

# PEKING REVIEW

21

May 25, 1962

## The Intellectuals' Way Forward

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## From "Yangko" Opera to "The White-Haired Girl"

Reminiscences of the Yen-an Forum

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Sports, Press Opinion and  
Other Features

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*

This pamphlet contains the two famous speeches of Mao Tse-tung that ushered in a new era for literature and art in China. Addressed to writers and artists in Yen-an in May 1942, they discuss a series of questions: Why China's revolutionary literature and art can and must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; what relation literature and art have to politics; the springs of literary and artistic creation; and the criteria of literary and artistic criticism. The author also criticizes bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views on literature and art.

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**MAO TSE-TUNG**

## **On Art and Literature**

This is a collection of the author's theoretical essays on art and literature. They contain profound expositions on many fundamental questions such as: for whom our art and literature should be intended; the standpoint and attitude of artists and writers; popularization and elevation; the criteria of literary criticism; how to assimilate critically the Chinese and foreign cultural heritage; and how to create an original, vivid and vigorous style.

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# PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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May 25, 1962 Vol. V No. 21

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## ROUND THE WEEK

### Six Poems by Chairman Mao

A major literary event of the month was the first publication of six poems written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung during the years 1929-31. All the leading newspapers in Peking and throughout the country immediately reprinted them. Everyone wanted to read them.

The publication of these poems came opportunely. The whole nation is celebrating the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. Over the past fortnight there have been commemorative theatrical performances and radio programmes. Newspapers and periodicals are carrying special articles and reminiscences of those Yen-an days by writers, artists, musicians and literary critics. The *Yen-an Talks* have charted a Marxist-Leninist road for China's revolutionary art and literature and played an extremely important role in their development. In forums today writers and artists throughout the country are eagerly discussing them again.

Coming at such a time the publication of Chairman Mao's poems has naturally aroused a unique interest. These six poems appeared for the first time in print in the current May issue of *Renmin Wenxue* (*People's Literature*), but many people are reading them with a feeling like that of meeting an old friend whom they have not seen for a long time. Many old cadres of the revolution jotted these poems down in their notebooks when they were first written; others heard them recited from memory.

In a short note to *Renmin Wenxue's* editors, Chairman Mao wrote that he "hummed" these poems into rhyme as he jogged along on horseback and that he had forgotten all about them. When *Renmin Wenxue's* editors collected them together again and sent them to him with a request for publication, he took the opportunity to make some slight changes in them.

Over the past week, most newspapers and periodicals in the country

have carried appreciations of these poems by well-known poets, writers and literary critics. Kuo Mo-jo, noted poet, playwright and historian, writes in *Renmin Wenxue*: "Like the 21 poems published earlier, these six poems by Chairman Mao Tse-tung are epics of China's revolution. . . . These are poems that truly deserve to be called creative revolutionary literature." In his appreciation the poet Tsang Keh-chia calls them "epic poems that inspire and uplift" everyone who reads them; they glitter with "the dawn-light of victory."

These six poems were written in the years 1929-31. Chiang Kai-shek had betrayed the revolution; a white terror stalked the land; the forces of revolution and counter-revolution were engaged in a life-and-death struggle. But these poems, which give a vivid, truthful picture of the period, brim with revolutionary optimism. One feels in them the waxing strength of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, being led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao in two successful campaigns to defeat Chiang Kai-shek's boasted "encirclement and annihilation" operations.

As the poems describe, land reform was unfolding in the revolutionary base of Kiangsi, the peasant movement was developing vigorously, and the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with the enthusiastic and heroic support of the masses of people was scoring one victory after another. Opposing counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force, Chairman Mao kindled the revolutionary spark that later spread like a prairie fire till it had engulfed and destroyed reaction utterly in China. These poems, composed on the march, were the harbingers of the final victory of the Chinese people.

### "Out of Taiwan, U.S. Aggressors!"

Peking commemorated the May 24, 1957 demonstration of the people of Taiwan against the U.S. aggressors.

Five years ago, a sergeant of the U.S. forces occupying Taiwan brutally

killed a Chinese named Liu Tzu-jan. Instead of punishing the criminal according to law, the U.S. "Embassy" and military authorities in Taiwan first declared that the sergeant "enjoyed diplomatic immunity," then, under pressure from the angered people of the island, put on a sham court martial which duly "acquitted" the culprit. This insolent act sparked a storm of protest and anger against the U.S. aggressors. Over 30,000 people in Taipei came out in demonstrations. They surrounded the U.S. "Embassy" and military headquarters and destroyed the U.S. information office. Before long slogans denouncing the U.S. invaders appeared in Taipei and other cities where there were mass demonstrations. Taiwan rang with the angry shout: "Get out, U.S. troops!"

At the commemorative meeting held in Peking by the central committee and Peking committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, speakers denounced the atrocities committed by U.S. troops in Taiwan. They paid tribute to their compatriots on the island for their patriotic anti-U.S. stand and expressed deep concern for their plight today under the dictatorial rule of the U.S. aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek clique. Condemning U.S. imperialism's occupation of China's Taiwan, they denounced its plot to create "two Chinas."

Weng Wen-hao, formerly president of the executive *yuán* of the defunct Kuomintang regime, listed numerous atrocities committed by U.S. troops against the people in Taiwan. As long as the U.S. invaders are in Taiwan, he said, the misery of our compatriots there cannot be alleviated. U.S. imperialism must be driven out of Taiwan, he declared.

Wang Yun-sheng, a well-known journalist, exposed the collusion of U.S. imperialism with the Japanese reactionaries in their joint aggression against China's territory of Taiwan and other parts of Asia. The Japanese reactionaries, he said, are seizing the opportunity to attempt a comeback in these areas and realize their old dream of the notorious "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere."

Cheng Tung-kuo, formerly a top-ranking commander of Chiang Kai-shek's army in the northeast, speaking

at the meeting, declared that the Chinese people who have seized state power will drive all the imperialist forces from their country. China's territory of Taiwan will surely be liberated.

### Science in the Fields

The patient work done by Chinese scientists in recent years is paying off in higher farm outputs in many places. Shensi, Kansu and Hunan have good news to report in this field.

Shensi, in the northwest, sends word that agronomists working there in co-operation with local peasants have bred several sturdy, high-yield strains of cotton, maize and wheat. New strains resistant to diseases, certain pests, wind, drought or waterlogging have also been developed. Fully tested, they are now being recommended to local people's communes for widespread cultivation.

Shensi is one of China's major cotton-growing areas. Most of its cotton fields are on the irrigated plains, but scientists believe that cotton can also be raised on the uplands. Yu Chi-pao, vice-president of the Shensi branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and his colleagues have done valuable research in this field. They studied the peasants' practical experience in growing cotton in arid upland areas, and used this as the basis of scientific field work which included experimental sowings in various parts of the province. Well satisfied with the results obtained, they have made concrete plans to extend the cotton acreage in the upland regions.

Other news of vital interest to upland farmers comes from the Linhsia Hui Autonomous *Chou* in mountainous Kansu, another northwestern province. The Research Institute of Agricultural Science there reports that, after experimenting with twenty rice strains introduced to the region two years ago, it has succeeded in growing rice on land 1,900 metres above sea level. Since its founding in 1959 the institute has also acclimatized many hardy, early



On an Experimental Plot  
Traditional Chinese painting by Chou Tsang-mi

ripening high-yield spring wheat strains. It has introduced a hundred varieties of vegetables from other parts of the country to the highlands. These include lettuce from subtropical Kwangtung, cabbage from Shanghai and onion from Shantung—bringing fresh variety and some new crops to highland farms.

"Academic" scientists are not the only people busy on research. Peasant scientists, many of whom have become members of institutes of agricultural science, are doing their share too. Tien Chi-fa, a peasant rice specialist of Hunan Province, south of the Yangtze, has developed several varieties of high-yield paddy rice which are now widely grown in places around Tungting Lake. Tien has used his experimental plot to grow various species of rice seeds from different parts of the country. From these he has selected those best suited to conditions in the Tungting Lake area. These strains on the average yield more than twice as much as those previously in use. Tien began selecting seeds eleven years ago.

# The Intellectuals' Way Forward

Following is a translation of the text of an editorial published in the Chinese fortnightly "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 10, May 16, 1962 in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art."

The Yen-an Forum took place in May 1942, when China was in the fifth year of her War of Resistance Against Japan. It was called for the writers and artists to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general, with the aim of ensuring that revolutionary literature and art develop correctly and give better help to other revolutionary work. Chairman Mao Tse-tung addressed the opening and concluding meetings on May 2 and 23 respectively.

The subheads in this editorial are ours. — Ed.

**T**WENTY years have elapsed since the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. In the *Talks*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the light of the practice of the revolutionary literary and art movement in China, creatively expounded Marxist-Leninist thinking on literature and art and gave profound answers to a series of fundamental questions in literary and artistic work; he gave writers and artists a clear-cut orientation and pointed out to them a broad road of advance. The *Talks* played a most important role in the development of China's revolutionary literature and art. In the past 20 years, they have forged ahead consistently in the direction indicated in the *Talks*—that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers—and made immense contributions to the cause of revolution and construction.

Literature and art are sharp weapons in the class struggle. Revolutionary literature and art are an indispensable component of the revolutionary cause. Once writers and artists clearly understand this, they become more fully conscious of their tasks; they understand the direction in which they should advance and appreciate the importance of their responsibilities. In order that their work should meet the needs of the revolution better, they must find a clear answer to the question of whom to serve. The question which Comrade Mao Tse-tung helped the writers and artists solve at the Yen-an Forum was precisely this fundamental question: the question of serving revolutionary politics, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks* stimulated and inspired the political consciousness, sense of responsibility and initiative of many writers and artists, who, thus stimulated and inspired, firmly made up their mind to go into the midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, study

Marxism-Leninism and solve this fundamental question earnestly, step by step.

## The Intelligentsia — An Important Force

Literature and art are a sector of the cultural front. Although they have features peculiar to themselves, compared with other cultural fields, they also have common features on certain fundamental questions. The *Talks* analyse the status and role of literature and art in the revolutionary cause from the angle of the whole cultural front, and pose the question of whom to serve. The exposition of this question in the *Talks* is of equally great significance to the broad mass of intellectuals working in other fields. The question of whom to serve is one of remoulding one's world outlook, a question that is common to and must be solved by all who wish to go forward and work for the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung put this question to the intellectuals with special emphasis. Our Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, starting from their analysis of the status and role of cultural work in revolution and construction, attach great importance to uniting with the intellectuals; at the same time they show the intellectuals the direction of advance. It is made clear in the *Talks* that the cultural army "is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."\* During the revolution, we needed large numbers of intellectuals equipped with all kinds of professional knowledge to create our own cultural forces in order to battle reactionary culture and build up our own revolutionary culture. Intellectuals are all the more precious in a country which is culturally backward due to national and feudal oppression. Therefore, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught us to respect the experts who are invaluable to our cause. In 1939, during the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted the resolution "Draw in Large Numbers of Intellectuals" written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The resolution points out:

"In the long and ruthless war of national liberation, in the great struggle for building up a new China, the Communist Party must be proficient at drawing in the intellectuals so that it can organize a tremendous force for the resistance, organize millions upon millions of the masses of the peasants, develop the revolutionary cultural movement and expand the revolutionary united front. Without the participation of the intellectuals the revolution cannot achieve victory."

Now we are confronted with the great and arduous task of building socialism; this makes it all the more necessary for us to have as many intellectuals as possible to carry

\* Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p. 1. — Ed.

out this task, and to create a numerous intelligentsia. The more the intellectuals understand their status and role and the more determinedly they solve the question of whom to serve, the better will they be able to meet the needs of the new society and bring their powers into full play.

### **"For Whom?" — A Fundamental Question**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."\* Before liberation, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. At that time, apart from a handful of Chinese intellectuals who were drawn to the imperialists and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, and who served them and opposed the revolution, the rest of the intellectuals in general suffered from oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and were therefore revolutionary to a certain extent. But due to their class origin, their upbringing, the environment in which they lived and their world outlook, they were estranged in varying degrees in thought and feeling from the worker and peasant masses. Many writers and artists were intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin. Although they wanted to work for the revolution, or even actually took part in the people's revolutionary movement led by the proletariat, they had not yet thoroughly solved for themselves the question of their class stand. On many issues they still took the petty-bourgeois stand instead of the proletarian stand. They were therefore unable to serve the revolutionary masses of workers, peasants and soldiers very well with their works. It was extremely important for these people to effect a change of thought and feeling, and shift their standpoint over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat.

