United States investment and support."(NYT 5/6/68) "Throughout the year, 1968, Thailand conducted a vigorous investment-promotion campaign. The biggest and most aggressive effort began when a 35-man mission sponsored by the Thai Government and supported by the United States AID mission in Bangkok traveled to the United States to begin a campaign to attract American industrial investors. The group beat the drums for investment in half a dozen American cities. Shortly after their return eight

United States concerns announced plans to invest almost \$20,000,000; and five American companies (Gulf, Union, Continental, Amoco and Tennaco) were granted licenses to explore for oil in the Gulf of Thailand."(NYT 1/17/69)

"At the end of 1968 well over one hundred American firms were operating profitably in Thailand in a wide variety of enterprises. Thailand's investment climate was described by a prominent American industrial consultant as follows: 'Unlike many other countries, there is little if any hostility toward private business in Thailand and foreign capital enjoys freedom of entry and exit'. From a foreign investor's viewpoint there are a number of other advantages which make Thailand an attractive investment possibility: ready availability of numerous industrial raw materials...labor costs are low...The remarkable influx of foreign capital into Thailand began in 1959 with the enactment of the investment incentive program which provided generous and attractive incentives for private and joint investment in many industries and fields of commerce and trade. These incentives include a five year income tax holiday after income or sales commence; exemption from the import duties and business taxes on the machinery and materials necessary to set up a factory; one third exemption for five years on import duties or business taxes on raw materials; permission to own land for carrying on industrial activity; permission to remit capital earnings and royalties from the investment in foreign currency; authorization to bring in technicians in excess of immigration quotas...Aside from these privileges the Thai Government policy is explicit in providing protection for foreign capital: The State guarantees against expropriation or nationalization of private industry and business and establishment of enterprises in competition with 'promoted' industries. The same rights and privileges and protection as are enjoyed by the Thai nationals are extended to foreign firms and individuals carrying on business in Thailand. Among the hundreds of overseas companies that have recently been granted promotional certificates by the Board of Investment are Firestone, Dumex, Siam Kraft, Union Carbide, Thai-American Steel, Phelps-Dodge, Goodyear, Metal

Box, Thai Toray Textiles, G S Steel, Thai Asahi Glass."
(Advertisement of Thai Board of Investment NYT 1/17/69)

Indonesia

"Opportunities for private foreign investment in Indonesia are improving rapidly, according to a bank report issued by First National City Bank."(NYT 3/31/67)

"Opportunities for investment in Indonesia are very easy to find. Today the chances for fat profits abound and beckon as never before...The new order has sent its couriers flitting from one European capital to another from the day when it gained effective control of the government last summer." (National Observer 4/3/67)

"Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, addressed about 70 business men meeting at the invitation of TIME Inc with top Indonesian Government officials to discuss the possibilities of private investment in Indonesia. The Foreign Minister said it was 'very heartening to observe that international private enterprise is showing such a willingness to contribute its share to the development and stability of the country'. In a message, General Suharto, the President, said that the new regime realized that 'the good will and assistance of the outside world' would be needed if Indonesia was to solve her economic problems and become 'a strong, viable and stable country'. The Minister for Economic Affairs & Finance said his country was hoping to raise \$325-million in foreign aid in 1968." (NYT 11/3/67)

The New York Times of January 19th 1969 reports that Indonesia's "Five Year Development Plan leans heavily, perhaps dangerously, on foreign aid and foreign private investment for its financing. According to some estimates foreign capital will account for nearly 80% of the development funds." and "foreign oil, mining and logging companies are rushing to invest in Indonesia."

Already by April 1968 Eastern World, an economic journal published in London, was reporting, "The Indonesian Government has given its approval to the petitions of 43 foreign companies to invest capital in the country. Total capital to be invested has reached \$405,000,000 at

the end of January 1968. The projected foreign capital investments were made by the following: United States, \$397-million; Dutch guilders, 26 millions; Singapore, \$500,000; Japan, \$257-million. The Americans are most interested in mining. Ranging second on the big list of foreign investors are American companies. The American Freeport Sulphur is to operate in copper mining in West Irian in 1971, with a capital of \$76.5-million...The new investment law adopted last year makes it clear that Indonesia invited foreign capital to invest. The following incentives are being offered: exemption from corporation tax on profits for a period of up to five years and exemption from dividend tax on profit during the period; full authority to select management and recruit or use foreign technicians for positions which Indonesia is not yet capable of filling; offer of land at advantageous terms; exemption from import duties for equipment, machinery, tools and initial plant supplies; exemption from capital stamp tax on introduction of foreign capital for investment; right granted to foreign capital enterprise to transfer in the original foreign exchange for current profits, expenses for foreign employees in Indonesia, depreciation of fixed capital assets, compensation in the event of nationalization..." (Eastern World March-Apr '68)

"Companies licensed to operate in Indonesia under foreign-investment regulations enacted in 1967 numbered 84 near the end of last year, according to an Indonesian government report."(NYT 1/19/69)

Not only is foreign investment sought and allowed by the Indonesian Government but now "The new government of General Suharto proclaims its promise to hand back the industries that Sukarno's leftist government seized during his war with the colonialists and capitalists of Western Europe and the United States. On paper the promises look good."(National Observer 4/3/67) "The Indonesian Government has returned the Dolok Merangir Rubber Plantation to the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company."(NYT A/P 10/22/67) "Ex-President Sukarno's expropriation of foreign holdings is part of the past...Foreigners have flocked back to pick up the pieces of their rubber plantations, beer, margarine and tobacco factories."(NYT 1/17/69)

