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COMMUNIST CHINA

IN LATIN AMERICA, 1949-1960

by

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INTRODUCTION

Although Chinese Communist interest in Latin America during the 1949-1960 period was overwhelmingly political, formal political contacts were almost nonexistant. Chinese trade relations were generally politically motivated, but these too were very limited and with few exceptions of little significance. Chinese political interests in Latin America during these years were promoted primarily through her policy of cultural diplomacy.

The primary objectives of Chinese policy toward Latin America between 1949 and 1960 were: 1) the encouragement of anti-American feelings and activities among Latin Americans; 2) the improvement of the Chinese Communist image among Latin Americans in general and intellectuals in particular, hopefully resulting in more support, or at least less opposition, on the part of Latin Americans for such general Chinese foreign policy goals as the seating of the Peking government in the United Nations; and 3) the propagation of the Chinese model for the overcoming of social and economic problems in underdeveloped countries with a colonial or semi-colonial past. [1] The promotion of armed struggle or the seizure of political power through the use of guerrilla warfare did not become a primary objective in Latin America until the end of the period studied, and is, in fact, the policy change which determines the termination date of this thesis.

In this thesis it is my intention to survey and evaluate

Chinese cultural diplomacy toward Latin America between 1949-1960, from its inception through the period when it was the main Chinese approach toward Latin America and was thus the primary arm of Chinese foreign policy in that area. I have on the one hand tried to give due consideration to the early years which have heretofore received little study, and on the other hand to point out the importance and achievements of the later years.[2] I hope to show that during this period the Chinese had a fairly effective form of contact with Latin America. The contact was generally quite limited--it cost the Chinese little in terms of dollars, time, or personnel--yet it played a role in 1) spreading anti-Americanism among Latin Americans, 2) creating a more favorable climate of opinion for the Chinese Communists in Latin America and even, when conditions were favorable, 3) provided some practical knowledge and examples for social reformers and revolutionary forces which the contacts themselves had had little or no hand in creating.

In Chapter One I have provided a brief introduction to Chinese foreign policy and cultural diplomacy in general and as directed toward Latin America in particular. This I hope will provide a framework within which to evaluate the data that are provided thereafter.

Chapter Two is a survey of Chinese cultural diplomacy toward Latin America as a whole during these years, with an emphasis on guided tourism and the circulation of printed materials. Here I have indicated the primary contacts which

helped to create the situations discussed in the following chapter.

In Chapter Three I have first given a cross section of the views on China of non-Communist Latin Americans, the influencing of which had been one of the primary objectives of the cultural diplomacy, and then discussed several examples of Chinese influence on selected revolutionaries and events in which they played a part. There are a number of potential subjects for the case studies that make up the final portion of this thesis. They include:

1) the extraordinary efforts the Chinese Communists made to win the support of Chilean Communists and intellectuals in general;

2) the adoption (almost word for word) by the Bolivian Communist Party in 1953, in the preparation of its proposals on land reform made to the Víctor Paz Estenssoro government, of much of the Chinese Communist Agrarian Reform Law of 1950;

3) the influence of Mao Tse-tung and Chinese peasant policy on Francisco Julião and the peasants' leagues in the Northeast of Brazil;

4) the influence of Chinese writings on guerrilla warfare on Che Guevara and Fidel Castro during their guerrilla war against Fulgencio Batista in Cuba;

5) the enthusiasm for the Chinese revolutionary example evident in the speeches and writings of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the leading figure in Communist trade union activ-

ities in Latin America;

6) the influence of the Chinese revolutionary example on persons and events in Guatemala during the 1951-1954 period under President Jacobo Arbenz;

7) the influence of the Chinese revolutionary example on the Cuban Communist Party during the first two years after Fidel Castro's triumph (1959-1960).

In this thesis I will work with the last three of these topics both because of the availability of materials at the present time, and because these three show Chinese influence on a broad range of Latin American individuals, groups, and events.

In my research for the thesis I have consulted reports and commentaries by participants and observers of the events discussed, as well as analyses made by others who have worked on these and related problems. More specifically, I have used: 1) English, Spanish, and Chinese language materials published in China; 2) public statements and writings by Latin Americans who visited China during these years; 3) articles and editorials from Latin American newspapers and journals; 4) secondary works by such students of Latin America as Ronald M. Schneider, Víctor Alba, and Andrés Suárez; and 5) reports by the United States government, especially the United States Information Agency.

It is not always easy to determine the extent to which social and political conditions and convictions within a country are directly or indirectly altered as a result of

cultural diplomacy. One must constantly recall that a large number of personal, domestic, and foreign factors play a role in determining the differing views held by individuals in one country toward the people and government of another country. Cultural diplomacy is, however, one of the most systematic efforts that can be made by those seeking to influence the formation of opinions beyond their own shores. This being the case, as one student of cultural diplomacy has warned, "although it may be unwise to overplay the importance of information and cultural exchange programs, it would be folly to underestimate their importance."[3]

Chapter I.

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY AND LATIN AMERICA

One of the most unique and least understood aspects of Communist foreign policy, in China and other countries, is cultural diplomacy. As Richard L. Walker has written:

> The term "cultural diplomacy" probably represents a more accurate description of the Communist program than "propaganda" or "cultural relations," because it calls attention to the fact that Sino-Soviet leaders utilize the exchange of information, ideas, persons, and culture as a systematic and unified arm of foreign policy . . . Activities which for democratic societies are basically uncontrolled are within the Soviet-style framework an essential ingredient of foreign relations and the conduct of diplomacy. [4]

Although the activities mentioned here are sometimes directed specifically toward Communists and the spreading of Communism, they are by no means always so directed. In order for the activities to have wider appeal and gain in credibility, the emphasis is usually elsewhere when cultural diplomacy is carried out toward a non-Communist country.

Inasmuch as cultural diplomacy is merely one of several ways of carrying out a general foreign policy, the content and extent of cultural diplomacy at a given time will naturally be determined by the needs of that general policy. Thus before beginning a detailed examination of Chinese cultural diplomacy toward Latin America, it will be necessary to look briefly at Chinese foreign policy in general, as well as

overall Chinese policy toward Latin America in particular, during the 1949-1960 period.

Chinese Communist foreign policy in general is determined by the interaction of a number of widely varying and sometimes conflicting factors. These include: 1) the Communist view of the world and its destiny; 2) purely Chinese interests, long and short term, as interpreted by the Chinese leaders in the light of their own experiences and according to their own interpretations of Chinese history; 3) domestic conditions in China; and 4) the foreign policies (especially of the United States and the Soviet Union) and internal conditions of other countries, partly or entirely beyond Chinese control and influence.

Chinese policy toward individual countries (and sometimes whole areas of the world, such as Africa or Latin America) is also influenced by a number of other factors. Among these are: 1) the geographical location of the country; 2) its form of government; 3) the relations of the country with other Communist and non-Communist countries; 4) the existing contacts of all sorts (e.g. political, economic, cultural) with the People's Republic; 5) the degree to which the leaders and/or important segments of the population are friendly toward China; 6) the stage of development thus far reached in the country; and 7) the nature and strength of revolutionary forces operating there.

Chinese foreign policy in general passed through several

phases during the years discussed in this thesis. Between 1949 and 1952 the Chinese openly advocated the use of violence to achieve revolutionary aims. This was an important part of the Chinese model advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i at the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries which was held in China late in 1949. The application of this policy was most obvious in the Korean War which began in June, 1950. Beginning in 1952 the Chinese made some moves toward a less militant approach. Even as the Korean War continued--indeed largely in an effort to improve her world position and thus strengthen her hand in negotiations to end that war--the Chinese convened the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference in Peking late in 1952. During the next few years the Chinese, in spite of their role in the continuing Korean War, the Indo-Chinese War, and the Taiwan Straits Crisis of 1954-55, turned increasingly toward a policy of "peaceful coexistence" which matured at the Bandung Conference in 1955. The emphasis on political, economic, and cultural contacts which characterized this new policy in its application toward most countries of the world began to fade in 1957. By the end of 1958 the return to a much more belligerent policy was unmistakable and this trend continued into the 1960s.

Chinese contacts with India, a country which has been called "perhaps the most favoured of non-Communist countries in its cultural relations with China," show clearly how

cultural diplomacy is molded to suit the purposes of overall foreign policy.[5] As Herbert Passin has shown, contacts between China and India during the 1949-1951 period, when general Chinese policy was characterized by its militancy, were "cool and tentative." The number and enthusiasm of the contacts increased greatly during the following years, however, as the Chinese attitude became less belligerent. Chou En-lai's visit to India in June, 1954, and the Bandung Conference in 1955, were outstanding incidents during the heyday of Chinese cultural diplomacy toward India which continued into the late 1950s. By mid-1959, however, especially following the Chinese suppression of the revolt in Tibet, visiting Indian delegations in China, and most other cultural contacts, declined sharply and did not rise again during 1960.

Whereas the periods of general Chinese foreign policy may be detected fairly easily if one studies China's cultural diplomacy toward India or most other Asian countries, they are not so clearly reflected in her contacts with Latin America. The peculiarities of the Chinese analysis of the Latin American situation are evident in her cultural diplomacy toward this area as a whole, as well as toward certain important countries in particular. In order to understand the differences, however, it will be necessary to examine in some detail the Chinese view of Latin America during the

1949-1960 period, giving special attention to Peking's position with regard to the use of peaceful and violent revolutionary techniques in this hemisphere. As was the case elsewhere in the world, an increasing advocacy of violent revolution led to a decline in the importance of cultural diplomacy though in Latin America, for reasons that will be discussed later, the decline did not come at the same time or as suddenly as it did toward India and most of Asia.

Two factors were of particular importance in the determination of Chinese policy toward Latin America. The first was geography. Latin America was simply too far away from China to be of primary interest to her, especially during the 1949-1958 period. The Chinese felt their limited resources could be devoted much more constructively toward domestic projects or foreign policy goals in less remote parts of the world. Second, prior to mid-1958, with very few exceptions, the Chinese did not see much prospect for the establishment of revolutionary governments in Latin America. Although throughout the 1950s they spoke of the "rising tide of the national liberation movement" in Latin America, it was not until the late 1950s that they seem to have felt this might erupt into a really significant movement against United States influence in the area.

Speaking primarily of Asia, Liu Shao-ch'i stated as early as November, 1949, that "armed struggle is the main form of struggle in the national liberation struggle in many colonies

and semi-colonies."[6] This analysis evidently was not applied to Latin America in the early 1950s, however, as it was in Asia. From the late 1940s through the mid-1950s armed uprisings did on occasion break out in countries like Colombia and Brazil, and the Chinese did praise the spirit of the rebels after the uprisings had taken place. They never suggested, however, that such actions were likely to overthrow any existing governments, or that armed struggle would break out all over Latin America and become the basis of a movement for "national liberation" from United States influence.[7] Only on one occasion prior to the last years of the decade did an armed uprising lead to the establishment of a political leader who carried out policies the Chinese considered generally progressive. This was in Bolivia in 1952, but even in this case Chinese support for the use of armed force came after the fact.[8]

Between 1949 and 1958 the Chinese felt that peaceful struggle was the most suitable form of struggle for Latin America. In their writings during this period they repeatedly spoke of "peace," "national liberation," "national revolutionary," and "national democratic" movements and fronts, whose activities were largely non-violent. In these movements were Communists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty-bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and, when there were any around, "patriotic" military.[9] As late as the end of 1957 the Chinese reported, without critical comment, Cuban Communist statements

that Fidel Castro had chosen the wrong form of struggle when he turned to guerrilla warfare against Fulgencio Batista in Cuba.[10]

It was only after a number of Latin American dictatorships had been replaced by more liberal governments in the late 1950s, when an increasingly open political atmosphere in many countries allowed left-wing views to be expressed more freely and Communist parties to operate with fewer restrictions, that the Chinese evaluation of the Latin American situation began to change significantly. The series of deposed dictators, including Juan Perón of Argentina (1955), Gustavo Rojas Pinilla of Colombia (1957), and Marcos Pérez Jiménez of Venezuela (1958) seemed to indicate an awakening of the Latin American people. Equally revealing to the Chinese was the stormy reception U. S. Vice-President Richard Nixon received on his "good-will" trip to Latin America in the Spring of 1958.

In August, 1958, a Chinese journal on foreign affairs issued the first article on the Latin American situation which contained a theoretical justification for the use of armed struggle in the Western hemisphere. The journal stated:

> As far as the present time is concerned, in the Latin American people's struggle of each country, armed struggle is still not the primary form of struggle. But what is worth paying attention to is this: first, in some places, in countries under pro-American reactionary regimes, there is the possibility of the continued development of armed struggle; second, in any place where American imperialism is directly engaged in military

> intervention or plotting a reactionary military coup, there is the possibility of starting a popular uprising. In these countries, armed struggle may become the leading method of struggle.[11]

In January, 1959, Fidel Castro took power in Cuba after several years of guerrilla warfare against the Cuban dictator Batista. Although the Chinese greeted Castro's victory with real enthusiasm, they did not immediately conclude from the Cuban experience that all of Latin America was ready for armed "national liberation" struggles. During 1959 the Chinese generally advocated the use of armed force only against such dictatorial governments as those in Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic.[12]

In 1960 Chinese theoretical support for the Cuban armed struggle as a specific example for other Latin American countries came from the highest sources. Two articles in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), the organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, contained long and laudatory comments on the Cuban guerrilla war and the Cuban example for Latin America. Both articles were translated into English and Spanish for easy circulation in the Western Hemisphere.[13] At the celebration for the founding of the Sino-Latin American Friendship Association in March, Kuo Mo-jo discussed Cuba and the Cuban example in considerable detail.[14] At a banquet in honor of Ernesto Che Guevara, during that guerrilla leader's visit to China in November, 1960, Chou En-lai gave a speech praising the Cuban people for the victory of their armed struggle and stated that "the Cuban

people have become the hope and example of the other Latin American peoples; they have greatly inspired all the oppressed peoples of the world."[15] A joint communique issued by Li Hsien-nien and Che Guevara on November 30, 1960, stated in part that:

> the Chinese side expressed admiration for and joy over the great victory of the Cuban people who, upholding unity and persisting in their armed struggle, have increased their forces from small to big and from weak to strong and finally succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary dictatorship of Batista. It considers that the Cuban people's struggle and victory have provided abundant experience and set an example for all the oppressed peoples in the world, particularly the Latin American peoples, in their struggles to win and safeguard national independence.[16]

It is particularly noteworthy that the Chinese chose to make this official statement jointly with Che Guevara, who had already become the idol of all Latin American guerrillas because of his prominent position in the Cuban struggle and due to the publication early in 1960 of his book Guerrilla Warfare.

Thus by the end of 1960 the Chinese had expressed clear ideological support for the use of guerrilla warfare--which was always called the Cuban, not the Chinese, road--for Latin America. Indeed during 1960 the Chinese had given theoretical justification for the use of guerrilla warfare in more Latin American countries than had Che Guevara himself in his guerrilla writings.[17]

In line with their evaluation of the Latin American

situation, and its relative importance to their own overall foreign policy goals, the Chinese approach to Latin America between 1949 and 1960 was on the whole peaceful, and carried out by means of cultural diplomacy--the exchange of information, ideas, persons, and culture. The amount of effort put into these contacts with Latin America, however, did not exactly parallel the attention given to cultural diplomacy toward Asian countries during these years. Chinese cultural diplomacy toward Latin America was not at its peak during the heyday of the Bandung spirit, as was the case with India, but rather in 1959 and 1960, when Chinese belligerence had already challenged the sincerity of the Chinese cultural approach in the eyes of most Asians. During 1959 and 1960 the Latin American situation looked more promising to the Chinese and they felt they had more resources to devote to cultural diplomacy there.

In Latin America 1960 is the watershed year. The number of delegations and individuals to visit China from Latin America in 1959 and 1960 was never equaled thereafter. Nor were there ever again so many visitors of such varying political persuasions from so many different countries. However, by the end of 1960 the Chinese were clearly turning from primary support for peaceful united front activities in most of Latin America to open support for the use of armed struggle against many established governments, whether they were dictatorships or not. As La Prensa of Buenos Aires

stated editorially at the end of the year, "The Chinese want to take the offensive on all fronts."[18] The situation was not unlike that faced by Chou En-lai on his trip through Africa during late 1963 and early 1964 when the Chinese Premier was required, as a writer for the London Observer commented, to wear at the same time the diplomat's topper and the guerrilla's beret.[19] That the Chinese after 1960 were able to continue some cultural contacts with Latin American moderates for several years while simultaneously throwing increasing support behind radical revolutionaries was probably due largely to ignorance on the part of most Latin Americans of the new Chinese position, and/or to the Latin American feeling that China was too far away to pose any serious threat to their fundamental political and social institutions.