At the time of the Yen-an Forum, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in order to become a revolutionary writer or artist, one must solve the question of uniting with the worker and peasant masses by deeds, in one's works and in one's innermost soul, and that one must rid oneself of bourgeois political and ideological influences. Otherwise, even though our writers and artists had come to the revolutionary base area and worked with the revolutionary army and people, they would still be out of step and at odds with their environment and tasks because they lacked contact with and understanding of the worker and peasant masses, and had not become their close friends. After liberation of the mainland, the broad mass of intellectuals came to serve the new society, the socialist cause; they too were confronted with the question of fully meeting the needs of the new society and of bringing their thinking, feelings and work into genuine and perfect harmony with their socialist environment and tasks. The process of profound self-remoulding which the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have gone through in the past 13 years was designed to solve fundamentally the question of the intellectuals uniting with the worker and peasant masses as described in the *Talks*. This kind of ideological remoulding was obviously essential.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 pointed out that in all countries embarking on a socialist course, "the carry-

ing out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism" is one of the common laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is impossible to fulfil the tasks of socialist construction if we do not persist in carrying out the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture and if we neglect ideological work among the intellectuals. The modern revisionists, who have betrayed Marxist-Leninist principles, advocate abolishing the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture; instead of helping the intellectuals become revolutionary, they indulge, give in to, fall in with and exploit the bourgeois thinking of the intellectuals, reinforcing their individualist and liberalistic thinking and feeling, with the inevitable result that rotten and decadent imperialist trends of thought in the field of culture spread, giving rise to the danger of socialist culture degenerating into bourgeois culture. In Yugoslavia, this danger has already become a reality.

### **The Modern Revisionists Try to Lead the Intellectuals Astray**

As described by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, some revolutionary writers and artists, taking the petty-bourgeois stand, regard their works as a means of self-expression for the petty bourgeoisie. They show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. They are not yet good at portraying the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers; when they do depict them, more often than not the clothes are those of the working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Some revolutionary writers and artists and other revolutionary intellectuals still have muddled views on certain matters. For example, they seek a so-called love that transcends classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. The reason why they suffer from these shortcomings and have these erroneous views is that they have not yet thoroughly and unequivocally solved the question of their standpoint; they are still unable to rid themselves of the influence of bourgeois ideology brought to bear upon them through various channels; they have not yet mastered the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism. But so long as they are willing to serve the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and work hard to progress along the right path and are given suitable help, they can overcome these shortcomings and gradually correct these erroneous views.

The modern revisionists, on the contrary, publicize works which are actually only self-expressions of the petty bourgeoisie as models of revolutionary proletarian literature and art; they boost, as "new" achievements made under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist thinking, works which are actually simply products made under the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology. This way of thinking of the modern revisionists only serves to block the way of the revolutionary intellectuals' advance. Instead of guiding the intellectuals to the side of the working class, they are leading the intellectuals away to the side of the bourgeoisie. Their aim is not to foster working-class intellectuals, but to foster bourgeois intellectuals.

\* *ibid.*, p. 15. — *Ed.*

A Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, basing itself on the interests of the people and the cause of socialism, treats the merits and shortcomings of the intellectuals in a spirit of seeking truth from facts, taking cognizance of their valuable scientific and cultural knowledge as well as the bourgeois influences to which they have been subjected; zealously uniting with them and giving free scope to their strong points, while sincerely helping them remould their thinking and gradually transform their world outlook. On the question of whether the world should be transformed according to the proletarian or bourgeois outlook, a question of principle, Marxist-Leninists are unequivocal and will never make any compromise. To carry out the struggle properly as between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies among the intellectuals will only make our intelligentsia more healthy and sounder ideologically and enable them to play their role to the full in revolution and construction. The view that ideological remoulding of the intellectuals will harm their talent and hinder their professional activities is entirely wrong.

### How to Effect a Change in Standpoint

Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us that the task of the intellectuals in changing their standpoint can be gradually fulfilled only in the process of studying Marxism and society and of going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and into the midst of actual struggles. By going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, writers and artists go to the only source, the broadest and richest source of creative work. This is the basic guarantee for raising the quality of creative work. The study of Marxism and ideological remoulding also help the writers and artists correctly to "observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art,"\* so that they are better able to carry on their creative literary and artistic activities. It follows that ideological remoulding is a demand placed on the writers and artists by revolution and construction as well as an urgent need of the writers and artists themselves. Many intellectuals working in other fields, too, have frequent opportunities of coming into contact with the masses in the course of their work, and there is often a need for so doing. For example, many social scientists need to carry out surveys among the masses; many natural scientists need to sum up the experience of the masses in production and rely on the masses for observing many kinds of natural phenomena. While studying Marxism, it is quite possible for them, in conjunction with their work, to get thoroughly acquainted with the masses of workers and peasants and gradually fuse their thoughts and feelings with those of the worker and peasant masses. Once our intellectuals really achieve this fusion, the needs of the worker and peasant masses will serve as an impetus to their professional work and inspire them with a firm resolve and perseverance in carrying out research in and finding solutions for certain problems; it will also make them respect the experience of the masses more, drawing nourishment from this experience to enrich their own knowledge and improve themselves. The more success-

fully they study Marxism and the more thorough the remoulding of their thoughts and feelings giving them the correct stand, viewpoint and method, the more effective will be their professional work. The task of transforming their standpoint can, therefore, quite well be correlated with their professional work.

### Integrating Ideological Remoulding With Raising Vocational Standards

An important idea that runs throughout the *Talks* is the need for closely integrating ideological remoulding with raising vocational standards. Ideological remoulding of writers and artists aims to bring their subjective thinking into line with the circumstances of the revolution so as to release and give full scope to their talents, provide "the place for the heroes to display their prowess" and create fine works of art warmly welcomed by the masses of people. Since the time of the Yen-an Forum on literature and art, there have been many works excellent both in ideological content and artistic quality, fruits of the efforts of many writers and artists guided by this idea. Our writers and artists as well as intellectuals in every other field set themselves the aim of having progressive ideas as well as real learning and skill. This is excellent. With a progressive world outlook and a rich experience of life as well as a relatively high level of artistic skill, writers and artists in their creative activity can gradually achieve a unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. With a grasp of progressive ideas and with real learning and skill, scientists can make still more useful contributions to the people's cause. Ideological remoulding and raising vocational standards are, therefore, not opposed to each other; we need to be adept at combining the two. Of course, "Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics."\* It is wrong to make no effort to replace the bourgeois world outlook by the Marxist world outlook; it is equally wrong to talk only about ideological remoulding as something apart from raising the quality of one's work. We do not want to be writers, artists and scientists who have no souls, neither do we want to be phoney writers, artists and scientists.

### Self-Remoulding Depends Mainly on One's Own Conscious Desire

Ideological remoulding within the ranks of the people is, in the last analysis, a matter of self-remoulding. Self-remoulding depends mainly on one's own conscious desire. When we have deeply understood that ideological remoulding will benefit both the people's cause and ourselves and that we really need it, then we will go in for this remoulding in an energetic and active way and derive excellent benefits from it. Self-remoulding stemming from one's own conscious desire naturally does not exclude help and criticism from others, but welcomes and asks for them. In this context no one is purely a "remoulder" or merely a "person to be remoulded"; there must be mutual help and a common progress. The educa-

\* *ibid.*, p. 19. — *Ed.*

\* *ibid.*, p. 37. — *Ed.*

tors must be educated. The remoulding, which Comrade Mao Tse-tung referred to in the *Talks*, was addressed, first and foremost, to Communist writers. The proletariat and Communists, being remoulders of the world, need first of all to remould themselves, then they also have the duty to do the work of uniting with, educating and remoulding the masses of other people. The question of merging themselves with the worker and peasant masses in thought and feeling is a question which cannot be neglected for a single moment by any of our revolutionary cadres. A revolutionary cadre can maintain close contact with the masses, correctly implement the Party's policy and do his work well, only when he firmly adheres to the mass viewpoint, understands the mind of the masses, breathes the same breath they breathe and shares the same fate. Those comrades who have been tempered in the fire of the revolution and solved this question in a relatively profound way, still face the task of steadily consolidating and improving their gains today. New cadres need even more to strive to bring about this fundamental change in their thoughts and feelings. In considering any question and undertaking any work, every revolutionary cadre must consider the needs of the masses by putting themselves in the latter's position, listen modestly to their opinions, consult with them on relevant questions, make all-round efforts to rid themselves of all that alienates them from the masses, and correctly implement the Party's mass line. Consistent attention should be paid to the questions put forward in the *Talks* not only by the cadres engaged in cultural work but by all revolutionary cadres.

### Self-Remoulding — A Prolonged Process

Cognition of things involves a process and a change in one's knowledge also implies a process. To bring about a change in one's world outlook, in particular, involves, even more so, a relatively prolonged process with gradual changes. Changes of knowledge and ideological remoulding must go deeper step by step and proceed in a gradual and steady way. This is a process of many stages of small qualitative changes and only when these stages accumulate, can they bring about a fundamental qualitative change. During this process, there may also be twists and turns, repetitions and uneven developments. Therefore, in dealing with this question of transforming one's world outlook, one must concentrate one's attention and be fully determined to make long-term efforts, make steady and continual advances and ceaselessly consolidate and improve the advances made so as to avoid coming to a standstill in mid-course or even slipping backward. Under no circumstances should a simplified and hasty attitude be adopted in an attempt to get uniformity by force; every iota of progress made by oneself or by others should be valued and taken as the basis for further progress. In short, patience and meticulous care are absolutely necessary in dealing with this complex activity relating to the spiritual life of man. Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us that questions relating to the spiritual life of man and ideological questions within the ranks of the people can only be solved by democratic methods and can only be solved by the methods of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education. Questions relating to right and wrong in art and science, in particular, should be solved through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and in the prac-

tice of art and science; they cannot be solved by simple methods. In the struggle to eliminate bourgeois ideological and political influences, a strict line must be drawn between contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and contradictions within the ranks of the people on the other hand. Within the ranks of the people a strict line should also be drawn between political questions, questions of one's world outlook and academic questions. We will strive to implement still better the Party's policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend; by relying on collective efforts we will create in literary, artistic and scientific circles, as in other fields, a vigorous and lively political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind, so as to promote the flourishing development of literature, art and science, the strengthening of the leading position of Marxist-Leninist ideology, a still better unity with the broad mass of intellectuals and the progress of their ideological remoulding.

The *Talks* give us a superb example of how to help each other, in ideological remoulding, to greater self-understanding and how to be a warm and honest friend who can give serious criticism, according to the peculiar needs of solving questions relating to the spiritual life of man. We see from the *Talks* how completely friendly was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's attitude in conducting intimate talks, consultations and discussions with the writers. He vividly explained the need to remould thoughts and feelings and change one's stand and the contradictions and struggles that might be met with in the course of remoulding. Seeking truth from facts, he always first confirmed what achievements had been made, put forward positive goals to aim at, and then pointed out carefully and sharply the shortcomings and problems of certain writers and artists, proceeded to convincing analysis and reasoning and encouraged them to go forward. While solving a number of fundamental questions of principle in a profound way, he also solved in detail certain specific questions in literary and artistic work; through the analysis of these specific questions, he helped our writers and artists to raise their level of ideological consciousness. He showed them patiently and persuasively how they should set great store by uniting with the masses while at the same time not neglecting their study of the cultural heritage and enhancing their writing and artistic skills; he pointed out why going deep among the masses for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly is the key to solving both the questions of ideological remoulding and the source of creation; he explained that the more closely they united with the masses of the revolutionary base areas and created works reflecting this new world and the new masses, the greater would be the national significance of their work, and so on. Such an attitude was naturally welcomed by the broad mass of writers and artists. Our Party functionaries and intellectuals themselves should all learn from this working style of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in helping others.