"The Bank of America opened a branch here today, the fifth foreign bank to open in Jakarta this month. The First National City Bank, The Chase Manhattan Bank, the American Express Bank and the Bangkok Bank opened branches earlier this month." (NYT A/P 6/29/68). "Nine foreign banks have opened their air-conditioned offices in the humid city of Jakarta." (NYT 1/17/69)

Something of the arrogant attitude of American capitalists is expressed in Mr McNamara's reporting on his trip to Indonesia. "It seems appropriate that I should write at this time about Asia, the continent with the largest bank group investments - \$5,000,000,000 in loans and credits... I met the ambassadors of IGG (International Group in Indonesia) which includes France, Japan, Germany, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. It was impossible to ignore the fact that Investments in Indonesia carries some degree of risk...but the risk seemed worthwhile....The alternative to assistance was simply to wash our hands of the 115 million people in a country with vast natural resources and tremendous development potential; this alternative was not a prospect which appealed to me..." (NYT 1/17/69)

Taiwan

By the end of World War Two Taiwan, which had been under Japanese rule for half a century, was restored to China. In 1949 Chiang Kai-shek retreated from the mainland to this island province of China. His regime there has been maintained, militarily and economically, by the United States. Building on an economic base left by the Japanese and the neo-colonial base since established by the United States, the economy of Taiwan has apparently prospered - for private investors.

"From 1952 through October 1968 approved overseas investments added up to 988 in number and worth \$316,212,000. Americans were the largest investors in terms of capital. They brought capital totalling \$152,445,000 to Taiwan. Most of the overseas investments have been forthcoming in the years since 1960 when the Statute for the Encouragement of Investment was promulgated; this was

amended in 1965 to provide additional incentives; further revision of investment laws and regulations are contemplated to make Taiwan still more attractive to over-seas Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs. Private investment by foreign and over-seas Chinese has been increasing from year to year. The final figure for 1968 is expected to exceed \$100 million compared with \$63,500,000 in 1967. A total of 292 investments totalling \$75,545,000 was approved for the first ten months of 1968 - with foreign nationals making 195 investments worth \$43,602,000 and over-seas Chinese investing \$31,943,000 in 186 cases." (Advertisement of the Nationalist Government on Taiwan NYT 1/17/69)

"Attractive economic prospects and investment laws continue to draw foreign investment with United States entrepreneurs following just behind over-seas Chinese in providing outside capital....Low labor costs (\$20 a month are common and strikes are illegal), low construction costs, cheap electricity, and factory sites in industrial parks are among the inducements for foreign investors." (NYT 1/17/69)

South Korea

"A private United States economic mission, led by former Under Secretary of State, Geo. W Ball, arrived here in Seoul today to explore possibilities of investment in Korea...Mr Ball is Chairman of Lehman Brothers International." (NYT 3/19/67)

"Fifteen years ago the Korean War ended, leaving South Korea an occupied country. The bulk of the occupation forces were from the United States. Since that time South Korea's relationship with the United States has been one that is variously described as 'puppet', 'neo-colony' or 'client state'. The advantage of having 'client states' - if you are the owner of a United States corporation - has been set forth very frankly in an American trade publication, Footwear News, which in its issue of May 11th 1967 gave its readers the good news about South Korea: a government anxious to help them exploit its people at unbelievably low wages. Here are excerpts from the article, entitled 'In South Korea Today': 'Already in Korea are Fairchild,

Motorola, Oak Electro/Nation, Signetics...Korea's greatest attraction to the world of international trade is undoubtedly its industrious, intelligent, dexterous - and low paid - people....There is an unemployment problem of 7% and an even greater under-employment problem estimated at 25%. Fifty percent of the population is under 20 years of age: there is an abundance of labor that will not soon dry up. And they do work cheap. Girls start off on an assembly line at \$10 to \$15 a month. The average monthly wage level for skilled workers is \$49 for men and \$30 for women; that of semi-skilled workers is \$33 for men and \$23 for women; that of laborers is \$21 for men and \$15 for women; for office workers, \$44 for men and \$33 for women; graduate engineers are available at \$1000 a year...The United States AID officials here regard as significant the result of the recent visit of the so-called Ball Mission. A group of 29 leading American business men headed by former Under-Secretary of State, George W Ball, now Chairman of Lehman Brothers International, came here during March on a private investment and trade exploratory mission. Within two weeks of their visit, of the 23 manufacturing companies represented on the mission 14 had expressed interest in negotiating for a tie-up or in sending a feasibility team to the country.'" (The Despatcher 4/12/68)

"The favorable climate for investment (in Korea) has recently brought \$80 million of foreign investments. New enquiries are received daily."(NYT 8/12/68)

"A high South Korean Gov't official said South Korea would prefer joint investments by Koreans and foreign interests, but reaffirmed that the Gov't was ready to approve wholly owned foreign ventures in South Korea. A Gov't agency has invested in a joint venture with the United States tobacco interests.."(A/P NYT 9/2/68)

"South Korea sustained its economic growth rate largely through the continued flow of foreign capital in loans, credits and investments."(NYT 1/17/69)

"The Finance Ministry announced its final approval for the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York to establish a branch in Seoul, scheduled to open July 3rd."(A/P NYT 6/13/67) Even in 1966 the NY Herald Tribune had reported "Men from the Chase Manhattan Bank are everywhere in South Korea."(2/23/66)

And Other Places

Philippines "President Marcos' State of the Nation message presented the Congress (Philippine...ed) with a 48-point proposal; this included new incentives for foreign investment..."(NYT 1/19/69) "American capitalists stake in the country was estimated at half a billion dollars." (NYT 1/19/68)

Pakistan "Additional incentives for United States private investment in Pakistan will result from an expanded investment guarantee program agreement signed today by Pakistan and the United States....Currently total American private investment is estimated at over \$60 million." (NYT 3/27/68)