Chapter II.

CHINESE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA

Even though the number of Latin American visitors to China increased many times over between 1949 and 1960, reaching a peak in the last two years, the countries most frequently represented remained quite constant. During these years the larger and often more democratically governed Latin American countries generally received the most attention, though visitors from all countries went to China at one time or another. Foremost among these were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, with Uruguay not far behind. Countries with revolutionary governments, such as Guatemala in the early 1950s and especially Cuba after 1959, were well represented. In general the smaller countries did not send as many, in part because of their size, but also because they frequently had dictatorial governments which discouraged or outlawed travel to Sino-Soviet bloc countries. Chinese visitors to Latin America usually went to these same larger and more politically open countries.

In this chapter I have placed greater emphasis on individuals who visited China from Latin America than on delegations. This is because I am concerned mainly with their impact on Latin America. As Herbert Passin has written, speaking of visitors to China, "the overwhelming majority are

drawn from the most influential and articulate strata of their home countries, so that their impact value is incomparably greater than that of ordinary tourists, no matter how large their number."[20] It is of little significance whether five influential and articulate persons from Chile, for instance, went to China in one, three, or five different delegations. Their influence or lack of influence will almost always be determined on an individual basis.

The number and makeup of delegations is not, however, without interest. They do show which groups (e.g. peace, cultural, labor, student, political) within Latin America the Chinese considered most approachable and suitable for their own purposes at any given time. There is, for example, a trend in the kinds of visitors to China from Latin America during the 1949-1960 period which reflects the Chinese analysis of Latin America and the overall emphasis of Chinese cultural diplomacy toward this hemisphere during these years. In broad terms the propaganda and delegation travel was as follows:

Years	Propaganda emphasis	Main delegations to visit China
1949-1952	U. S. as warmonger--Chinese and Latin Americans as peace-lovers	peace, cultural
1953-1957	U. S. as imperialist exploiter--Chinese desire to expand relations, especially trade	cultural, labor, professional

1958-1960	U. S. as supporter of political reaction--Chinese support for rising Latin American national liberation struggles	political, student, journalist

Communists were present in all kinds of delegations, though this was usually played down. Large numbers of openly declared Communist delegations were prominent only in 1956, 1959, and 1960.

In the case of Chinese visiting Latin America, however, the emphasis in this chapter has been reversed, because it was usually the number and kinds of delegations, rather than the individual Chinese, who made the main impression. In general the Chinese delegations during these years were:

Years	Main delegations to visit Latin America
1949-1952	none
1953-1954	cultural
1955-1958	cultural, trade
1959-1960	cultural, trade, journalist, youth and student

The Chinese emphasis on the above-mentioned countries will be evident throughout this chapter, not only in guided tourism, but also in the circulation of printed materials and in all other cultural and trade contacts.

A. Guided Tourism in China

Latin American visitors to China during this period, like travellers from other parts of the world, usually came 1) on their way home from some Communist controlled conference elsewhere in the world, 2) in order to attend a conference being held in China, or 3) to witness and participate in the Chinese celebrations on May Day or October First. Only about 20 per cent came under different circumstances.[21]

Most Latin Americans were invited to China by such organizations as the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Peace Committee, the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Sino-Latin American Friendship Association, or some other Chinese group allegedly independent of the Chinese Communist Party.

While in China their activities usually followed the pattern set for all visitors to the People's Republic, though many did not realize this to be the case.[22] They were entertained by prominent Chinese of their own occupation and members of the association which had invited them. Even relatively unimportant persons frequently had interviews (often in groups) with Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, or some other top Chinese leader; important visitors invariably met Mao and other Chinese dignitaries as well. They were taken to impressive factories and public works from

Manchuria to Shanghai. Almost every tour included a visit to a "reformed" businessman and a "typical" peasant village or commune. The exotic was added by trips to the historic Great Wall and such scenic attractions as West Lake at Hangchow. Those who were interested could visit museums which told the story of the Chinese revolution, or attend services at one of the remaining Protestant or Roman Catholic churches in the cities.

The Chinese encouraged many Latin Americans while in China to make speeches and write articles about their countries, and to give their impressions of "New China." Visitors frequently recorded talks for Radio Peking which were later broadcast to Chinese, Latin American, and sometimes worldwide audiences.

Chinese confidence in the general success of their guided tours is evident in their comment to a discouraged Chilean student who spent fifteen months in China during 1960 and 1961: "You have perhaps found bad things here, but you can say what you wish; no one will believe you because many foreign delegations come here who say the contrary."[23] As Robert Guillain wrote in Le Monde (Paris) early in 1956, after a two month stay in China, "'Come and see!' This invitation is one of China's most formidable weapons, a weapon which she uses with consummate skill."[24]

The number of Latin American visitors to China did not increase steadily from year to year over the decade as one

might have expected. An estimate of the total number of visitors by year is: 1949-1951 (2 to 10 persons per year), 1952 (120+), 1953 (40+), 1954 (35+), 1955 (65+), 1956 (90+), 1957 (115+), 1958 (120+), 1959 (400+), and 1960 (500+).[25] The large number of visitors in 1952 is accounted for by the attendance of at least 110 Latin Americans at the Preparatory and General Sessions of the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference held in Peking in June and October respectively.[26] The number of visitors to China fell sharply during the 1953-1955 period when the Chinese began to devote more time and money to winning the friendship of their Asian neighbors. Significant changes, which will be discussed later, came in 1956, though it was not until 1957 and 1958 that the total number of visitors again reached the 1952 level. Latin Americans at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic in October, 1959, made up a large percentage of the greatly increased figure in that year. The number of visitors reached its peak in 1960 when Chinese cultural diplomacy toward Latin America was at its highest level, and decreased during the following years.

The first two important Latin Americans to visit "New China" were Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the perrenial President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, and Lázaro Peña, then Secretary General of the Confederation of Cuban Workers. Both went to China from Moscow to attend the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries which

convened in Peking in November, 1949.[27] Víctor A. Leal Fernández (Guatemala), Mario Riquelme and Julio Salazar (Chile) were among the labor leaders to visit China for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Beginning in 1955 labor delegations from three or four Latin American countries were present for most May Day celebrations and for some meetings of Chinese labor organizations. The countries most often represented were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.

Prominent Latin American cultural personalities played an important role in the development of Sino-Latin American contacts. Prior to 1956, with a few exceptions, they were the most influential visitors to China. With the increased Chinese effort to expand trade and establish diplomatic relations in the mid- and late 1950s, and with some changes in the internal situation in Latin America, however, groups of labor leaders, politicians, and professionals began to outnumber cultural figures. Between 1958 and 1960 writers and artists comprised a much smaller, though still not unimportant, percentage of all Latin American visitors to China.

Among the cultural personalities to visit China during these years were: poets, Pablo Neruda (Chile, 1951, 1957), Nicolás Guillén (Cuba, 1952, 1953, 1959), and Angel Cruchaga Santa Maria (Chile, 1955-56); writers, Jorge Amado (Brazil, 1952, 1957), Volodia Teitelboim (Chile, 1952), Fernando Santiván (Chile, 1952), Raúl González Tuñón (Argentina, 1953-54), Sosa Olivera Jesualdo (Uruguay, 1955), Alfredo Varela (Argentina,

1956); artists, José Venturelli (Chile, almost continuously 1952-1960), David Alfaro Siqueiros (Mexico, 1956); and sculptress, María Martins (Brazil, 1956).

Several dozen professional men from many Latin American countries attended the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. The first important delegation of professionals to follow was the ten-member Chilean group headed by Senator Salvador Allende in August, 1954. Such visitors became a regular feature in 1956, with the arrival of delegations of lawyers (from Argentina, Brazil, Chile), medical experts (from Argentina), and journalists (from Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru).[28]

Politicians were probably the last group to visit China in any significant number.[29] One of the first important political visitors was Chilean Senator Salvador Allende in 1954. Jacobo Arbenz went to China a year or so after his overthrow in Guatemala, according to a generally reliable source.[30] In 1955 and 1956 several groups of Brazilian parliamentarians were among the foreign politicians in the People's Republic. A really substantive change, however, came in 1959. During that year the number of delegations which could be considered political or civic increased six times over the number in 1958. Among the best known political visitors of the year were former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas and former Chilean Vice-President Guillermo del Pedregal. In 1960 the total number of Latin American

visitors and of political delegations to China increased further, reaching a peak which has been unequaled during any year since. Another former Mexican President, Emilio Portes Gil, was among the visitors; plans were made for a trip by Brazilian Vice-President João Goulart. During 1959 and 1960 parliamentary delegations from half of the Latin American countries (some composed of over twenty-five members) visited China. According to a study by the United States Information Agency, over two and one-half times as many Latin American delegations visited China as visited the USSR in 1960; the number of delegations visiting China was almost twice as great as the total number of delegations visiting the rest of the Communist Bloc.[31] By 1960 Cuba was sending more delegations of all kinds to China than any other Latin American country.

B. Latin American Communists in China

Latin American Communists constitute a special category of visitors to China. Prior to 1956 they usually went identified as "Peace Champions," labor leaders, cultural delegates, or came under some other classification than that of a Communist. The first Latin American Communist to visit China after the founding of the People's Republic was the Cuban labor leader Lázaro Peña. He attended the Trade Union Conference held in Peking in late 1949 with Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Among the Communist

visitors in 1951 was Pablo Neruda, and in 1952 Nicolás Guillén (Cuba), Jorge Amado (Brazil), Diego Montaña Cuellar (Colombia), Ramón Amalla Amador (Honduras), and José Alberto Cardoza, Alfredo Silva Jonama, and Carlos Alvarado Jérez (Guatemala).

The first publicized meeting between the highest Chinese Communist leaders and a large group of clearly identified Latin American Communist officials was in September and October, 1956, when representatives from eleven parties (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and Uruguay) attended the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party as observers and guest speakers. Although most of the delegates were not identified by name, Arnedo Alvarez (Argentina) and Pedro Saad (Ecuador) are known to have been present. The Cuban delegate was probably Blas Roca, the Secretary-General of the Cuban Party.[32]

In February and March, 1959, officials from twelve Latin American Communist Parties (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela) met in Peking on their way home from a conference in Moscow. Again not all delegates were named, but Luis Corvalán (Chile), Gilberto Vieira (Colombia), Raúl Acosta, and Jorge del Prado (Peru) attended openly.[33] At the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic in September and October, 1959,

an even more impressive gathering assembled from fourteen countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Those in attendance included Victorio Codovilla, Rodolfo Ghioldi, and Miguel Contreras (Argentina), Luis Carlos Prestes (Brazil), José González (Chile), Aníbal Escalante (Cuba), and Jesús Faría (Venezuela).[34] Thus in 1959 alone personal contacts were made with party heads from sixteen of Latin America's twenty countries, including almost all of the important and influential Communist leaders in the hemisphere.

According to Osvaldo Peralva, a former Brazilian Communist and writer for the Cominform organ For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!, some Latin American Communists went to China, with Soviet approval, to receive instruction in revolutionary theory and techniques. Peralva reports that in 1956 the Soviet Union agreed to place some of the Latin American Communist parties in the Chinese sphere of influence. This resulted in the sending of a group of Brazilian Communists to China for a six month course of study, immediately after the XX Congress of the CPSU, on those revolutionary experiences of the Chinese which were considered particularly useful for Brazilians.[35] Peralva's statement clearly indicates that a number of other countries besides Brazil were included also though he does not name the countries. It is probably no coincidence that there were exactly six months between the

XX Congress of the CPSU (held in February, 1956) and the acknowledged arrival in China (in September, 1956) of the officials from eleven Latin American Communist Parties who were guests at the Chinese Communist Party Congress that year, and who spoke so highly of the applicability of certain aspects of the Chinese experience in their own countries.

Several United States intelligence sources have given information similar to that in Peralva's book. According to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Chinese began training Latin American Communists in 1956, emphasizing "among other things, the special contributions of the Chinese party in the field of clandestine work, agrarian reform and peasant affairs, guerrilla warfare, and the manipulation of the bourgeoisie and other elements in the 'anti-imperialist struggle'."[36] A former Intelligence Research Specialist for the U. S. State Department (1954-1961) has written that up to several dozen individuals, mostly from Pacific coast countries and small Latin American Communist parties, are known to have received "intensive training in organizational techniques, ideology, and guerrilla warfare" in China between 1952 and 1962.[37]

From the formation of their parties through the period covered in this thesis, the Latin American Communist leaders were loyal followers of directives from the Soviet Union.[38] As was shown above, however, this did not prevent a considerable number of them from travelling to China and leaving with the highest praise for the Chinese revolutionary victory and

socialist construction. While there is so far only limited evidence (some of which is presented in Chapter III) that many Latin Americans actually adopted or adapted the lessons of the Chinese experience for use in their own countries, there is likewise very little to indicate that this was in any way the result of Soviet pressure during these years on the Latin American comrades. Quite the contrary, judging by their support for the training of Latin Americans in China, the USSR seems to have encouraged some Latin Americans to think in Chinese terms.

Many statements by the foremost Russian-oriented Communists in Latin America would suggest that Sino-Soviet friction was not considered a problem at all by Latin American Communists during the 1950s, and not too serious a problem during 1960.[39] The earliest and most prolonged praise for Chinese achievements came from Vicente Lombardo Toledano, perhaps the leading Soviet spokesman in Latin America, whose views will be considered more in Chapter III. Statements of great admiration came from important Communists who attended the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in 1952, and in the speeches of most of the officials who addressed the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in China in September, 1956.[40] In 1959 Chilean Party General Secretary Luís Corvalán was among those who, after a trip to China early in the year, heaped praise on the Chinese Communists, going so far as to quote approvingly an article from Le Monde (Paris) which stated that

information on the people's communes indicated that "what is happening in China is the most impressive progress in agriculture in the history of the world."[41] Statements by the officials of the fourteen Communist parties at the celebration in October, 1959, were uniformly laudatory and many were considerably moreso than protocol required. As will be seen in Chapter III, Cuban Communist Party head Blas Roca even tried to explain the Cuban revolution in Chinese terms throughout 1959, and drew important parallels between Chinese and Cuban internal affairs during most of 1960.

A study by the United States Information Agency in 1961 states that "The year under review [1960] indicates that the links between Peiping and the main centers of Communism in Latin America are probably as strong as the ones between those centers and Moscow."[42] The same could not be said of these links in 1961. As the Sino-Soviet differences became increasingly open almost all of the important Latin American Communists, old Moscow-trained men, lined up with the Soviet Union.

C. Chinese Communists in Latin America

No Latin American government during this period provided guided tours for Chinese as the Chinese government had for Latin Americans, with the partial exception of the government of Cuba after the rise of Fidel Castro. Nonetheless, small groups of Chinese went to Latin America in cultural, trade,

journalist, and youth delegations; larger numbers went in performing troupes on tour. Most of the Chinese who went under these conditions travelled within the particular country they were visiting and sometimes in one or more neighboring countries.

Many of these Chinese met cultural, political, and business leaders of the communities and countries they visited. They sat in on sessions of Parliament, talked with political leaders and university Presidents, and visited overseas Chinese communities. On several occasions they helped set up bi-national Friendship Associations; they often attended meetings of existent Friendship Associations where they could talk privately with their strongest supporters in the host country. Although they sometimes encountered criticism, as Yao Chen's journalist delegation did from some of the Chilean press, they often made very favorable impressions on important members of the communities they visited and on the people at large.[43]

So far as I have been able to determine, the first Chinese Communists to visit Latin America were Li I-meng and Ch'en Ting-min, who arrived in Santiago de Chile in May, 1953, as delegates to the American Continental Congress of Culture.[44] Other Chinese visitors to Latin America included a cultural delegation, headed by Chao Yi-min, and including Emi Siao and Ai Ch'ing, which spent several months in Chile beginning in July, 1954. They had been invited by a group of Chilean

cultural leaders; one of their activities was to attend a 50th birthday celebration for Chilean poet Pablo Neruda.[45] In June, 1955, Li Ying-chi, Hsü Sheng-wu, and Ch'en Feng-ping visited Argentina as delegates to the Second Assembly of the Argentine Commission for the Promotion of International Trade.[46]

The first large group of Chinese to travel to Latin America was the 85-member folk ensemble headed by Ch'u T'u-nan, which toured Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina between August and October, 1956. The group gave 58 performances to live audiences of 146,000 and an additional million over television.