### United Front Among Cultural Workers

From the *Talks* we know that it is absolutely necessary to be strict in our demands on our revolutionary writers and artists but we also know that it is utterly wrong to use crude methods in dealing with ideological



questions; if we take these strict demands as the standard for all and adopt the attitude of excluding all those who do not measure up to these standards, it will also be utterly wrong. The *Talks* especially mentioned the question of the united front in literary and artistic circles. In accordance with the then prevailing situation, the Party's writers and artists needed to unite with all non-Party writers and artists who stood for democracy and resistance to Japan and also with those who simply stood for resistance to Japan. Petty-bourgeois writers and artists have many shortcomings in their thinking and their works, but they are, relatively speaking, inclined towards the revolution and close to the working people. Under no circumstances, therefore, should we exclude them; we should regard it as an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front that serves the working people. Now, 20 years later, there is naturally a great deal of difference in the specific conditions which prevail. However, the principle of uniting with all the writers and artists and the intellectuals that can be united is still a most important one today. In fact, the number of writers, artists and other intellectuals that we can unite with is greater than before. In the course of achieving this extensive unity, different views in the sphere of ideology and the arts should be gradually settled through discussions on the basis of unity; they should not become factors hampering unity and reducing the scope of unity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "In a united front, 'all unity and no struggle' and 'all struggle and no unity' are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the 'Left' exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some

comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics."\* This instruction should never be forgotten.

China's literature, art and science have brilliant achievements to their credit in the past; we have a rich and valuable cultural heritage; our intellectuals also have their glorious revolutionary tradition. Since liberation the broad mass of intellectuals have made enormous advances in their political and ideological level and in their own fields of work; they have made valuable contributions to the cause of revolution and construction. The ranks of the working people's intellectuals in our country have been formed step by step, and they include both the intellectuals who have come from the old society and undergone self-remoulding and those who have been trained in the new society. An important task facing us is to unite all patriotic intellectuals and gradually reinforce the ranks of the intellectuals of the working people. We are confident that under the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and taking the socialist road, by following still better the line pointed out in the *Talks* and living up to the standard of being both "red and expert," on the basis of achievements already scored, our intellectuals will certainly continue to advance, and produce works of spiritual culture of still finer quality and a still greater number of splendid talents will appear. Our intellectuals will certainly display fully their powers on the literary, artistic and scientific fronts and make still greater contributions to socialist construction.

\* *ibid.*, p. 28. — Ed.

## U.S. Imperialism Warned

# Hands Off Southeast Asia!

*The following is a translation of a "Remin Ribao" editorial published on May 19 under the original title "Drive U.S. Aggressors Out of Southeast Asia." Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**U.S.** PRESIDENT Kennedy on May 15 brazenly ordered the dispatch of U.S. ground and air forces to Thailand. This is a serious step taken by U.S. imperialism to occupy Thailand and carry out armed intervention in Laos, and a new aggressive move in Southeast Asia following its "undeclared war" against the people in south Viet Nam.

In the past year, following the failure of the U.S. plot to help the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group establish a "pro-western" coalition government for continued U.S. control of Laos, Washington has steadily increased military "aid" to the rebel group and backed its obstruction of a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, its repeated violations of the ceasefire agreement and its attacks on the positions held by the troops of the Royal Laotian Government (led by Prince Souvanna Phouma) and of the Neo Lao Haksat. Now the Kennedy Administration has rushed troops to Thailand in preparation for direct armed inter-

vention in the Laotian civil war. In his statement of May 15, Kennedy hypocritically declared that U.S. policy towards Laos "continues to be the re-establishment of an effective ceasefire and prompt negotiations for a government of national union." Such crude sophistry is vain and futile. Everybody knows that the recent development of the military situation in northern Laos was caused entirely by the continual violations of the ceasefire by the U.S.-backed Phoumi-Boun Oum group and its troops' persistent attacks on the areas controlled by the Royal Laotian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat. If the United States really wants to help maintain the ceasefire and organize a government of national union, it has merely to cease its support to the Phoumi-Boun Oum group. Why should it send troops to Thailand and deploy them along the Mekong River? So it is obvious that what the United States is after is something totally different.

### A Flagrant War Move

UPI reported that the United States had sent troops to Thailand because Kennedy was aware that "the Laotian crisis has reached a point where the United States no longer can rely solely on diplomatic maneuvers." He needs

"military flexibility" to back up "his diplomatic efforts." "By this tactic, the United States hopes that Boun Oum and General Phoumi can regain some prestige at the conference table after their military defeats in the past week."

This shows clearly that as far as Laos is concerned, the purpose of the United States in dispatching troops to Thailand is by no means to seek a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question but to continue to shore up the Phoumi-Boun Oum group by deploying military forces in the Mekong area, and to establish a pro-U.S. coalition government through the Phoumi-Boun Oum group. Failing to do so, it would carry out direct armed intervention and extend the Laotian war. The present step taken by the United States is therefore a flagrant war move.

This U.S. move is also aimed at armed occupation of Thailand. The U.S. has long been planning to control the Southeast Asian countries on the pretext that it is "defending them against the menace of Communism." But up till now, it has been impeded from doing so with a free hand. After the U.S. invasion of south Viet Nam, Thailand has obviously become its next target. After the signing of the U.S.-Thai agreement in March, U.S. troops have now finally landed in Thailand. Kennedy has said that the aim of this U.S. move is "to help insure the territorial integrity of this peaceful country." This is sheer nonsense. What peaceful life, independence or sovereignty would be left for Thailand under the occupation of U.S. troops? There is no doubt that the broad masses of the Thai people, who cherish independence and freedom, will absolutely not submit to oppression and bullying by U.S. occupation forces without resistance. The Thai rulers, by letting the wolf into the sheepfold, will eventually reduce themselves to the status of Ngo Dinh Diem and Pak Jung Heui and will see Thailand turned into a colony under U.S. military occupation like south Viet Nam and south Korea.

**U.S. Aggression in Southeast Asia**

The landing of U.S. combat units in Thailand is part of the U.S. aggressive moves against the whole of Southeast Asia. The United States and its followers have been holding repeated military manoeuvres recently in the area and have convened a series of meetings, including those of SEATO military advisers and the Anzus Treaty Council, to intensify their aggressive activities.

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk announced on May 15 that Kennedy's decision to send U.S. armed forces to Thailand was "a precautionary move" in the "entire Southeast Asia area." What warrants attention is the fact that the U.S. Defense Department has appointed General Harkins, commander of the "U.S. Military Assistance Command," in south Viet Nam, concurrently commander of the "U.S. Military Assistance Command" in Thailand. This shows that in sending troops to Thailand the Kennedy Administration aims at expanding its aggression against south Viet Nam and Laos.

The *New York Herald Tribune* disclosed on May 15 that if the U.S. "show of force" failed to produce the desired effect, it would use its Seventh Fleet and marines to "take an active part" in the "fighting" in Laos and south Viet Nam and to have "much of Southeast Asia... drawn in, and that might not be the end." Obviously,



1. "We're all for a coalition government in Laos!"  
 2. "We've brought 'prosperity' and 'civilization' to south Viet Nam."  
 3. "Military occupation for your security. . . ."  
 Cartoon by Ko Chao-chuan

what the United States now wants is definitely not to seek for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, but to extend its intervention in the war in Laos, to link up the war in south Viet Nam to that in Laos and to engulf all Southeast Asia into the flames of what Kennedy has advertised as local war.

**Attempt to Embroil SEATO Countries**

In order to embroil more countries, the United States, through SEATO, is urging other countries of the bloc to send troops to Thailand to keep it company. Some countries have wisely refused to do so while others are itching for action. But it would be well for those countries ready to follow the lead of the United States to consider carefully what consequences would arise from joining the United States in a war of aggression. Pentagon generals have recently talked excitedly about a "Korean-type war." Nevertheless, it is certain that if U.S. imperialism dares to launch any new military adventure in Southeast Asia, it will suffer a worse defeat than it did in Korea, and those who tie themselves onto the U.S. war chariot will also invite disaster.

The landing of U.S. troops in Thailand is additional proof that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of peace in Asia and of the independence and sovereignty of Asian countries. In the face of the Kennedy Administration's aggressive moves in Southeast Asia, the peoples of these countries will certainly become more firmly united,

redouble their efforts and further strengthen their struggle to drive U.S. imperialism out of Laos, Thailand and south Viet Nam and out of all Southeast Asia.

### **A Warning to U.S. Imperialism**

U.S. aggressive moves in Southeast Asia are a serious threat to the security of China. The Chinese people cannot remain indifferent to this. We have always maintained that Laotian affairs must be settled by the Laotians themselves, that the affairs of the Southeast Asian countries must be settled by the people of these countries them-

selves, and that no foreign country should interfere. The Chinese people firmly oppose U.S. imperialist armed intervention in Laos, and absolutely cannot tolerate the establishment by U.S. imperialism in areas close to China of any new military bridgeheads directed against this country. The Chinese people have never shirked their responsibility in defending peace in Asia and all the world over. We must serve a fresh warning to the Kennedy Administration that it shall be held fully responsible for all grave consequences arising from its policy of playing with fire.

## **"Japan-ROK Talks"**

# **A DIRTY DEAL**

by JEN TA

**T**HE "Japan-Republic of Korea" talks for the normalization of their relations have now entered a decisive stage. Although both sides have kept quiet over the March meeting between the Japanese Foreign Minister Zentaro Kosaka and the south Korean "Foreign Minister" Choi Duk Sin, it is clear that the Japanese and south Korean reactionaries have finally struck a deal and are now only waiting for an opportune moment to make it public.

### **Washington: The Wire-Puller**

Washington has been the wire-puller behind the scenes throughout the negotiations. Soon after President Kennedy took office, he arranged to meet Japan's Premier Ikeda. According to a recent number of the Japanese *World News*, the two men had "an earnest discussion on the south Korean question from the point of view of establishing a Far Eastern system of co-operation for the free world." "The question they were most concerned about," the magazine added, "was that of rebuilding south Korea as a stabilizing force in the Far East."

Later, when U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk met Ikeda at Hakone in November 1961, the question of the "Japan-ROK talks" was discussed in further detail. Specifically, this meeting dealt with Japanese reparations to south Korea for damage resulting from the Japanese occupation. The two sides have bickered over this thorny problem for ten years without result. Rusk, it was reported, proposed that Japan pay south Korea U.S. \$350 million as a war indemnity, but in the end he and Ikeda agreed that most of this should be in the form of "economic assistance" instead of reparations.

On November 11, 1961, with the United States acting as go-between, a meeting was arranged between Ikeda and the south Korean puppet leader Pak Jung Heui to discuss this U.S.-dictated "compromise." The two sides agreed that they would either sign a peace treaty or issue a joint communique some time later this year. A UPI dispatch dated April 10 disclosed that a secret note on this question had already been exchanged between Tokyo and Seoul last January.

During and after these talks, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Harriman and Chester Bowles, Kennedy's special adviser on Asian, African and Latin American affairs, dodged back and forth between Tokyo and Seoul. These "trouble-shooters" were rather coy about the real intent of their visits. But the Japanese and U.S. press made no secret of the fact that Harriman played "an important role in the normalization of Japan-ROK relations," while Bowles had worked hard behind the scenes.

Washington is the prime mover behind this shady bargaining not because it cares one jot about the real normalization of the Japanese-Korean relations, but because the coming together of these two satellites fits in with its present aggressive plans in the Far East.

The "Japan-ROK talks" which began ten years ago were a product of the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism in the Far East following World War II. Immediately after it launched its war of aggression in Korea in 1950, the United States tried to bring together the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean traitor Syngman Rhee in a military alliance. This was designed to strengthen its positions in the Far East and perpetuate the occupation of the southern part of Korea. These moves, if successful, would have increased the threat to the security of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and China, and further undermined peace in the Far East. However, the talks bogged down and were fruitless because of the many contradictions between Syngman Rhee and the Japanese ruling circles. Mindful of the south Korean people's loathing of brutal Japanese colonial rule, Syngman Rhee did not dare to be openly subservient to Japan.

### **A Far Eastern Gendarme**

Of late, the situation in the Far East has gone increasingly against U.S. imperialism. The socialist camp has grown stronger. The patriotic struggles of the peoples against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have grown more intense and have undermined the U.S. positions for aggression in the Far East. This is especially true of

south Korea where the U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee has been kicked out of office and the present Pak Jung Heui regime is extremely shaky. Under its rule, south Korea has sunk into political chaos and economic ruin. This is why Kennedy is anxious to "normalize relations between Japan and the ROK." He hopes to use the economic and military strength of Japanese militarism to stabilize Pak Jung Heui's rule and to harness both Japan and south Korea tighter to the U.S. war chariot.