Cambodia "Prince Norodom Sihanouk acknowledged the shortage of investment capital to a group of visiting Western newsmen in November. 'We are fast reaching the point where we must find more investment capital' he said. Until 1963 the necessary capital came in regularly from the United States in the form of economic aid and military assistance that totalled nearly \$400 million between 1955 and 1963...In a dramatic move to attract foreign investment Prince Sihanouk announced on August 16th the creation of a free zone around the gleaming new port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam. He said the zone was open to investment from all countries and said it would operate under liberal regulations similar to those of such free zones as Beirut and Tangier, beginning in April 1969." (NYT 1/19/69)

The incentives which the American investors demand and the Asian client regimes grant are all at the expense and well-being of these countries. Tax concessions, tax holidays, exemptions from import duties, from business taxes, from taxes on profits ("fat"profits!), free land, guarantees against risks of all kinds, exploitation of national natural resources, permission to remit profits to the home countries - all these deprive the treasuries of the Asian lands of rightful income. Guarantees against expropriation and nationalization, the handing back to former colonial exploiters their former enterprises is at both financial and political cost to the peoples of these Asian

countries. The stealing of the birth rights of the people and the cheap-labor exploitation of their workers makes it clear that the United States Government and their own ruling regimes are the enemies of the people.

American Aid Programs

Another tool of United States neo-colonialism is the "foreign aid program". This makes vast sums available to Asian collaborators - these client regimes who instead of using all the resources of their lands for the benefit of their peoples are letting the foreign donor exploit the resources and the people in return for which the native collaborator gets a share of the profits of exploitation.

A few illustrations of this aid program will suffice to show this neo-colonial tactic.

"Until recently the United States has been the biggest single donor of aid to India. So much was the aid received by India that the Indian Second Five Year Plan was financed to the extent of 30% by external assistance." (Eastern World July/August 1968) "The United States which has given India \$8,000,000,000 in assistance over the last 17 years came up with new hard currency commitments of \$231,000,000." (NYT 1/17/69) "India will be supplied with \$167,000,000 worth of wheat and other commodities during fiscal 1969; these are to be supplied under U S Public Law 480; the agreement provides for wheat or wheat equivalent in flour and includes other surplus commodities: 90,000 tons of non-fat dry milk, cotton, grain sorghum, rice, soya bean oil, corn, non-edible tallow, tobacco, milk products and canned fruits..." (NYT 1/17/69)

Here we see how the United States producers, unable to sell all their production to the American public, get rid of much of their surpluses by selling in huge lots to the United States Government - which, in turn, "aids" India: or does it aid India?

This "aid" to the Indian collaborator does two things: it serves to hunder the productive forces of India and it

frees the native collaborators from the necessity of land reform. Land reform is the basic need if the productive forces of India are to be released. But millions of peasants - some 150 millions in India - are kept in semi-feudal bondage are more exploitable than self-respecting owners of land.

"Washington has just made available to Indonesia \$53,000,000 in rice, cotton and other goods... So far Washington has delivered \$161,000,000 worth of wheat this year... The total United States aid this year includes \$88 million for the Food for Freedom program and development loan." (CSM 7/12/68) "Robert S McNamara, President of the World Bank, has offered Indonesia \$4,000,000 US development credit and the services of highly trained experts to help the country's economic recovery." (Reuters CSM 6/18/68)

If the productive forces of the Asian peoples were freed they would not have to import food, cotton and other goods. And they would be developing their own industries and the creative skills of their own workers instead of having foreign experts in their midst exploiting their country and their economy.

"As well as cooperating with aid, Washington has also agreed to a temporary easing of Indonesia's massive burden of foreign aid repayments. Jakarta owes \$2.5 billion. New aid loans are being made over long periods - twenty five years, for instance - with long 'grace periods.'" (CSM 7/12/68)

Here we can see how aid provides a long rope - twenty five years is envisaged - with Americans holding the rope - long to keep Indonesia in a neo-colonial relationship.

"The Thailand Government is embarked on a program of economic development, backed by the United States aid running currently at \$53,000,000 a year." (Look 9/3/68)

The United States has been spending immense sums in Vietnam. President Johnson was asking Congress for \$485,000,000 to finance "social and economic progress in

Vietnam for 1968." (NYT 2/29/68) A year later the Times was reporting "Ambassador Bunker signed an agreement with the South Vietnamese Foreign Ministry this week providing for the import of 100,000 tons of rice from the United States....A United States official said that since March 1967 the United States had shipped \$517,000,000 worth of agricultural goods to Vietnam..." (NYT 1/19/69)

Before the United States war on Vietnam that country was a rice-exporting nation!

"Since 1954 the United States has spent some \$21 million on land reform in South Vietnam." (CSM 3/6/68). Of course the basic need, if the productive forces are to be released, is land reform. But the United States objective, strongly supported by the native client regime, was not true land reform but "designed to encourage support of the Government by the people" and "securing the countryside in order to defend the cities. Proponents of land reform here in Saigon agree with some recent criticism of South Vietnam's lagging land reform program...Out of a total of six or seven million acres Saigon, up through mid-1961, re-distributed some 620,000 acres, generally from the poorer lands." Even in 1968 "In the areas most securely under Government control, rents ran in practice up to 40 to 50% of the rice crop and sometimes higher. In the rich Mekong Delta some peasants still pay virtually all of their disposable income to their landlords...At present it does not appear that the South Vietnamese Government will be any more eager to act in land reform in 1968 than it has been in the past six years." (CSM 1/5/68)

"Those in power in Saigon are the landlords; thus the enthusiasm for land reform among the leaders is very small." (CSM 3/6/68) The United States Government Operations Committee in a report to the Speaker of the House said that 'the record of the past fourteen years provides scant hope that the Government of South Vietnam will institute a meaningful program of land reform in the near future'. Such a program, the report said, is unlikely unless the United States makes 'vigorous representation' and 'the past record of the United States in this field has been little better

than the record of the Government of South Vietnam' and adds that 'the entire range of activities known as the Pacification Program is to secure the allegiance of the Vietnamese people.'" (NYT 3/4/68)

What the United States wants is to keep rural Vietnam semi-feudal and urban Vietnam compradore-capitalist - in short, the United States wants a neo-colonial Vietnam.