In June, 1957, officials of the People's Bank of China visited Argentina.[47] In October, according to a generally reliable source, the Chinese set up a commercial office in Montevideo, Uruguay, the first of its kind in Latin America.[48]

From September, 1958 through part of April, 1959, a 54-member troupe of Chinese acrobats, led by Chou Erh-fu, travelled and performed in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile. Visas to visit Mexico and Cuba were reportedly withdrawn on pressure from the government of the Republic of China.[49] The Bolivian Parliament is reported to have passed a resolution in March, 1959, demanding that the Chinese troupe be invited to Bolivia, but no visit took place.[50]

Yao Chen led a three-man journalist delegation through Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil during May and June, 1959, and then spent the month of July in Cuba. In November, 1959, Chinese observers attended the First Latin American Women's Conference

in Santiago de Chile.[51] In December, 1959, four Chinese observers, led by Liu Chang-sheng, sat in on the Second Congress of the Single Center of Chilean Workers, also in Santiago. Three members of this delegation, responding to invitations from workers' organizations in Uruguay and Venezuela, visited those countries late in 1959 and early in 1960.[52]

During 1960 Chinese youth made up more delegations to Latin America, and especially Cuba, than any other group. The climax for Chinese youth was the attendance of a delegation, and a speech by Chang Chao, at the First Latin American Youth Congress held in Havana in late July and early August. Nine young volunteer "model workers" helped to build a school named for Cuban revolutionary hero Camilo Cienfuegos in Cuba during the last half of the year. Other Chinese visitors to Latin America during the year included trade union delegates and journalists, including Tsui Chi, Latin American analyst for Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), who went to Chile, Cuba, Uruguay, and Brazil.

Only one Chinese organization set up permanent, functioning offices, operated by Chinese personnel, in Latin America during these years. This was the New China News Agency, which established its first office in Havana in April, 1959, and possibly several others elsewhere in Latin America during 1960.[53] The branches of China's only news agency were responsible for a substantial increase in the flow of Chinese propaganda in

this hemisphere and for an extension of the Chinese intelligence network in Cuba and throughout Latin America. The NCNA exchanged news releases, film footage, and in general cooperated with the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina which was also set up in Havana early in 1959, and which immediately set up its branch offices all over Latin America. Prensa Latina, for example, was found to have organized a Chinese film festival which received unusually extensive press and radio advertising in Ecuador in 1960.[54]

D. Publications

After guided tourism, the most important form of contact between the Chinese and Latin Americans was the printed page. Political, economic, social, military, and literary writings by Chinese were circulated in Spanish and Portuguese translations in Latin America, and Latin American literary works were translated for readers in China. The number of publications circulating in both China and Latin America increased substantially in the second half of the decade.

1. Chinese in Latin America

The first pamphlet published in Spanish by the Peking Foreign Languages Press was the Constitución de la República Popular China (Constitution of the People's Republic of China) in 1954.[55] In the following year six new titles

appeared, including one by Chou En-lai, the first work by a leading Chinese statesman to come from the Foreign Languages Press in Spanish.[56] Most of the publications during this year, however, were photo albums, which required a minimum of text. Nine new books were printed in 1956, including one picture album and several literary works, but with a strong emphasis for the first time on political and economic writings, including the first work by Mao Tse-tung.[57] The fourteen new works published in 1957 ranged in subject matter from an album on the Peking Opera to documents of the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. At least four more of Mao Tse-tung's writings appeared, dealing in general terms with problems of agrarian and peasant policy, guerrilla warfare, and the united front.[58] In 1958 the number of new titles increased to thirty. Included were political and economic writings by Mao Tse-tung, T'ung Ta-lin, and Lu Ting-yi. Literary works, folk tales, photo albums, and "picture stories" made up about a third of the publications for the year.[59] By the end of 1958 the Foreign Languages Press had published at least sixty books and pamphlets in Spanish. During 1959 and 1960 the majority of the books published in English by the Foreign Languages Press appeared also in Spanish editions.[60]

Many Latin Americans were of course able to read English language translations from China which were in existence from the beginning of the decade. Although these publications

were not always easily obtainable in many parts of Latin America, they could be secured by one whose interest was deep enough. In some cases they were available by mail, and in others through Friendship Associations or from persons who had visited Communist countries or some of the larger Latin American cities which served as propaganda distribution centers.

Several of the most important English language periodicals published in Peking were available in some parts of Latin America from their first issues. People's China (later renamed Peking Review) began publication in 1950 and was unquestionably the most important Chinese periodical circulating in Latin America. It carried numerous writings by Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-ch'i, and other Chinese leaders, as well as documents from Chinese Communist Party meetings on agrarian reform and other problems.[61]

By 1956 the Chinese English-language publications circulating in Latin America included People's China, China Reconstructs, Women of China, and the Information Service of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth. By 1959 this list was increased by the addition of China's Sports, Chinese Literature, The Chinese Trade Unions, and Scientia Sinica.[62]

The first Chinese periodical published in Spanish was China: revista ilustrado (China Pictorial), which first appeared in 1955 or 1956. In January 1960 China Reconstruye

(China Reconstructs) first came out in Spanish. The most widely distributed Chinese periodicals in the Spanish language by the end of 1960 were Mujer China (Women of China), Ciencia China (Scientia Sinica), and Revista de Pekin (Peking Review).[63]

Chinese Communist writings were also published during this period by several Latin American publishing houses, in Spanish and Portuguese translations. These included Mao Tse-tung's La Nueva Democracia (On New Democracy), published in Santiago de Chile in 1952, with a frontispiece by José Venturelli and a long poem "To China" by Pablo Neruda. Liu Shao-ch'i's Como Ser Un Buen Comunista (How to be a Good Communist) was published in Mexico and Guatemala, in January and February, 1954, respectively. Historical and political writings by Hu Sheng, Ch'en Po-ta, and others, as well as literary works by such leading Chinese writers as Lu Hsün, Chao Shu-li, Mao Tun, and Ting Ling were published in Latin America before 1960.[64]

The 1957 catalogue and supplement of the Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, a Communist publishing house in Uruguay which distributes materials printed in China as well as in Latin America, listed over 125 books dealing in some way with China. In 1958 the number of titles was over 200; by 1960 there were some 300, sold by over 200 stores throughout Latin America.[65]

Translations of Chinese material sometimes appeared,

also, in the Chinese and left wing press in Latin America. For example, some ninety column inches of documents from the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party appeared in La Voz de México in November, 1956 and five of Mao Tse-tung's poems were translated in Combate, the organ of the Cuban Revolutionary Directorate, in mid-1959.[66]

Alfredo Varela's translation of a pro-Chinese book on Tibet by Marius Magnien, under the title El Tibet Sin Misterio (Tibet Without Mystery) (Buenos Aires, 1959), is another way the Chinese viewpoint was spread in Latin America. Varela, who had been to China himself in 1956, updated Magnien's text to include information on the 1959 events in Tibet.

2. Latin American in China

Chinese translations of Latin American writings were limited almost entirely to "revolutionary" literary works. To the Chinese, "revolutionary" literature included those writings which reflected the life of "the people" and depicted favorably the so-called national revolutionary or national democratic movements of "oppressed peoples."[67] Some of the works introduced in China during this decade were by nineteenth and early twentieth century writers. These all dealt with "the people's struggles against Spanish colonial rule and the tragedies of semi-feudal and semi-colonial society."[68] Most of the literature, however,

was by contemporary writers and was intended to picture the situation in Latin America at the present time.

Latin American literature was introduced into China in part to give the Chinese people an introduction to the history and traditions of Latin America, as well as some idea of what life is like in that part of the world today. In addition, however, the Chinese hoped that the interest they showed in Latin American culture, and by extension in the problems and aspirations of the people as reflected in their "revolutionary" culture, would impress intellectual leaders in Latin America enough to get them to look upon China with greater sympathy and even seek further contacts with her.

The greatest Chinese interest in these works was political, in line with Mao Tse-tung's view of the use of the arts. This is made clear in the words of a Chinese critic commenting on the Latin American literature translated into Chinese by mid-1960: "The great struggles against imperialism and feudalism reflected in these works strike a responsive chord and stir us deeply. They make us realize more keenly than ever that we and the Latin-American peoples sustain and encourage one another in our struggle against our common enemy--U. S. imperialism."[69]

Since the Chinese would classify many of the best writers in Latin America in the past and at present as "revolutionary"--in terms of the "national liberation move-

ments" favored by the Chinese in the 1950s--some of the works translated were of great artistic merit, as well as pointed political and social commentary. It is significant that during this period very few Latin American works were translated in China which had not already been translated in the Soviet Union.[70] Unquestionably the most important book the Chinese translated first was Euclides da Cunha's Os Sertões (Rebellion in the Backlands).

Prior to 1959 fewer than half of the Latin American works published in Chinese in book form were translated directly from the original languages. They were mostly retranslations, the majority from English and Russian, but a few from French and German. By 1959 considerably over half were translations from original language editions.[71]

During these years books were published by authors from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, with an emphasis on those from Brazil. The first Latin American writer whose work appeared in China in book form was Pablo Neruda in 1951; Jorge Amado was second in 1953. The number of works from Latin America translated during the remaining years of the decade were: 1954 (2), 1955 (0), 1956 (2), 1957 (2), 1958 (8), 1959 (10), 1960 (15).[72] According to at least one Chinese literary critic, Pablo Neruda and Nicolás Guillén were the most familiar to Chinese readers, but publication figures would indicate that

Jorge Amado could not have been far behind.[73]

Many shorter translations appeared in Chinese journals devoted entirely or partly to foreign belles-lettres, the most important of which was I Wen (Translation Literature). Besides carrying translations of poems, stories, and articles by Latin American writers, the journals also included reviews of Latin American writings by Chinese critics, news of literary developments in Latin America, and copies of woodcuts and other art forms.[74]

E. Other Cultural Contacts

In addition to giving guided tours of China and promoting the circulation of written materials, the Chinese have tried in other ways to improve their image in the minds of Latin Americans.

Chinese Spanish-language broadcasts to Latin America began with seven hours a week late in 1957. In 1958 the time was increased to fourteen hours a week, and in 1959 to twenty-one. In 1960 the Chinese maintained twenty-one hours a week in Spanish, but introduced ten and one-half hours a week of broadcasts in Portuguese.[75] The programs sometimes presented news of Latin Americans visiting China, at times including recorded speeches by prominent personalities. Some well-known Latin American writers, like 1967 Nobel Prize winner Miguel Angel Asturias (Guatemala), were carried on cultural programs reading their own works.

Other programs emphasized social and material progress allegedly being made in China. A broadcast on January 20, 1959, for instance, answered questions about the people's communes. Some programs took on clearly racial overtones, as on July 30, 1959, when American Negro writer Shirley Graham (wife of W. E. B. DuBois) said that all the "feelings of fear and terror instilled in my heart since infancy melted away forever" when she heard the "serene and wise words of Chairman Mao." In China, she observed, colored races had thrown off their exploiters. Virtually every program was in some manner critical of the United States.

Chinese movies seem to have first arrived in Latin America in 1952. During most of the decade they were usually shown only to small audiences in private homes and at Bi-National centers. By the end of the decade they sometimes had well-attended public showings, as in Bolivia in 1959 and Ecuador in 1960.[76]

Especially during the last few years of the decade, Chinese cultural and industrial exhibits were held in Latin American cities, often planned by Bi-National centers to coincide with visits by Chinese individuals and delegations on tour. During the 1957-1960 period exhibits were reported in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and Uruguay.[77]

In China, on several occasions an important Latin

American literary figure has been made the center of a gigantic Chinese celebration. In 1953, for example, José Martí was made one of four "Cultural Giants" on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth. Cuban Communist poet Nicolás Guillén came from Martí's homeland to be a special guest speaker. In his speech Guillén told the audience that Martí would have greeted the birth of Communist China as a triumph for all mankind and as an example to encourage and reinforce the Cuban people. Over 1,200 Chinese cultural figures attended the celebration on September 27th. Martí even appeared on a Chinese postage stamp.[78]

Another celebration was held in November, 1959, on the 50th anniversary of the death of the Brazilian writer Euclides da Cunha. A translation of his Os Sertões had been prepared; articles on his life and shorter translations of his writings appeared in Chinese periodicals. At a mass meeting of cultural and political figures Chou Erh-fu, just returned from over six months in Latin America, gave "a stirring account of Da Cunha's life and works and expressed the Chinese people's support for the Brazilian people's struggle to safeguard their national independence."[79]

Particularly after the beginning of 1956, Latin American art exhibitions, music and dancing groups, and movies became increasingly common in China. The first

Latin American play to be staged in China and performed by Chinese artists was Aesop by the Brazilian playwright Guilherme Figueiredo in July, 1959.[80]

F. Trade

During the 1949-1960 period there were far too many barriers to significant trade relations between China and Latin America for one to suppose the Chinese felt such trade would be of much real benefit to their economy. Indeed, as Wu Yuan-li has written, "political reasons dominated these activities."[81] Thus the fact that overall trade during these years was minimal does not mean that it should be too readily discounted. Trade relations were at least some form of contact beyond cultural exchanges with countries which maintained no diplomatic ties with China.

Although reports on Sino-Latin American trade are often incomplete and sometimes contradictory, economic contacts seem to have been first made between China and Latin America at the Moscow International Economic Conference in 1952.[82] On October 23, 1952, a Sino-Chilean trade agreement was signed in Peking between the Chinese and a representative of the Sino-Chilean Trade Corporation, the purpose of which was to promote friendship and develop trade relations.[83] According to economic studies by the United States government, the Chinese sold about $300,000

worth of products to Argentina in 1952, probably the first actual shipment of goods between Communist China and any Latin American country.[84] The first direct trade agreement the Chinese acknowledge having had with Argentina was in 1953.[85]

During the years covered in this thesis, the Chinese had insignificant to modest trade with Argentina (1952, 1955-1960), Brazil (1953-1956, 1958-1960), Uruguay (1956-1960), Venezuela (1957-1960), Mexico (1957-1959), Chile (1957-1958), and Colombia (1959-1960). The number of Latin American countries having trade with China each year was: 1949-1951 (0), 1952 (1), 1953 (1), 1954 (1), 1955 (2), 1956 (3), 1957 (5), 1958 (6), 1959 (6), and 1960 (5). The total value of trade was greatest between China and Brazil (U. S. $16.9 million) and Uruguay ($10.8 million). According to the Brazilian Sugar Institute, China was the largest importer of Brazilian sugar in 1958.[86] Because of this $7.5 million transaction, the largest of the 1949-1960 period, China's total imports from Latin America in 1958 were greater than during any other year, including 1959 and 1960. Even in the peak year of 1958, however, Chinese imports from Latin America amounted to only $8.9 million, as compared to $465.3 million from Europe; exports to Latin America in 1958 totaled $1.8 million, as compared to $178.1 million to Europe. Even in 1958 only about 1.5 per cent of China's total foreign trade was

with Latin America.

Chinese trade with Cuba was negligible prior to 1958, the last year of Batista's rule, when it jumped to almost $4 million, well over one-third of the value of Chinese trade with all other Latin American countries combined during that peak year. Trade fell in 1959, but rose again sharply in 1960. A formal trade agreement was signed with the Castro government in July, 1960, according to which the Chinese agreed to buy one million tons of Cuban sugar in exchange for a Cuban purchase of unspecified Chinese goods of equal value. In November, 1960, the Chinese made a $60 million interest-free loan to Cuba for economic development, to be drawn between 1961 and 1965.[87]

In this chapter I have given evidence of the rise in Sino-Latin American cultural contacts between 1949 and 1960. Although it is not possible to determine the extent to which this cultural diplomacy was responsible for changing Latin American actions toward China, Sino-Latin American trade agreements during this period would suggest that it played a significant part. As can be seen from the information in this chapter, trade relations were seldom established with any country until after a number of cultural contacts had been made. Other pro-Chinese and Chinese-influenced attitudes and activities of Latin Americans in their own countries seem to have been similarly influenced, as I hope to show below.

CHAPTER III.

CHINESE IMPACT ON LATIN AMERICA

A. Pro-Chinese Activities of Latin Americans

An examination of the frequency and content of statements on Communist China by Latin Americans leaves no doubt but that the People's Republic was looked on with much greater favor in 1960 than it had been in 1950. It is impossible to be sure just how much of this change came about as either a direct or indirect result of Chinese cultural diplomacy. The evidence seems to suggest, however, that guided tours for Latin Americans in China, visiting Chinese delegations in Latin America, the circulation of printed materials, and other aspects of the program of cultural diplomacy played an important role in the change.

