

PEKING REVIEW

22

June 1, 1962

TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM: 20TH ANNIVERSARY

1. *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 6).
2. Anniversary activities (p. 3).
3. Reminiscences (p. 18).

U.S. Imperialism's New Strategy in
The Missionary Movement

The Land Crossed by the Equator

Ecuador today (p. 13).

In a Pastoral People's Commune

Pen Probes and Other Features

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Talks at the Yenan 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 Yenan 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.

POEMS BY MAO TSE-TUNG

New Edition

This is a collection of twenty-one poems by Mao Tse-tung. **Changsha** and **Yellow Crane Tower**, written before the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), express the author's love for the beauty of his motherland, his patriotism and his contempt for the warlord reactionaries. The ten poems from **Chingkang Mountain** to **Mount Liupan**, mirror the struggles of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the indomitable spirit and heroism of the Red Army and the triumph of the Long March. They ring with the poet's confidence in the victory of the revolution. **Kunlun** and **Snow** are of the period from 1935, after the Long March, to 1945, the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The soaring spirit of the poet himself is expressed in his description of Kunlun Mountain and the magnificent snow scenes of northern China; these two poems give expression to the great ideals of communism and praise the revolutionaries of those days. The seven poems from **Reply to Mr. Liu Ya-tse** to **Farewell to the God of Plague**, written after the founding of the People's Republic of China, reflect the poet's solicitude for intellectuals, the enthusiasm and outlook of the Chinese people and their achievements in building socialism.

This second English edition of the **Poems** contains the two poems **Farewell to the God of Plague**, which were not included in the first edition, as well as reproductions of some of the author's original manuscripts.

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 1, 1962 Vol. V No. 22

CONTENTS

ROUND THE WEEK	3
Talks at the Yen-an Forum — 20th Anniversary; Tibet Strides Forward; Steel for Farms, for Consumer Goods; Children's Red-Letter Day; Kuomintang Troops Desert	
ARTICLES	
Serve the Broadest Masses of the People — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	6
U.S. Imperialism's "New Strategy" in the "Missionary Movement" — Wu Yao-tsung	10
The Land Crossed by the Equator — Tan Wen-jui	13
Getting the Idea Young (Pen Probes)	15
In a Pastoral People's Commune — Chin Nai-lu	16
LITERATURE AND ART, POETRY	18
Twenty Years Ago; Learn From the People; Peking's Poets on Poetry	
CHINESE PRESS OPINION	21
To Halt or to Encourage U.S. Aggression?; Franco Hard Hit; The Passing Show	
CHINA AND THE WORLD	22
Chairman Mao's Works in Japanese; Friendly Ties; Northern Ireland's C.P. Greeted; Afghan National Day; Sino-Sudanese Trade; Chen Yi Receives Guests; Briefs	
WHAT'S ON IN PEKING	23

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June 1, 1962

Round the Week

Talks at the Yen-an Forum — 20th Anniversary

Last week literary and art workers everywhere in the country started a round of commemorative activities to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. These will last a whole month.

The *Talks* had a tremendous impact. They inspired a burst of creative energy and stimulated a flowering of the arts in the Liberated Areas. Chou Li-po, for one, by going into the midst of the masses and sharing in the struggles of the peasants, succeeded in writing his masterpiece *The Hurricane*, a dramatic story of the changes in a village in northeast China during and after the land reform in the 40s. Ouyang Shan, another novelist, after working for years in the villages as a book-keeper, wrote his long novel *Uncle Kao*, a story set in the 40s about the director of a consumers' co-op in the northern Shensi countryside who triumphs over backward ideas and other difficulties and puts his co-op on the road to swift growth. It was the *Talks* that inspired Li Chi to write his *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang*, a long narrative poem in the lively form of northern Shensi folk songs about the love of two poor peasants (see p. 19), and Ku Yuan, then a student at the Lu Hsun Art Academy in Yen-an, to produce his new-style woodcuts — to mention just a few names.

Writers and Artists Discuss "Talks"

Taking part in the celebrations, the Union of Chinese Writers in Peking held a meeting attended by many well-known writers. Some of them lived for many years in the Liberated Areas and took part in the Yen-an Forum. Others, by following Chairman Mao's teachings, have made notable literary achievements resulting from long years of living among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Still others, living at that time in Kuomintang-controlled areas, were inspired by the *Talks* to use their pens in the struggle against the reactionary Kuomintang rule.

Film workers, artists, musicians, playwrights and stage artists in the capital, in Shanghai and other cities held similar meetings.

In Yen-an, at the Yangchialing auditorium where Chairman Mao gave his *Talks* 20 years ago, teachers and students of Yen-an University held a commemorative meeting attended by many peasants and veterans of the revolution. Many of the participants vividly recalled the proceedings of the forum and the days when Chairman Mao lived in Yen-an directing the war against the Japanese invaders and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

In areas where China's many national minorities live, writers and artists of Mongolian, Uighur, Tibetan, Hui, Chuang and other minority peoples also marked the 20th anniversary of the *Talks*. They hailed the achievements in folk art and literature made under the guidance of Chairman Mao's teachings.

Commemorative Performances

Peking is enjoying exhibitions of graphic art, paintings and photographs and a varied programme of some of the best plays, films, musical compositions and dances produced in the years since 1942. Many of the stage revivals star the original Yen-an casts or are directed by their original directors with the same actors and actresses who played the leading roles then.

One of the new-old hits is the yangko opera *Brother and Sister Open Up Wasteland*, now being staged by both the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre and the Opera Theatre of the People's Liberation Army. During the war against Japanese aggression the reactionary Kuomintang armies, instead of fighting the invaders, clamped a tight blockade around the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region in an attempt to starve and wipe out that Liberated Area. To counter the blockade, the Communist Party led the people in a great production campaign. *Brother and Sister Open Up Wasteland* was part of the propaganda drive back of this campaign. It was an immediate success

when first staged. The current production is directed by Li Po, one of its original authors and the first to play the role of the sister back in Yen-an.

The White-Haired Girl, one of the finest productions of those Yen-an days and the initiator of modern Chinese revolutionary opera, is now being rehearsed and will be staged some time this month. Shu Chiang, who directed its first performance in Yen-an, is working on it again. Supporting him are Wang Kun and Chen Chiang whom many still remember as the first stage artists in the roles of the white-haired girl and the landlord Huang Shih-jen.

The Pressgang, a three-act play written in 1938 by a group of young dramatists, is a satire exposing the brutality and corruption of the Kuomintang regime. These dramatists staged it in Yen-an in 1943. That group of dramatists included the well-known script-writers and actors of today: Wu Hsueh, Chen Ko, Lei Ping and Yin Wen-yuan. After liberation they took up posts in various parts of the country, but they have gathered again in Peking on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the *Talks* for a happy reunion and restaging of their favourite play which is repeating its success today.

Tibet Strides Forward

Feudal serfdom has been ended in Tibet. The democratic reform movement has in the main been completed. A social system of people's democracy has been established. Today the Tibetan people, led by the Communist Party, are marching forward with giant strides. Preparations are being speeded up to establish the Tibet Autonomous Region. So writes Chang Ching-wu, representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet in an article published in *Renmin Ribao* (May 25).

The democratic reforms carried out in Tibet have been designed to liberate Tibet's productive forces, develop its political, economic and cultural undertakings, and raise the living standards of the Tibetan working people. All that has been done, says Chang Ching-wu, is for the purpose of helping the Tibetans prosper within the great family of the socialist motherland and take their place among the advanced nationalities in the country in accordance with the Communist Party's basic policy on the national question which is to bring about equality and unity among all the nationalities of China.

The key to such equality and unity is national regional autonomy. This means in the first place a minority nationality administering its own internal affairs as master of its destiny. In order to realize this, large numbers of Tibetans are being trained as administrators. A special effort is being made to train such Tibetan cadres from among the working people for political and economic, cultural and educational, scientific and technical work.

Of the eleven chairman and vice-chairmen of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which today exercises the functions and powers of local government in Tibet, nine are Tibetans. Administrative organs have been set up for the seven special regions, one municipality and 72 counties of Tibet. In addition, 283 district and 1,009 township administrative organs have been established. The whole region now has over 6,000 Tibetan functionaries, among whom over 300 hold leading posts as heads of special administrative regions, counties and districts. These, together with the thousands of activists who have emerged from among the formerly down-trodden peasants and herdsmen, now form the core of the force that

will speed up the realization of national regional autonomy in Tibet.

When enough functionaries of Tibetan nationality have been trained and when other conditions are ripe, general elections will be held, the system of people's congresses will be set up and the Tibet Autonomous Region will be established. That will be a great day for the Tibetan people and that day will not be too far away.

Meanwhile, efforts are being made to carry through the democratic revolution and consolidate the gains derived from the democratic reforms. Production is being developed energetically for the benefit of the Tibetan working people. The level of the Tibetan people's political understanding is being raised and at the same time a material and ideological basis laid for carrying out socialist transformation in the future. All this spells a prosperous and happy future for the one million and two hundred thousand people of Tibet.

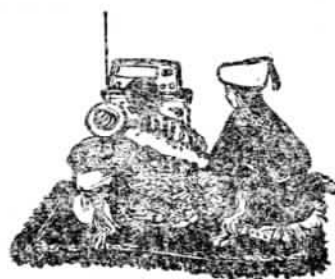
Steel for Farms, for Consumer Goods

China's big steel, like every other branch of industry, has switched into the drive to help agriculture and light industry. One of its main contributions is the production of more and better rolled steel to meet growing needs for irrigation and drainage equipment, machinery for chemical works, farm tools and consumer goods.