A New York Times editorial of March 5th 1968 wrote, "Neither the Saigon Government nor the United States made a serious effort to provide effective land reform policies in South Vietnam. Instead, Saigon has imposed a kind of 'negative land reform' - in many instances returning land to the landlords in areas recaptured from the guerrillas. This, says a committee briefing paper, has placed the Americans in the position of 'those-who-want-to-take-back-our-land in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of peasants. It has in effect forced American troops to fight some of the very Vietnamese it was their original mission to help and protect - to die to preserve the interests of a privileged minority who continue to dominate the government in Saigon."

The Vietnamese people know the United States Government is their main enemy.

United States investments and aid programs serve political goals as well as economic.

"In India the United States has been using its aid as a lever to force changes in the Indian economy." (NYT 9/6/66) The much heralded "socialist sector" of the economy of India has become the "public sector", well controlled by the collaborating capitalists.

"An official enquiry into the activities of the United States Central Intelligence Agency in India has concluded that the United States gave substantial sums of money to right-wing parties and candidates before last February's elections. As interpreted by the Government the alleged American spending was aimed at keeping the center of gravity in Indian politics as far to the right as possible." (NYT 6/13/67)

'How Do You Tell 'Em We're On Their Side?'



Great Falls Tribune GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS ZSCHIESCHE
Montana 7/26/68

"The United States recognizes a common security interest in extending aid to such countries as India and Indonesia, whose governments are in ideological opposition to Communist China." (NYT 8/5/68)

"An unpublicised feature of 1968 was that the International Finance Corporation, a subsidiary of the World Bank, went ahead with investments in at least three countries in the face of political uncertainty and even unrest. For example, a major investment in a paper mill in East Pakistan was made in December at a time when the Government of Ayub Khan was facing major protests by students and others. The investment amounted to a tacit vote of confidence in the long-term stability of the country." (NYT 2/3/69)

The not-too-hidden truth is that it amounted to a United States vote of confidence in its own ability to maintain relations with Pakistani collaborators, whoever they might turn out to be.

United States War Against the Peoples of Asia

The most blatant tool of American neo-colonialism is war against the Asian peoples: war against the Chinese in the forties, war against the Koreans in the fifties, war against the Vietnamese and spilling over into attacks on the Thais and the Laotians. No one can deny that this makes the United States the enemy of the Asian peoples - a ferocious enemy, using the horrors of modern fire-power-bombs, napalm, flame-throwers, insecticides, indiscriminately killing and wounding men, women and children, devastating their land, their livestock, their crops, creating millions of refugees, forcing millions to move into pacification villages. Certainly in the eyes of the people the United States is the enemy. In Vietnam alone, the American expenditure of thirty billion dollars a year creates not friends but enemies.

Not only is there this direct attack on the bodies of the people but the war has its long-term impact, disastrously affecting the basic economic interests of the people - the effect on their farms. "More than 1,200,000 acres of rice land have gone out of cultivation in the Mekong Delta

alone, as farmers have fled the insecurity of the countryside for city jobs and refugee camps. 'A tremendous export drive will be necessary to take up the slack in foreign exchange losses when the direct dollar purchases end' one source said, and 'agriculture will have to be rehabilitated.'" (NYT 1/17/69)

To carry on its military - as well as its economic, political and cultural programs in Asia - great numbers of American personnel, military and civilian, are resident in various cities of Asia. This involves the expenditure in these Asian cities of billions of American dollars, pouring foreign exchange into Asia but harming rather than helping the development of the local productive forces.

Some examples: In Vietnam "American civilian government employees jumped from 2000 in mid-1963 to 54,000 in mid-1967." (NYT 11/17/68) In Thailand "The American community now numbers about 15,000 people; they are military dependents, US Government contractors, diplomats, and private business men. Not included in this figure are 50,000 American soldiers and airmen stationed in bases in Thailand." (NYT 12/8/68) In Laos the private American police force which guards the American offices and homes in Vientiane employs 500 men." (NYT 1/19/69) In Taiwan "there are nearly 9,000 permanent civilian and military personnel with about 7000 dependents attached to the American Embassy, the Taiwan Defense Command, the Military Aid Group and the large Central Intelligence Agency." (NYT 2/14/68) And there are American military and civilian personnel on bases and in foreign enclaves in most Asian countries.

The American expenditures for the war and the maintenance of American personnel (and those natives who serve them) in Asian cities creates substantial but questionable income for the Asian economies. For example - "South Vietnam now earns almost 90% of its foreign exchange from dollar purchases by the United States and its troops in the country; an estimated 145,000 Vietnamese work directly for the United States agencies or companies and many more earn their living by services to Americans." (NYT 1/17/69)

"American GI's spend about \$200,000,000 a year in Thailand; their spending is the country's single largest source of foreign currency." (CSM 12/28/68) "American spending continues to account for virtually all of the national income of Laos." (NYT 1/19/69)

These American expenditures for the maintenance of resident aliens are not only temporary but they have a long-term adverse effect on the economies of these lands. The inflow of American dollars does serve to increase local commercialism - shops, traders, services, money-changers, black market - but they do not foster the growth of the native productive forces. "More and more villagers in Laos are going to Vientiane to take up plentiful well-paying, non-productive jobs." (NYT 1/19/69)

It is not non-productive jobs, or services or commerce - but only a native industry and agriculture that produces enough goods for themselves as well as for export that will give these countries the kind of foreign exchange that serves the interests of country.