1. Friendship Associations

Some Latin American intellectuals expressed their enthusiasm for China by forming permanent organizations in Latin America whose sole activity was the dissemination of propaganda in support of Communist China. These were the so-called bi-national "Friendship Associations" or "Cultural Associations." These groups showed Chinese movies, distributed Chinese and pro-Chinese written materials,

collected signatures for Chinese-supported causes, and carried out drives to develop trade with China and establish diplomatic relations. They planned and held cultural and industrial exhibitions on China, organized celebrations for Chinese holidays, scheduled speeches on China by those who had been there or were considered properly informed, acted as contacts between the Chinese government and many of the Latin Americans who visited China, entertained Chinese who visited Latin America and introduced these visitors to other influential Latin Americans.

The first friendship associations were established in Mexico and Brazil in 1953; sometime before 1955 a center was founded in Chile. The bi-national organizations were in large part set up and run by persons who had visited China. Delegates to the 1952 Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference in Peking, such as Eli de Gortari in Mexico and Abel Chermont in Brazil, were from the first important members of the friendship associations in their countries. Salvador Allende, who was President of the Chile-China Cultural Institute at least as early as 1956, was probably instrumental in founding the Institute after his trip to China in 1954. At least four of the six honorary presidents of the Institute in Chile in early 1959 had been to China.[88] The number of these establishments in Latin America during the 1957-1960 period has been estimated as follows:[89]

Country	1957	1958	1959	1960
Argentina	1	1	1	1
Bolivia	0	0	1	1
Brazil	2	2	2	2
Chile	2	6	9	10
Colombia	0	0	1	1
Cuba	0	0	0	2
Mexico	2	2	2	2
Peru	0	0	1	1
Uruguay	0	1	1	1
Venezuela	0	0	1	1
Total	7	12	19	22

The friendship associations were not equally successful in every Latin American country. As the chart above indicates, they were not even formed in half of the countries in Latin America during this period--or later. In other countries their activities were often greatly restricted by law or government pressures. The centers were most successful in Chile where Communist and non-Communist membership was high, and where the participation of overseas Chinese was unusually great. The success in Chile can be explained in large part by the prominence of Communists,

Socialists, and leftists generally in the political life of the country, and by the fact that the Chinese devoted particular attention to winning the friendship of people in that country.[90] Although friendship associations generally accomplished much less in other countries, they did contribute to the Chinese effort to improve their image by carrying out many of the activities mentioned above.

According to Tung Chi-ping, the offices of the friendship associations in Peking were merely fronts. Since the primary purpose of the organizations was the dissemination of Chinese propaganda abroad, the bi-national offices in China had almost no business beyond putting on elaborate shows for foreign guests in the Chinese capitol.[91]

2. Books, Articles, and Speeches

Although it is difficult to determine to what extent the writings and speeches of travellers to China were responsible for the rising interest in the People's Republic by the end of 1960, it would appear that their influence was considerable. As is pointed out in several of the quotations below, Latin Americans are frequently inclined to think, often with considerable justification, that the United States tries to impose its foreign policy positions on Latin American governments. A Latin American leader who independently reaches a conclusion that parallels the United States position will often be regarded as biased in

favor of the United States or conservative elements of his own government, at least by the sizable left-wing population in many countries. Thus, for instance, the generally accurate and often critical comments on China by Conservative Chilean Deputy Jorge Errázuriz Echenique in December, 1959, could not be expected to impress many or even any of the extensive Chilean left. On the other hand, this political left in Chile was greatly interested in the statements of leftists like Salvador Allende after their trips to China. For many Latin Americans the generally or completely laudatory statements on China by visitors to that country were on the one hand 1) accepted just because they were contrary to the positions taken by the United States government, and on the other 2) used to prove that the United States position was incorrect. In many cases the appeal was more emotional than rational, yet the impact was no less profound because of this.

By the end of 1960 several dozen Latin Americans had written books about China as a direct result of one or more trips to that country, and as Víctor Alba has observed, "None of them is critical in tone, nor even a dispassionate account."[92] A far greater number of visitors expressed their views in articles, interviews, and speeches, the latter often over Radio Peking or before Congressional bodies in their own countries.

B. The Image of China among Non-Communists

The greatly increased attention being paid to China by the end of 1960 has been noted by Víctor Alba, José Honório Rodrigues, and Tad Szulc.[93] This interest among non-Communists who visited China, which is my concern in the first part of this section, was pointed out on November 7, 1959, in Jornal do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) by Chermont de Brito:

> China is in great vogue. It is fashionable to travel to China and see the places that the Chinese government has prepared for visitors . . . Parliamentarians, writers, journalists rush to get there and come back roaring with enthusiasm, with exaggerated eulogies for the . . . regime, and their extraordinary achievements in progress and wealth.

Typical of the enthusiasm Chermont de Brito refers to, and indicative of the generally uncritical and naif acceptance of Chinese propaganda claims by many Latin Americans, is the following comment made by Peruvian Senator Wilson Sologuren over Radio Peking on July 9, 1959, "The transformation of China is deep and enormous . . . they are carrying out the revolution by stages, without hurry, with firm and determined steps." In view of the industrial and agricultural chaos which characterized the Chinese scene at just this time, nothing could be farther from the truth than Sologuren's comment on the progress of the Chinese revolution.

Many Latin Americans felt that in the past they had

not been getting objective reports on conditions in China. For instance, on September 30, 1959, Peruvian Deputy Ricardo Alcalde Mongrut told the Peruvian Chamber that, "Yankee propaganda has been deliberately twisting the realities of Communist China." On November 3, 1959, Deputy Zelmar Michelini stated in Acción (Montevideo, Uruguay) that, "Nothing could be so grave or false as to ignore and refuse to value or acknowledge the effort of this nation, its progress, and its firm decision to achieve a new and better life, in order to attack the Communist system and its methods." According to La Prensa (Buenos Aires, Argentina) on October 6, 1959, former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas, at a celebration for the Chinese National Day in Mexico, denounced what he called the anti-Communist propaganda in the Western hemisphere which obscured the truth about socialist countries like China. Former Chilean Vice-President Guillermo del Pedregal told a NCNA correspondent in Peking on July 2, 1959, that, "The most important thing is to take back my impressions to the Chilean people so that they know the situation in China."

Almost every Latin American visitor to China was astounded by the effort the Chinese people put into their work. Deputy Francisco Mario Ubillos said in the February 8, 1960, issue of El Popular (Montevideo, Uruguay) that, "The people before the revolution were sad and exploited by feudalism and the privileged classes . . . Now the people feel sure of their destiny and work, work, work laboriously

in a forward move that will soon astonish the world." Congressman Alfonso López Michelsen commented in El Correo (Medellín, Colombia) on January 13, 1960, that, "In China the people work with enthusiasm, and there is a desire to build, a mystique to make-up for age-old backwardness . . . ." Samuel Wainer, the publisher of the leftist Ultima Hora chain of papers in Brazil wrote in the Rio de Janeiro edition of October 30, 1959, in an open letter to Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek, that:

> No other country in the world has such a quasi-mystic capacity for sacrifice . . . Mr. President, no police or army could control a population of over 600 million human beings, were they not imbued with the idea that this is the shortest and best road to their emancipation.

Even Jorge Errázuriz Echenique, President of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies, and generally one of the most observant of the visitors, said in El Diario Ilustrado (Santiago, Chile) on December 1, 1959, that the Chinese people "work for practically nothing. And they do it all by hand. And they do it happily, with the feeling that they are contributing to something patriotic."

Most Latin American visitors to China were particularly interested in Chinese agriculture and industry. Often this interest was because, as the leftist Las Noticias de Ultima Hora (Santiago, Chile) commented on October 1, 1959, "The Chinese experience is decisive for the underdeveloped peoples of the world, as it shows a possible road towards rapid social

advancement." For others it was primarily an indicator that China was fast becoming a world power which could no longer be ignored.

Latin American interest in the people's communes, a Chinese effort to solve agrarian problems that often seemed similar to those faced in Latin America, was generally very great. In spite of the fact that high-level meetings in China at the end of 1958 and early 1959 led to the beginning of the retreat from the communes even before most of the Latin American visitors had begun their guided tours, very few had anything but praise for the Chinese experiment.[94] According to the Peking Review of February 3, 1959, Lázaro Cárdenas, after touring a commune near Canton, wrote in the visitor's book, "This commune proves what the people can do when their labor forces are organized. We are very glad to have seen its achievements and the intelligence and patriotism shown by every one of its members." Uruguayan Deputy Francisco Mario Ubillos is quoted by NCNA on November 9, 1959, as saying, "I have visited people's communes in Peking and Shanghai and I can say that the people's commune is a good form. Collective labor will raise production and make it possible to carry out large-scale engineering work such as irrigation and soil improvement." On February 8, 1960, he commented in El Popular (Montevideo, Uruguay) that, "The commune system

feeds the people and is the economic base of China." Alfonso López Michelsen observed in the January 13, 1960, issue of El Correo (Medellín, Colombia) that, "The impression one gets from the communes is that they work." After expressing certain reservations as to the effect of giving all property rights to the community, he continued, "I believe that from the point of view of production, and judging from Chinese statistics, the results are very satisfactory."

Typical of the comments on Chinese industry is one in the November 9, 1959, issue of Acción (Montevideo, Uruguay) by Deputy Zelmar Michelini:

> They had Soviet help in truly significant quantities, but the truth as we have learned and observed is that the achievements are higher than the most optimistic estimate. Thus China today has a heavy industry of great productive capacity . . . Compare all this with the China of the past . . . and you will have a clear vision of the economic China of the future.

A more moderate yet essentially positive evaluation was given by Deputy Enrique Martínez Moreno in El Popular (Montevideo, Uruguay) on March 18, 1960, when he stated, "There are evident indices of transformation and progress which, while not yet producing a high standard of living, may determine with time an adequate level materially as well as culturally."

Latin American reactions to Chinese cultural life ranged quite widely. Commenting on the experiences of

his artist friend Luci Bloc, Henrique Pongetti wrote in the March 21, 1960, issue of O Globo (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), that:

> Mao Tse-tung did not, like Lenin or Stalin, root out as bourgeois flaws the aesthetic or the poetry of daily life . . . There is great respect for traditional art . . . for what beautifies human life and alleviates the burden of functional routine. This explains why anti-Marxists come back enchanted with China and disillusioned with the stern look of progress and the undeniable greatness of Russia . . . It explains why the new and great China stimulates an apolitical feeling of tenderness inside the most reactionary visitor; right next to the Central Steel Mill, Mao Tse-tung has left an old Chinese man painting a lantern of silk and a woman embroidering a dress . . . .

On the other hand, playwright Guilherme Figueiredo, whose Aesop was the first Latin American drama performed by a Chinese cast in China, commented in Jornal do Comercio (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) on March 27, 1960:

> I saw excellent propaganda documentaries, showing good technique, color, and use of images for doctrinary symbolism . . . But plays have no character psychology . . . At the end of each presentation we had the impression that the dialogue had been transformed into ideology . . . there is an unsavory feeling that the piece had been seen and foreseen.

Neither were impressions on personal rights and freedoms uniformly complimentary toward China. Some agreed with the Chilean socialist Marcos Ramírez who was quoted by Radio Peking on July 12, 1959, as saying, "The old country of servitude is now the country of complete liberty. There are different political parties, with whose

leaders one may talk. There are different temples for all religious beliefs." A relatively large number of others, however, tended to think otherwise. Unquestionably the most outspoken was Jorge Errázuriz Echenique, who stated in El Diario Ilustrado (Santiago, Chile) on December 1, 1959, that "China is evidently a police state . . . they are killing every religious fiber . . . the human person has been totally annulled . . . there is no family . . . strikes are a crime. Some say there are many political parties other than the Communist. This is a lie."

Frequently, however, even those Latin Americans who did see the lack of individual freedom in China were very reluctant to be critical of the Chinese on this account, primarily because of their overall admiration for the social and economic changes they thought the Communist government had achieved. Many agreed with Deputy Francisco Mario Ubillos' observation in El Popular (Montevideo, Uruguay) on February 8, 1960, that he would "not risk judging their system of government, or the rigid discipline to which they have had to submit, or the limitations on their individual liberties. That is their own affair." Others tended to follow Deputy Alfonso López Michelsen who concluded in El Correo (Medellín, Colombia) on January 13, 1960, that, "In view of what the Chinese people wanted, I frankly believe it a more adequate solution to have

sought by dictatorial means the sharing of what was available among the 550 million inhabitants, so that each could have a share, than to establish a formal democracy in order to secure progress for the Chinese people *via* a government based on opinion." Still others, looking to China's past, agreed with Zelmar Mechelini's statement in *Acción* (Montevideo, Uruguay) on November 9, 1959, that, "The Chinese people are capable of withstanding the maximum sacrifice, such as is demanded of them... they forbear all, as they have forborne so much in the past, with stoicism and frugality."

Most Latin Americans who had been to China, and a rapidly increasing number who had not, could subscribe to the views expressed in the October 3, 1959, editorial in *El Relator* (Cali, Colombia) which said:

> Visitors from all over the world and all ideologies have been in China in recent years, and all in a unison recognize the strength acquired since the Revolution: some praise the efficacy of the orientation followed, others call attention to the danger it represents to the capitalist world. But nobody denies the phenomenon of its economic-social transformation... And reality is the real, regardless of how much we may wish to close our eyes before the evidence.

The growth of Chinese prestige in the eyes of many Latin Americans over this period led to an increasing number of statements by high-level statesmen, most of whom

had not visited China themselves, calling for political and economic relations with the People's Republic.

In Brazil, as early as 1955, the prominent Senator Lourival Fontes called for political and economic relations with the People's Republic. He told his fellow Senators:

> True enough, we can admit that China has adopted a political regime that we detest and disapprove. But recognition does not imply agreement and does not signify approval, much less liking. We have no moral or political reasons, and mainly we have no economic reasons, to prevent us from establishing commercial relations with one of the largest populations and one of the markets hungering the most grievously for imports.[95]

One of the most respected of Brazilian statesmen, Osvaldo Aranha, who had held such positions as presiding officer at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and Foreign Minister of his country, called in 1958 for the establishment of economic and political relations between Brazil and Communist China, and for the admission of the Peking regime to the United Nations.[96] In October, 1956, Janio Quadros, then the Governor of São Paulo State, received Ch'u T'u-nan and the Chinese folk ensemble then touring Brazil and expressed his hopes that the visit would promote friendship and cultural exchange.[97] When he became President of Brazil in 1961, one of his first acts was to order the Brazilian representative at the United Nations to vote in favor of discussing the admission of Communist China to that organ-

ization, thus reversing a long-standing Brazilian policy of backing the United States on that issue.[98] Six months later he sent a commercial mission to China, headed by then Vice-President João Goulart, another advocate of Brazilian-Chinese relations, which José Honório Rodrigues has called "undoubtedly one of the most important ever sent abroad by Brazil."[99]

In Chile, Senator Salvador Allende, who was runner-up in the presidential elections of 1958 and 1964, repeatedly called for all kinds of contacts with China during the 1950s. Raúl Juliet, President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies, told Chou Erh-fu, according to a NCNA report from Santiago on February 25, 1959, that he looked forward to further cultural and economic relations with China. Former Vice-President Guillermo del Pedregal gave an interview to NCNA, released on July 2, 1959, during his tour of China, in which he said that the main purpose of his trip was to get real trade relations started.

In Uruguay, according to a NCNA release of September 9, 1956, the President of the Council of State, Alberto Zubiria, expressed his interest in promoting economic as well as cultural relations when he received Ch'u T'u-nan. On December 15, 1958, a NCNA release from Montevideo reported that Carlos Fischer, a later President of the Council of State, expressed similar wishes. According to NCNA on November 9, 1959, the President of the Uruguayan House of

Representatives, Francisco Rodríguez Camusso, while heading a six-member Parliamentary delegation at the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic in Peking, stated, "We hold that, irrespective of differences in political beliefs, China should be recognized by the entire world." Deputy Zelmar Michelini commented in Acción (Montevideo) on December 9, 1959, that, "A frank policy of closer relations can only bring good results, for this world does not and cannot permit isolationism."