The current "Japan-ROK" negotiations are the first step in a carefully planned U.S. scheme to pull together a so-called Northeast Asia military alliance composed of Japan, south Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan, with militarist Japan as its backbone. Its role will be that of a Far Eastern gendarme for its U.S. masters, a "military shield," as Chester Bowles put it, directed against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements in Southeast Asia. At present, when U.S. imperialism is spearheading its own main effort to suppress the patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese and Laotian peoples, Washington is already planning to dispatch Japanese troops to south Viet Nam while south Korean military personnel have already been sent there.

### Japanese Expansionist Ambitions

The Japanese reactionaries, represented by the Ikeda government, are playing along with this U.S. scheme be-

cause it suits their own plans. They are seeking, through collaboration with the south Korean puppet group, to turn south Korea again into a Japanese colony and base for Japanese colonial expansion in the Far East. Japanese monopoly capital, in fact, has already started to penetrate into south Korea. Over the past year, many Japanese government and private "economic missions" have gone there seeking to dip a hand into its natural resources and get control over its economic lifelines. In this respect, it is interesting to note that recently the "fence theory" has gained much ground among the Japanese reactionaries, that is, to make south Korea an "enclosed fence" around Japan (or in other words, Japan's sphere of influence) and Japan an "enclosed fence" around the U.S. (i.e., a U.S. sphere of influence). Yoshida, former Japanese Premier and an "old-timer" of Japanese militarism, openly proclaims that Japan's road to realization of its grandiose expansionist ambitions lies across the Korean peninsula. This logic is typical of the traitorous pro-U.S. reactionary group in Japan.

The Pak Jung Heui clique is playing a shameful role in this U.S.-manipulated deal. To prolong its tottering rule, this group of U.S. placemen is willing to sell Korea's national interests on the cheap: it is ready to call in another master and turn south Korea into a double colony.

### The People Say "No"

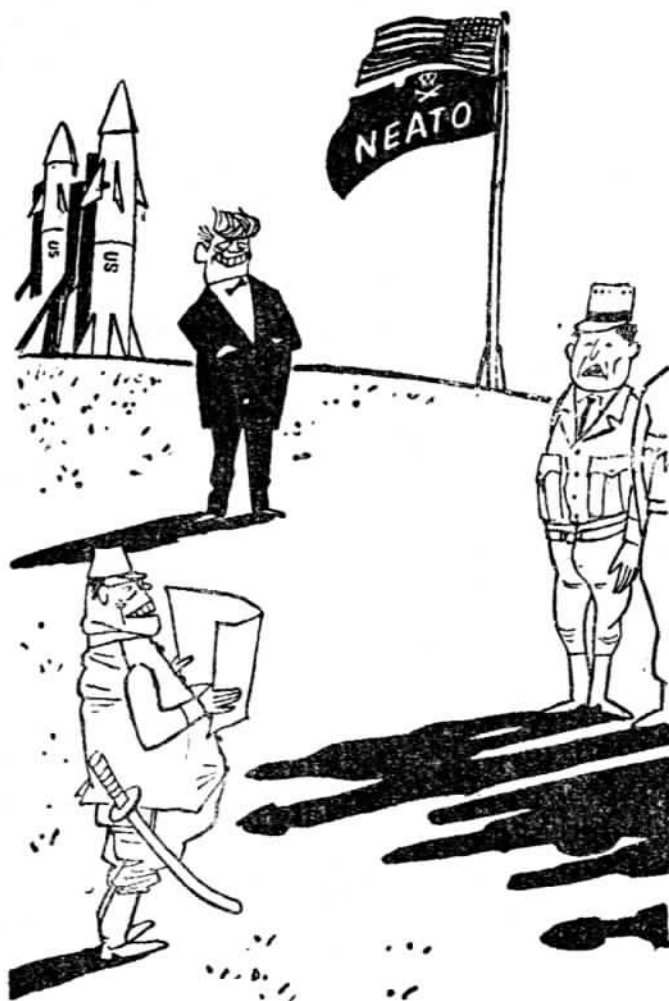
This unholy alliance is directed first of all against the Japanese and Korean peoples. The Japanese people realize all too well that as soon as their country is dragged into this proposed aggressive bloc, it will inevitably become further entangled in Washington's aggressive adventures in the Far East. They know that the pro-U.S. ruling clique in that country will surely attempt to step up Japan's militarization by revising the Japanese peace constitution, which clearly forbids Japan from going to war and sending troops abroad. Precisely for this reason, the democratic forces in the country have already linked the struggle against the "Japan-ROK talks" with other patriotic struggles and regard it as one of their main tasks at present.

The National Council Against the (U.S.-Japan) Security Treaty and for the Defence of Peace and Democracy has organized a nationwide campaign against the talks. The council is composed of more than 200 political parties and popular organizations, including the Japanese Communist and Socialist Parties and the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO). Many demonstrations and marches have already been held by Japanese workers and students. A mighty militant movement has taken shape.

As for the Korean people, they are definitely opposed to the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul lineup because it is their national interests which are being sold out. The people of south Korea, who have had bitter experience of both U.S. and Japanese imperialist occupation, bitterly resist such schemes.

### Show of "Independence"

The firm opposition from the people is precisely what the U.S., Japanese and south Korean reactionaries fear and have to reckon with, and they are trying to meet it with a mixture of hush-hush diplomacy and a deceptive



Dialogue at the "Japan-ROK Talks"

Ikeda: "Pak Jung Heui?"

Pak: "Present, Sir!"

Cartoon by Yeh Hsueh-chien

show of independence. The Ikeda government pretends that the negotiations have been interrupted because the Pak Jung Heui clique insisted that it represented the whole of Korea. The latter, on the other hand, is threatening to "change its Japan policy," charging that the Ikeda government "has not abided by its pledge."

However, this smokescreen of talk can deceive no one. Pai Ui Hwan, chief south Korean delegate at the Tokyo talks, admitted on May 7 that the Ikeda government is adopting its present stand "because of the internal situation," and that no blanket charge should be made against it. The Japanese *Sankei Shimbun* (*Industrial and Economic News*) was even more outspoken. It revealed that "Japanese Foreign Ministry officials who follow the Korean situation closely feel sure that it (the Pak Jung Heui clique) will try to come to an agreement on the normalization talks following the Japanese Upper House elections in July." So, things are as clear as daylight. The Ikeda government is afraid that its dirty deal will be exposed before the Japanese Upper House elections on July

1, and that this will incense the Japanese people and harm the election chances of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. Calling a spade a spade, *Asahi Shimbun* wrote on January 4 that "the Japanese-south Korean talks, if handled ineptly, would become a hard test deciding the fate of the Ikeda cabinet." This is the hidden and real reason why the "Japan-ROK talks" have not yet come to any formal agreement.

#### Where the Chinese People Stand

The U.S.-stagemanaged intrigue to form a Northeast Asian military bloc through the "Japan-ROK talks" seriously threatens the peace and security of the peoples of China and of all Southeast Asia. In struggling against the "Japan-ROK talks," the Japanese and Korean peoples are fighting not only in defence of their national interests, but dealing a powerful blow against U.S. aggressive policies in Asia. The Chinese people sympathize with and support this just struggle. They will do their best to smash this U.S. imperialist plot.

## Japanese Monopoly Expansion in South Korea

by HAN CHEN-SHEH

**E**VER since the Kennedy-Ikeda talks of June last year, the Japanese monopoly capitalists have been making even more strenuous efforts to control the economy of south Korea. The lifting of restrictions on Japanese imports in July 1960 brought a flood of Japanese goods into the south Korean market. The Japanese monopolists, who themselves have to rely on the United States, are co-ordinating their efforts with Washington to control south Korea. At the same time they are seeking to realize their own imperialist ambitions there.

Some time ago, the Japanese Government presented the south Korean puppet regime with a "Report on the South Korean Economy." This document made no bones about Japanese aggressive ambitions there. It claimed that what held back south Korea's economic development was its "separation from the Japanese economy." Developing this line of thought, the Japanese report then put forward proposals patently designed to plunder the resources of south Korea and exploit its cheap labour power. Japanese goods and technology should be imported into south Korea; in return there should be a big increase in south Korea's rice and other farm produce, marine products and minerals in exchange for Japanese fertilizers and light industrial goods. All this cynically exposes the colonialist ambitions harboured by the Japanese monopoly capitalists and militarists in regard to south Korea; for them this is a land to be plundered and exploited.

#### Flurry of Delegations and Missions

Talking loudly about "helping south Korea to build factories," Japanese economic and technical delegations

and missions, both private and official, have been roaming south Korea, collecting information. Some contracts have been signed with south Korean enterprises.

Last August, Japanese electrical engineers went to south Korea to make a comprehensive investigation of its power industry. Last September, under the pretext of an exchange of technical information, a mission sent by the Japanese monopolists carried on a geological survey in various parts of south Korea. At the same time, the Japan Industrial Society sent a delegation to look for sites for power stations along the Hankang River. The Fuji Electric Company and other Japanese firms have been conducting negotiations with the Seoul puppet regime on operating the power industry in south Korea. Last October, a Japanese delegation drew up plans for opening up mining, oil and automobile industries in south Korea. Last December, the Sumitomo Company, a big Japanese monopoly concern, signed a contract with the Pak Jung Heui regime for the building of a factory to produce urea. The Japanese automobile magnates, by running joint enterprises with south Korean firms, have forced their way into the south Korean market. Other big Japanese firms like the Mitsui Products Company, the Ube Soda Manufacturing Company and the Maruzen Oil Company have also formulated plans for economic expansion in south Korea. The former two have signed a contract with the south Korean Eastern Chemical Company to supply factory equipment to produce soda. The Maruzen Oil Company and a U.S. oil concern have jointly drawn up a plan for building an oil refinery in south Korea. These are just a few of the expansionist projects of the Japanese monopolists in south Korea. Others

were pressed by the several Japanese government delegations which have already visited south Korea this year.

### Control of South Korea's Economy

In a word, Japanese capital, both government and private, has already made inroads into south Korea's electrical, chemical, coalmining, automobile and other basic industries with the aim of gaining control of its economy as a whole. The Japanese monopoly capitalists are particularly interested in its power and automobile industries, the power industry especially. The present power output in south Korea is enough to satisfy only about 20 per cent of the demand there, so the puppet regime naturally gives top priority to the U.S. military bases and the munitions industry; what little remains is distributed to other users. Shortage of power has forced approximately half of the small and medium-sized enterprises to close down, and these account for 98 per cent of south Korea's industries. This situation offers enticing prospects for the Japanese monopolists and they are scheming to penetrate south Korea's power industry. The Fuji Electric Company plans to build a hydro-electric power station with a generating capacity of 23,000 kilowatts on the North Hankang River. The Hitachi Company and the south Korean Electric Company have plans ready to build a thermo-electric power plant with a generating capacity of 30,000 kilowatts. The Japanese Government has also allocated U.S. \$11 million for building power stations in south Korea.

Japanese penetration into the south Korean economy takes a variety of forms. There are the enterprises set up wholly with Japanese capital and also joint Japan-south Korea enterprises, as well as the granting of loans and the export of capital to the south Korean puppet regime. All these are designed to plunder south Korea's resources and exploit its cheap labour power. The Japanese *Asahi Shimbun* writes that Japanese enterprises are considering two forms of economic expansion in south Korea. One is the sending of Japanese equipment and personnel to south Korea to keep existing enterprises in operation and to expand them or to reopen those forced to close down. The other is to use Japanese capital to exploit south Korea's iron, tin, tungsten, coal and other mineral resources. Either way, the aim is to open up the south Korean market, bring its economy under Japanese control and use its resources and cheap labour power to make bigger profits.

Among the agencies which the Japanese Government and capitalists have sponsored to realize their aggressive ambitions, are the Japan-south Korea Economic Association, the Japan-south Korea Trade Association and the south Korea Industrial Rehabilitation Company. This last links up with more than 30 Japanese enterprises including the Japan Steel Tube Company, the Japan Cement Company, the Fuji Electric Company and the Fuji Iron-Mining Company. This illustrates how far the Japanese monopoly capitalists have gone in their plans for economic expansion in south Korea and the type of predatory, aggressive enterprises backing this drive.