And there is an adverse social effect of this temporary influx of non-productive American dollars. "Thai officials are particularly worried about the possible phase-out ... about the labor problems threatened by the lay-off of thousands of workers employed in United States completed construction projects." (NYT 1/17/69) The lay-off from "completed projects" will leave tens of thousands of Asians - workers, shopkeepers, servants - without jobs and with little local industry ready to provide jobs.

"Personal income in Laos, supplied chiefly by the American military and governmental paymasters has soared more than 16% in 1968, giving the Laotian wage-earner about 9% more real spending money than he had in 1967. He spent the money almost entirely on consumer goods produced in other countries." (NYT 1/19/69)

But when the phase-out comes will the workers be able to buy "consumer goods produced in other countries"? or even in his own country? It is far more likely that these workers will be unemployed militants struggling against

their enemies - the neo-colonialists and their own comprador capitalists.

Temporary financial advantages are also being reaped by certain Asian countries whose factories are producing war materiel for the United States fighting in Asia.

"The Republic of Korea's earnings from Vietnam for 1967 topped the \$15 million mark and will rise higher in 1968." (Eastern World March/April 1968) In Taiwan "war-inspired exports to South Vietnam have been high. The end of hostilities would hit this source of foreign exchange." (NYT 1/17/69) "Japan now realizes a lucrative profit from increased United States military procurement in Japan. According to one press report Japan's exports to South Vietnam and the seven countries surrounding it totalled some \$2 billion in the year ending last February. A large part of this increase is attributed to demands created by the war. Exports to South Vietnam skyrocketed rising from a mere \$34 million in 1965 to \$138 million in 1966 and \$175 million in 1967. Directly or indirectly the Vietnam war has brought Japan about a billion dollars worth of orders." (CSM 1/17/69)

But a day of hard reckoning is coming. "Those nations in the area that have been reaping foreign exchange rewards because of American expenditures for Vietnam are beginning to ponder the effects of an armistice. Thailand, South Korea and Japan, in particular, have been absorbing large amounts of dollars because of Vietnam and the economic impact of the end of the war was regarded as somewhat problematical in their capitals." (NYT 1/17/69)

It will be the workers in these Asian factories who will be faced with unemployment; and the unemployed can become militant. Neo-colonialism continually broadens the ranks of its enemies!

These hundreds of millions of dollars, which the United States puts into the hands of its client regimes, do not serve the basic interests of their countries. Much of it, is used for the private personal interest of the recipients - money stowed away in foreign banks, and money

spent on luxuries such as travel and expensive living abroad and for the import of expensive foreign consumption goods. That which they spend on public activities is spent in their class interest - strengthening their military and police force, rigging elections, buying up land under pacification programs. These vast sums granted them in aid programs are piling up a terrible burden - a burden for the people: it is the people who are being forced to repay these grants, loans, credits, aid - not only repay the principal but also the interest - the "debt-service-repayment".

This repayment is a terrible burden. "A black cloud has appeared on the world's foreign aid horizon...The name of the cloud is debt-service...Put in the simplest terms, 'poor' nations have borrowed so much money from the 'rich' that they are finding it harder and harder to pay back. Meanwhile they borrow more but their ability to repay is not gaining fast enough to keep pace. No less than two thirds of all the new 'official' loans are now being diverted from building dams and raising food production to the dead-end task of debt-repayment...These debts must be paid in foreign currency. Foreign currency is earned by exports. But exports from the less-developed countries aren't rising fast enough. To be exact, said a World Bank expert 'two figures sum it up: debt-service-repayment is going up at the rate of 13% a year, but less-developed country exports are rising at only 8% a year.'" (CSM 10/28/67)

"In the current fiscal year India expects to receive aid commitments of less than \$500 million which will only slightly exceed her annual burden of debt-repayment to the aid-giving countries for old development loans." (NYT/11/18/68). "The new commitments of foreign aid in 1968 are barely higher than India's staggering burden of debt-repayment to the aid-giving nations. In the new year the burden will amount to nearly \$500 million." (NYT/1/17/69)

"By 1975 virtually all the outside money now reaching the developing countries from both governmental and private sources will be required to meet the annual interest charges and to pay the installments on money al-

ready borrowed. This will leave nothing to help build up their production machinery and in fact it was predicted that after 1975 the developing countries will have to pay more to service their debts than they are now getting from the outside..." (NYT 2/3/69)

What a rope the United States neo-colonialists have on the economic necks of their client regimes! But what an avalanche of peoples' emnity is piling up in Asia!

United States Cultural Colonialism

Culture, no less than money, can be a powerful tool. In the early decades of this century Chinese revolutionaries were well aware of this tool being used against the interests of their country. They saw the missionary movement, the constant stream of missions - academic, educational, military, medical, political, constitutional, scientific, cultural - visiting their country, meeting with their counterparts in China, the scholarships for Chinese youth provided by Western interests (church, government, business, academic) as "cultural invasion" and on a par with the military, territorial and economic invasions China was then suffering. Today's use of this cultural tool is less crude, less imposed unilaterally than in the older colonial days: the missionary - "one sent" - movement gives way to "cultural exchange programs", presumably an exchange between equals. But the use of decadent capitalist culture to serve the interests of the neo-colonialists is even more pervasive. The fact that this tool is being used can be seen in the resistance in various countries to these cultural exchange programs and to the presence in their lands of such agencies as the Peace Corps, the Central Intelligence Agency, the foundations such as Asia Foundation, Ford Foundation, etc.