In several other Latin American countries the situation was much the same. Dr. Germán Quiroga-Galdo, ex-President of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies, and at the time of his visit to China a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of that Chamber, predicted forthcoming trade relations between China and his country, according to NCNA on November 23, 1959, and expressed his regret that China was not seated in the United Nations. In La Prensa (Buenos Aires, Argentina) on October 6, 1959, former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas is said to have observed that troubles like those between China and India could be solved only if China were given a seat in the United Nations.

In quoting these statements I do not mean to suggest that by the end of 1960 diplomatic recognition, or even large scale economic contacts, were imminent between Communist China and most of these countries. They were not. Only

Cuba established both in 1960, during the second year of Fidel Castro's rule. The fact that other Latin American countries did not follow Castro's lead, however, should not be taken to mean that the opinions given above were those of an insignificant minority. Government policy does not always reflect the views of each substantial body of opinion within a country. Indeed it cannot do so when different groups recommend contradictory policies. In the United States, for example, there is a fairly large and influential number of politicians and intellectuals, as well as some businessmen and others, calling for political and/or economic relations with Communist China. Yet the United States and Communist China have direct contact only at the Warsaw meetings. This is in spite of the fact that the United States has 1) much more to trade that is of interest to the Chinese than most of the countries of Latin America, and 2) no outside political and economic pressures of the kind faced by the Latin American governments discouraging contacts with the Peking government. Neither House in the United States Congress has even voted <u>on</u>, much less <u>for</u>, the establishment of such relations with the Peking regime. This body of opinion continues to exist in the United States, however, and has the effect of calling into question and in some ways weakening the established policy of the government. By the end of 1960 a similar division between government policy and a group of prominent

citizens was clearly developing in a number of the larger and more politically open Latin American countries. Although the division in Latin America did not lead to formal political relations for any country besides Cuba, cultural relations were expanded through 1960 and, especially beginning in 1957, some regular and some irregular trade relations were established with eight Latin American countries.

C. China and Latin American Revolutionaries

To what extent, and in what places at what times, did the Chinese influence Latin American Communists and revolutionary leftists, and through them the governments or movements they supported or controlled? During the 1949-1960 period the Chinese devoted considerably less time and effort to this objective than they did to improving their image among Latin Americans in general. Chinese influence on these revolutionaries did occur in several countries, however, when circumstances were favorable. The three case studies which conclude this thesis provide at least partial proof of this. They cover a broad range of situations, including Chinese influence on:

1) Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the foremost spokesman for Soviet Russian Communism in Latin America;

2) the Guatemalan Communist Party and through it the

government of President Jacobo Arbenz which the Communists had infiltrated; and

3) the Cuban People's Socialist [Communist] Party during Fidel Castro's first two years in power (1959-1960).

1. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, 1949-1960

Vicente Lombardo Toledano has been characterized by the best known American student of Latin American Communism as "the kingpin in the Communists' trade union activities in Latin America."[100] This leading Soviet spokesman, however, always assumed the role of an "independent Marxist" and thus, since Marxist ideas are so widespread among Latin American intellectuals, his comments on China were often not significantly different from those of many other travellers, some of whom were even at odds with the Communists in their own countries.

As the President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, Lombardo took a leading part in World Federation of Trade Unions conferences around the world, including the one sponsored by that Communist front organization in Peking in 1949. After his return from China, Lombardo immediately became an outspoken champion of the Chinese Communists and of the adaptability of some aspects of the Chinese experience for use in Latin America.

In an article published in the first issue of People's

China (January 1, 1950), written about his trip to China in 1949, he had the highest praise for the Chinese "struggle against landlordism" which would have "considerable repercussions not only in Asia but also in Latin America," for Chinese "democracy," for the Chinese expulsion of "the disturbing and nefarious influence of foreign imperialism," and for the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung. He concluded his article by writing that he was taking back to Latin America "a message from the workers and the people of China--the message of their example."[101] After this trip to China, as a sympathetic biographer has noted, "Lombardo now speaks more about China than of the Soviet Union as an immediate example for Mexico to follow."[102]

Immediately after his return to Mexico, Lombardo held a three day conference at the Mexican Worker's University, which he had founded in 1936. He gave three lectures which were soon published under the title Victoria de la Revolución China (Victory of the Chinese Revolution). The three topics discussed were: 1) the origin, development, and program of the Chinese revolution, 2) the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolution, and 3) the people's dictatorship and the historical outlook of the People's Republic of China. According to Lombardo, the fall of every dynasty in Chinese history was "invariably, without a single exception, the result of rebellions of the Chinese peasants."[103] After a lengthy diatribe against Chiang Kai-shek's government,

he turned to unbounded praise for Mao, and received a long ovation when he stated that "Stalin and Mao Tse-tung are, for me, the two greatest men of our day."[104] Lombardo concluded by saying that Mexicans, who had suffered for centuries as a semi-colonial country, who were fighting for an independence they had not yet achieved, who were continuing their struggle for economic improvement and for a people's culture, paid their respect to the great Chinese people. And, as he had told the Chinese in Peking, he hoped the ships which had sailed for centuries between China and Acapulco would sail again, now carrying the new ideals of the Chinese, and also those of the Mexicans, which were, Lombardo said, so similar.[105] Over all, these lectures provided a more systematic Communist version of Chinese history than many considerably longer books by other Latin Americans.

Shortly after giving his lectures at the Worker's University, Lombardo published his Diario de un Viaje a La China Nueva (Journal of a Trip to New China). Although the book does contain comments on his trip to China, and on the proceedings of the Labor Conference he attended in Peking, it is for the most part a rambling history of modern China from a Communist viewpoint. Much of it parallels his lectures at the Worker's University--the history of the Communist victory, the structure of the new government, and the praise for Mao Tse-tung (though now Mao has

to share the stage with Lenin as well as Stalin). The Diaro does include extended comments on culture under the Communist regime which are not found in the lectures.

In 1954 Lombardo gave a talk which was later published under the title La Reforma Agraria en China y en México, Semehanzas y Diferencias (Agrarian Reform in China and Mexico: Similarities and Differences). Robert Paul Millon has described this pamphlet as follows:

> Lombardo presented a detailed analysis of the revolution and of the stages of the agrarian reform in China. He did not suggest that Mexico immediately follow the Chinese example. Rather, Mexico should pursue to a conclusion the program of agrarian reform embodied in its constitution. But the inference is clear that if it is genuinely to progress in the future, Mexico must follow the Chinese example and unite a thoroughgoing land reform with an industrial revolution as part of a planned program for the construction of socialism. 106

Five years later, in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Lombardo wrote in the Mexican journal Siempre that, "Millions upon millions of truly free people belonging to various sections of society are acclaiming China's great leap forward and her inexhaustible creative endeavour and wisdom."[107]

Lombardo's greatest tribute to Communist China came out in 1960. Causas de la Elevación del Espíritu Humano (Causes of the Elevation of the Human Spirit) is based in

part on Lombardo's 1949 trip to China and in part on his understanding of what had happened in China during the intervening years. The book takes the form of a series of interviews between Lombardo ("El Amigo"--"friend") and persons from all parts of China. He talks with persons who had formerly been, according to Lombardo, slaves and slave owners, serfs and feudal lords, exploited proletarians and their exploiters, peasants and landlords, a former emperor, participants in the liberating Communist forces, and others. Never before, Lombardo argues, had so many people emerged from so many human conditions at any one time, and never before had there been anyone (before "El Amigo") to talk with them all and record their reactions to their new lives.

The final chapter, entitled "The Elevation of Man," is a discussion between "El Amigo" and a Communist statesman, in which the two cannot stop agreeing that after the abolition of private property, when all the material requirements of man are produced, than men will be emancipated from all forms of exploitation and truly free to develop their own personalities. Toward the end of the book "El Amigo" comments, "If I were to express in only one phrase the end result of the investigation, I would say that man is susceptible of perfection."[108] Lombardo could hardly praise the Chinese government more extravagantly than by stating that the perfectability of man has

been proven by the changes in China under Communist control.[109]

Lombardo often joined forces with less radical China-supporters in order to expand his influence, as when he shared the platform with Lázaro Cárdenas at a celebration, sponsored by the Mexican Society for Friendship with People's China, in honor of the Chinese National Day in 1959.[110] His part in organizing Communist activities has been suggested above and will be pointed out again in the study of Guatemala which follows.

2. Guatemala, 1950-1954

Communist influence was greater in Guatemala during the Presidency of Jacobo Arbenz (1951-1954) than in any other country in Latin America before the triumph of Fidel Castro in Cuba in 1959.[111] It was here that the Chinese Communists made their first important impression on a revolutionary Latin American government.

Probably the initial exposure to Chinese ideas came to the Guatemalan Communists from Vicente Lombardo Toledano. Lombardo and the Confederation of Latin American Workers played the leading role in organizing and training the Guatemalan Communists and labor leaders.[112] Significant exposure to Chinese ideas came also when a large number of top Guatemalan Communists visited China, especially between 1952 and 1954. Among the visitors were: 1) Mario Silva Jonama, a leading member of the Secretariat of the Guatemalan

Party and Communist Secretary of Education, in charge of the ideological training of Party members (p. 93); and 2) José Alberto Cardoza, who "was second only to Gutiérrez among the Communist labor leaders" (p. 96). These two and a number of others were delegates at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. In 1953, three Communist labor leaders attended a three month course in Vienna that was sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Among their instructors were Communists from China (pp. 287-88).

In Guatemala, Communist Party leaders, as well as the rank and file under the direction of Silva Jonama, studied and learned from Chinese writings (p. 105). English language editions of People's China, China Reconstructs, and pamphlets of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions came to Guatemala in a steady stream at least as early as 1953 (p. 280). In preparation for the Second Congress of the Guatemalan Communist Party (October, 1952), each Communist cell in the country was provided with a copy of what Ronald Schneider calls the "Statutes" of the Chinese Communist Party (probably the "Organic Law" of September, 1949) along with documents by Stalin and other Communists (pp. 78-79). Early in 1954 the Party ordered 2500 copies of Liu Shao-ch'i's How to be a Good Communist for its members (p. 104). Even President Arbenz had copies of Mao's writings in his personal library (pp. 189-90).

These and other Chinese writings, as well as the personal instruction mentioned earlier, are known to have had a great

influence on the policies of the Guatemalan Communists on a number of occasions. According to an editorial in the Party paper Octubre (February 28, 1952), Liu Shao-ch'i's report to the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (in 1945) was the inspiration and guide for the Guatemalan Communist program in 1952 of "going to the masses" in order to gain popular support (pp. 74-75).[113] The influential labor leader Manuel Pinto Usaga called for the Guatemalan Communists to form a united front according to the Chinese example (p. 121). The main point of the program adopted by the Second Congress of the Guatemalan Party was the concept of the united front, based largely on the Chinese experience (p. 82).[114] Some 200,000 copies of united front propaganda popularized this concept among the masses (p. 104).[115] As Helen Simon wrote in the New York Daily Worker, the leaders of the Guatemalan Communist Party "feel that much of their success in working with other groups while maintaining their own independent forward positions comes from close study of the experiences of the Chinese Communists."[116]

The National Democratic United Front in which the Guatemalan Communists participated, and before long dominated, was a multi-class front directed during this first of two stages toward the achievement of essentially nationalist and anti-imperialist objectives. This front, which the Communists tried to pattern after the Chinese example, was made up of all anti-imperialist classes and groups, from the

bourgeois nationalists like President Arbenz to the workers and peasants. Communist strength, however, came largely from their domination of the labor movement and peasant organizations.

As Rollie Poppino has noted, Guatemalan Communists who visited China in the early 1950s "were particularly impressed with the importance of building a strong base among the peasant masses."[117] During 1953 and 1954 they devoted special attention to rural activities, not only from their appointed positions at the head of the National Agrarian Department, but also independently and often in violation of the limitations set down in the Agrarian Reform Law of July, 1952. One of their main activities in parts of the country was to institute the "brief reign of terror" which Mao Tse-tung had called essential in his Hunan Report.[118] Indeed, as Ronald M. Schneider has pointed out, "The outstanding characteristic of Guatemalan life during 1953 was the high level of agitation centering around agrarian reform" (pp. 38-39).

Even the limited evidence presented here suggests that Chinese influence in Guatemala between 1950 and 1954, especially on the united front and peasant policy, was of considerable importance. Inasmuch as an exceptionally large number of documents from this period are available for study, most importantly from Communist and Communist-dominated organizations, further study of this problem should give a clear picture not only of Chinese influence in Guatemala, but also of how the

Chinese experience can be adapted for use in a small, underdeveloped peasant country.

3. Cuba, 1959-1960

If the Guatemalan Communists tried to learn from and apply aspects of the Chinese experience in order to control the Arbenz government and ultimately seize power for themselves, the Cuban People's Socialist [Communist] Party (PSP) tried to use the Chinese example after the fact to explain in a Marxist way how Fulgencio Batista had been overthrown. In addition, the Cuban PSP pointed to the Chinese Communist experience in order to try to influence the political and economic policies of Fidel Castro.

The Cuban Communists had very early sent Party members to Communist China. Labor leader Lázaro Peña was the first (1949), and poet Nicolás Guillén the most frequent (1952, 1953, 1959) of the travellers to the People's Republic. Blas Roca, the General-Secretary of the PSP visited China at the end of 1956 and again early in 1960. Roca was almost certainly the unnamed delegate who received "stormy ovations" when he read a message from the PSP at the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on September 23, 1956, saying that "the glorious history of China's arduous struggle against imperialism and feudalism is a mainspring of rich experiences for us," and that from the Chinese experience Cubans will "draw lessons for our own... actions" in order

"to bring our heroic task of liberation to a victorious conclusion."[119]

The good relations that existed between the Chinese and the Cuban Parties between 1956 and 1959 probably derived in part from their mutual unwillingness to condemn Joseph Stalin as completely as Nikita Khrushchev had in his speech at the XX Congress of the CPSU in early 1956.[120] In addition, prior to 1959 the policies carried out by the Cuban Party were generally in line with those advocated by the Chinese at that time, as those policies were outlined in Chapter I above.

After Batista's fall the Chinese experience for a while seemed to offer answers to a number of ideological problems the Cuban Communists found most perplexing. At the Plenum of the PSP in January, 1959, one of the main theorists of the Party, Aníbal Escalante, first suggested that Castro's victory had followed the "Chinese Road." He said:

> Rather than following the classic revolutionary road, the Cuban revolution has followed the "road" according to which the movement began and developed in the far-off countryside and finally enveloped the cities, particularly the capital. In this experience, which broke with pre-established dogmas and rules, the vision of Fidel Castro and his general staff soared highest; it is necessary to recognize the role unquestionably played by the Partido Socialista Popular to open the way for the 'Chinese road.' 121

This line of analysis was further developed at the

PSP Central Committee Plenum held from May 25 to 28, 1959. In an appendix to the Conclusions reached at the Plenum, it was pointed out that one of the main "peculiarities" of the Cuban revolution, "which had already occurred in the Chinese revolution," was the pattern of growth and victory of the guerrilla forces, as noted earlier by Escalante. This was not a break with Marxist principles, however, since the same thing had happened in China and it had already "been laid down by Mao Tse-tung that the duty of revolutionaries is to apply the universal truth of Marxism to concrete practice within a given situation." The appendix concluded that it was possible to follow the Chinese example throughout Latin America, "even in small countries like Cuba," as the overthrow of Batista had shown.

The PSP statement went on to say that although the working class had not led in the conquest of power, it was still "the most important and the most profoundly revolutionary class," and that it alone was able to sustain the revolution, "to make it advance without interruption, to place itself at the head of all the revolutionary elements of society in alliance with the peasants, to destroy capitalist exploitation, and to construct socialism."[122]

In saying that the working class was to lead in the construction of the new society (even if it didn't lead in the seizure of power) by placing itself "at the head of all the revolutionary elements of society in alliance with

the peasantry," the PSP also took a step toward the adoption of a form of government Mao Tse-tung had called the 'people's democratic dictatorship."[123] Support for the Chinese four-class dictatorship led by the proletariat and including the national bourgeoisie as contrasted to the single party dictatorship of the USSR was made unmistakable beginning in July, 1959, in several editorials by Blas Roca in the Party paper Hoy.[124]

During 1959 PSP contacts with China were generally closer than they were with the Soviet Union, though there was no friction with the latter. The Chinese experience had proved useful to the Cubans in explaining their own revolution. PSP travellers to the Communist world generally returned with their highest praise for the Chinese People's Republic.[125] Aníbal Escalante, who had originally brought up the comparison between the Cuban and Chinese roads to victory, headed the PSP delegation to China for the October celebration in 1959.