Workers at the steel centre of Anshan, like those elsewhere in the country, discussed what they could do to help fulfil the ten major tasks listed by Premier Chou En-lai in his report to the recent National People's Congress. In getting to grips with the first two tasks—to boost farm production and the output of consumer goods—they upped their output of rolled steel of various specifications needed in agriculture, in plants making



In Tibet Today



By Liu Hui-huang

tools for the farms and in the light and handicraft industries. The increase totalled over 16 per cent in the first quarter of 1962 compared with the same span last year. Among these products are seamless tubes for repairing and making irrigation and drainage machinery, steel wires and silicon sheets for electrical equipment.

Anshan workers keep an attentive ear open to the likes and needs of customers. Their sheet steel is in big demand at enamelware factories. Last March they read in *Renmin Ribao's* "Letters From Readers" column that the sheet steel they supplied to a Tientsin enamelware factory was still a bit too thick. They went into action right away. Reduction of the thickness of steel sheets by even 0.1 mm. demands the solution of many problems in technique and the manufacturing process. Workers, technicians and engineers put their heads together and succeeded in making sheet steel of exactly the thickness the Tientsin enamelware factory wanted. The new product is not only of better quality but economizes raw materials as well.

Shanghai steel mills this year are also offering farm machinery and light industrial goods manufacturers a bigger range of steel products. They now make all the kinds of round, flat, square and strip steels, steel wires and so on needed by the makers of sewing machines, bicycles and a considerable list of other light industrial producers.

Chemical, light industrial and handicraft enterprises in Chinghai, Kansu, Yunnan, Kweichow and other provinces are placing more orders for a greater variety of rolled steel with the Chungking Iron and Steel Company, and they are not being disappointed. By the end of April, this steel centre in southwest China produced 40 new specifications of rolled steel and fulfilled 80 per cent of 11 deliveries scheduled for the first six months of this year.

Children's Red-Letter Day

Chinese children have been looking forward eagerly to International Children's Day, now here with us again. This is a great occasion for juvenile rejoicing. There are outings to beauty spots, get-togethers, special theatrical performances, concerts, film shows, and radio and TV programmes of songs and ballads, modern plays and operas.

For teenage music lovers, the Red Scarf Orchestra is presenting a special

programme. Composed of 78 students of the middle school affiliated to the Central Conservatory of Music in Peking, this orchestra is the youngest in China—the average age of its members is 16. It has given over 50 public performances of popular and classical music. Its wide-ranging repertoire includes works by such masters as Tchaikovsky, Kabalevsky, Shostakovich, Mozart and the contemporary Chinese composer Ma Ssu-tung.

The cinemas have a rich bill of Chinese and foreign films for young film-goers. Two of these films are hit attractions. *Uproar in Heaven*, a full-length colour cartoon from Shanghai, is a treat that has almost everything the children want—the ever fascinating legendary Monkey, astounding magic, fantastic scenes, terrific battles, a monkey guerrilla army that plays havoc with the celestial host, and endless monkey tricks. *Blossoms in the Sun*, a new colour film, shows Chinese children celebrating International Children's Day with gala festivities and sparkling theatrical performances.

International Children's Day is a time for presents. Books are in great demand. Publishing houses have put out many new books for the occasion—the great books of children's fiction, stories from history and China's revolution, books about science, and Chinese and foreign classics. The Children's Publishing House in Peking has done a splendid job catering to a huge and growing demand. Since it began publishing on June 1, 1957, it has put out over 500 titles with a circulation of 33 million copies.

China's children of all nationalities have much to celebrate. With living standards steadily improving, an increasing number of children are now getting an education. Anshan and Fushun, China's major steel and mining centres respectively, report that practically all their school-age children are at school. Most of them are children of steel workers and colliers who had no chance whatsoever to go to school in the old society. Shansi Province, north China, also reports that about 90 per cent of its village children are receiving an education—a far cry from the past.

Kuomintang Troops Desert

Chiang Kai-shek's troops who more than ten years ago fled across the

Chinese border from Yunnan Province are coming back in increasing numbers and surrendering to the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since the spring of 1960, more than 680 of these officers and men have returned. The people's government and frontier garrisons in Yunnan welcome them and give them suitable jobs in factories, people's communes or other public undertakings. They provide travelling expenses for those wishing to join their families, and special awards are offered those who cross over with their weapons.

One of the returned men—Li Jung-tso, formerly a major—has rejoined his family in Kwangtung Province, got married, and has a good job in Loting County. He wrote a letter recently to the Yunnan garrison headquarters thanking the P.L.A. for the leniency and kind treatment he has received since he came back.

Many who have returned reveal that a large part of Chiang Kai-shek's remnant forces has been grouped into Phoumi Nosavan's rebel troops and are taking an active part in the Laotian war. Others have spoken bitterly of the conditions under which they lived while beyond the border. Chu Kuang-fang, formerly a colonel and deputy chief of staff of the 1st Army of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant forces, said that soon after fleeing across the border he and his men received large quantities of supplies and munitions from the United States. But at the same time many Kuomintang secret agents joined them and began to keep them under close surveillance. Special organizations of secret servicemen were set up to control the army and their number increased when the Chiang Kai-shek clique sent reinforcements from Taiwan. Describing conditions when he left, he said: "There is no freedom there at all. Even letters between soldiers are censored. Soldiers wanting to gather firewood in the mountains or bathe in the rivers may do so only in groups. This is to prevent desertion. The so-called collective guarantees against desertion involve even company and battalion commanders." These ill-used men are constantly menaced by disease and hunger. With their conditions of life growing steadily worse, more and more of them are seeking a way out—back across the border and home.

Serve the Broadest Masses of the People

Commemorating the 20th anniversary of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

The following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of May 23. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

IT is twenty years ago since Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered his talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art. These talks are of great significance to the revolutionary literature and art of our country. In them he creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to sum up the experience of China's revolutionary literary and art movement and, in the light of then existing conditions, gave the answers to a series of important and long-standing questions concerning China's revolutionary literature and art. His basic proposal was that literature and art should take the path of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the broad masses of the people; and he also showed how they could do so. The Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward this solution of the question of whom literature and art should serve and later the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and weeding through the old to let the new emerge. Out of this, through the practical activity of literary and artistic circles, there evolved the Marxist-Leninist line of policy guiding the work of literature and art. This is the correct and most militant line for the development of China's socialist literature and art.

Twenty Meaningful Years

In the past 20 years, China's revolutionary writers and artists led by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have gone deep among the worker, peasant and soldier masses and taken part in their revolutionary struggles and productive labour. At the same time, they have equipped their minds with the ideas and teachings of Mao Tse-tung and waged serious struggles and criticism against various reactionary bourgeois ideas and wrong tendencies. Writers and artists have been tempered in the course of these struggles, both practical and ideological, and a radical change has taken place in their thoughts and feelings. A powerful contingent of writers and artists of the working people has come forward; many outstanding works, loved by the broad masses of the people, have emerged. These 20 years were years in which the bonds between literature and art and writers and artists on the one hand and the masses on the other hand have become steadily firmer; writers and artists have gone on to achieve ever new successes in ideological struggles and

self-remoulding, and have steadily grown and matured both ideologically and artistically. After the struggles and practical work of the past 20 years, the great mass of our writers and artists have a still clearer knowledge of the road forward; they have a firm understanding of the goal all should strive for and the road to that goal. These are most valuable gains.

Revolutionary literature and art are powerful means of uniting and educating the people. Through the persuasive and moving power of artistic forms and images, literary and artistic works serve to communicate and unite the thinking and feelings of the people, enhance their consciousness, strengthen their revolutionary unity, and inspire them to fight the enemy and work for the revolutionary cause with one mind and one heart. During the past 40 years, and especially during the past two decades, together with the people, our revolutionary literature and art have undergone the storms of revolutionary struggle and have played a positive role in uniting the people and defeating the enemy during these struggles. Still greater use should be made in the future of this aspect of our revolutionary literature and art.

Reaching More People

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out 20 years ago that our revolutionary literature and art should take the class stand of the proletariat and serve the workers, peasants, soldiers, the working masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. This statement is still completely correct today. The present situation differs from that of 20 years ago in that our people have successfully completed the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution, established the People's Republic of China and are building socialism. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people of all the many nationalities of the country, members of democratic parties and democrats, patriotic elements of the national bourgeoisie, patriotic overseas Chinese and all other patriots, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have formed the people's democratic united front and actively participate in and support the great cause of socialist construction. Our literature and art should, therefore, serve and work for all the people—the mass of workers, peasants and soldiers being their main body—who take part in the people's democratic united front. Our literature and art, with their progressive working-class ideology, should exert as wide an influence as possible throughout

all strata of society and steadily strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities, so as to achieve a unity of aim among all the people and mobilize their efforts for the great, common goal. The number of people that literature and art can reach is greater than ever before. The various literary and artistic forms and the fine works created have spread ever deeper throughout all strata of the new society and are welcomed by an ever growing number of people. Greater possibilities than ever, therefore, exist for literature and art to influence even larger numbers of people and to promote an even broader, firmer unity of the masses.