"The Indian Government has frozen all activities of the Asia Foundation which at one time indirectly received funds from the CIA. All new projects proposed by the Foundation have been held up for lack of approval by the Foreign Ministry." Guardian 10/7/67).

"According to some angry intellectuals here in New Delhi, Indian intellectual life is being warped by what they call 'academic colonialism' of the United States. This can be found, they say, in the interest American scholars show in Indian culture, society and politics, and is reflected in the support extended to Indian institutions and scholars by the American Government and private foundations. They sometimes wonder whether there can be too much of a good thing. A voluble minority finds clear evidence of American design to 'penetrate' and finally dominate their academic scene. The current issue of the prestigious magazine Seminar is devoted to a discussion of 'the influences which destroy intellectual independence'. Typical of its tone is the assertion by a Delhi University economist, J D Sethi, that Indian universities have become 'fostering places for the operations of foreign agents'. A sociologist from Rajasthan University, Yogendra Singh, warns that scholarly research by foreigners may be nothing more than 'academic espionage' for organizations like the Central Intelligence Agency. Support for Indian institutions and scholars is a form of thought control, he says. Satish Saberwal of the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies says the relation of the Indian scholar to foreign patrons is always and everywhere one of subservience... The contributors to Seminar, who have all studied in the West, reserve their bitterest scorn for Indian intellectuals who accept western academic standards - 'quasi-Indians' Mr Sethi calls them, who have 'reduced themselves to morally impotent and willing tools of foreign culture'...Mr Kumar notes that the Ford Foundation's support of the Law School Library and the Chinese Department at Delhi University brings Americans into 'close contacts with the personalities and developments in the premier university in India'. He says this is threatening the university's Indian character...The revelation that CIA financial support for foundations in the United States helped make the American role in Indian education controversial. The Asia Foundation had to terminate its program here last year after acknowledging that it had received such funds. More recently the Indian Government refused to allow a program of research by American scholars in the Himalaya Border areas because it was to have been underwritten by the

Defense Department." (NYT 1/12/69)

In Ceylon "Quite recently the Asia Foundation offered the Department of Sociology at the University of Peradeniya a grant of Rs 2½ lacs for the study of 'Vedas in Ceylon' on the understanding that the nominee of the Asia Foundation be appointed to a very important post in the Department of Sociology. This particular nominee is well known for his close association with the Asia Foundation; he has enjoyed American hospitality for periods longer than those he spent in teaching in the university. An important person in the Tamil Department of Colombo University has been allowed a free hand in the expenditure of a grant of Rs 40,000 by the Asia Foundation for publishing a lexicon." (Red Flag, Ceylon, 11/19.68) The article also writes about the development of ties with "sister departments" of western universities - "syllabuses, curricula, and lecturers being exchanged" and the granting of "reasonable financial assistance" to these universities. These, of course, serve to perpetuate or impose bourgeois education in an Asian university.

"Just now we in Ceylon are under heavy propaganda for the American way of life by the presence of the American hospital ship HOPE. It is not difficult for affluent America to equip one ship with modern medical equipment and staff and take it around the impoverished world selling America. The doctors in HOPE are not generally superior to our Ceylon doctors; but they have the equipment and nursing staff which enables them to take over cases which our doctors cannot carry with the limited equipment and staff at their disposal. This advantage is fully exploited and the HOPE has a never-ending stream of Ceylonese visitors who are taken around the ship and shown the wonders of the American way of life. The beauty of the system is that it can be done in the guise of doing good." (Red Flag)

Cultural exchange programs serve the neo-colonialist in two ways. They allow the personnel of the imperialist to enter the Asian countries in various "cultural" guises, doing both nefarious (like the CIA) work and seemingly innocent work, like teaching. They also serve to entice

Asian personnel to serve the interests of neo-Colonialism.

This is not to say that there cannot be self-respecting, above board, fruitful, mutually beneficial and creative cultural relations between Americans and Asians. Each has much to enrich the other. But this would require a United States government that is truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people". The present sinister use of cultural exchange serves neither the American people nor the Asian peoples.

There is still another kind of American cultural impact on Asia - blatant and forceful. It is the hundreds of thousands of American service men on bases and on "rest-and-recreation" vacations. "About 30,000 American service-men each month visit Pacific rest centers - Taiwan, Sydney, Honolulu, Manila, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Penyang Island and Hongkong." (NYT 2/14/68) They are provided with plentiful cash and many of them spread the most degrading aspects of American culture.

"Taipei gets about 3000 service-men and they are what might be called a mixed blessing. They put a fair bit of money into the Taiwan economy but too much of it into the girls' purses." The kind of recreation offered these men is sponsored both by the Chinese Nationalist regime and the United States military command. "Every one who joins the United States-Taiwan Defense Command gets a handsome brochure welcoming him to the island on behalf of the Commander, Vice-Admiral John L Chew. The brochure says. 'The women of Taiwan do not enjoy the same freedom in relations with men as the women of Western culture. A free and easy approach will be resented and may lead to trouble; treat them with reserve.' The Rest-and-Recreation Center takes a more realistic attitude in its brochure which is not so handsomely printed, but very practical. On the subject of bars, for example, the brochure says, 'There are about 30 bars in Taipei, each with 20 to 40 bar girls. Pay as you go. Pay only for drinks you order. Do not let them push drinks on you. Chinese law states that you will buy them, the girls, no more than four drinks an hour. If you desire the company of one of these girls, her company can be bought at the bar for a 24 hour period for US\$15. If

you do, get a signed contract from the bar manager. Do not pay until you receive the contract. This is a requirement of the Chinese (Taiwan) government. This contract is your protection. Do not purchase the company of the girl for more than 24 hours...They seldom look as good in the morning as they did the previous night. A final word of caution - venereal disease is rapidly becoming a problem, so be forewarned.'" (NYT 2/14/68)

And the Times account goes on - "The contract at the O.K.Bar narrow chrome-and-glass room along the so-called strip is titled "Registration Form for Outgoing Waitresses'. It asks the customer to fill in the 'time needed for companion', to specify whether or not they are 'outgoing for dancing, movie, restaurant, party or club' and to compensate the bar owner for 'business losses' at the rate of \$5.00 for any part of the first two hours and the United States Government \$9.25 for every additional half hour.