During 1960, however, the situation began to change for several reasons. The Sino-Soviet split was becoming more open. When the use of the Chinese example became clearly offensive to the Russian leaders, Blas Roca, who had originally become General-Secretary on appointment by the Comintern, and whose ultimate loyalty to the Soviet Union had never wavered, could not but place his final allegiance with the Russians. In addition, Fidel Castro

had begun to carry out policies like the complete elimination of the national bourgeoisie and thus the removal of the possibility of a four class government.[126] Not unexpectedly then, none of the parallels between Cuba and China appear in Blas Roca's lengthy Report to the Eighth Congress of the PSP, held in August, 1960.[127]

If Blas Roca did not use the Chinese experience to explain the Cuban revolution in broad terms during 1960, he nonetheless made at least one other significant effort to influence Fidel Castro by pointing to the Chinese example. Discussing nationalization and economic problems at the Eighth Congress of the PSP in late August, Roca said that Castro had been right in the nationalization of "Yankee" firms which had begun on August 6. But Roca continued, "At the same time private enterprise that is not imperialist, not monopolistic and not parasitic is still necessary; it still plays an important role in maintaining and increasing the volume of national production."[128] On September 13, however, Castro began to nationalize Cuban-owned enterprises and was on the verge of declaring the revolution socialist.

In an effort to prevent the nationalization of all Cuban owned industry, Roca wrote, in a letter that was published in Hoy on September 17, that a country could be socialist politically and yet economically there could be "enterprises that were socialist, enterprises made up jointly

of state and private property, and private enterprises."[129] This, he said, was what the Chinese were doing and what the Cubans should do also. On September 29 Hoy published an editorial from Jen-min Jih-pao entitled "Perspectives of the Bourgeoisie Party in China," which was meant to draw Castro's attention to the good to be gained from recognizing that the bourgeoisie had some positive as well as negative qualities in national construction and thus should not be totally eliminated through nationalization.[130] On October 13, however, Castro stepped up what he had begun a month earlier and nationalized over 375 privately owned all-Cuban enterprises.[131] After this Roca stopped talking about the positive qualities of the national bourgeoisie and, so far as I know, made no more serious references to Chinese-Cuban parallels.

CONCLUSION

During the 1949-1960 period, Latin America was of only secondary interest to the Chinese Communists. Their immediate concerns were the stabilization and advancement of the Chinese government, economy, and society, and foreign policy decisions with respect to Europe, Asia, and the United States. As a result of these priorities, the Chinese could invest only limited personnel, time, and money in Latin American affairs. For this reason the degree of success the Chinese achieved by the end of 1960 is all the more noteworthy.

During these years the primary objective of Chinese policy toward Latin America was that of improving the Chinese Communist image in the eyes of Latin American opinion- and policy-makers. Of secondary interest, at least on the basis of evidence now available, was the encouragement of Communist and pro-Communist revolutions. The success of their primary objective, achieved mainly by means of a modest but well planned policy of cultural diplomacy, is evident in the almost unbounded praise of China by some persons like Vicente Lombardo Toledano on the one hand, as well as in the more restrained admiration for supposed Chinese industrial and agricultural achievements by numerous politicians, newsmen, and intellectuals on the other. Evidence of the influence of the Chinese Communists on Latin American

revolutions is less impressive, but is found in the training of some revolutionaries in China and in such situations as those discussed in the case studies just presented.

Throughout the period, and to a great extent even today, many obstacles stood in the way of increased contacts between China and Latin America. Economic ties were discouraged by geographical distance, a shortage of transportation facilities, the limited number of products which could be exchanged between underdeveloped China and most under- or unevenly-developed countries in Latin America, and the inability of the Chinese to work out acceptable forms of payment for Latin American products. The fairly large-scale economic contacts between China and Cuba which began in 1960 could not have been extended by the Chinese to many other countries even if other circumstances had made this possible, because of these obstacles.

In 1960 Cuba and Communist China established diplomatic relations. No other country in Latin America had done so before, and none has done so since; very few governments have even given it serious consideration. Only very occasionally has a commercial mission, like the one the Chinese had in Santiago de Chile in 1963, performed many of the functions normally carried out by diplomatic missions. The primary reason for this is undoubtedly the reluctance and/or inability of Latin American governments to take a political stand so sharply opposed to the wishes of the United States. Also,

however, diplomatic relations with Communist China have been resisted by cultural, religious, military, political, and economic forces within the various Latin American countries themselves. In the face of this resistance the greatly increased support for Sino-Latin American contacts on the part of many intellectual leaders is an important development of the 1949-1960 period even though the number of resulting policy changes has been small.

The reasons for the increasing interest in China, especially during the 1958-1960 period, are not hard to find. First, many Latin Americans had for years hoped and sometimes even worked for just such social and economic changes as seemed to be taking place in China. China appeared to offer an example of development for predominantly agricultural and economically underdeveloped countries. Second, Chinese propaganda attacking the United States as the foremost exploiter of the underdeveloped world, and especially of Latin America, had great appeal to many like-thinking Latin Americans; it seemed to suggest a kinship between those who knew and had known U. S. exploitation. Third, political freedom increased somewhat in Latin America during the late 1950s. Nine dictators were overthrown between Juan Perón in late 1955 and Fulgencio Batista in January, 1959. Most of the governments that came to power either legalized national Communist parties or at least allowed them to function more freely. The greater freedom of political expression allowed much more Chinese and

pro-Chinese information to be circulated, and the Communist and left-wing organizations which found themselves increasingly free to operate helped to circulate it. Fourth, Fidel Castro's government in Cuba immediately provided a platform from which the Chinese increased the flow of their propaganda throughout the hemisphere. Fifth, the Chinese made good use of a moderate policy of cultural diplomacy which, though limited in scope, was well designed to impress many Latin Americans during these years.

Just as the Chinese were achieving their primary objective of the 1949-1960 period, however, they changed their policy and many of the accomplishments were undone. Increasing Chinese support for guerrilla warfare in Latin American countries won the strong support of a relatively limited number of young intellectuals and radical revolutionaries, but decreased the enthusiasm for China among Latin American intellectuals as a whole, including eventually most Latin American Communists. If the change in Chinese policy did not cause an immediate reaction among Latin Americans, this was due mainly to the Chinese effort for a time to push the peaceful and the violent policies simultaneously, and to the Latin American belief that China was too far away to be much of a threat to their existing political and social institutions. At the same time, such failures of Chinese domestic policy as the Great Leap Forward became more widely known and the uninformed but lavish praise for

alleged Chinese industrial and agricultural progress diminished. Furthermore, beginning in 1961, the number of military governments in Latin America again began to increase; though most were of a more enlightened nature than earlier military regimes, they were all openly anti-Communist.

Thus the thrust of Chinese Communist policy toward Latin America during the 1950s, which had achieved significant if limited success by the end of 1960, did not long outlive the turn of the decade. The secondary objective of the 1950s became the primary objective of the 1960s. In Latin America, as in other parts of the world, the Chinese sacrificed broader support from intellectual leaders in general to the more limited support of radical revolutionaries. Although the Chinese policy of the 1960s generally has decreased the scope of pro-Chinese sentiment in Latin America at the present time, its long term significance in this explosive area of the world remains uncertain.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Throughout this thesis "America," "American," and "Americans" will refer only to the United States and her citizens, as is standard in Chinese Communist usage. "China," and "Chinese" always refer to Communist China and Communist Chinese, unless otherwise stated.

[2] Earlier studies of Chinese relations with Latin America include: Víctor Alba, "The Chinese in Latin America," The China Quarterly, 5 (January-March, 1961), 53-61; Daniel Tretiak, "Sino-Soviet Rivalry in Latin America," Problems of Communism, 1 (January-February, 1963), 26-33; Tretiak, "Latin America: the Chinese Drive," Contemporary Review (November, 1964), 571-76; and Tretiak, "China and Latin America," Current Scene (March 1, 1966), 1-12. Ernst Halperin discusses Chinese activities in Chile during the early 1960s in Nationalism and Communism in Chile (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). Halperin has made the most detailed study yet of the subject in "Peking and the Latin American Communists," The China Quarterly, 29 (January-March, 1967), 111-54. Brief summaries of Sino-Latin American contacts through the early 1960s are found in Rollie E. Poppino, International Communism in Latin America (London, 1964), 173-79; and Harold C. Hinton, Communist China in World Politics (Boston, 1966), 197-201.

[3] Richard L. Walker, "The Developing Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Asia," Issues and Conflicts, ed. George L. Anderson (Lawrence, Kansas, 1959), 60.

[4] Ibid., 45. See also Herbert Passin, China's Cultural Diplomacy (New York, 1962). On this policy as it was developed and used by the Soviet Union, see Frederick C. Barghoorn, The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy (Princeton, New Jersey, 1960).

[5] Passin, China's Cultural Diplomacy, 22. The analysis of Sino-Indian relations presented in this paragraph is based on Ibid., 22-41.

[6] Liu's speech was carried in full in the Cominform organ For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy! (December 30, 1949), 2.

[7] For typical, and often brief, comments by the Chinese on armed uprisings in Latin America prior to 1958, see: Yü Meng-ju, "The Latin American Tempest," Shih-chieh Chih-shih (World Knowledge), 15 (April 17, 1948), 4-5; Hsieh Yao,

"Brazil Under American and English Exploitation," Ibid., 16 (April 26, 1952), 14-16; Li Shih-lin, "Stop the American Armed Aggression Against Guatemala," Ibid., 13 (July 5, 1954), 13-14; Mei Teng-k'e, "The National Liberation Movement of the Latin American Countries," Ibid., 7 (April 5, 1955), 22-23; and An-yang Kwang-ming, "The Upsurge of the Post-War National Independence Movement," Ibid., 21 (November 5, 1956), 19-21.

[8] In Guatemala the use of armed violence did not lead to but followed the establishment of a government which worked for what the Chinese considered national liberation.

[9] For typical Chinese comments see: Yin Yü, "The Struggle of the Latin American People Against American Imperialist Enslavement," Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 18 (May 10, 1952), 6-7; Teng Ch'ao, Mei-kuo Ch'in-lüeh hsia te La-ting Mei-chou (Latin America Under American Aggression) (Peking, 1957), especially pp. 96ff; and Liu Kuang-hua, Mei-kuo Ch'in-lüeh La-ting Mei-chou Chien Shih (A Short History of American Aggression in Latin America) (Peking, 1957), especially pp. 174ff. See also the articles cited in note 7 above.

[10] See Ch'ing Hai, "In Cuba Where the Fighting is Going On," Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 18 (September 20, 1957), 13-14.

[11] Yen Chin, "The Characteristics of the Present Latin American National Liberation Movement," Ibid., 16 (August 20, 1958), 18. Representative of the articles after Nixon's trip but before the theoretical statement quoted are: Mei Erh, "New Changes in the Latin American Political Situation," Ibid., 12 (June 20, 1958), 15-17; and Mei Erh, "The Anti-American Movement in Latin America," Shih-shih Shou-ts'e (Current Affairs Handbook), 12 (June 21, 1958), 31-33.

[12] See, for instance, "The New Development of the Latin American Anti-Dictatorial Struggle," Kuo-chi Wen-t'i Yen-chiu (Research on International Problems), 3 (July, 1959), 59-60. For the continued emphasis on the use of peaceful united fronts in most countries in mid-1959, see Yüan Wen, "The Basic Situation in the Latin American National Independence Movement," Ibid., 1 (May, 1959), 10-18.

[13] See especially Chang Chih-ching, "Upsurge of the National-Democratic Movement in Latin America," Hung Ch'i, 9 (May 1, 1960), translated in Cuba Sí, Yanquis No! Support the Cuban and other Latin American People's Just

Struggle Against U. S. Imperialism (Peking, 1961), 160-163; and Commentator, "Form a Broad United Front to Defeat Imperialism," Hung Ch'i, 10 (May 16, 1960), translated in Peking Review, 21 (May 24, 1960), 31.

14 See Kuo Mo-jo, "Long Live the Friendship Between the Chinese and Latin American Peoples!," Peking Review, 12 (March 22, 1960), 9.

15 Translated in Peking Review, 47 (November 22, 1960), 5; also in Cuba Sí, Yanquis No!, 19-25.

16 See "Joint Communique of Li Hsien-nien and Ernesto Che Guevara," Peking Review, 49 and 50 (December 13, 1960), 41.

17 In his La Guerra de Guerrillas (Guerrilla Warfare) (Havana, MINFAR), undated but widely accepted as having been published during the first half of 1960, Che Guevara wrote that although a guerrilla war could be started with a minimum of 30 to 50 men (p. 181), this could not be done in just any Latin American country. In fact, Guevara laid down very clear conditions: "Where a government has come to power through any form of popular consultation, fraudulent or not, and maintains at least an appearance of constitutional legality, it is impossible to bring about a guerrilla outbreak inasmuch as all the possibilities of civic struggle have not been exhausted." (p. 13) During 1960 this eliminated most Latin American governments from the outset, including Venezuela where Cuba in fact supported guerrillas by the end of 1960, and is a much more restricting theoretical position than that laid down by the Chinese.

18 On November 30, 1960, in an editorial entitled "Political Divergencies Between Peking and Moscow," p. 8.

19 Cited in W. A. C. Adie, "Chou En-lai on Safari," China Quarterly, 18 (April-June, 1964), 177.

20 Passin, China's Cultural Diplomacy, 8.

21 Estimates on the basis of my study of NCNA reports between 1949-1960. See also Passin, China's Cultural Diplomacy, 4.

22 On guided tourism see: Passin, Ibid.; Richard L. Walker, "The Developing Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Asia," 43-62; Walker, "Guided Tourism in China," Problems of Communism, 5 (September-October, 1957), 31-36; and Walker, "Visitors to China," Ibid., 1 (January-February,

1960), 50-55. Robert Loh, who was for some years a "model industrialist" in China, during which time he entertained many foreign guests of the Chinese government, tells of the elaborate deceptions perpetrated by the Chinese in his Escape From Red China (New York, 1962); see also Loh, "Setting the Stage for Foreigners," Atlantic (December, 1959), 80-84.

23 The student was Manuel Migone, an actor at the Theatre Institute of the University of Santiago de Chile, quoted in Manuel Castillo, "Chilean Student Leaves Communist China," Est & Ouest, XIV, 272 (February 1-15, 1962), translated by the Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) in Document No. 13489, p. 12.

24 Le Monde (January 18, 1956) as quoted in Problems of Communism, VI, 5 (September-October, 1957), 36.

25 My estimates based on Chinese and Latin American reports of visitors to China.

26 The spirit of this conference comes out clearly in the NCNA releases of September and October, 1952, available in the Survey of the China Mainland Press (SCMP) Nos. 424-35. No other conference in China during this decade brought so many Latin Americans to the People's Republic, nor did any create so many long-term China enthusiasts. For a partial list of the Latin American sponsors of the conference, see SCMP Nos. 338, 346, and 405. The names of the eighteen delegates who went to China for the Preparatory meeting are given in SCMP Nos. 346, 349, 350, 352, 362, and 387. Delegates to the General Conference came from Brazil (3 persons), Chile (25), Colombia (11), Costa Rica (8), Ecuador (9), Guatemala (5), Honduras (2), Mexico (16), Nicaragua (5), Panama (3), Peru (2), and El Salvador (3). For the names of these delegates see SCMP Nos. 424-31 and 439. The fifteen Latin Americans on the Peace Liaison Committee set up by the Conference are named in SCMP No. 435.

27 Vicente Lombardo Toledano's attendance at the Conference has been fairly widely reported. That of Lázaro Peña has not. Lombardo himself has written of Peña's visit in his Diario de un Viaje a la China Nueva (Journal of a Trip to New China) (Mexico City, 1950), 67, 141.

28 These visits sometimes paid off in unexpected ways for the Chinese. For example, one member of the 15-man Argentine medical delegation headed by Dr. Joaquin Argonz, which visited China for 45 days in early 1956, was Dr. S. Schujman, a leprologist from Rosario. Dr. Schujman returned to China in 1957, and in 1958 in Canton and Shanghai gave

two three-month courses at the advanced level to Chinese doctors in the treatment of leprosy. Peking Review (April 29, 1958), 21.

[29] By "politician" I mean one who held office at the time of his visit to China (e.g. Salvador Allende) or one who was known to the Chinese mainly for his political activities (e.g. Lázaro Cárdenas). Thus persons like Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Pablo Neruda, though they have held political office, are not here considered politicians. When speaking of those who hold political office in Latin America one should keep in mind Salvador de Madariaga's observation that:

> In Latin America . . . a man may be writing poetry on Friday and become President or Minister of Foreign Affairs the following Sunday. Nor should one suppose that this phenomenon is limited to that form of power which derives from actual political functions. It cannot be doubted, for instance, that the high reputation which Pablo Neruda enjoys as a poet considerably enhances his power over Chilean public opinion as a Communist leader.