### What's Behind the Offer of "Aid"

To hide their aggressive ambitions, the Japanese monopolists cloak their economic expansion in south Korea

under the name of "aid." They stepped up their activities in this direction as soon as the talks between the Ikeda government and the Pak Jung Heui clique of south Korea got under way. But imperialist "aid" means nothing but plunder and exploitation. The south Korean people who suffered half a century of Japanese colonial domination and 16 years of oppression and exploitation by U.S. imperialism know all too well what is behind the "aid" offered by the imperialists. Sixteen years of U.S. "aid" has proved fatal to south Korea's economy. In the old days, the Japanese imperialists also talked about "aid," "co-prosperity" and similar frauds. The result was there for all to see. Korea was conquered. Japanese industrial and mining enterprises "opened up" the country and Korea's industrial materials and food grains were shipped to benefit Japan. Profits from the robbery of the Korean people enabled Japan to proceed with its own industrialization and launch fresh aggressive wars. It helped to nourish and fatten Japanese monopoly capital, Japanese militarism and Japanese fascism.

The rapid economic expansion of the Japanese monopolists in south Korea today has the same aim as Japanese militarist aggression in the old days. But today the south Korean people will not tolerate the attempt of the Japanese militarists to enslave them again with the help of U.S. imperialism. Despite their frenzied economic expansion in south Korea they will find that they are "lifting a rock only to crush their own toes." Their intensified aggressive activities will provoke the south Korean people to ever more determined resistance.



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# U.S. Economy in the Throes of Sharpening Contradictions

by MENG YUNG-CHIEN

*This is the concluding instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article on the current U.S. economic situation published in the Chinese fortnightly "Hongqi," Nos. 8-9, April 25, 1962. The first two instalments appeared in our last two numbers.—Ed.*

## IV

**F**ACED with this ever sharpening competition from Western Europe, can U.S. monopoly capital find a way out in Asia, Africa or Latin America where there is an upsurge of anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggles?

One of the means by which imperialism plunders the countries exporting raw materials is to depress the prices of these commodities. From 1957 to the end of 1961, export prices of raw materials fell in the capitalist world by an average of 12.6 per cent. In Latin America they dropped by 17 per cent and in the sterling area by 10 per cent. Thus, it was in U.S.-controlled Latin America that the decline was the most serious. The pattern of price decline, commodity by commodity, was as follows: coffee, 57 per cent; cocoa, 56 per cent; tea, 37 per cent (all compared with 1954 figures); sugar, 51 per cent; wheat, 19 per cent; cotton, 15 per cent; rubber 54 per cent (all compared with 1951 figures); and copper 36 per cent (compared with 1955 figures).

The decline in raw material prices in the capitalist world seriously affects the export of these commodities from Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the economy and people's livelihood in these regions. Except for the few oil-exporting countries, practically all raw-material exporting countries have an unfavourable balance of trade, a severe shortage of foreign exchange and therefore a very limited purchasing power on the international market. The excess productive capacity of the United States will not be able to find an outlet in this shrinking market.

U.S. trade with the raw-material exporting countries follows this order: first, Latin America; second, Asia; and third, Africa. Here are the figures on the U.S. export-import trade with these regions in 1960.

	U.S. imports (in \$100 million)	U.S. exports (in \$100 million)
Latin America	35.29	34.55
Latin America (excluding Venezuela)	25.80	29.05
Asia (excluding Japan)	15.72	22.91
Africa	5.35	7.60

Of the three continents, Latin America has been the hardest hit by the decline in raw material prices. For

example, of the 20 Latin American countries, 11 are exporters of coffee. In 1954, the United States spent \$1,486 million for the 2,260 million pounds of coffee it imported; in 1960, it spent only \$1,000 million and imported 2,900 million pounds of coffee. Since most of the coffee imported by the United States comes from the 11 coffee-exporting countries of Latin America, these in a single year suffered a tremendous loss on this single commodity. Between 1955 and 1960, the United States imported altogether 16,800 million pounds of coffee. Calculated on the basis of the 1954 price level, the coffee-exporting countries thus lost a total of \$5,050 million; of which the loss to the Latin American countries came to \$4,600 million. This sum alone exceeds by far the \$3,000 million "aid" Kennedy promised the Latin American countries in the next four years under the so-called "Alliance for Progress" programme.

## U.S. Foreign Investments

According to figures published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, direct U.S. foreign investments amounted to \$32,700 million at the end of 1960. Out of this sum, \$19,500 million, or 60 per cent, were invested in Canada and Latin America; Western Europe came third, Asia fourth and Africa sixth. However, the pattern of investment has undergone certain changes in recent years. Between 1957 and 1960, direct U.S. foreign investments increased by \$7,350 million. Of this sum, \$4,900 million, or 67 per cent, went to Canada and Western Europe; Latin America ranked third, Asia fourth and Africa sixth. If we exclude U.S. investments in Japan, then Africa came fifth and Asia sixth. The actual figures are as follows:

	Direct U.S. Foreign Investments (in \$100 million)		Increases between 1957 and 1960
	1957	1960	
Total	253.94	327.44	73.50
Canada	87.69	111.98	24.29
Western Europe	41.51	66.45	24.94
Latin America	74.34	83.65	9.31
Asia	20.19	23.15	2.96
Africa	6.64	9.25	2.61
Australasia (Australia, etc.)	6.98	9.94	2.96
International Organizations	10.41	14.18	3.77

There has been no notable increase in U.S. investments in Latin America, Africa and Asia; this is not due to any lack of ambition on the part of the United States to boost its export of capital there, but mainly because it

fears that it is unsafe to invest in these regions. Despite the fact that the U.S. Government has adopted a number of measures to guarantee private investments abroad and signed many treaties with foreign governments stipulating specifically protection for U.S. investments, U.S. monopoly capital is still, with the exception of a few countries, rather hesitant about investing in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

During this past period, the biggest blow to U.S. monopoly capital came from Cuba which, next to Venezuela, was the scene of the largest U.S. investments in Latin America. The Cuban Revolutionary Government nationalized all U.S. investments, which involved an amount exceeding all new U.S. investments in the other 19 Latin American states between 1957 and 1960. It should be pointed out that the upsurge of the national and democratic movements is, in fact, playing the role of a dyke blocking the export of capital from the imperialist states. It limits the scope of operation of monopoly capital, particularly U.S. monopoly capital. The role played in this respect by the struggle for national independence during the postwar years should not be underestimated.

### What's Behind the "Foreign Aid"

Faced by this upsurge of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Kennedy Administration while pretending to sympathize with their revolutionary aspirations, entertains the vain hope of preventing and stamping out the people's revolutionary movements in these regions by means of so-called "aid." In this way, it hopes to pave the way for U.S. monopoly capital's expanded export of commodities and capital. Recently, Kennedy proposed a \$4,900 million "foreign aid" programme and professed that this was "designed to help the new and developing states of the world grow in political independence, economic welfare and social justice."

Concerning U.S. "foreign aid," it is necessary to point out the following:

1) 77 per cent of this "foreign aid" including military and so-called economic "aid," is spent in the United States to buy American goods. Hence it is U.S. monopoly capital which gets the lion's share of this "aid." The "recipient countries" are merely a market for American goods.

2) Out of the \$25,200 million in U.S. "military aid" granted to foreign countries from fiscal 1950 to 1961, \$15,800 million, i.e., 63 per cent of the total, went to NATO countries; \$7,000 million, i.e., 27 per cent of the total, went to its puppets like Chiang Kai-shek, Pak Jung Heui and Ngo Dinh Diem and to its satellites in Asia which participate in its military blocs. This shows that U.S. "foreign aid" is keyed to reactionary, aggressive military blocs.

3) So-called "economic aid" is used mainly for the construction of harbours, wharves, highways and other military projects. Apart from this, there is also a certain amount of "economic aid" which serves as "bait," as Rockefeller described it in his secret letter to Eisenhower.

4) "Foreign aid" is an instrument which U.S. imperialism uses for its postwar foreign expansion, its struggle for world hegemony, enslavement of the peoples of other lands and suppression of the national revolu-

tionary movements. Recently, under Kennedy, this instrument has been playing a still bigger role.

With regard to the rising national and democratic movements of our time, Kennedy declared in his "foreign aid" message: "History has removed for governments the margin of safety between the peaceful revolution and the violent revolution. The luxury of a leisurely interval is no longer available." He therefore proposed that in "foreign aid" the emphasis should be placed "on the improvement of internal security forces [of the recipient countries]," i.e., on the suppression of the national and democratic revolutionary movements; at the same time, he requested an appropriation of \$400 million "to meet contingencies and emergencies." Kennedy is much worried by the rise of the national and democratic revolutionary movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa. "If these nations fall," he said, meaning that if the national and democratic revolutions in these countries succeed, then all U.S. "armies and atom bombs combined will be of little avail." From this, he drew the conclusion that for the "security" of U.S. imperialism, the money spent on "foreign aid," however large, is "small compared to our [U.S.] military outlays." This exposes the real aim of Kennedy's "foreign aid."

U.S. monopoly capital is sinking in the quagmire of deepening contradictions in the vast continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Kennedy's reactionary measures will not solve these contradictions; on the contrary, they will serve only to aggravate them.

### V

Kennedy has time and again stressed the need to strengthen the competitive position of the U.S. economy. "Our export drive will founder if we cannot keep our prices competitive in world markets," he said in his economic report to Congress. As far as monopoly capital is concerned, if the price is to be competitive, it is necessary to reduce costs, which means, on the one hand, raising labour productivity by modernizing production equipment and introducing automation, and on the other hand, "freezing" wages and working hours and intensifying its attacks on the working class, with the latter measures being especially important at the present time.

### Labour Hits Back

As U.S. monopoly capital intensifies its attack on the working class, it cannot fail to provoke tough working-class resistance. Last year, according to official statistics, there were 3,270 major disputes between capital and labour (these so-called disputes are another name for strikes and lock-outs) in the United States, never less than 100 and rising to a maximum of 430 a month, amounting to a loss of 16,760,000 workdays. This year labour-capital contracts in many branches of industry, such as steel, aluminium, coal, building, aircraft, shipbuilding, transportation, telephone communications, etc., will either expire or call for re-negotiations. Any breakdown in negotiations is likely to lead to strikes. A strike of New York electrical construction workers already took place last January and they emerged victorious in a bitter struggle for a 25-hour week.

The U.S. ruling group regards the workers' struggles as a serious menace to its interests both politically and eco-



nominally and it is showing greater energy than ever in its undisguisedly highhanded policy towards the U.S. working class. It has openly threatened to further revise the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act so as to deprive the workers completely of their right to strike. It is making use of the "McCarran Act" and the "Smith Act" to persecute the Communist Party of the U.S.A. This is a grave step in the direction of further fascization of the country and a ferocious attack on the U.S. working class and other progressive forces. Meanwhile, Kennedy in his budget has appropriated \$57 million nominally for the expansion of federal prisons, but actually for the construction of concentration camps. His purpose in taking these reactionary measures is to "prevent trouble before it comes" but they will certainly lead to quite an opposite result.

In his various messages to Congress, Kennedy, waxing eloquent, talked at great length about the so-called "welfare" measures in his country. But, comparing the wages lost by the workers during the various crises with the unemployment relief paid out to them and profits before tax of the monopoly capital, it is easy to see that the wage losses are extremely heavy, unemployment relief very skimpy and the monopoly capital profits very large (see table below).

**Workers' Losses in Wages and Receipts of Unemployment Relief During the Crises and the Corporate Profits**

Year of crisis	Official figure of wholly unemployed (10,000 men)	Average weekly wages per person (\$)	Wage losses of wholly unemployed (in 100 million of dollars)	Unemployment relief (in 100 million of dollars)	Corporate profits before tax (in 100 million of dollars)
1953	190	70.47	70	9.6	383
1954	360	70.49	132	20.3	341
1957	294	81.59	125	17.7	432
1958	468	82.71	201	35.8	374
1960	393	89.72	183	27.3	450
1961	481	92.45	231	33.9*	461*
Total			942	144.6	2441

### Welfare Measures — A Big Fraud

As the above table shows, during the six crisis years between 1953 and 1961, workers' losses in wages amounted to \$94,200 million while the unemployment relief they received amounted to only \$14,400 million, a difference of 6.5 to 1. In the same period, the monopoly capitalist group's corporate profits before tax amounted to \$244,100 million. These figures on workers' losses and corporate profits are based on official statistics and they cannot give the full picture, nevertheless they show that the value created by the U.S. working class is large, the surplus value extracted by monopoly capital is huge and that, with the continued occurrence of economic crises under the U.S. monopoly capitalist system, the burden shifted onto the working class by the monopoly capitalists during crises is extremely heavy. The "welfare measures" of the United States, such as unemployment relief, so much advertised by Kennedy, are actually just a big fraud designed by the U.S. monopoly capitalists to soften up the U.S. working class and other working people.