Most Fundamental Political Task Today

To say that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve the broadest masses of the people of the country, means that they should serve the needs and interests of the working class and the broad masses of the people. Our people won the great victories of the democratic and socialist revolutions after prolonged and arduous struggles. However, we have not yet rid ourselves of the poverty and backwardness which we inherited from the past. Imperialism is still riding roughshod over certain parts of the globe, bringing disasters and calamities to the people of the world. U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious of imperialisms, is still forcibly occupying our territory of Taiwan. It is fundamentally necessary and in the basic interests of our working class and the broad masses of our people to unite the whole nation to build an advanced, rich and powerful socialist motherland, and to unite with the people all over the world to struggle against imperialism, and for lasting world peace and the emancipation of mankind. This is also the most fundamental political task of our literature and art today. They must bring their militant spirit into full play, inspire the whole people to strive for the nation's prosperity and exert their efforts to build a new, socialist life. Our literature and art should educate the people in the spirit of socialism and communism, help them wipe out capitalist and feudal influences in their life, and rid themselves of all kinds of backward ideas and habits, raise their ideological level and elevate their morality, and set up new standards of social conduct.

Our literature and art should also help sharpen the people's vigilance against the reactionary forces of the world, strengthen and increase the revolutionary unity of the people all over the world, and inspire them in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for national liberation and world peace. As servants of the imperialists, modern revisionists are using their literature and art to disrupt the unity of the revolutionary people and undermine their militancy, as well as defame the socialist system and prettify imperialism and the reactionaries. Our literature and art must struggle uncompromisingly against imperialist and revisionist literature and art and every type of reactionary ideology that serves imperialism and the old world, exposing their sinister aim of undermining the spirit and corrupting the minds of the people of socialist countries and the revolutionary people in all lands. Literature and art face heavy responsibilities. Our writers and artists are certainly able to have a deep understanding of their mission and militant tasks

today, and shoulder these glorious tasks with the utmost enthusiasm.

With China's background of economic poverty and cultural backwardness, our people face an extremely hard task in building our land into a powerful socialist country in not too long a period. As we advance we shall certainly meet with all sorts of difficulties and obstacles. But none of them can stop us from going ahead, as long as all the people are firmly united and work hard for the prosperity of our country. Our people have displayed a heroic spirit not only during the revolutionary wars but in the period of construction. They display lofty determination and ambition to "move the mountains and transform the seas" not alone when things are going smoothly; they show their dauntless heroism no less in the face of difficulties. Our literature and art should strive to reflect this great era of socialism, and show the zeal for labour of the people working on all the fronts of socialist construction and their perseverance in overcoming difficulties and enhance their courage and confidence in building a new life.

Educating the Younger Generation

Literature and art have a mission of special importance in cultivating new generations of communist-minded people and educating the youth in a firm patriotic and internationalist spirit. Our present young generation is being brought up in peaceful and relatively favourable circumstances; it is easy for them to get a somewhat simplified understanding of life. However, they are our successors in building the new society; they will have to shoulder heavy and complex tasks and ceaselessly overcome new difficulties. By faithfully describing the realities of socialism, socialist literature and art should help the young people enhance their communist consciousness, help them to understand the diversity and complexity of life and the difficult process by which new things conquer the old, and teach them the revolutionary and down-to-earth attitude of scorning difficulties strategically but tactically taking them seriously, so providing them with a correct understanding of the present and fully preparing them mentally for their future tasks. For the same purpose, through literature and art our young people should be given an education in our revolutionary and national traditions, so that they can learn in concrete terms about the militant history and heroic exploits of our people's revolution and the history of how our forefathers of all the various nationalities worked hard to build the country and fought heroic battles. At the same time our young people should be helped to learn about the struggles of the peoples of other lands, so that they can get a deeper grasp of the mighty significance of unity, co-operation and mutual support among the peoples of the world in their struggles.

The broad masses of the people have varied needs in literature and art. Our literature and art should undertake the tasks of both educating the people in the spirit of socialism and communism, and satisfying the broad needs of their cultural life in various forms and ways. Before the people captured state power, the aim of literature and art was primarily to inspire them in waging the struggle to overthrow reactionary rule. Now the people

have become the masters of their country and are working hard on all fronts of socialist construction, they want at all times to get a revolutionary education and encouragement in their work from literature and art. Furthermore, they want a great variety of literary and artistic works and artistic activities to enrich their spiritual life and satisfy their aesthetic needs. Our writers and artists must by no means neglect these growing daily needs of the masses. The great variety of needs of the masses and life itself demand diversity in literary and artistic works. A situation in socialist literature and art where a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend precisely conforms to the broad needs of the masses of the people and constitutes the most effective way of promoting the flourishing development of literature and art.

Key to Better Works of Art

With the steady rise in their political consciousness and cultural level, the masses become ever more exacting as regards the ideological and artistic quality of literary and artistic works. The key to raising the level of these works further is, first of all, for writers and artists to maintain closer contact with the masses, to persevere in going into the midst of their life and taking part in their struggles for the creation of a new life. In recent years, quite a few writers and artists have maintained close ties with the masses in various ways; they have created quite solid works. But some comrades have somewhat weakened their ties with the people's life. We must realize that the sea of life has become still broader today and is full of complex changes and conflicts. The processes by which the new overcomes the old, the contradictions among the people and the processes by which they are resolved, and the ways in which new spiritual qualities develop among the masses are varied and complicated. They have to be observed and studied in a profound way before they can be clearly analysed and understood. If writers and artists weaken their contact with the life of the masses, it is impossible for them to mirror the new age of socialism with a high degree of truthfulness. They cannot act as the faithful spokesmen of the masses of the people of our socialist age if they do not understand their thoughts and sentiments. Our writers and artists, the younger ones in particular, should be firmly determined to persist in going into the midst of the life of the masses, to breathe the same breath as the people and share their fate, acquaint themselves with all types of people, with their language and mentality — all this in an appropriate way in the light of the specific features and needs of their profession — so as to create fine works that deeply reflect the times. Writers and artists should also persist in their study of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung, enrich their knowledge of history, have a correct attitude in studying the literary and artistic heritage of China and the world, assimilate the experience of their predecessors, learn from the good points of the progressive literature and art of the fraternal socialist countries as well as other countries, constantly raise their political and ideological level, develop their artistic skill, and do their best to produce works in which ideological content and artistic quality are integrated to a high degree. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "We oppose both the tendency

to produce works of art with wrong political viewpoints and the tendency towards the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct in political approach but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts."* This is a question deserving constant attention on the part of our writers and artists.

Unity of Writers and Artists

Our writers and artists should strengthen their own unity so that our literature and art can still better shoulder the task of uniting and educating the broad masses. The ranks of our writers and artists have expanded many times compared with 20 years ago. Today they are a huge force, including new and veteran writers and artists from various nationalities and various departments of literature and art and working at many different posts. It is a force long steeled and with a common literary and artistic line and a common objective. It is a fine force, united and progressive. All comrades working in the field of literature and art should guard and treasure this revolutionary unity forged in common struggle over a long period of time; they should be ever alert to discover and overcome negative factors harmful to unity, and constantly consolidate, extend and strengthen the unity of the ranks of writers and artists.

The unity of our literary and artistic circles should be very inclusive. All the forces that can be united with should be united. The might of the motherland, the achievements in building socialism and the enthusiasm of the nation at work have inspired our writers and artists. The overwhelming majority of them want to dedicate their wisdom and talent to the country and the people; they want to serve the cause of socialism. Every patriotic writer and artist who supports socialism should rally closely under the leadership of the Communist Party, bring his initiative and creativeness into full play, and for the common cause.

Writers and artists should work hard to develop a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. This can be achieved only through a relatively long period of becoming steeled through struggle. Contradictions and struggles in ideology and world outlook in literary and artistic circles should be gradually resolved through mutual help and discussion and by the method of criticism and self-criticism. We advocate the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism; we regard this as the best method. But this method should be mastered and used voluntarily by writers and artists in the light of their own experience and conditions. We should never try to get an enforced unity. Differences in the level of the world outlook of writers and artists and in their creative method and style should not narrow the broad scope of unity in our literary and artistic circles.

Literature and art have a broad social nature and call for long-term co-operation between Party and non-Party

* Mao Tse-tung, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p. 31. — Ed.

writers and artists. Every writer or artist who is a Party member is duty-bound to unite effectively with non-Party writers and artists, learn from their strong points, help them and get their help and go forward together with them. There should be no toleration of any sort of sectarian tendency which discriminates against non-Party writers and artists or looks down on them. The various branches and schools of art, writers, artists, theoreticians and critics, literary and art editors and organizers should respect, help and learn from one another, and avoid and overcome everything which is inimical to unity. Young writers and artists should respect their elders, and modestly learn from their experience and professional skill. Writers and artists of the older generation should, on their part, take an interest in the young writers and artists and help them raise their artistic level and enrich their attainments. Once the wisdom of the individual and that of the collective is combined, a great force is generated. Literary and art organizations should play their proper role in consolidating and strengthening the unity of our literary and artistic circles.

Ideological Self-Remoulding

Writers and artists should continue to pay great attention to ideological self-remoulding. The higher the level of ideological consciousness of writers and artists, the more consolidated will be the unity of their ranks. We should realize that ideological remoulding needs to be carried out ceaselessly on a long-term basis. No one, be he a Party member or not, should think that he has completed his remoulding and that further remoulding is unnecessary. This is because, so far as the subjective aspect of the individual is concerned, it is always hard to rid oneself thoroughly of the influence of old ways of thinking; furthermore, objective reality is constantly changing and progressing, and this calls for ceaselessly changing one's subjective world to adapt oneself to the constantly changing objective world. Since ideological remoulding is a complicated and long-term process, cultural departments and literary and art organizations should patiently help writers and artists, guiding them to carry it out with a conscious effort. In addition to taking part in actual struggles and putting greater efforts into studying theory, results in ideological remoulding need to be gradually achieved in other ways, including the writers' and artists' own artistic practice. One should never adopt crude and impatient attitudes and methods on this question of ideological remoulding.