Madariaga, "Peoples and Politics," Saturday Review (March 25, 1961), 14-15.

[30] Robert Loh, "How the Chinese Reds Hoodwink Visiting Foreigners," a consultation before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 86th Congress, 2nd Session (April 21, 1960), 11.

[31] According to the research report for 1960, from the series of yearly reports entitled "Communist Propaganda Activities in Latin America," by the United States Information Agency (USIA).

[32] See Chapter III (C, 3) below, especially note 119.

[33] The names of other delegates are given in the releases of NCNA, Peking, February 18 and 19, 1959. See NCNA, Chengchow, March 4, 1959, for their meeting with Mao Tse-tung.

[34] For the names of other delegates, and excerpts from some of their speeches in China, see NCNA, Peking, releases between September 21 and October 5, 1959.

[35] See Osvaldo Peralva, O Retrato (The Portrait) (Porto Alegre, Brazil, 1962), 120.

[36] See the testimony of General C. P. Cabell, Deputy Director of the CIA, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (November 5, 1959), 86th Congress, 1st Session, in Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean, III, p. 147.

[37] See Poppino, International Communism in Latin America, 175.

[38] This comes out clearly in Robert J. Alexander, Communism in Latin America (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1957), and in Víctor Alba, Esquema Histórico del Comunismo en Iberoamérica (Historical Outline of Communism in Latin America) (Mexico City, 1960). For a brief discussion of this see Robert J. Alexander, "Communism and Indigenous Social Reform Parties in Latin America," The Strategy of Deception, ed. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (New York, 1963), 378-80.

[39] It was evidently clear to a few, or at least so they have said in later years. Brazilian Communist Diogenes Arruda is said to have pointed out some of this friction to a fellow Brazilian Communist, Osvaldo Peralva, during 1956, after the former had spent some months in China. See Peralva, O Retrato, 24ff, 117-24. See also note 41 below.

[40] See, for example, the interviews with the following Communist delegates at the 1952 Peace Conference in Peking: Ramón Amalla Amador (Honduras), Diego Montaña Cuellar (Colombia), and Manuel Agustin Aguirre (Ecuador), in Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 44 (November 8, 1952), 16-19. For excerpts from the speeches of the delegates before the Chinese Congress in 1956, see NCNA, Peking, September 20-24, 1956.

[41] See Corvalán, "Report of the Secretary-General to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party," given in Santiago, Chile, on May 10, 1959, printed in El Siglo, Santiago, May 11, 1959, and translated in 1959 JPRS Document 16505, 69-96. See also NCNA, Peking, March 26, 1959, on a Corvalán press conference after his trip to China. Looking back in June, 1963, Corvalán confessed to having been overly enthusiastic in his praise for Mao and Chinese accomplishments in 1959. Whether or not he actually did notice any disagreements between the Chinese and the Russians on his trip to China is uncertain. In 1963 he could be expected to try to save at least a little face by such a claim. It seems unlikely that his praise for Mao and the people's communes would have been quite so lavish, or that he would have used so freely such Chinese phrases as the "East Wind prevails over the West Wind," and "imperialism

is a paper tiger," if he had noticed any real differences. Corvalán's speech of June 6, 1963, at the Plenary Session of the Chilean Party, was published in Principios (September-October, 1963), and translated in part in Halperin, Nationalism and Communism in Chile, 104-05.

[42] USIA, "Communist Propaganda Activities in Latin America," (1960).

[43] On the visit of the acrobatic troupe to Uruguay, the Hispanic American Report, XI, No. 12, p. 695, notes that, "The reception accorded the group was such that it extended its stay in Montevideo to give five extra performances." On a less spectacular but more personal level, Manuel Migone, a Chilean actor, was so impressed by the performances of the Chinese theatrical groups within his country in 1956 and 1959 that he asked for and received a scholarship from the Chinese government to study for three years in Peking. See Castillo, "Chilean Student Leaves Communist China."

[44] NCNA, Prague, May 24, 1953.

[45] NCNA, Peking, September 11, 1954.

[46] NCNA, Prague, June 10 and 12, 1955.

[47] Peking Review, No. 38 (November 18, 1958), 21.

[48] Hispanic American Report, X, 10 (1957), 553. If such an office was opened I have found no indication that it was in operation for long.

[49] See Ming Chen-hua, Chung Kung Tui La-ting Mei-chou Te Shen-t'ou (Penetration of Latin America by the Chinese Communists) (Taipei, 1959).

[50] NCNA, Peking, March 20, 1959.

[51] NCNA, Santiago, November 17 and 24, 1959.

[52] Liu Chang-sheng, "A Trip to Latin America," Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 4 (February 20, 1960), 23.

[53] One generally reliable source has stated that the Havana bureau of the NCNA was set up in August, 1960. See the Editor, "The New China News Agency," Current Scene, IV, 7 (April 1, 1966), 4. Víctor Alba has written that the bureau was established at the end of 1959. See Alba, "The Chinese in Latin America," China Quarterly, 5 (January-

March, 1961), 54. I have concluded, however, that it was set up in April, 1959, two and one-half months before the arrival in Cuba of the journalist delegation led by Yao Chen. The first report sent directly from Havana to Peking was on April 16, 1959. The first report signed by K'ung Mai and Ping An was dated April 22; they continued to send signed reports from Cuba during the following months, and news releases datelined Havana became a regular feature of NCNA daily bulletins. This conclusion is supported by a letter (dated August 18, 1960) from the then Ambassador of the Republic of China in Cuba, Liu Yu-wan, to Dr. T. F. Tsiang, then Permanent Representative of the Republic of China at the United Nations, in which it is stated that a NCNA office was established in Havana in April, 1959. I am indebted to Ambassador Liu for making a copy of this letter available to me. Additional evidence is provided by the CIA testimony cited in note 36 above (p. 157) which says that the NCNA established a headquarters in Havana adjacent to that of Prensa Latina in "early 1959." See also Paul D. Bethel, Cuba y Los Estados Unidos: Habla Un Diplomático Norteamericano (Cuba and the United States: A North American Diplomat Speaks) (Barcelona, Spain, 1962), 49, 51-52.

54 See USIA, "Communist Propaganda Activities in Latin America," (1960).

55 The primary source for the information in this paragraph is the Ch'üan-kuo Tsung Shu-mu (Chinese National Bibliography) (Peking, 1949-54, 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958).

56 Chou En-lai, Informe acerca de la Labor del Gobierno (Report on the Work of the Government).

57 Mao Tse-tung, Problemas de la cooperación agrícola (On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation).

58 See in particular Mao's works: Informe sobre Investigación Verificado en Junan acerca del Movimiento Campesino (Report on the Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan); Acerca de la Aparación de la Revista "El Comunista" (Introductory Remarks to "The Communist"); and a Spanish edition of On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism. The standard history by Hu Chiao-mu, Trienta Años del Partido Comunista de China (Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China), was published in December.

59 Among the works translated were: Palabras del Comarada Mao Tse-tung sobre "El imperialismo y todos los reaccionarios son tigres de papel" (Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and

All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers"; and T'ung Ta-lin, El Camino de la Cooperación Agrícola en China (The Road of Agricultural Cooperation in China). The total of 30 new titles in Spanish in 1958 shows the increasing Chinese concern for Spanish-speaking peoples. On the other hand, in evaluating the increase, it is useful to keep in mind the comments of Om Prakash Mantri, who worked in the Hindi section of the Foreign Languages Press between 1956 and 1961. He writes that in the atmosphere of the Big Leap, the Press greatly increased its number of publications. "They were not bothered about the quality . . . They were not concerned whether the people would be interested in reading those books or not. They wanted to show their leaders the impressive output in number." Om Prakash Mantri, Five Years in Mao's China (New Delhi, 1964), 49.

60 In spite of the great Chinese interest in Brazil, I have not found that the translators at the Foreign Languages Press prepared any books in Portuguese during this period. Spanish, English, and French translations were circulated in Brazil during the 1950s, however.

A number of Latin Americans helped prepare translations for the Foreign Languages Press. José Venturelli is thought to have devoted some of his time to such activities. See Karl M. Schmitt, Communism in Mexico (Austin, Texas, 1965), 216. By 1959, Luis Enrique Délano, Hermina Carvajal, and Pablo Ortiz were among those given as translators for these publications. According to Om Prakash Mantri, the translations were first made by Chinese staff members and then corrected by the foreign experts. They were then translated back into Chinese to make sure they were accurate. Mantri reports that, "It was often a tough time for a foreign expert to discuss translations with the Chinese colleagues, and it sometimes used to lead to heated arguments." Five Years in Mao's China, 11-12.

61 People's China was of considerable interest to many Latin Americans. It circulated in Guatemala during Arbenz term of office, as will be discussed in Chapter III (C, 2). The Chinese Agrarian Reform Law of 1950 was published in a supplement to People's China (July 16, 1950), together with an article "On the Agrarian Reform Law," by Liu Shao-ch'i. An Argentine reader of this issue wrote that the Chinese reform was "a good road to the Latin American peoples . . ." and that the Argentine Communist Party, "in spite of the reaction and terror, will popularize among the Argentine peasants the great Chinese example." People's China (February 16, 1951), 31. This copy of the Agrarian Reform Law may have been used in preparation of the Communist land reform

proposals given to the Paz Estenssoro government in Bolivia early in 1953. The Bolivian Communists' draft land reform was almost word for word the Chinese law. See Amado Canelas O., Mito y Realidad de la Reforma Agraria (Myth and Reality of the Agrarian Reform) (La Paz, Bolivia, 1966), 137-41; and Robert J. Alexander, The Bolivian National Revolution (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958), 63-64. Another important reprint in People's China (August 1, 1950) was Mao Tse-tung's "On Establishing Guerrilla Bases," a crucial chapter from The Strategic Problems of Guerrilla Warfare Against Japan. Several Latin Americans at the 1952 Peace Conference in Peking indicated that they had read two of Mao Tse-tung's works in particular, On Practice and On Contradiction, which had appeared in People's China in June, 1951, and July, 1952, respectively. See, for instance, the interview with Ecuadorian delegate Manuel Agustin Aguirre in Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 44 (November 8, 1952), 18.

62 According to yearly USIA propaganda reports cited above, as well as periodic USIA lists entitled "Sino-Soviet Bloc Periodicals Circulating in Latin America."

63 According to Ibid., and Alba, "The Chinese in Latin America," 54.

64 Among the other important publications were: Hu Sheng, Historia de las Relaciones entre China y las Potencias Imperialistas, 1840-1925 (History of the Relations Between China and the Imperialist Powers, 1840-1925) (Montevideo, 1957); Spanish editions of Liu Shao-ch'i's On Internationalism and Nationalism and Ch'en Po-ta's Stalin and the Chinese Revolution, both published in Santiago de Chile in 1958; and two volumes of Mao Tse-tung's Obras Escogidas (Selected Works) (Buenos Aires, 1959), covering the years 1926-1945.

Nicolás Guillén and Jorge Amado said in 1952 that Spanish and Portuguese translations of Mao's literary guidelines, Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature, were being read widely in "progressive cultural circles" in Cuba and Brazil. See SCMP, No. 342 (May 22, 1952), 17. Also available were Lu Hsün, La Verdadera Historia de AQ (The True Story of Ah Q (Santiago, Chile, 1954); Chao Shu-li, Coplas de Li Yu-tsai y otros relatos (Rhymes of Li Yu-tsai and other Stories) (Montevideo, 1958); Mao Tun, Gusanos de Seda de Primavera y otros relatos (Spring Silkworms and Other Stories) (Montevideo, 1959); and Ting Ling's famous land reform novel Sol Sobre O Rio Sangkan (Sun Over the Sangkan River) (Rio de Janeiro, 1956), volume 17 of the Romances do Povo under the direction of Jorge Amado.

65 The largest number of Communist publishing houses

and bookstores distributing Communist writings were in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, in that order. Outlets in Bolivia nearly equaled those in Uruguay during the late 1950s, while in 1960 the number in Ecuador increased suddenly to 22, the same as in Uruguay. According to USIA propaganda reports cited above.

66 According to Schmitt, Communism in Mexico, 212n; and NCNA, May 7, 1959.

67 According to Mao Tse-tung: "Revolutionary art and literature should create all kinds of characters on the basis of actual life and help the masses to push history forward." And, "All dark forces which endanger the masses of the people must be exposed while all revolutionary struggles of the masses must be praised--this is the basic task of all revolutionary artists and writers." From Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature," Selected Works (New York, 1956), Vol. IV, 77 and 87.

68 Wang Shou-peng, "Latin-American Literature Comes to China," China Reconstructs, IX, 10 (October, 1960), 15.

69 Ibid., 14.

70 See Latin America in Soviet Writings: A Bibliography, comp. Leo Okinshevich, ed. Robert G. Carlton (Baltimore, Md., 1966), Vols. I and II.

71 Unless otherwise noted, the information on Latin American literature which follows is based on Ch'üan-kuo Tsung Shu-mu (Chinese National Bibliography) (Peking, 1949-54, 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958); Ch'üan-kuo Hsin Shu-mu (Chinese National Bibliography of New Books) (Peking, several times monthly between 1958-1960); and Wang Shou-peng, "Latin American Literature Comes to China."

72 The figures for 1960 are incomplete since I have been unable to locate reliable publication records for that year.

My yearly tabulations differ during four years from those in Wolfgang Bauer's "Western Literature and Translation Work in Communist China," a publication of the Institut für Asienkunde Hamburg (Berlin, 1964), in the University of Washington Modern Chinese History Project Reprint Series No. 17 (1964), 70-71. Bauer's figures during those four years are: 1956 (3), 1957 (6), 1958 (7), 1959 (24). Bauer too states that his figures for 1960 are incomplete, and for the same reason. In 1958 Bauer seems to have missed one publication. The differences in the other years are due mainly to the fact that Bauer counted all books published in each year even though some, especially in 1959, were reprints of books

published earlier. My figures show only the number of books translated and published for the first time in the given years.

73 Three-fifths of the books appeared in only one edition, the number of copies varying from 1,000 to 35,200 (a collection of poems by Pablo Neruda). Most second editions were limited to about 2,000 copies. Only Jorge Amado's Seara vermelha (Red Shoots) reached a third edition during these years. Amado had more of his books translated and more copies circulated between 1949 and 1960 than any other Latin American writer. His Terras do sem fim (Unbounded Lands) went through two editions (1953, 1958) and a total of 24,500 copies; Seara vermelha (1954, 1956, 1957) reached 45,500 copies; and São Jorge dos Ilheus (The Land of Golden Fruit) (1956), in 14,100 copies, brought Amado's books in circulation to almost 85,000.

Among the works translated during the 1949-1960 period were: Miguel Angel Asturias, Weekend in Guatemala (1960); Carlos Luis Fallas, Mamita Yunai (Green Hell) (1958, 1959); Rómulo Gallegos, Doña Bárbara (1960); Ricardo Güiraldes, Don Segundo Sombra (1960); José Mancisidor, En la rosa de los vientos (The Wind Rose) (1956, 1959), and El alba en las simas (Dawn Over the Abyss) (1958); Alina Paim, A hora próxima (The Time is Near) (1958, 1959); Ricardo Palma, selections from Tradiciones peruanas (Tales of Peru) (1959); José Eustasio Rivera, La vorágine (The Vortex) (1957, 1959); Jacques Roumain, Gouverneurs de la rosée (The Masters of the Dew) (1959); Alfredo Varela, El río oscuro (The Dark River) (1959); and novels by Jacques Stephen Alexis, Ralph Boissiere, Bruno Traven, and others. The Chinese also translated and published collections of poems by Antonio de Castro Alves, Nicolás Guillén, Carlos Augusto León, José Martí, Pablo Neruda, and others.

Most of the English translations of titles in this note are from Okinshevich, Latin America in Soviet Writings.

74 An issue of I Wen which featured Latin American writings was published in February, 1957, and included eight poems by Latin Americans and two articles, Pablo Neruda, "My Poetry and My Life," and Miguel Angel Asturias, "Literature of Latin America." NCNA, London, February 13, 1957. This journal had its name changed to Shih-chieh Wen-hsüeh (World Literature) in 1959.