In his messages Kennedy also mentioned another "welfare" measure, that is, the distribution of food relief.

\*Preliminary

He said that between December 1960 and November 1961, the number of recipients of food relief increased from 3.7 to 6.2 million (the figure given in the American press was 7.1 million). This gives one an inkling of the gravity of the situation in that country.

In the United States, the richest country in the capitalist world, the number of those receiving relief in any one recent year is 30 million, or one-sixth of the population. This shows what "welfare measures" mean to the American people at large in the so-called general welfare state—it is actually poor relief. In expounding the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation, Marx pointed out that "the more extensive, finally, the Lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism." This certainly hits the nail on the head. There is more and more government-sponsored social relief in the United States not because a "sustained prosperity" has come to that country but because U.S. monopoly capitalist accumulation is getting bigger and bigger, the industrial reserve army is growing ever larger and the impoverishment of the working people is becoming steadily more serious.

### The Essence of Kennedy's Economic Policies

The United States has already suffered five economic crises since the end of World War II (including the 1945-46 crisis at the close of the war). The 1957-58 crisis was pivotal. With that crisis, the United States entered a stage of decline. The daily deepening contradiction between production and the market is accompanied by daily sharpening class contradictions. Owing to changes in the balance of forces among the main capitalist countries, the U.S. position in the capitalist world has declined and contradictions inside the imperialist camp have deepened; contradictions between U.S. imperialism on the one hand and the countries and peoples throughout the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other have also been increasing. Following the 1960-61 crisis, all these various contradictions have further deepened and grown more acute. Today, the main capitalist countries, such as the United States, and those in Western Europe and Japan, are facing a new capitalist world economic crisis. It is looming large although conditions for its ripening are not identical in all these countries. This will bring about profound changes in the capitalist world.

The recent messages sent to Congress by Kennedy indicate that, in the throes of sharpening contradictions, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class is, domestically, pursuing a policy of intensifying its attacks on the U.S. working class and all other progressive forces and intensifying the fascization of the country; while, internationally, stepping up its expansionist activities and aggression and pressing forward energetically with its arms drive and war preparations. Such is the essence of the overall policies of John F. Kennedy, self-professed scion of the school of liberalism in the United States. Policies such as these cannot possibly help U.S. monopoly capital out of the quagmire it is in; they cannot arrest the decline of the U.S. economy. On the contrary, U.S. monopoly capital is in for still harder times; its difficulties will multiply and get worse. There will certainly be more and greater changes in the situation in the future and they won't be to its advantage.

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## Between the Socialist States

**China-Soviet Union.** Chinese Young Pioneers last week sent a message to the Central Council of the Soviet Lenin Young Pioneers warmly greeting the 40th anniversary of the founding of their organization. In Peking, more than 1,000 Chinese Pioneers and young guests from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries held a party in honour of the occasion. At the party, songs and dances were performed by Chinese and Soviet children and the Chinese Pioneers presented handicrafts and paintings done by themselves to the Soviet Pioneers.

A mutual agreement on the survey and classification of ships has been signed between China and the Soviet Union. It was initiated by Hsieh Chung-feng, Director of the Registry of Shipping of China, and Y. V. Rykachov, Director of the Registry of Shipping of the U.S.S.R.

**China-Mongolia.** Bearing with them the warm thanks of the Mongolian people, three thousand Chinese workers who had helped Mongolia's socialist construction will soon leave Ulan Bator for home. The first batch left on May 16. They went to Mongolia in May 1959 in accordance with an agreement between the Chinese and Mongolian Governments.

On the eve of their departure, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Trade Unions of Mongolia each held ceremonies in Ulan Bator to award orders, medals and certificates to 146 of the Chinese workers.

Byambadorzh, Member of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, spoke of the many-sided assistance rendered Mongolia by the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries. He said that China had not only given industrial and technical aid but had also assisted with manpower. The Mongolian peo-

ple are very happy that this aid will continue. The Mongolian Government and people deeply appreciate the Chinese workers' help and have a high opinion of their workmanship. He said that while in Mongolia they fulfilled 100 to 200 per cent of their production targets, created great wealth and unstintingly passed on their valuable technical knowledge to the workers of Mongolia.

## Cambodia Honours Chinese Educators

The Cambodian Ambassador to China, Leng Ngeth, on behalf of Prince Sihanouk, has presented awards to a Chinese school teacher and a school administrator as an expression of thanks for help given the Prince's two sons who came to Peking to study in July 1960. The boys' teacher Chiao Shu-chen received the "Chevalier Monisaraphon" medal and the administrator, Chang Ching-yu, the "Medaille du Travail."

## 1962 Spring Fair Closes

China's 1962 Spring Export Commodities Fair in Canton closed on May 15 after a one-month run. It was visited by more than 2,500 people, including businessmen from many countries, overseas Chinese merchants and traders from Hongkong and Macao.

The businessmen praised the fine quality and reasonable prices of the goods offered. Transactions to the value of more than 298 million yuan, equivalent to over 43 million pounds sterling, were concluded. At the same time, Chinese trading companies placed orders with visiting merchants for goods needed in China's construction.

Many foreign guests took the opportunity to see rural people's communes, beauty spots and places of historical interest around Canton.

## New Indian Intrusion

Indian troops have engaged in a new act of provocation, constituting a grave violation of Chinese territory at Longju in the Tibet region of China. On May 19 the Chinese Government lodged a serious protest concerning this with the Indian Government.

At noon on April 28, ten fully armed Indian military personnel intruded into Chinese territory at Longju on

the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary and declared that they had come for a prolonged stay. They left only after having carried out military reconnaissance there. The Chinese Government has received confirmatory evidence of this incident from many sources.

This clearly indicates that India intends to disrupt the status quo on the Sino-Indian boundary and create tension not only on the western sector but also on the eastern sector of the boundary.

Longju is situated in the Migyitun area in the southeastern part of China's Tibet region and north of the so-called McMahon Line which is unilaterally held by India as the boundary line between China and India. Indian troops on one occasion illegally intruded into and occupied this place. In August 1959, they provoked a military clash in the Migyitun area with the Chinese garrison there.

The Indian side has recently been intensifying its military activities directed against China in the area unlawfully occupied by India close to Longju. The Indian troops' new encroachment on Chinese territory on April 28 was obviously made in preparation for their reoccupation of Longju and precipitation of new armed clashes.

The Indian Government in a note to the Chinese Government on April 18 accused Chinese personnel of having "crossed the Sino-Indian border" and reached Ruyu village (referred to as Roi in the Indian note) about half a mile south of Longju in the second week of January, 1962. This place is actually in Chinese territory and, in fact, in the Chinese territory that is north of the so-called McMahon Line. Moreover, no official of the Chinese side visited the place on any day in the second week of January. The Chinese Government, therefore, categorically rejected the charge made by the Indian Government. At the same time, the Chinese Government pointed out that the purpose of the Indian Government in raising such a groundless charge was to seek a pretext for India's further violation of the status quo on the boundary and precipitation of new armed clashes in this area. The incident of the Indian troops' intrusion into Longju on April 28 has confirmed the Chinese Government's prediction.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## ***The Chinese People Cannot Remain Indifferent***

"The Chinese people cannot remain indifferent to U.S. imperialism's threat to embark on direct military intervention in Laos and to its increasingly flagrant collaboration with and use of the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits to extend the civil war in that country. They cannot but watch closely the development of the situation and take a serious view of it," declares *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (May 16).

Commentator notes that a report of the *Voice of Laos* on May 14 indicated that the patriotic Laotian forces killed, wounded and captured a number of remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits in the recent fighting for the liberation of Mouong Sing. According to statements from these prisoners, more than 100 Chiang troops under Tseng Cheng had taken part in the Mouong Sing engagements. In their counter-offensives in the area southwest of Mouong Sing, the Laotian patriotic forces and the people's guerrilla units found that remnant Chiang troops led by Lu Wei-ying were participating in the Laotian civil war. They have also learnt that more than 2,000 Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops, grouped at Don Pak and Nam Kong in the southwestern part of Houi Sai Province, and along the northern border of Thailand, are ready to move into attack in co-ordination with Laotian rebel troops against the patriotic Laotian forces. This, says Commentator, is a very serious situation.

For more than a year, in one form or another, the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits have supported or joined the Laotian rebel troops in combat and have in fact become a component part of the Laotian rebel troops. Furthermore, the Chiang Kai-shek gang has directly dispatched from Taiwan military personnel and equipment to aid the Laotian rebel troops. The latest information revealed by the *Voice of Laos* shows all the more clearly that the collaboration between the U.S. imperialists and the Phoumi-Boun Oum rebel group and the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops

is being stepped up. What warrants special attention is the fact that a "goodwill mission" led by Boun Oum arrived in Taiwan on May 14. The *Central Daily* in Taipei went so far as to declare openly that "every possible positive assistance will be given to Laos."

China, says Commentator, has all along adopted an attitude of restraint with regard to the participation of remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits in the Laotian civil war. It has consistently respected the independence of Laos, never interfered in Laos' internal affairs, and has never been involved in the Laotian civil war. China has always desired and done its utmost to solve the Laotian question in a peaceful way through international agreement, and to settle at the same time the question of the Chiang Kai-shek troops in Laos. At the enlarged Geneva Conference, the Chinese delegation time and again raised the question of the participation of these troops in the Laotian civil war. Even the U.S. delegate dared not deny that these bandits were taking part in the Laotian civil war. It is regrettable, however, that owing to U.S. obstruction, the Geneva Conference has not so far been able to reach final agreement, with the result that the civil war is still going on in Laos and the question of the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits has become more serious. For all this the United States cannot evade its responsibility.

## ***Rift Between Manila and Washington***

The myth of "mutual dependence and friendly co-operation" in the "free world" is thoroughly exposed in recent developments in relations between Manila and Washington, says an article in *Renmin Ribao* (May 18).

Philippine President Macapagal was all set to go to the United States. He had an invitation from President Kennedy and his trip was scheduled to take place in mid-June. But a UPI dispatch of May 14 reports that the visit has been postponed. Three days before this announcement Macapagal proclaimed that the Philippines' Inde-

pendence Day would not be celebrated on July 4 but on June 12 instead. July 4 was proclaimed Philippine Independence Day in 1946. But the country has known no real independence since then. It has been under the military, economic and political thumb of the United States. June 12, 1898 was the date when it freed itself from Spanish colonial domination. Spanish rule ended for ever then in the Philippines, but not colonial domination—the United States stepped into Spain's shoes. Macapagal's decision to make June 12 his country's Independence Day puts U.S. imperialism on the spot. It explodes Washington's boast of generosity in granting "independence" to the Philippines after World War II.

For quite some time now, Philippine-U.S. relations have not been as Washington would have us believe. There has been little here of "loyal friends and partners." The deterioration in relations between the two countries, the article says, is due to the Philippine authorities' dissatisfaction over the refusal of the U.S. House of Representatives to approve the payment to the Philippines of U.S. \$73 million in war damages. It will be recalled that the United States promised to pay the Philippines for war damages suffered during World War II in order to induce it to sign a trade agreement granting preferential treatment to the U.S. For well over ten years, this agreement has been used to exploit the Philippines but the promise to pay war damage has been repeatedly sidestepped. The formal rejection of the Philippines' claim came just before President Macapagal's proposed visit to the United States. Public opinion in Manila showed its anger and disappointment.

To achieve genuine independence, the article notes, the Philippines must stop toeing the U.S. imperialist line. The Philippine people have had this objective before them in their protracted struggle. But the Philippine Vice-President, Emanuel Pelaez has as good as said, the only way to get anything out of Washington is by blackmail. This is as good a description as any of the relations between the United States and its lackeys. Reactionary rulers acting as cat's-paws for the U.S. do use blackmail in trying to get more dollars. But more often than not, these same "blackmailers" find themselves caught in bigger traps set by their imperialist "benefactors."