"For less adventurous military men and for dependents there are a host of facilities that the Army, Navy and Air Force have built up on the island - officers' clubs, non-commissioned officers' clubs, with slot machines, American steaks and hamburgers and the most proper of floor shows. Peitaou, a 20 minute taxi ride from Taipei is a famous, or rather infamous landmark in Taiwan; nominally dubbed a week-end resort, Peitou is mostly a hide-out for pleasure-seeking men because there - redolent with pungent sulphur odor - are strong whiffs of perfume, and irradescant in the yellowing sulphur water are splashing supple female bodies. This is a place where girls are licensed for selling favors to men patrons. Myriad hotels, big and small, dot the hillsides in Peitou and girls are called right to the hotel rooms by hotel maids for selection by patrons. A transaction costs US\$5-and more for longer service.

The R&R brochure says 'We highly recommend that, instead of spending your time in bars or in the company of hostesses, you take advantage of the many cultural activit-

ies and wholesome types of entertainment available in Taipei...See some of the finer aspects of it so that when you return home you can tell your families about your visit.'

"A young GI in the bar, reading the brochure, said, 'Now, isn't that a lovely thought.'"

Americans can well consider what kind of picture Asians are getting; these American service-mens' actions probably reach far more Asians, giving them a sadly truer picture of American culture, than do the doctored-up United States Information Service (USIS) broadcasts and libraries.

"In Thailand the war and the American troops...have a profound effect on the country's culture." (NYT 4/16/68) "Bangkok with its combination of exotic culture, western conveniences, and 30,000 bar girls, is one of the most popular of cities on the Army's list of rest-and-recreation tours that are a part of a year's service in Vietnam. The 500,000th soldier to participate in the program arrived last month...So far as female companionship is concerned the soldiers are told they could expect any bar girls to go back to their hotel with them for about \$10 a night. Soldiers on tour have five days in Bangkok, most of which they spend in bars and massage parlors that have grown up around the city. The relaxing service-men spend an average of \$300 apiece during their stay, according to the Army figures. Some spend as much as \$800. Last month this spending totalled \$1,700,000."(NYT 5/1/68)

"There is great resentment among the poorer Thais, brought on by the promiscuously flaunted wealth of US military personnel stationed in Thailand. Thais in the rural areas, especially, cannot fail to be resentful of and envy what they see of the carefully insulated affluence of the US military bases with their luxurious clubs and overflowing post exchanges dotting the countryside at Korat, Ubon, Takhli, Sattahip and elsewhere, side by side with grinding rural poverty. Even in Bangkok citizens resent the vulgarization, and westernization of the capital's night life..." (Eastern World Sept/October 1968)

"Veteran international girl-chasers rate the Korean girls tops. They are taller than the Japanese and have much better legs." (Footwear News 5/11/67) "Legalized gambling has come to Seoul as a device to attract foreign tourists. With the guidance of several advisors from Las Vegas and Manila, a casino was recently opened at a \$5-million resort, Walker Hill. The Walker Hill casino, with roulette, craps, blackjack and poker, was the second gambling center licensed in South Korea. The first to open, in August last year, was at the Olympus Hotel in the port of Inchon, 20 miles west of Seoul. A hotel in the southern port city of Pusan is reported to be planning to open a casino soon." (NYT 4/7/68)

"A South Vietnamese cabinet minister has termed the American impact on Vietnamese culture, religion and politics as 'devastating' and 'disintegrating'. Information Minister Ton That Thien said, 'Since 1954 a new element has come into play: the intrusion of Americans whose culture is still further removed (than the French) from the Vietnamese and still more devastating in its disintegrating effects on Vietnamese society....Half a million American soldiers are suffocating it with their fantastic wealth, their gadgetry, their promiscuous virility and their destructive innocence.'" (NYT 6/11/68)

THE NEO-COLONIALIST EXPLOITER DIGS HIS OWN GRAVE

The neo-colonial policy of the United States Government - American imperialism - is fully on record. American investments, American "aid", American war, American cultural colonialism, American using of Asian collaborators - all these tools of exploitation have been and are being used against the interests of the Asian peoples.

The Asian peoples have ample evidence that the United States imperialists are their worst enemy.

But: these imperialist policies and acts educate the victims of exploitation. As the Chinese point out -

"The counter-revolutionary strategy pursued by the United States is actually preparing the conditions for its own extinction. Imperialism, by its military, political, economic and cultural aggressions and oppressions of the oppressed peoples and nations awakens their understanding of its reactionary nature, stirs up their rebellious and revolutionary spirit and prompts them to unite and fight with resolution."

The very acts of the imperialists are creating the forces that will defeat them. All this exploitation of the people, the direct military attacks on the people, the collaboration with their native exploiting compradors, the poisoning of Asian culture - all arouse the hatred of the people and serve to raise their political consciousness.

The investor's enterprises give rise to a working class, workers who in order to be employable in modern factories have to be given some education; a rebellious proletariat is created, destined to be in opposition to their exploiters.

Nor will the policy of cultural colonialism lead all the imperialist-enlisted intellectuals, Asian or American, to become collaborators. Witness some Peace Corps members, who experiencing the conditions in the lands to which they were sent, had their political eyes opened and became educated about the imperialist nature of their role; likewise, many of the Asian intended-stooges of American imperialism have their political understanding awakened and, like Peace Corps members, rebel against their assigned role.