75 USIA, "Communist Propaganda Activities in Latin America," (1960).

76 My conclusions, based mainly on information in the Chinese and Latin American press, but also on such sources as Schmitt, Communism in Mexico, and USIA reports.

77 Incomplete estimates as given in USIA reports.

78 See NCNA, Peking, September 18 and 28, and December 26, 1953. Martí shared the honors with the third century B. C. Chinese poet Ch'ü Yüan, Copernicus, and Rabelais.

79 Peking Review, 45 (November 10, 1959), 26.

80 Proof that the Chinese were not always successful in trying to win the full support of Latin American artists who were specially honored in China is evident here. After his visit in China in 1959, Guilherme Figueiredo had many critical comments to make about conditions under Communist rule in China. See, for example, his remarks in Rio de Janeiro's Jornal do Comercio (March 27, 1960).

81 Yuan-li Wu, The Economy of Communist China (New York, 1965), 173.

82 Peking Review, 38 (November 18, 1958), 21.

83 NCNA, Peking, October 23, 1952.

84 Studies by the U. S. Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act Administrator for his yearly Report to Congress, as collected in Alexander Eckstein, Communist China's Economic Growth and Foreign Trade(New York, 1966). All figures in the remainder of this section are from Eckstein, pp. 192-95, 237, 284-85, and are exclusive of Cuba unless otherwise noted.

During 1951 reports circulated in Latin America, denied by the Perón government, that Argentina was making very profitable exports of quebracho to Communist China through Hong Kong. In January, 1953, Argentine sources were implicated in the illegal sale of American-made antibiotics to China and North Korea. See Hispanic American Report, IV, 4 (1951), 38; and VI, 1 (1953), 37.

85 Peking Review, 38 (1958), 21. This is probably the $300,000 transaction placed in 1952 by the United States government study.

86 Hispanic American Report, XII, 2 (1959), 121.

87 On Sino-Latin American trade see, in addition to Eckstein, Daniel Tretiak, "China's Latin American Trade," Far Eastern Economic Review, XLI, 4 (July 25, 1963), 221-23. For the Chinese view see, "Prospects for Trade with Latin America," China Reconstructs, VII, 6 (June, 1958), 14; and "Trade with Latin America: Current Advances and High Potential," Ibid., IX, 5 (May, 1960), 36.

88 Some information on the Mexican center is found in

Schmitt, Communism in Mexico, 134-36; on the formation of the Brazilian center see NCNA, Vienna, November 28, 1953. The four honorary Presidents in Chile who had visited China were Salvador Allende, Alejandro Lipschutz, Olga Poblete, and Hector Mardones Restat. These and other officers are named in NCNA, Santiago, March 15, 1959.

89 According to USIA propaganda studies cited above.

90 The importance of this leftist population is particularly great in Chile, and is evident in the fact that the Presidential candidate of the Communist-Socialist-leftist coalition very nearly won the election in 1958 and again in 1964. In both elections the coalition candidate was Socialist Senator Salvador Allende, who had led a delegation to China in 1954 and had constantly promoted economic and political contacts with the People's Republic. In the 1961 Congressional election the Communist Party under its own banner took well over 150,000 votes (11.7 per-cent of the total) and won twenty seats.

91 For a description of the operation of these friendship associations in Peking see Tung Chi-ping and Humphrey Evans, The Thought Revolution (New York, 1966), 201-03.

92 Víctor Alba, "The Chinese in Latin America," 55. Tad Szulc, South American correspondent for the New York Times, wrote in 1963 that since 1957 or 1958, "Dozens of books, articles, and speeches almost uniformly praising China--or at least showing grudging admiration for it--have been written by Latin American Congressmen, intellectuals, artists, and labor-and student-union members on their return from guided tours of the Chinese mainland." The Winds of Revolution (New York, 1963), 187.

The most detailed book calling for Latin Americans to follow the Chinese example--with an emphasis on construction rather than the seizure of power through armed struggle--was by the Bolivian politician and newspaper editor Amado Canelas O., who visited China for several months late in 1960. See Amado Canelas, China de Hoy . . . América Latina de Mañana (China Today . . . Latin America Tomorrow) (La Paz, Bolivia, 1962). Among the other books written on China by Latin Americans during the 1949-1960 period are the following:

Argentina: Jesualdo, Conocí China en Otoño (Buenos Aires, 1958); María Gatani, Un Viaje por la Nueva China (Mendoza, 1961).

Brazil: Osny Duarte Pereira, A China de Hoje (Rio de Janeiro, 1957), two vols.; Jurema Yary Finamour, China Sem Muralhas (Rio de Janeiro, 1956 or 1957); Abram Jagle, A China Não Tem Pressa (São Paulo, 1958); María Martins, Asia Maior, O Planeta China (Brasileira, S. A., 1958); Domingos Vellasco, Nova China (São Paulo, 1960).

Chile: Angel Cruchaga Santa Maria, Anillo de Jade: Poemas de China (Santiago, 1959); Alfonso Gonzalez Dagnino, Aurora Sobre el Yang-Tze (Santiago, 1956); Gustavo Mujica, Un Viaje por Esos Mundos (Santiago, 1955); Olga Poblete, Hablemos de China Nueva (Santiago, 1953); Olga Poblete, Tres Ensayos para una Historia Cultural de China (Santiago, 1955).

Ecuador: Manuel Agustín Aguirre, La China Actual (Quito, 1959).

Mexico: Fernando Benítez, China a la Vista (Mexico, D. F., 1952?); Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Causas de la Elevación del Espíritu Humano (Mexico, 1960); Lombardo Toledano, Diario de un Viaje a la China Nueva (Mexico, 1950); Lombardo Toledano, La Reforma Agraria en China y en México: Semejanzas y Diferencias (Mexico, 1954); Lombardo Toledano, Victoria de la Revolución China (Mexico, 1950).

The spirit characteristic of these books is seen in the Dedication made by Amado Canelas in his China de Hoy:

> To the workers and peasants of the left sector of the M. N. R. [the revolutionary party which held political control in Bolivia during most of the 1950s and early 1960s], and to the Bolivian laborers in general, who united by their class interests and with a national and patriotic spirit will be able to give battle until the final victory against North American imperialism and its domestic agents.

I have not purposely excluded books that are critical of China from this list. I have spent considerable time trying to find even one solid critique of Communist China written during these years. I have not discovered one.

93 See Alba, "The Chinese in Latin America," especially 56-57; Rodrigues, "Brazil and China," in Policies Toward China, ed. A. M. Halpern (New York, 1965), 471-72; and Szulc, The Winds of Revolution, 186-88. See also end of bibliography.

94 See Kenneth R. Walker, Planning in Chinese Agriculture (Chicago, 1965), 79-82, 94.

95 Quoted in Rodrigues, "Brazil and China," 465.

96 See NCNA, Rio de Janeiro, November 5, 1958; and Rodrigues, "Brazil and China," 468. Aranha had taken these positions some years earlier as well. See Ibid., 468; and Hispanic American Report, III, 5, p. 35. On several occasions Aranha had written Prefaces for books authored by travellers to China, including Osny Duarte Pereira's A China de Hoje and María Martins' Asia Maior, O Planeta China.

97 NCNA, Peking, October 4, 1956.

98 Brazil did not vote for the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, but merely for discussion of the problem. Even this, however, was a not insignificant change and shows the difficulty that even the more independent Latin American governments (as Quadros was trying to make Brazil at that time) have in making substantive moves in the direction of the Communist Chinese. See Rodrigues, "Brazil and China," 468-71.

99 Ibid., 458-59. Goulart was elevated to the office of President, upon the resignation of Quadros, during his trip to China.

100 Robert J. Alexander, Communism in Latin America, 14. In the 1930s and 1940s Lombardo played a leading role in the formation of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the General Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants, and the Partido Popular (later renamed the Partido Popular Socialista). Through the Confederation of Latin American Workers Lombardo exerted considerable influence on Latin American Communists and Socialists; this was particularly true in Guatemala where he was one of the most influential figures in the organization of the Guatemalan labor movement and "played an important role in fostering Communism among the labor leaders." Ronald M. Schneider, Communism in Guatemala: 1944-1954 (New York, 1958), 222n. See also Alexander, Communism in Latin America, 39-40; and Robert Paul Millon, Mexican Marxist: Vicente Lombardo Toledano (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1966), Chapter VII.

According to Víctor Alba, Lombardo has for decades been merely an echo of orders from Moscow. Inasmuch as he has been the foremost Marxist in Latin America during this time, Alba argues, but has refused to apply Marxist thought creatively to Latin American conditions, Lombardo has not only wasted his own abilities but led also to the sterilization of all other Marxists in Latin America. See Esquema Historico del Comunismo en Iberoamérica, 55-56.

101 Vicente Lombardo Toledano, "I Have Seen the New China," People's China, I, 1 (January 1, 1950), 13. A Spanish version of this article is found in Lombardo's Diario de un Viaje a la China Nueva, 209-12.

102 Millon, Mexican Marxist, 103.

103 Lombardo, Victoria de la Revolucion China, 13-14.

104 Ibid., 35.

105 Ibid., 69, 70.

106 Millon, Mexican Marxist, 103-04.

107 According to a Tass release reported by NCNA, Peking, October 4, 1959.

108 Lombardo, Causas de la Elevación del Espíritu Humano, 87.

109 Ibid., 87-94. Lombardo never uses the word "Communism," but rather "Socialism" or "Humanism."

110 Lombardo had maintained quite close contacts with Cárdenas for several decades. See Millon, Mexican Marxist, passim.

111 See Alexander, Communism in Latin America, 350-64; Víctor Alba, Esquema Histórico del Comunismo en Iberoamérica, 154-63; Alba, Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina (History of the Labor Movement in Latin America) (Mexico City, 1964), 237-42, 414-16; and expecially Schneider, Communism in Guatemala, a study based on documents of Communist and Communist-dominated groups in Guatemala which were collected immediately after the overthrow of President Arbenz. All page references in the text of this section are to Schneider's book.

112 Alexander, Communism in Latin America, 39-40; and Schneider, Communism in Guatemala, 222n.

113 Liu's report was a gloss for the 1945 Chinese Communist Constitution, with a strong emphasis on party structure, methods of organization, and tactics for uniting the people and winning the Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek. An extract from this report was printed in People's China (July 1, 1950), 7-10, 31-32, under the title "On the Party's Mass Line." The entire report, a companionpiece to Mao Tse-tung's On Coalition Government, was available in an English language pamphlet in July, 1950, under the title On the Party. See also H. Arthur Steiner, "Liu Shao-ch'i, On the Party: A Review Article," The Far Eastern Quarterly, XI, 1 (November, 1951), 79-84.

114 At the Second Party Congress it was also recognized that China, as well as some of the Eastern European countries, proved that the capitalist stage could be a short one. See Schneider, Communism in Guatemala, 80.

115 Without claiming any credit for themselves, the Chinese commented very favorably on the effectiveness of the

united front of the Guatemalan Communists. See Hui Lan, "Guatemala," Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 21 (May 31, 1952), 14-15; and Yu Chih, "The Struggle of Guatemala to Achieve Democracy and Defend National Sovereignty," Ibid., 18 (September 18, 1953), 21-22.

116 As quoted in Daniel James, Red Design for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude (New York, 1954), 134.

117 Poppino, International Communism in Latin America, 175. On Guatemalan interest in Chinese peasant policy see also James, Red Design for the Americas, especially Chapter VII.

118 "To put it bluntly, it was necessary to bring about a brief reign of terror in every rural area; otherwise one could never suppress the activities of the counter-revolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry. To right a wrong it is necessary to exceed the proper limits, and the wrong cannot be righted without the proper limits being exceeded." Mao Tse-tung, "Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan," Selected Works (New York, 1954), Vol. I, p. 27. See also James, Red Design for the Americas, especially Chapter VIII; and Poppino, International Communism in Latin America, 102.

119 Quoted from the speech of the PSP delegate as carried by NCNA, Peking, September 23, 1956. My reasons for concluding that this delegate was Blas Roca are as follows: 1) Roca has on several occasions admitted that he went secretly to China in 1956: see the television interview published in the PSP organ Hoy (May 6, 1959), cited in Andrés Suárez, Cuba: Castroism and Communism, 1959-1966 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 56n5; and the speech he gave on television in China on April 27, 1960, as reported by NCNA, Peking, April 27, 1960. And 2) No other high-ranking member of the PSP is known to have visited China in 1956; it is unlikely that a minor official would have been sent to address such a Congress. Andrés Suárez has concluded that Roca left Cuba "when Castro was preparing the Granma expedition [March to late November, 1956], or was even already in the Sierra [from early December, 1956, on]." He returned to Cuba the following year. See Suárez, Cuba, 56. Roca may even have left earlier than March in order to attend the XX Congress of the CPSU (February, 1956). On the other hand, even if the delegate was not Roca, the message read at the Chinese Congress would just as surely have expressed Roca's views since he was the Party's General-Secretary.

120 Ibid., 56-57.

121 From Hoy (January 28, 1959), as translated in

Theodore Draper, Castroism: Theory and Practice (New York, 1965), 81. We cannot here be concerned with the degree to which such an analysis actually explains all that happened in Cuba during the war against Batista, but merely with the PSP effort to make use of the Chinese experience to provide a Marxist interpretation of the revolution.

122 Quotations in this and the preceding paragraph are from the "Conclusions of the Plenum of the National Committee of the PSP That Took Place Between May 25 and 28, 1959," as translated in Suárez, Cuba, 62.

123 Latin American Marxists had long shown considerable interest in the idea of the "people's democratic dictatorship." See, for example, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Victoria de la Revolución China, 57ff. The concept was much discussed at the time of the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference. See, for instance, the remarks of the Chairman of the delegation from Honduras (Ramón Amalla Amador) in the interview reported in Shih-chieh Chih-shih, 44 (November 8, 1952), 16.

124 See "Nuestro Camino" (Our Path), Hoy (July 9, 1959), and "Los varios partidos de China" (The Diverse Parties of China), Hoy (October 6, 1959), cited in Suárez, Cuba, 80 and 80n.

125 See Ibid., 82.

126 This evidence of the impotence of the Cuban Communist Party vis-a-vis Castro and the 26th of July Movement shows that a Chinese-style "people's democratic dictatorship" was impossible in Cuba at this time anyway.

127 See Blas Roca, The Cuban Revolution, Report to the Eighth National Congress of the PSP of Cuba (New York, 1961).

128 Ibid., 106-07.

129 The letter was dated September 13, 1960, and was in response to a question from a workers' study group as to whether or not the Chinese Communist regime was socialist. See Suárez, Cuba, 107-08.

130 Ibid., 109.

131 Ibid., 109, gives the figure 382; Draper, Castroism, 86, gives 376. October 13, 1960, was later to be pointed out as the beginning of the "socialist" stage of the Cuban revolution. See Ibid., 86-87.

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NEWSPAPERS

The eleven Latin American newspapers used in the section "The Image of China Among Non-Communists" (pp. 52-59) are:

Argentina. La Prensa, published in Buenos Aires, had the largest circulation of any paper in Latin America in 1959.

Brazil. 1) O Globo, published in Rio de Janeiro, has the largest circulation of any paper in Brazil.

2) Jornal do Brasil, described by Ronald Chilcote as probably the most balanced paper in Rio de Janeiro.

3) Jornal do Comércio, the outstanding conservative paper of Recife.

4) Ultima Hora, second only to O Globo in circulation in Rio de Janeiro, has editions also in São Paulo, Belo Horizante, and Pôrto Alegre.

Chile. 1) El Diario Ilustrado, among the top three of Santiago's many papers.

2) Las Noticias de la Ultima Hora, paper of the Socialist Party whose leader almost won the Presidential elections in 1958 and 1964.

Colombia. 1) El Correo, the leading Liberal Party paper in Medellín.

2) El Relatador, the leading Liberal Party paper in Cali.

Uruguay. 1) Acción, a Colorado Party paper published by a nephew of José Batlle y Ordóñez, one of the most renouned reformers in Latin American history.

2) El Popular, the organ of the Uruguayan Communist Party.

My primary purpose in giving the statements on pages 52 through 59 has been to provide a sample of the views on China of important Latin American cultural and political figures. A look at the papers in which the statements were published, however, also shows that these comments were carried by many of the leading newspapers in Latin America. Similar remarks were made by numerous other personages in many other important papers. It is necessary to keep in mind that an influential newspaper in a major Latin American city (generally excluding the national capital) may have a circulation of only about 50,000, as is the case with several of the smaller papers used here (i.e. El Correo and El Relatador).

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