# From "Yangko" Opera to "The White-Haired Girl"

by MA KO

*The author of this article, the composer Ma Ko, was a student at the Lu Hsun Art Academy in Yenan when the famous Yenan Forum on Literature and Art was held there in May 1942. In the following, he recalls how 20 years ago art students, inspired by Chairman Mao's ideas on art and literature—ideas that were advanced and accepted at the Forum—took their first steps along the road of making art and literature serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.—Ed.*

Open up the wasteland, yi! Open  
up the wasteland!

The soldiers at the front need  
food . . .

Weave cloth, yi! Weave cloth!

The soldiers at the front, need  
clothes . . .

This was the first song I learnt in Yenan when I arrived there 20 years ago. Every morning at dawn when the bell rang, we students of the Lu Hsun Art Academy set out in groups, tools in hand, singing as we climbed the mountain path to open up wasteland on the plateau above. For me, the memories this song evokes are particularly precious. They were my first lesson after I joined the revolution. In that lesson I began to experience the joy of collective physical labour, to see how truly beautiful was the Yenan landscape, and to delight in the music that is typical of northern Shensi.

The local folk melody, *xin tian you*, sounded new and strange to me when I first heard it. I felt it was a bit monotonous, that it lacked refinement and so-called "artistry." It goes without saying that I had much the same attitude towards the creators and singers of these local folk songs. I felt that they were uncultured; they were careless of sanitation. . . . In one word, I didn't like them, nor did I sing their songs. Only after I took part in opening up the wasteland did I begin to sense the rich emotion contained in their music. I began to hear it differently. It now appeared so free and spirited, so simple and natural that it seemed that every valley and stream rang with its melody. Carried away by my sentiments, I too joined the rest singing loud and long.

## "Go to the Masses!"

I can never forget those moving calls: "Serve the workers, peasants and soldiers!" "Go to the masses!" and "Go to the thick of fiery struggles!" Soon after the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, Chairman Mao paid a memorable visit to our school. In his talk to us students, he called on us "to step out of our small school and go into the big community of the Liberated Areas, into the midst of the struggle of the broad masses of the people. His talk was an immense inspiration to us students. We all wanted to go out to the people as soon as possible, to learn, to temper ourselves and do our bit for the revolution.

With the Spring Festival of 1943 came a great turn in the world anti-fascist war. The Soviet Red Army started its victorious offensive at Stalingrad. In China, all the Liberated Areas were in the midst of preparations for the offensive against the Japanese invaders. The people's government called on the people to start a campaign for support for the Eighth Route Army and for special care for the families of the men who were fighting in the War of Resistance. We students of the Lu Hsun Art Academy were asked to do propaganda work for the campaign. Our school authorities suggested that, in keeping with

the spirit of the movement to improve ways of work, it would be better for us to approach our task in a new way instead of going about it in the ordinary routine way. That is, in getting over our message we should try to find some way which was really to the liking of the people. This turned our attention to a traditional form of Spring Festival entertainment which the local people called "yangko merry-making." Before the 1942 campaign to "rectify our style of work," many comrades had not thought much of yangko. But now our attitude was different. Our girls put aside the crinoline skirts which they used for their classical foreign plays and put on clothes of the local peasant women. Leaving aside their Shakespearian dramas for a while, they learnt to do yangko dance-steps. Others put aside their dreams of quartettes and symphony orchestras for the moment and joined a band with gongs, drums and *suona*. . . . A new type of propaganda team made its appearance in the public squares and mountain villages. Its new programmes of lively, topical items in the people's idiom gained an immediate popular success. Enchanted, the local people were quick to follow suit—forming their own propaganda teams and taking over our whole repertoire, a not too difficult task since it was so closely linked with their own beloved folk art. A new yangko movement started and spread with spectacular speed.

We began to pay attention to many styles of folk entertainment which we had hitherto totally ignored. Using these folk forms, we created many popular new items either by adapting



A "Yangko" Opera (the inscriptions on the banner read: The Lu Hsun Art Academy's Propaganda Team)  
A woodcut of the time by Wang Liu-chiu

traditional items or by creating new ones in the traditional style. We noticed that in this process the artistic style of many of us underwent considerable changes.

A waist-drum chorus composed a song in praise of the heroic offensive launched by the Red Army of the Soviet Union; they sang to the thundering beat of the drum—and we found that we had a new modern march with a highly distinctive national flavour, whereas previously we had thought that a revolutionary march must inevitably have the flavour of the *Marseillaise*.

The new *yangko* movement was a great inspiration to every one of us. It gave us more confidence in following the artistic path of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

That winter, our *yangko* troupe toured the neighbourhood of Suiteh and Michih where we lived among the villagers and joined them in their struggle for the reduction of rents. On one memorable day it was snowing heavily. We were very tired after trudging over the hills for a whole day. Suddenly we were confronted with a group of peasants beating gongs and drums. They had come to meet us at the crossroads. We were just wondering why every one of them carried a broom when we noticed that the brooms had been used to sweep a path clean for us along the road to the village. It was ten solid *li* (three miles) from the village to the crossroads. To this day I well remember how many of us were moved to tears by this welcome from the peasants. At the time that was still a rare experience—it was quite natural: till then we had remained aloof above the people. Now, we have only moved a few steps along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao, and already we were being met with such enthusiasm! It is impossible for me to express the deep sense of gratitude we felt.

The villagers welcomed us with open arms, receiving us as “men sent by Chairman Mao to help in their *fanshen* (literally, ‘turning over,’ or ‘liberation’).” In those war years, the people’s government’s policy was to get rents and rates of interest reduced. But not all the landlords in the Liberated Areas were law-abiding, and they played all sorts of tricks to keep the peasants under their thumb. Life for the poor peasants and hired



“The White-Haired Girl” produced by the Lu Hsun Art Academy in Yenan in 1945

hands, we found, was still very hard. As petty-bourgeois city intellectuals, we had hitherto had little knowledge of the revolutionary needs of the people. Our experiences in the villages—seeing the urgency of those needs and their courageous determination to fight to the end to achieve their emancipation—was an eye-opener for all of us, and we soon realized how much there was for us to learn in this “big school.” We went into action immediately, writing and rehearsing a play about rent reduction. This was staged right before the village meeting called to put this policy into effect. After the performance, we too joined the peasants in their struggle. Our play was presented in the widely popular style of local drama called *daoqing*.

In those six months we spent studying in our “big school,” we learnt to see what was really meant by class struggle and the art of the people. A clear change took place in my mind. I learnt to see the peasants, and the working people in general, as intelligent, frank, open-minded, and knowing well what they love and what they hate; and the folk arts as rich and colourful, reflecting the immense spiritual world of their creators. Previously, blinded by a sense of superiority as an intellectual and professional artist, I used to look upon them as ignorant, dull and crude and their arts as naive and uninteresting. Take folk song for example. I found that not only Yenan had its sonorous *xin tian you* and fine *mei hu tiao* melodies. We travelled 400 *li* and everywhere we found this same ocean of song. Throughout the vast countryside, everyone was a singer, man or woman, old or young. . . .

### “The White-Haired Girl”

In the autumn of 1944, an intriguing story came from the fighting front and swiftly made the rounds of the villages. It was said that a “white-haired fairy” had been discovered in the mountains in western Hopei. She never came out in daytime, but at night she visited a certain temple and ate the food placed there as a sacrifice. The story was on the lips of all the local people and they believed that this spirit must be an omen of some evil to come. This was extremely harmful to the campaign to mobilize the local communities to support the resistance against Japanese aggression. Cadres of the local people’s government suspected that it was a trick played by the Japanese and dispatched a man to the temple to catch the “ghost.” In the dead of night, the “ghost” came. In the dimly lit temple, she seemed to be covered entirely by her flowing white hair—and the man felt a shiver of fear pass over him. Summoning up his courage, he stepped from his hiding place and asked: “Are you a woman or a ghost?” Silent, the “ghost” moved three steps forward. Feeling as if some ice-cold air had been forced down his throat, the man retreated three steps. “How can a revolutionary believe in ghosts?” he thought, and moved three steps forward in the direction of the “ghost” who in turn retreated three steps. In a flash he reached out to seize the white-haired woman but she shrieked and fled. He ran after her. But she ran very fast and soon disappeared. Standing at a loss what to do, the man heard a baby cry, and following the sound of the crying he reached a cave where he found a baby with his mother, the “ghost.” It turned out

that the woman had been forced to flee into the mountains a few years previously to escape from landlord persecution. The story ended happily, the woman was avenged. Her hair turned black again and she finally married the man who had brought her "back to life."

We made a study of the story and found that some of its incidents were indeed real life happenings. But in its current form, it had been "worked up" as it was told and retold. The leadership of our school thought it a good story, good as a lesson of the class struggle and with a vivid romantic atmosphere, and suggested that we make it into an opera.

The assignment was, of course, very new to us. We followed the method we used two years previously, that is, when we adapted the *yangko* folk form to modern themes. We had a thorough discussion of the subject ourselves and then made a round of interviews. In the process, the images of the various characters in the story began to take more concrete shape. Work on our new composition soon showed how much we had benefited from our contacts with the people and folk music during the past two years. We found that we were able to find a musical idiom for the expression of the thoughts and emotions of the working people. In places, we used folk tunes after only a very little adaptation, as for instance when the heroine Hsi-erh sings as she ties up her hair with her father's New Year present, a piece of red cotton thread.

But how to find a musical image for the landlord? Most of us were young people from the big cities and we had had little contact with the landed gentry. Our new experience in the countryside again came to our help. At the meetings to reduce rents, we had seen them put up shows of poverty, honesty, helplessness. Once back home, they were their own lords again—feasting the whole night through behind tightly closed doors. We happened once to do our cooking in one of the landlords' kitchens. In the daytime, they were most humble in their attitude, making conversation with us about the anti-Japanese united front. When night came, their women-folk would sneak out to steal our coal. . . . In a word, we had been watching with great interest how cunningly these people played the

hypocrite and saw only too clearly their true natures—greed, selfishness and eagerness to exploit others. These are the traits we tried to convey in our music for these characters.

How to give expression to the class hatred of the people, their anger and strength? We were quite familiar with such popular songs as the *March of the Volunteers* written by the composer Nieh Erh, but we found that a vigorous and powerful style of folk music too had emerged in the course of the people's revolutionary struggles, music such as *The General's Order* played on the *suona* (a type of flute) and new folk songs with a revolutionary content like *The Landlord Can Just Sit Down and Eat His Fill*. These are extremely powerful pieces and they blend well with the traditional style of folk music. We made use of such examples in the mass meeting of the last scene, where the White-Haired Girl confronts and accuses her oppressors. This was also our inspiration for the songs *The Sun Has Risen* and *Now It Is Our People's World*.

It is now some 17 years since the writing of the opera *The White-Haired Girl*. If this has exercised some positive influence on the masses, it is only because to some small extent we worked in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings on art and literature. Limited as we were both ideologically and in professional skill, there was, of course, much left undone.

I recall these few episodes simply to illustrate how Chairman Mao's artistic and literary teachings serve as a key in solving current questions of revolutionary art and literature in China. Tested by history in the last 20 years, these teachings shine all the more brilliantly today. They will continue to lead us to new victories in our work.

## SPORTS

### **Soviet Army Basketball Team In China**

Recently Peking's basketball fans were treated to two excellent games by the world-famous Soviet Army Basketball Team. M. Valdmanis, A. Bochkarev, A. Alachachyan, the seven-foot-plus J. Krumins and other veterans of two Olympic Games were in

the team. In their first match, against the Peking Army Detachment, the visitors were narrowly defeated 55:60. They won their second game on May 18 against the P.L.A. August First by 13 points.

The match against the Peking army team was a battle between the height and polished play of the visitors and the speed and accuracy of the home side. Krumins and several of his teammates organized a tight defence and forced the home side to score most of its goals from quite a distance. Good co-ordination and frequent use of their pivot man Krumins to score from under the basket characterized the visitors' play that night.

Playing against August First, the visitors fully displayed their formula for success—height plus skill plus speed. Krumins was a sure point winner whenever he got the ball anywhere near the basket. The fire and dash of the speedy Alachachyan (already christened "Rocket" by admiring fans) was a constant menace to the home side. Like team captain Valdmanis, he often sparked off some spectacular goals.