The forces that will eventually defeat the seemingly all-powerful enemy are growing. Every Asian country has its revolutionary movement: ethnic groups are in revolt

against oppressive regimes, as in Burma, India and Thailand. Sihanouk admits the existence of a "Vietminh movement" in Cambodia. Laos has its Pathet Lao guerrilla forces. Thailand has its Thai Patriotic Front. Malaysia has its Communist guerrillas. "Indonesia Is Still Purging Reds Three Years After Failure of the Coup" reads a headline in the New York Times (2/13/69). India has its Naxalbari Movement, spread widely among the peasants. These revolutionary movements have their own organizations, their own armed forces, their own policies and programs.* They grow in numbers and power.

Exploitation "prompts them to unite". Today it is no longer peasants by themselves, workers by themselves, petty bourgeois civil servants by themselves, tribal people by themselves. Again, India provides an example. An editorial in the Christian Science Monitor titled "Naxalites" writes, "The governments of Kerala and West Bengal have found themselves having to deal with violence fanned if not instigated by wild revolutionaries on the left; the first place where they got themselves on the political map of India was Naxalbari, in West Bengal; that was in March 1967. At Naxalbari they egged on a small-scale peasant revolt... Later in 1967 they involved themselves in a protest movement among the Girjans, a tribal people of Andhra Pradesh.. And during the harvest season, as 1968 drew to a close, they had a finger in the farm-worker demonstrations against landlords..."(1/17/69)

Let it be pointed out: as regards the characterization of "violence fanned if not instigated by wild revolutionaries on the left" the truth is the reverse. Under British rule and continuing under the Congress Party force has been used against the people to keep them in their grossly exploited state. The violence is fanned, if not instigated, by wild reactionaries on the right, desperately trying to block the increasingly strong efforts of the Indian people to liberate themselves.

*FAR EAST REPORTER published (1968) a 27-page issue on "The Rising National Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southeast Asia", giving details about these revolutionary movements. 35¢

Late in 1968 The New York Times was reporting, "More than 125,000 Government employees went on a hunger strike to dramatize what they called "large scale victimization of workers who struck last month." (10/17/68) and a month earlier reported "A general strike of 2,700,000 government employees is being strongly backed by unions affiliated with the various Communist and Socialist parties." (9/19/68)

In India, where the United States Government has its most important fellow-collaborator, the growth in power of the peoples' forces was shown by the election results of February 1969. "The governing Congress Party has been all but obliterated...the 12-party United Front, dominated by the left Communists, has achieved a huge majority in the state assembly, winning three fourths of the seats. The Front had 181 seats, 69 of them in the hands of the left Communists..against a pitiful 50 for the once invincible Congress Party." (NYT 2/13/69) And why were they defeated? The Times goes on, because they did not take an "interest in relieving the choking misery of Calcutta... There was no ignoring the vindictiveness with which the electorate voted against the Congress Party in India's most industrialized state...In 1967 unrest in Calcutta shattered the confidence of the business community; production faltered as the work force became not merely militant but menacing; private investment in the state stopped...A United Front dominated by the left Communists crushed the Congress Party in elections in Kerala two years ago... Kerala is a relatively small state...but West Bengal, which has been called "the Ruhr of India...cannot be easily ignored....The Communists would like to believe that West Bengal and Kerala foreshadow India's future. There are indications that they may be right. Kerala is the state with the highest literacy rate; West Bengal is the state with the highest proportion of university students.."

Any one who thinks that an election victory under a bourgeois parliamentary system has won or can win the people's war must be disabused of the idea. The United Front's winning of this victory in Bengal is just a skirmish in the people's war. The reactionaries do not take

such attacks lying down; they still control the police and the military and will use them against the people. When the early returns indicated the growing strength of the Front, the New York Times reported, "As in 1967 there will be strong pressures from the industrialists, and possibly even the military, to manoeuvre the Front out of power before the Communists can entrench themselves. In 1967 the Front had only a thin majority and Congress was still the largest party in the state." (2/12/69) After this February 1969 election showed the "huge majority" for the Front, the Times reported, "Tonight, with the returns still coming in, some Congress leaders here in New Delhi were saying that the United Front would have to be removed from power, however it was done." (2/13/69) What the election returns show is the growing strength and unity of the peoples forces in India.

CONCLUSION

The neo-colonial policy of the United States Government is intensifying deep economic and political crises within these Asian countries - the result of the acute contradictions between the native ruling classes and their people (between the compradore collaborators and the national capitalists and the working people; and between the landlord class and the peasantry) and contradictions between the alien imperialist and the peoples.

The exploited peoples are getting to know better who are their enemies and how to fight them. And they know who are their friends. In the last twenty years - a very short period in the rapidly accelerating human drama - they have seen the Chinese people defeat the United States imperialists and move with giant strides toward a people's society; they have seen the Vietnamese people hold at bay the military might of the United States. They see revolutionary movements in every Asian land and liberation movements all over the world presenting an increasing challenge to their enemies, the imperialists and all exploiters of the people.

The peoples are learning how to win - from the example and with the thinking of China, from the experiences of the Vietnamese people and all the world-wide liberation movements. They are coming to know that eventually they can win against their common enemies. They can see that the imperialists are digging their own grave.

"The United States imperialism has more ropes around its neck than any imperialism in history." (Peking People's Daily)

"What is the true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which is impossible - absolutely impossible - for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it."

Peoples' struggles on all continents confirm these words of Mao Tse-tung. The peoples have good reason to believe Mao Tse-tung when he concludes -

"It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation and the complete emancipation of all oppressed peoples and nations of the world is not far off."

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