China's writers and artists should unite wherever possible with their colleagues in all other countries to form the broadest possible united front. Our writers and artists should strengthen their militant friendship with all revolutionary and progressive writers and artists in the fraternal socialist countries and all other countries, learn from their advanced experience, and work with them to promote socialist literature and art and an international progressive literature and art. China's writers and artists should also unite with writers and artists of various political persuasions and different artistic schools in the capitalist countries who uphold peace, oppose imperialism and colonialism, are discontented with the decadence of the capitalist world and to a certain extent sympathize with

the oppressed peoples, even though we disagree with certain viewpoints of these people.

Communist Party Leadership

Socialist literature and art are a component part of the revolutionary cause of the Party and the people. The healthy development of literary and artistic work depends on the correct leadership of the Party. The chief responsibility of Party leadership in cultural and art departments is to carry out the Party's principles and policies, to unite all patriotic, revolutionary writers and artists, render them all necessary assistance and bring their initiative and creativeness into full play, so that literature and art may prosper and much new talent may come to the fore.

The Party leadership in all cultural and art departments should practise democracy fully, be adept at cooperating closely with writers and artists, helping them raise their political and ideological level and strengthen their ties with the masses of the people. At the same time, they should work hard to become well versed in their special field of work and in the laws governing the development of socialist literature and art. They should thoroughly implement the Party's policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and weeding through the old to let the new emerge, and create conditions for bringing about a vigorous, lively and flourishing situation in literary and artistic creation and artistic activities in which there is free emulation and discussion. All ideological questions among the people and artistic questions should be settled through creative practice and free discussion and by the method of criticism and self-criticism by the writers and artists themselves; they should not be interfered with or dealt with by crude administrative methods. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that "it is not only futile but very harmful to use crude and summary methods to deal with ideological questions among the people, with questions relating to the spiritual life of man." Leading cadres in cultural and art departments must keep these words earnestly in mind.

Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's ideas and teachings on literature and art, our literary and artistic work has achieved tremendous success and accumulated much experience. We are now living in a great new era and confronted with glorious and arduous new tasks. As we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, all writers and artists in our country should rally still closer under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideas and teachings on literature and art, enhance the militancy of our literature and art, and increase their variety so as to strengthen the unity of our people, meet their needs, and inspire the people throughout the country to strive for the building of a great socialist motherland. We are fully confident that writers and artists, by continuing to advance along the broad path indicated by the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the development of socialist literature and art, will be able to achieve even greater successes for Chinese literature and art and fulfil the eager expectations of the Party and the people.

U.S. Imperialism's "New Strategy" In the "Missionary Movement"

by WU YAO-TSUNG*

IMPERIALISM has made use of the Christian religion as a tool of aggression and expansion during the last hundred and fifty years. The so-called "missionary movement" was its chosen instrument. U.S. imperialism, a late comer in the imperialist camp but now its most ferocious leader, not only reaps the lion's share of the tainted "benefits" from this "missionary movement," but also dictates its entire policy.

The facts of imperialism's prostitution of the Christian religion for the benefit of the colonialists in so-called backward countries are too numerous to cite in this brief article. In the case of China, in addition to utilizing churches, schools and hospitals to spread imperialist ideas and denationalize Chinese Christians, missionaries also took an active part in politics, impermissibly interfering in China's domestic affairs. Missionaries played an important role in imposing the unequal treaties on the Chinese people, in the brutal suppression of popular movements like the Yi Ho Tuan Uprising and the Taiping Revolution, in espionage and other aggressive activities of the imperialists.

Straight From the Horse's Mouth

A few quotations from prominent spokesmen for the imperialist camp will suffice to remind readers of the nature of this "missionary" tie-up with imperialism throughout the world. K.S. Lattourette, well-known professor of missionary history in Yale Divinity School, wrote in his book *A History of Christian Missions in China*: "The Church has become a partner in Western imperialism." Another American historian, Paul A. Varg, remarked: "To draw a sharp line between the secular movement of imperialism and the religious movement of the missionary is hazardous, for American imperialism, though economic gain was a basic element in it, owed much to psychological drives." The late John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State and author of "brinkmanship" policy, evaluated the "missionary movement" in the following words: "If our spiritual effort is to supplement adequately our material effort, our Christian people must see the supreme value of Christian missions and rally to their support." John Goette, in an article written at the time of the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's regime, regarded "Christianity (in China) and its succoring complements, philanthropy, education and medicine" as America's "most valuable asset." Finally, Leslie Newbigin, General-Secretary of the International Missionary Council, admitted that "missions" are "a bulwark of

democracy, a buttress against communism, and an outpost of capitalism," and that "the colonial atmosphere is still continued in many a mission compound."

At the beginning of this century, schemers of this "missionary movement" put forth the slogan, "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Judging from what has been said above, this can only mean imperialist world domination. In 1922, certain "missionaries" in China coined another slogan, "the Christian occupation of China." The ambition behind this slogan is equally obvious.

What does all this add up to? It means that during the last hundred and fifty years, while the hungry wolves of imperialism grabbed whole nations and continents in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and plundered and enslaved their peoples, the "missionaries" appeared on the scene—in fact preceded it—as "messengers of the good news." They came seemingly as philanthropists and humble servants, but actually played the role of imperialism's subtle and indispensable collaborators. "First came the missionary, then the merchant, and then the men-of-war" is a saying whose truth not even the imperialists themselves could deny. Before these charges, formulators of "mission" policies found themselves tongue-tied. They could not deny them either.

Crisis of "Missionary Movement"

Naturally, such conditions could not last for ever. After World War II, a number of socialist countries were born, among which was the People's Republic of China—once considered the land of greatest "missionary" possibilities. At the same time in Asia, Africa and Latin America, national-liberation movements rose spontaneously and spread in roaring waves. All of them have directed their just blows against imperialism and colonialism and against their age-long sins of exploitation and oppression.

That this new development hit the "missionary movement," and hit it severely, even fatally, goes without saying. In the light of this general awakening, the true nature of the "missionary movement," with its many and varied activities against the revolutionary efforts of the people, gradually revealed itself. A number of countries began to impose restrictions on the "missionary" programme; some even virtually closed their doors to "missionaries." In all the "mission lands," "missionaries" suddenly awakened to the fact that they were *persona non grata* to the broad masses whom they were supposed to serve.

The hardest blow to the "missionary movement" came from New China. With the victory of the revolution and

*The author is Chairman of the Three-Self (self-administration, self-support and self-propagation) Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches in China.

the collapse of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal regime, the Christians and the Christian church in China also freed themselves from the devilish imperialist control. With the starting of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and the withdrawal of "missionaries," the "missionary movement" in China ended its history of one hundred and forty-three years. "Missionaries" significantly called this "the China debacle."

What is the effect of this onslaught on the entire "missionary" enterprise? So says one "missionary": "The sensitivities of nationalism are strong and limit the useful scope of overseas missionaries' work. Puzzlement and frustration are common." To quote again Leslie Newbigin, General Secretary of the International Missionary Council: "The missionary movement today stands in a critical situation"; "the rise of the younger churches raises for thoughtful Christians the question, are missions still needed?" Newbigin made special reference to the "China debacle," declaring that "the circumstances in which China became closed to Western missions have raised very searching questions in the minds of thoughtful people regarding the relation between foreign missions and the development of truly indigenous churches."

This "critical situation" constituted an unprecedented challenge to the "missionary movement" and had to be squarely faced. Among other things, the International Missionary Council launched a major survey of "missionary enterprise in China," with attention to its historical, cultural and theological aspects, as well as the policies and methods of both Christianity and communism. After years of investigation and discussion, plus much "self-criticism" and "heart-searching," a "new strategy" for the "missionary movement" gradually emerged.

"New Strategy"

But this was not to give up the old, evil ways and turn to the true principles of Christianity and Christian fellowship. The leopard cannot change its spots. No; put in a nutshell, the "new strategy" is simply this: to cover up the true nature of the imperialist "missionary movement," whitewash its designs, and give it a theoretical ("biblical") basis which will not only provide its *raison d'être*, but will also make possible its unlimited expansion and growth in the present turbulent situation.

Let us probe a little more deeply into the way in which this "new strategy" has shaped up. The old clarion call for the "missionary movement" were the words of Jesus: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel" to every creature; on this basis the West sent "missionaries" to the East. But this is a "one-way" traffic, and it was allied with Western imperialist expansionism. If the "missionary movement" is to be given a "new look," then this stigma must be taken off it.

To do this, the formula of an "ecumenical mission" is put forward. According to this "new conception" of "mission," the "missionary movement" will not just be from West to East, it must also be seen to go from East to West—a "two-way" project. "Older" churches in the West will send "missionaries" to "younger" churches in the East; "younger" churches in the East will also send "missionaries" to "older" churches in the West; similarly, Eastern churches will exchange "missionaries" among themselves. In this way, according to William N. Wysham,

"the center of gravity moves from 'foreign missions' to the ecumenical church," and the Christian "mission" becomes a movement for "the united building of the world Christian community."