The first half of the match was close. The two sides scored in turn and half-time saw the visitors only 5 points ahead. The second half started at a racy pace. The teams matched speed against speed. Play went flying from one end of the court to the other in kaleidoscopic patterns. After three and a half minutes of sparkling play, the score read 44:43 in favour of the visitors. The Soviet army side then abruptly changed its tactics, manoeuvring skilfully. The home side failed to find a counter-plan. The Soviet team drew ahead to win 81:68.

After their two games in Peking the visitors went to Shanghai. They played the Shanghai Army Detachment Team, winning 71:53. As we go to press they are back in Peking for the last match of their tour, again against the August First.

### **Hungarian Table Tennis Team's Visit**

Last week in Peking, Chinese and Hungarian teams once more faced each other over the green tables and nets.

The visitors fielded a predominantly young team of players who have come

to the fore only recently. Apart from P. Rozsas and Sarolta Lukacsne (Mathe) the other five players did not represent Hungary at the world championships last year and are new faces in China. This is an indication of the great headway table tennis has made in Hungary since last year. Their players showed a high degree of skill in combining attack with defence in a way that is new for players using the handshake grip.

On May 16, the visitors played their first match against China's national

teams before a capacity crowd at the Peking Gymnasium. The women's team competition was won by China 3:0—Han Yu-chen and Wang Chien winning 2:0 in the singles against E. Hevesi and Lukacsne respectively. In the doubles the Chinese girls defeated the Hungarian pair 2:0.

The men's team event was also won by China 5:1—Chuang Tse-tung defeated I. Harcsar 2:0 and J. Fahazi 2:1; Hsu Yin-sheng lost to Fahazi 0:2 but defeated Rozsas 2:0; Li Fu-jung defeated both Rozsas and Harcsar 2:0.

The visitors' second and third matches in Peking were against China's Youth Teams. On May 17 playing against Ti Chiang-hua and Liang Li-chen in the women's team event, the visitors won 3:2 but their men lost 2:5 to the Chinese side. In the May 19 matches the visitors didn't do so well, losing both team events.

The Hungarian players are now in Tientsin where they will play three more matches before going on to Shanghai.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

### HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

The following programme scheduled for the coming week is subject to change.

#### PEKING OPERA

▲ **THREE ATTACKS ON CHU VILLAGE** An episode from *Water Margin*, in which Sung Chiang, the leader of a peasant rebellion, cleverly wins over his opponents in Chu Village. China Peking Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE YEN YANG TOWER** Kao Teng, son of an evil prime minister of the Sung Dynasty, takes advantage of his father's position to kidnap Hsu Fei-chu, daughter of a brave general treacherously killed by his father. Fei-chu's brother, with the help of his friends, rescues his sister and avenges his family. Produced by the visiting Peking Opera Troupe from Tientsin.

▲ **LU WEN-LUNG** A Sung Dynasty story. Lu Wen-lung, son of a Sung general, is abducted and adopted by a Kin prince. Grown to be a brave warrior he helps the Kin defeat the Sung troops under Yo Fei. Wang Tso, a Sung scholar, succeeds in gaining his confidence, reveals the truth about his birth, and persuades him to come over to the Sung side. Produced by the visiting Peking Opera Troupe from Tientsin.

#### KIANGSI OPERA

▲ **THE WEST CHAMBER** Adapted from the classical Yuan play. A young scholar, Chang Chun-jui, meets Tsui Ying-ying by chance and falls in love with her. With the help of the clever maid Hung Niang, the lovers marry. Produced by the visiting Kiangsi Kanju Opera Troupe.

#### QUYI OPERA

▲ **YI HO TUAN** A historical *quyi* opera about the patriotic anti-imperialist uprising in 1900. Peking Quyi Opera Troupe.

▲ **YANG NAI-WU AND HSIAO PAI-TSAI** A drama based on a notorious murder case in the Ching Dynasty. Peking Quyi Opera Troupe.

#### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **MISSION TO THE ENEMY'S REAR** A thrilling tale of underground revolutionary activities of the Communist Party in an enemy-held city during the Japanese occupation. China Pingju Opera Theatre.

#### MODERN OPERA

▲ **BROTHER AND SISTER OPEN UP WASTELAND. A COUPLE LEARNS TO READ AND WRITE. CHOU TZU-SHAN** The restaging of three popular *yangko* operas of the Liberated Area in northern Shensi, where the *yangko* dance originated. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **A CLOUD SEEKS HER HUSBAND** A new opera adapted from a folk tale of the Pai minority people of Yunnan. A Pai princess falls in love with a brave young hunter, the most successful competitor in a

horse racing event. In defiance of her step-mother's wish to marry her to a haughty official, she flees from the palace and weds the young hunter. But the young couple's happy life together ends when the wicked stepmother gets a magician to turn the hunter into a stone ass. After the princess dies of grief, her spirit takes the form of a white cloud, wandering about the heavens seeking her beloved husband. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

#### SONG AND DANCE

May 26 & 27 At Peking Workers' Gymnasium

A variety evening of instrumental music, songs and dances, *yangko* and Peking operas jointly produced by eight companies including the Central Song and Dance Ensemble, the Cultural Troupe of P.L.A.'s General Political Department and the Central Nationalities Song and Dance Troupe. Programme includes: the northern Shensi *yangko* dances, the waist-drum dances, *Lotus Dance*, *The Lion Dance*, the Peking opera *At the Crossroads*, Tibetan dances, soprano solos and other items.

#### CONCERTS

May 27 At Peking Concert Hall

The Song and Dance Ensemble of the P.L.A.'s Comrades-in-Arms Cultural Troupe presents a recital of revolutionary songs and arias from the modern operas *The White-Haired Girl*, *The Red Eagle* and *The Red Guards of Lake Hunghu*.

#### MODERN DRAMA

▲ **STEELED IN BATTLES** A three-act play written by Hu Ko. It tells how three generations of a poor peasant family oppose landlord oppression. Finally, led by the Communist Party, they find their road of liberation. Produced by the Modern Drama Group of the P.L.A.'s Comrades-in-Arms Cultural Troupe.

▲ **HAVE AN EYE TO THE FUTURE. SERVE THEM RIGHT. SIXTEEN GUNS** Three one-act plays showing how the people in the Communist-led base areas fought the enemy during the Japanese invasion. Produced by the Modern Drama Group of the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A.'s General Political Department.

▲ **THE PRESSGANG** A satirical comedy in Szechuan dialogue exposing how a landlord family bribes the local Kuomintang officials in order to escape conscription. The resulting situations bring many laughs. Jointly produced by the China Youth Art Theatre and the Szechuan People's Art Theatre.

▲ **KOU CHIEN REBUILDS THE STATE** The State of Yueh in the Warring States Period is defeated by the State of Wu. After three years' captivity, Kou Chien, King of Yueh, returns home. Mindful of the humiliations and suffering he and his people have endured, he encourages them to work hard to strengthen their country. Many years later, he turns the tables on Wu. Peking People's Art Theatre.

#### FILMS

▲ **THE WHITE-HAIRED GIRL** Reshowing of an ever popular film. The fate of a young peasant girl under landlord tyranny and her return to the world of man after liberation.

▲ **A RED DETACHMENT OF WOMEN** A colour film about the women guerrilla fighters of Hainan Island in the 1930s. Shanghai Tienma Studio.

▲ **NIEH ERH** A feature film based on the young life of China's first great proletarian composer. In colour. Shanghai Haiyen Studio.

▲ **LIN TSE-HSU** The story of what happened when the patriotic Special Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu, in the late Ching Dynasty, destroyed opium shipped to China by British merchants. Shanghai Haiyen Studio.

▲ **THE LONG MARCH** It shows how the invincible Chinese Red Army fought its way to victory during the Long March against attacks by the enemy and over such formidable natural barriers as the Tatu River and the Great Snow Mountains. August 1 and Peking Studios' joint production.

▲ **DAWN COMES AGAIN** A Soviet wide-screen film. A moving story about a Soviet professor of surgery who devotes his life to research and how he selflessly saves a girl's life.

▲ **THE UNEXPECTED GUEST** A Soviet film. The adventures of Soviet policemen when dealing with a group of imperialist secret agents.

#### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **NATIONAL ART** Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. At National Art Gallery.

▲ **PHOTOGRAPHIC ART** Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*. Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till June 3. At Artists' Union Gallery.

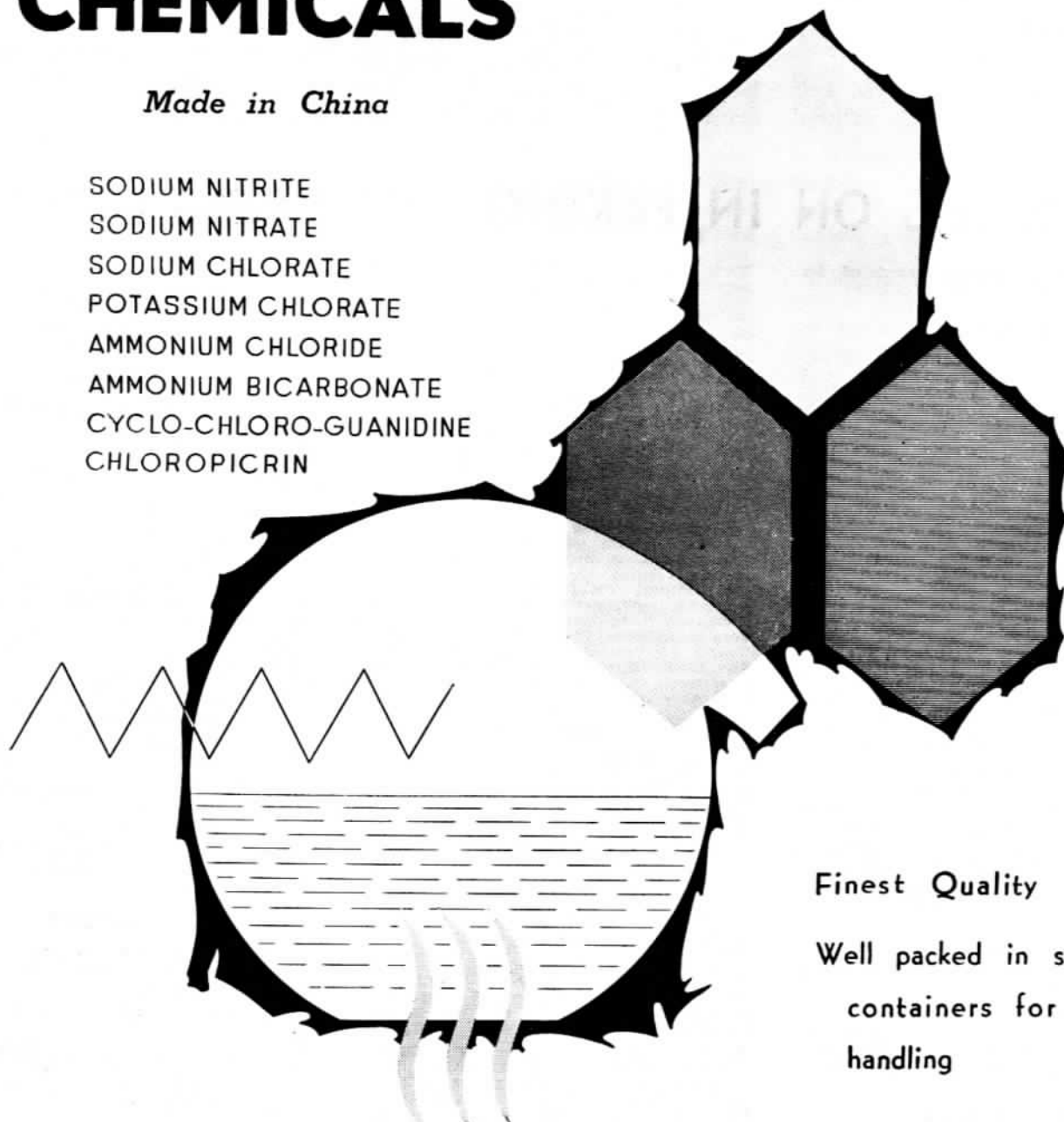
▲ **PEKING OIL PAINTINGS** Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till June 17. At Beihai Park. (Above exhibitions closed on Mondays.)



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