If this manoeuvring of words is accepted, then "missionary" work will no longer carry with it the old stigma, for the "ecumenical mission"—a worldwide affair embracing both East and West—could not be charged with complicity in Western expansionism. With one stroke of the pen, the "missionary movement" is thus "freed" from its imperialist associations. And the justification for "mission" work is simple. As one American apologist for the "new strategy" puts it: "As American Christians, we claim the right to serve in other lands, not because we have done so for decades, but because our mission is ecumenical."

It takes a little twisting of the brains and some imagination to follow the intricate and laboured reasoning which goes into the above formula as a defence for the "missionary movement" now in crisis, but its implications are clear.

Naturally, the "new strategy" also calls for organizational readjustment, and these measures are being taken. In November 1961, the International Missionary Council was "integrated" into the World Council of Churches in the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi. The International Missionary Council thus ended its forty years of existence. Why was this necessary and what is its significance?

A Subterfuge and Camouflage

The official reason given was that "missions" (as represented by the International Missionary Council) and "ecumenism" (as represented by the World Council of Churches) are one and the same. According to Newbigin, "a movement which is not missionary has no right to the use of the word 'ecumenical'"; "a conception of ecumenism which has lost concern for the evangelization of the whole world would be quite contrary to everything which the W.C.C. itself stands for." The old slogan "the evangelization of the world in this generation" is given up in favour of a new slogan, "the whole church with one Gospel for the whole world." On the basis of this explanation, it is claimed that the "integration" of the I.M.C. with the W.C.C. is a "natural and proper response" to the logic of the Gospel, which commands concern "with the mission of the Church and with its unity."

Anyone with common sense can readily see that the explanation offered is but a subterfuge and a camouflage to cover up the real situation—the unpopularity of the "missionary movement." In fact, the "missionary movement" is so unpopular that "the very name 'missionary' is being abandoned in some quarters in favour of the phrase 'fraternal worker,'" says Newbigin.

What do the schemers of the "missionary movement" try to achieve with the "new strategy"? Their goals seem to be the following: (1) to enable the "missionary movement" to be timeless in duration and global in sphere; (2) to unify all "missionary" activities into an "international, interdenominational and interracial" whole; (3) to prop up the tottering "missionary" structure in the

"mission lands"; (4) to recapture, if possible, their lost territory, such as that in China.

All the above goals can be reduced to one supreme objective—the shattering of the people's revolutionary movements throughout the world through an all-inclusive programme, practical as well as ideological.

Main Targets: Areas of "Rapid Social Change"

In the application of the "new strategy," the greatest emphasis is put on areas of "rapid social change." By this is meant areas in which movements for national independence and democracy are swiftly marching forward and causing great political and social upheavals. These areas include countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Are the "missionaries" ignorant of what this "rapid social change" really signifies? Evidently not. "Rapid social change is in large part a revolt against the West—the same West from which so much Christian enterprise and missions have come," admitted one of the writers on the subject. Decades ago, "missionaries" already heard Africans saying: "A few years ago we had the land and the white man had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and the white man has the land." These "missionaries" cannot escape the realization that they are now reaping the fruits of their sins.

That does not mean, however, that they are willing to learn the lesson they should. Instead, they seek to cash in on this "rapid social change." They even claim that the social awakening in the "backward" countries is the result of their "missionary" work.

But the deeds of these "social awakeners" betray the hollowness of their words. "Missionary" pronouncements on every vital issue which touches imperialist interests let the cat out of the bag. These "benevolent" strategists coined the phrase "responsible independence" and apply it to countries in revolt against colonialism. To be responsible, according to them, demands "that the transition to independence take place in an orderly and peaceful manner." The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches "regrets those instances in which violence and apparent irresponsibility, on one side or the other, have jeopardised the transition to independence."

This is naked hypocrisy. These gentlemen never spoke about "order" and "peace" when the colonialists robbed other people's lands; and they say nothing now about their use of force in plundering and oppressing the people. But the oppressed peoples are admonished to use "orderly and peaceful" means to liberate themselves!

Among the areas of "rapid social change," Africa is a focal point in "mission" strategy. John R. Gibson, in the *Wall Street Journal*, put it thus, "From a missionary standpoint, the most important continent of the world now is Africa. According to one estimate, 15,970, or roughly 35 per cent of the world's 42,250 Protestant missionaries, are based in Africa, with well more than half of them coming from the United States."

What is the result of the white man's invasion of Africa in respect to the "missionary movement"? Arthur M. Ramsey, Archbishop of York (now Archbishop of Canterbury) after a tour of Africa in 1960, was astonished at the loss of faith in Christianity on the part of the

Africans. He warned: "The time is short." What is true in Africa is of course also true in other areas of "rapid social change."

Dream of "Recapturing" China

While "mission" strategists focus their attention on areas of "rapid social change," they do not for one moment forget their "lost" territory in China which they dream of recapturing some day. They cannot reconcile themselves to regarding New China as a *fait accompli*.

During the reallocation of former China "missionaries," the biggest reinforcements went to countries and strategic centres (Hongkong and Taiwan) in Asia. During the ten years after 1949, in Taiwan alone, the number of Protestant missionaries increased from 12 to 465, and Roman Catholic clergy from 51 to 739.

Many former "missionary" institutions in China not only preserve their titles, but also carry on active work. For example, the United Board for Christian Colleges, reorganized as the United Board for Higher Education in Asia, among other things, established "new universities on the threshold of China (Tunghai in Formosa and Chung Chi in Hongkong)." The Board of Founders of Nanking Theological Seminary and the China Medical Board also continue to function.

The measures thus taken are more than temporary exigencies; they are part of long-term missionary dreams. "The dispersion of Christian resources represents (in one form) the immortality of the missionary enterprise in China," says one writer on the subject.

Among "mission" circles, deliberate misrepresentation of facts and spread of rumours concerning New China clearly reflect imperialist hostility towards the socialist camp, in which China is made the chief target. Batch after batch of "Protestant leaders" from Taiwan, Hongkong and south Korea were invited to the United States to give completely groundless and ridiculous testimonies. One such batch supplied material which was made into a pamphlet entitled *Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China and Northern Korea*.

"Missionaries" and "mission" administrators spare no effort to formulate theories and cook up plans for the promotion of "two Chinas." A rather startling case is that of the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, who announced "the transfer of the Missionary District of Taiwan (Formosa) of the Nippon Seikokai to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, as of July 6, 1960." He not only acted on his "two Chinas" premise, he even made Taiwan a United States "colony."

Are these strategists happy with the results of their "missionary" efforts? Certainly not. As one commentator remarked: "Our policy of non-recognition, boycott and containment of Red China has not prevented but has instead aided a course of growth which we had reason profoundly to regret."

The "Non-Political" Sham

The "new strategy" employed by U.S. imperialism in the "missionary movement" is the same strategy which it employs in its overall plan for world domination—an

olive branch in one hand and a bundle of arrows in the other.

In the face of facts which even they themselves cannot deny, these "missionaries" still try to cover up the political nature of their work. "The missionary, unlike the Communist, cannot become involved in the political struggles of the state," says a certain Mr. Sly. That this is sham can be testified to not only by what the "missionaries" do in the field, but also by the numerous statements on important international issues put out by the Commission of Churches on International Affairs on behalf of the World Council of Churches—the actual formulator and operator of mission policy. In substance, the political line of the World Council of Churches is the political line of the State Department of the United States. That this is so is admitted even by Sir Kenneth Grubb, Chairman of the C.C.I.A. He said: "The influence of the United States and of the American churches sets the nature and shapes the rules of international ecumenical discussion." It is well known that at least 75 per cent of the budget of the World Council of Churches comes from the United States.

Doomed to Failure

How will the "new strategy" of the "missionary movement" fare? Certainly, its fate can be no better than that of U.S. imperialism's "new strategy" as a whole. Just as those pet devices in Kennedy's political bag of tricks—the "peace corps," the "food for peace" programme and so forth—fell into disrepute as soon as they faced the light of day, so will the "missionary movement" find it difficult to conceal the true nature of its "new strategy" as a political tool of imperialism.

The movements for national liberation are irresistible. With the disintegration and final collapse of the political structure of imperialist and colonial domination in a country, the "missionary" humbug is exposed at the same time.

Even in Western capitalist countries where good and honest Christians have for decades been made to believe that the "missionary movement" is a holy mission, the truth will eventually become known.

As regards Christians in New China, since we are among those who suffered most from the "mission's" alliance with imperialism, we know intimately the ins and outs of "mission" tactics. Just as our suffering was great, so our awakening has been thorough. So whatever the "new strategy"—"missionary" or otherwise—will do, there will not be the slightest chance that Chinese Christians, who enjoy full religious freedom in New China and ardently love their socialist motherland, will again be bewitched and deceived.

Epilogue

The accusations brought against the so-called "missionary movement" in this article have but one purpose: the purification of the Christian religion from the shams and hypocrisies which poison the minds of its adherents and distort its saving message. It is the duty and privilege of all followers of Christ to spread the Gospel among all people at all times and seek Christian fellowship among themselves, but in the "missionary movement" as described in this article, this holy mission has become a mockery. Good and unsuspecting people, both in the East and in the West, have been deceived long enough by the meretricious shows put on in the name of evangelism. It is time to demand a radical change. This demand reflects the deepest longings of sincere believers in many countries in the face of the present critical world situation. Only when we turn away from and end the subservience of evangelism to imperialist interests, will the splendour of the Christian Gospel again shine forth in glory. Towards this end, Chinese Christians hope to make their humble contribution along with their Christian brothers throughout the world.

Ecuador Newsletter

The Land Crossed by the Equator

by TAN WEN-JUI

The author toured Latin America with a Chinese journalists' delegation in the early part of this year. Here is a fragment of his Ecuador impressions. — Ed.

SOME 20 kilometres north of Quito, capital of Ecuador, there stands an 18th century monument which supposedly locates the exact position of the equator. It has now become a place of attraction for sightseers and tourists, some of whom stand astride the white line at the foot of the monument for a snapshot to be taken showing they have one foot in the southern hemisphere and the other in the northern.

While in Quito I too went to this spot. But what impressed me most during my stay in Ecuador was not the equatorial line that crossed the country but another line:

the line, or rather the gulf that separates the broad masses of poverty-stricken people from the oppressive oligarchic group and its foreign allies.

How Peasants Live

Just a stone's throw from this magnificent monument, there is a dilapidated shack of adobe with a roof covered with broken tiles, housing an Indian family of nine. All the family work on less than one-third of a hectare of poor land belonging to a latifundist for whom they must put in a considerable amount of practically unpaid labour. They haven't enough to eat even though they exchange the little amount of maize they harvest for a larger amount of cheaper and coarser fare. Their faces look sallow and thin, their ponchos are worn to a thread.

(The poncho, the traditional dress of the Indians, is a homespun sleeveless garment used as a blanket at night.) A middle-aged woman tilling the land with a primitive, wooden implement, lifted her head on seeing us, and shouted to us in broken Spanish: "*¡Sálvennos de la pobreza!*" Her plea however was interrupted by her husband's loud voice: "No, we'll save ourselves."

There are more than 100,000 such Indian peasant households in Ecuador; for generations they have been suffering brutal exploitation under a system known as *huachibungo*. Under it, the latifundist leases them a small plot of poor land far away from any source of water. In return, the whole family has to work for him four or more days a week for which the head of the family, and he alone, receives one to two *suces** a day. And how much is a *sucre* worth? It is just enough to buy one pound of table salt or five bananas—and it must be remembered that bananas grow in profusion in Ecuador and are therefore the cheapest thing one can buy. These people literally live worse than the beasts of burden, for the Ecuadorian Government provides each horse reared in the army with daily fodder worth four and a half *suces*. The latifundists, moreover, by means of usury or other tricks, see to it that the Indian peasants do not keep even one *sucre* in their purse. Many Indian peasant families, working for the latifundists year in and year out, have actually never received a single *sucre* since the time of their fathers or grandfathers. The latifundists exploit scandalously not only the *huachibungaros* (Indian peasants suffering exploitation under the *huachibungo* system) but their children as well. As the roads they tramp on and the water they drink belong to the latifundists, the children have to pay for their use by one day's work a week! The pledge made by Arosemena when he assumed presidential office last November to raise the daily wage of the *huachibungaros* from one to three *suces* remains to this day an empty promise.

"We Sow the Seeds and Reap the Wind"

The social fabric of Ecuador is rent with contradictions. The gap between the classes in the villages is wide. The rural population, mostly Indians, accounts for about 70 per cent of a total population of 4.5 million. Land is concentrated in the hands of a few. According to government statistics released in 1954, there were 241 latifundists in the country holding 1.6 million hectares of land, or as much land as that held by 329,000 small farmers. Two million *huachibungaros*, farmhands and agricultural workers, were landless. And the latifundists certainly know how to bleed the peasants white. In addition to the "ordinary" oppression of the semi-feudal, semi-slavery *huachibungo* system, the latifundists' lease land to peasants with a ground rent to be increased every year and then take back the land when it is well cultivated; they employ agricultural workers at meagre wages, forcing them to work more than 12 hours a day; some of them lend the independent farmers seeds and fertilizers in return for half their harvest, or buy up the young plants cheap by means of usurious loans. As a result, even those small landholders with one or half a hectare of land do not have enough grain to feed their families.

*Ecuadorian currency. Rate of exchange: 23 *suces* to the U.S. dollar.

Many therefore have to live on bananas, eating them for every meal. This is what an Indian peasant told me: "We sow the seeds and reap the wind!"

In Ecuador, most of the land in the coastal provinces belong to the United Fruit Company. Since it acquires land under all sorts of names, no one knows how much land this "green devil" actually owns in Ecuador. United Fruit robs the wealth of Ecuador in two ways: by ruthlessly exploiting the peasants working on its own banana plantations, and by purchasing banana products at low prices. Peasants in Ecuador are, as a matter of fact, exploited by both the latifundists and U.S. imperialism.

Guayaquil's Shanty Town

The urban population lives in an equally miserable plight. Ecuador has no heavy industry of its own and very little light industry to boast of; the few light industries that do exist are owned by foreign capital, mostly U.S. This is because U.S. imperialism has long ago turned this country into a mere supplier of raw materials and market for its own products. Although the workers have a higher income than the peasants, their life is hard too. In face of the high cost of living in the city, steady monetary inflation and soaring prices, their average monthly wage of around 800 *suces* does not go far.

I have been to the slums, *barrios bajos*, in the suburbs of Guayaquil, the biggest city in Ecuador. They are a living hell on earth. People who can't afford the rents in the city area, come to these muddy swamps and build shacks with reeds and tin sheets. A family of seven or eight may be packed in a small house with no room to swing a cat. There is neither sewerage nor running water. The only "thoroughfare" is a rough track of stone and earth which is flooded on rainy days. With garbage everywhere, the place is, of course, infested with flies and mosquitoes and stinks a mile away. As I sauntered along, I saw not one child who was not barefooted. Guayaquil has half a million inhabitants and more than 300,000 live here; they include workers, pedlars, junior clerks and teachers.

The U.S. Octopus

Today, class contradictions inside Ecuador and national contradictions between the people of Ecuador and U.S. imperialism have become unprecedentedly acute. In the countryside, thousands of peasants have been driven to desperation because the latifundists, in order to intensify their exploitation by employing cheap labour, are dismissing agricultural workers *en masse* and taking back the land reclaimed by the *campesinos*. In the cities, enterprises owned by the national bourgeoisie have closed down one by one because the peasants do not have the money to buy their products and they are not in a position to compete with the cheaper U.S. goods that flood the country. As a result, large numbers of workers have lost their jobs. The Government recently announced that 40 per cent of the able-bodied people in the country were jobless.

U.S. monopoly capital, like an octopus, is extending its tentacles to every aspect of Ecuador's national economy: oil, electric power, fisheries, communications and transport. United Fruit, which, among other things,

monopolizes the banana business in Ecuador, reaps every year nearly 1,000 million sucres of profit from the banana and cocoa business alone. The annual budgetary expenditure of the Ecuadorian Government is not more than 1,500 million sucres.

Struggles of Peasants and Workers

The oppressed people of the various social strata are finding this situation intolerable and are demanding radical social changes. They have shown their militancy in more frequent struggles in recent years. The Indians in the mountainous northern provinces, for instance, who have a tradition of revolt, have risen spontaneously to fight against taxation and to defend their land. Indians of Ecuador have learnt from their protracted struggles that "unity is strength" and are beginning to organize themselves. Last December, 300 representatives of 145 organizations assembled in Quito to attend the third all-Ecuador congress of Indians. At that congress, the leading organ of the Organización Ecuatoriana de Indios was reorganized and a new programme of struggle including the demand for land reform was drawn up, making it a genuine militant organization. Its chairman, Miguel Lechón, told the Ecuadorian President that the Indian peasants were looking forward to land being handed to them by the Government without compensation. Failing this, he said, they would take to arms and try and get the land themselves. Today, some 200,000 Indians are rallying around that organization. Peasants' struggle in the coastal provinces is also growing. It is estimated that

more than 15,000 peasants in these areas have already joined in this struggle for land. For the first time in Ecuador's history, the peasant movement is developing really swiftly.

In the cities, workers' strikes break out one after another. They not only demanded higher wages and opposed the arbitrary dismissal of workers, but also put forward economic-political demands for genuine land reform, taxation reform and democracy. In Guayaquil and Quito, I saw workers parading in the streets shouting: "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Support the Cuban Revolution!" The workers also gave their powerful support to the peasant struggles. Last year, for instance, workers in Quito contributed money to the Indian peasants in a nearby *latifundium* to help them in their fight.

As the people's movement gains momentum, U.S. imperialism, hand in glove with the reactionary oligarchy, is carrying on desperate intrigues to crush it. While forcing the present Government to lean further to the right, it is at the same time plotting a military coup to overthrow the Government and set up a pro-U.S. dictatorship. The reactionaries in Ecuador, backed by U.S. imperialism, have their own blacklists and even go to the length of making markings on the doors of progressive people.

Ecuador is not only remarkable for being a land crossed by the equator. It has mighty mountains and a magnificent coast-line washed by the Pacific. It is also a land of volcanoes. Today, Ecuador itself is, in one sense, like an active volcano which will one day erupt and shatter the old order.

Pen Probes

Getting the Idea Young

VETERAN Wall Streeters are looking forward to the day, say about the time Caroline takes over the Presidency, when every baby with a piggy-bank will be a little capitalist. In the 100 per cent American nursery, when baby gets fractious, Mummy will say: "Come Johnny, U.S. Steel's got a lollipop for you! Come and cut the coupon!"

The latest in U.S. teenage literature is the shares index of the dailies' financial page, reports the London *Economist*, in a report called *ABC of Investment*. "Any American father," says the correspondent, "who is alert to teenage trends shows little surprise these days when his 14-year-old son scans the financial page instead of the comics in the morning paper, and he is ready with all the answers when his daughter, who is only 12, quizzes him on the Dow Jones industrial averages at the supper table." "Lessons in the ABC of investing are being given increasingly" all over the United States.

The instruction takes different forms, the correspondent notes. In some cases, students buy one share in a well-known company and follow its fortunes on the blackboard throughout the school year. In a number of states, schools have formed small investment clubs with each pupil contributing perhaps 25 cents to the pool. In Western Springs, Illinois, youngsters are reported to be studying mathematics by watching the fluctuations of the



Cartoon by Jack Chen

market, picking up a few tips about stocks and shares at the same time.

The New York Stock Exchange is naturally playing a leading part in this "educational and promotional work." Films, charts and "do-it-yourself" instruction kits on the subject of investment have been issued and one of the

Exchange's vice-presidents estimates that "more than a million children used these teaching aids in 1959."

Lawmakers are dutifully pitching in to spread the ethic of the easy dollar. Old legislation designed to protect the young from the stock exchange speculator is being scrapped. New legislation has been passed in all fifty states and the District of Columbia making it comparatively simple for parents, close relatives or guardians to buy shares in the name of any person under 21. "As a result of these changes there are now nearly 200,000 American investors under 21 and their number is growing. Even if these young people own only one share, as many of them do, they experience the excitement that comes with owning stock for the first time. They receive through the post annual reports of the company in which they have an interest; they also receive, just like an adult, their dividend cheque even if it is for only a few cents."

Report From Inner Mongolia

In a Pastoral People's Commune

by CHIN NAI-LU

Fifteen years have wrought vast changes in the lives of the formerly poverty-stricken nomads of the Ulanmaodu grassland in Inner Mongolia. The population has doubled. Their flocks and herds are seven times as large as in 1947. Wanderers no longer, they live in solid brick houses in convenient settlements with schools, medical and other modern public services.

ULANMAODU — "Red Trees" in Mongolian — is a wide area of forest and grassland on the southern slopes of the Great Khingan range in Inner Mongolia. Two rivers rising in that range water meadows accounting for one-fifth of Ulanmaodu and providing good grazing for sheep, cattle, horses and camels. The rest is forest and farm land and mountain valleys with a thick growth of vegetation. Today this whole area belongs to the Ulanmaodu pastoral people's commune.

From time immemorial Inner Mongolia has been known as a great pastoral area. It is still so today, being China's leading stockbreeding region. The Ulanmaodu grassland is one of its favoured spots. Yet this was largely unexploited steppe fifteen years ago. A few Han farmers tilled small holdings here; there were a few Manchus besides and people of other national minorities, but five-sixths of the inhabitants were nomad Mongolian herdsmen. All, however, suffered alike under the intolerable conditions imposed by the reactionary ruling class before liberation. In the last years of the old regime there was a general decline in the population. The herds on the steppe dwindled. Between 1940 and 1947 the number of dwellers fell by one-sixth; the number of animals dropped by one-seventh. Neither herdsmen nor farmers could afford much beyond the barest necessities. They lived almost exclusively on meat, and ate little grain or vegetables. Their yurts were of tattered felts.

Wall Street looks eagerly to the day when all these little ten-cent capitalists will be grown, all with a stake in the capitalist system and a hatred for the "wicked" socialists who would deprive them of their unearned increment.

More than a hundred years ago Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"The bourgeoisie . . . has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation."

Now it wants to put a double-entry ledger into every cot.

Following the founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in 1947, the Ulanmaodu people went through the stages of organizing mutual-aid teams and producers' co-ops. The co-ops showed clear advantages over individual herding. With their unified management of fields and herds and more rational division of labour, each member could be given the job of herding he was best suited for. These advantages were increased when the people's commune was organized in 1958. Better use could be made of the pastureland; the commune's bigger pool of manpower and resources enabled its members to start large-scale capital construction projects such as the establishment of mechanized dairies and tanning works. The new settlements flourished.

Socialist Ranching

The commune has succeeded in extending by one month the period when the herds are taken out to graze on the pastures. They now start out in April in the spring time when the lambing is over, and return only in the autumn, around October. The herders can choose the best meadows to use in the most advantageous order.

Improved use of pastureland and care of the herds has increased the number of commune livestock by 87 per cent since 1957. Ulanmaodu now has 164,000 sheep and 20,000 cattle, horses and camels.

The settling of the former nomad communities has created new opportunities but also new problems. These have been solved in a socialist way. In the old days the herders would take their whole family with them on the summer treks as they followed their animals from pasture to pasture. Now they leave behind their children and older relatives, their milch cows, work cattle and others needed on the home farms and settlements. The commune management's efficient service group sees to it that those



Steppeland Guests

Woodcut in colour by Yen Han

looking after the roaming animals are supplied with what they need. Even those away in the furthest grazing grounds are assured of grain, vegetables and daily necessities. The shearing in June and July is done on the spot wherever the flocks happen to be.

The commune has acquired large numbers of pedigree animals to cross breed with good local strains. The commune has raised a herd of 25,000 crossbred sheep. These give three times as much wool as the old local breeds. The wool is of fine quality too. In the past two years Ulanmaodu has increased the amount of wool it sells to the state trading agencies. Every year it supplies a large number of draught animals, beef cattle and sheep to other rural people's communes and the cities.

Farming and Manufactures

Stockraising is its main occupation but the commune is planting more grain and fodder crops too. First taken up on a big scale after liberation, outstanding progress has been made in this new field in the past few years. Double the acreage is under these crops compared to pre-commune days. Last year, for the first time, the area was able to supply all its own needs in both grain and fodder. Now Ulanmaodu commune members have a regular varied diet of maize, millet, beans, potatoes and vegetables as well as meat. The carts which formerly brought in the grain are used for other useful purposes.

Up to 1958 there was not a single industrial worker in Ulanmaodu. A handful of seasonal handicraftsmen handled all sorts of simple jobs but anything more complex, like welding or repairing a mower, would demand a long trip to the nearest big town. Fat earning from stockraising made it possible for the commune to invest that year in a number of industrial enterprises. For the first time in history the grassland heard the sound of generators and motors powering industrial machinery and dairy equipment.

Simultaneously the commune trained its own cadres of technicians and skilled industrial workers. Now it is

using animal-drawn mowers to cut hay. Mechanical devices are taking over more and more of the heavy farm jobs. Ordinary maintenance and repairs are all handled in its own workshops. Lack of transport and processing facilities led to a huge waste of milk in the old days. Now the commune's dairy factory makes into whole-milk powder all the milk left over after local needs are met. The factory handled several tons of fresh milk last year. The commune's own workshops made blankets, leather shoes, felt boots and other necessities for the people of Ulanmaodu.

Yurts Into Permanent Houses

Like two-thirds of the former nomadic herdsmen in Inner Mongolia the Ulanmaodu ranchers have settled down in villages. There are now 60 such settlements. While such able-bodied commune members as are needed are out shepherding the flocks and herds in the warm months, the rest, with the old folks, women and children, live in permanent houses in the settlements. Here are concentrated the farms and factories, the schools, study courses, training classes, medical and cultural facilities of the commune.

Before liberation Ulanmaodu had only one primary school attended by just 10 per cent of its school-age children. Now, nine out of ten children attend the commune's 15 primary schools. They learn in Mongolian with Mongolian textbooks.

The staff of the commune's hospital includes 23 doctors. Between them they can treat patients in any one of three systems of medicine: Mongolian, traditional Chinese and Western. They make regular rounds of the villages. Some are always in the summer camps with the herdsmen grazing the herds at a distance out on the steppe.

Clothing, bedding and enriched diet in the commune members' homes all speak of improved living standards. Take the Ublin Brigade, for instance. Members mostly live in new brick houses, but they also have the old traditional yurts nearby to store meat, grain, vegetables, sheepskins, harness and other farm goods. The radio diffusion system brings them news, music and other programmes.

The several inter-marriages between the Mongolian, Hans and Manchus demonstrate the harmonious relations existing among the various nationalities. Pooling their resources and knowledge has benefited all. Mongolian members have got many valuable tips on farming from their Han colleagues. They, in turn, pass on to the latter their experience of livestock breeding and the life of the open steppes. Farming and herding have been married to the benefit of both and to all in Ulanmaodu.

Twenty Years Ago

by CHOU LI-PO*

TWENTY years ago, on the morning of May 2, our party set out from Chiaoerhkou in Yenan. We crossed the narrow strip of the airfield overgrown with weeds, and walked northward along the Yen River till we reached Yangchialing where Chairman Mao and other leading members of the Party centre lived and had their offices.

Pleasant Memories

Here rows of caves dot the sunny side of the loess hills. Many facing levelled terraces on the middle part of the hills had their mouths closed with walls of greyish brick. These homes can't be described as "magnificent" or "splendid" by any stretch of the imagination, but they had the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer. On a wintry night, life seems especially sweet in such a cave with a charcoal fire burning and a pot of northern Shensi dried dates cooking over it. Since then I have lived in big cities for many years. I have lived in typical old Peking houses—houses with buildings on four sides and a courtyard in the centre. And I have seen Western-styled houses of many designs. But strange to say, memories of those Yenan caves still come back to my mind and fill me with a yearning to go back and live there for a while.

It was in such a cave dwelling that Comrade Mao Tse-tung lived and worked in those years when he led the national revolution. It was in such a cave that he wrote many of his revolutionary theoretical works, including the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*.

Between the two hills at Yangchialing was a small valley with a two-storeyed, grey brick building. The Party's Central Committee had its office on the second floor while downstairs was an assembly hall. The

*Chou Li-po is a leading writer of China today. His famous novel, *The Hurricane*, about the land reform, is a Stalin Prize winner.

first two meetings of the forum were held in this hall.

The First Meeting

Entering the hall, I found I was late. Members of the Anti-Japanese Union of Yenan Literary and Art Circles, who lived nearby, had been waiting for us for quite a while. They were seated on chairs placed along the walls. Leading comrades from the Party centre, including Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Chen Yun, Chen Po-ta, Hu Chiao-mu, Kang Sheng, Po Ku and Kai Feng had all taken their seats. Comrade Mao Tse-tung sat at a long table in the middle of the hall. In front of him were a pencil and something to write on—a notebook or some sheets of white paper I can't quite remember now. Seeing a late-comer pass by, he said smiling: "Sit down, sit down!" as he slapped a vacant chair next to his own.

At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was a little thinner than he is now. He wore a grey uniform, threadbare and faded from washing. There were two big patches covering the knees of his trousers. The meeting was called to order. After Comrade Chu Teh delivered the opening speech, Comrade Mao Tse-tung rose to speak. What he said now appears in print as the "Introduction" in the *Talks*.

Since it was an introduction, it naturally encouraged many speeches on the part of those attending the meeting. Among the speakers was Chou Yang.

Comrade Mao listened attentively to every speaker, pencilling down notes. When something funny was said, he would cover his mouth with his left hand and joined the rest in the laughter.

The Second Meeting

After this first meeting, a similar meeting was called around the middle of May.

At the time of the second meeting conditions were not so peaceful. The

"well-informed" were a bit tense. They had heard that the Kuomintang troops under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, troops which had been deployed to encircle the Border Regions, showed signs of attacking. Chairman Mao entered the hall with an easy stride. He had hardly taken his seat when someone suggested that he say something on "current events." He smiled and said:

"All the news is in the paper. Perhaps you have heard that Hu Tsung-nan is planning to attack us. What will we do? If we can win, we'll fight it out. If we can't, we'll be off and fight another day!" At this, everybody laughed knowing well his strategic ideas. Comrade Mao continued: "If they are determined to walk in here, we will make room for them. Let them have these tables and chairs as a present from us; after all, we've been on pretty close terms!" Everybody was laughing again. The light-hearted way in which he talked about the tense situation delighted us and gave us fresh confidence. Then he added: "They haven't moved as yet. We've got our eyes on them. Don't worry and be sure not to kill your chickens yet." This set another wave of laughter going through the hall, especially among the girls who were raising their own chickens as part of their "production drive."

The Third Meeting

The third meeting, that is, the concluding one held on May 23, took place on the open ground outside the Yangchialing assembly hall. There was a big attendance. In the middle of the ground stood a table and a chair while those present at the meeting were seated on benches of all description facing the table. We sat quietly waiting for a short while. Then Comrade Mao Tse-tung came, a roll of paper in his hand. He stood by the table, and began his speech. After some time, he moved to the chair and sat down. Then as if he felt it was better standing, he walked to the table again and there finished his talk without pause. This speech now appears in the document as "Conclusion."

After the talk, he joined the rest of us to have a photograph taken.

Yenan is usually windy in May. But that was a windless day, I remember. It was pleasantly still in the open. The sun shone warmly.

Thus, the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* were born. They solved many questions of a basic nature concerning literature and art. They pointed out the correct direction in which we should go. The *Talks*, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a

hundred schools of thought contend" put forward by the Party after the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the many other concrete measures taken since then have all worked together to pave a broad way of advance for China's new literature and art.

deeply interested in folk songs. In my spare time I collected a great many of them. Those I recorded were mostly the ones popular in and around San Pien. Known as *xin tian you*, this particular form of folk song has two lines in every stanza; it is as striking in its form as it is melodious. As my collection increased I grew keener than ever on them. Thus, when I sang

*Horses and rifles for everyone now,
We are the mighty Red Army!
The revolution's strength is without
bounds*

*The whole world seems red when
our flag is unfurled.*

I felt as if I were among a vast crowd marching over mountains and plains, singing spirited, militant songs at the top of our voices, songs fit to shake the high mountains and rock the very earth.

My First Long Poem

The artistic talent of the working people is boundless. I came to realize this truth not only theoretically but also in my very being while collecting and studying these folk songs—I could not but marvel at their incredible richness. Of course, the basic question in the study of folk songs is to learn and acquire the thoughts and sentiments of the working people, and their way of expressing and conveying them, not merely to imitate the form of the folk song. And it was in the course of acquiring such an understanding that my first long narrative poem *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang* was produced.

Since then I have continued to seek ways of creating poems that are acceptable to the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to make poetry that serves them better. In the poems I wrote in the first few

Learn From the People

by LI CHI*

I BEGAN writing in 1942. Until then I had been a company political instructor in the Eighth Route Army. It was in our spare time between "counter-mopping-up" operations against the Japanese invaders that we read in the papers about the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's talks there. But it was only in the winter of that year when I returned to Yen-an from the Taihang Mountains in Shansi Province that I was able for the first time to read the *Talks* from cover to cover.

Into the Countryside

I stayed in Yen-an for less than three months. At that time writers and artists, eagerly following the advice given in the *Talks*, were going out among the masses, the workers, peasants and soldiers. I followed suit and went into the countryside, working in the villages of the San Pien area in northwestern Shensi. It was only after working and living with the peasants and the local cadres for a time that I gradually came to appreciate the tremendous significance of the *Talks* and understand that, as a revolutionary artist or writer, a man must be one with the masses in living and acting and, what is more important, in thought and sentiments.

Up to that time I was merely a lover of literature and art, a young non-professional writer. But, as I studied the *Talks* and gradually grasped their spirit, I began asking myself certain questions. As Chairman Mao says in the *Talks*, man's social life is the inexhaustible source,

the only source of literature and art and since one should "draw nourishment from the masses" and love their art to replenish and enrich oneself, and since "literature and art . . . should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers," why shouldn't I study in earnest the rich, militant life and revolutionary traditions of the people of northern Shensi? And why shouldn't I collect and study the beautiful folk songs of the people of San Pien? Why shouldn't I try and produce poems and stories in the language the people used? In the following six years in San Pien I tried to apply in this way what I had learnt from the *Talks*.

I worked in the local administration in San Pien. One day I was sent to a village to make inquiries into a divorce case which was reported to have been handled improperly. A shepherd in the locality made up a song in which he criticized the mistakes of some of the cadres involved in the case. He also presented the case in its true light and pointed out where the contradictions lay. His song helped me greatly in my work. Never before had I come across anything so simple, easy to understand and yet so moving! I became even more



A People's Poet

Woodcut by Chou Chien-fu

*Li Chi is a noted Chinese poet. His long poem *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang* mentioned in this article has been rendered into English, German, French and Indonesian and published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

years after liberation I used colloquial expressions that were in daily use and were suited to depict the new life. I made most frequent use of the four-line form in which I found it easier to convey my thoughts and sentiments. *San Pien Men* and *Messenger Girl* are in this form.

In that same period I first began studying folk songs from the south. To solve the question of form in writing long poems, I set myself the task of writing long poems in the folk song tradition while making wide use of the mode of presentation found in both classical Chinese poetry of the *shi* and *ci* forms* and modern forms. My long narrative poem, *The Chrysanthemum Stone* [about the life and struggle of a Hunan artisan specialized in stone sculpture] is the result of these experiments. Though I have revised it several times, to this day I still am not satisfied with it.

In 1958 I started writing the long poem *The Story of Yang Kao*** For more than ten years I had been planning to do this. This is another experiment, another attempt, made on the basis of ten years and more of trial and search, to find the right language and form.

More and Better Works

In reviewing my twenty years of study and practice to take the way pointed out in the *Talks*, I am truly happy that my work from the very outset has been guided by the *Talks*. They have helped me forward like leading strings with which children learn to walk. At the same time, I am fully aware that in ideology as well as in the craft of writing, in both the quality and quantity of our works, we Chinese writers lag far behind the mounting demands of the people.

At this time as we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks*, I feel that I must study the *Talks* again and more thoroughly. I must produce more and better works.

* *Shi*, a classical poetic style, usually with five or seven words in a line; *ci*, otherwise known as long and short sentences, has hundreds of specified traditional patterns to follow, each set to a certain melody. — *Ed.*

** It tells about a peasant of northern Shensi and how, as a shepherd boy, he became a Red Army soldier and later, after liberation, a leading cadre in the oil industry. It is in three parts and has already been published. — *Ed.*

POETRY

Peking's Poets on Poetry

Poetry is in the air these days in Peking. The discussions on Tu Fu's poetry, which marked the 1,250th anniversary of his birth, were hardly over before poets in Peking met again, in late April, this time to discuss the current poetical scene in China and how to ensure the greater flourishing of that particular garden of verse. Among the more than 50 poets present were Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. Chu Teh is well-versed in poetry of the classical style. Chen Yi is not only a poet, but a very prolific one at that.

The discussion ranged over many subjects—poetic form and content, problems of rhyme and metre, how best to carry on the fine traditions of classical poetry, the relationship between poetry and life. One of the main topics was the relation between the old and the new poetry, that is, how to enrich and develop the new poetry by assimilating the good elements of the classical. Here in China, by old, or classical poetry, is meant that written in the classical language and style with its set forms of metre, rhyme and structure; by new poetry, is meant the type of poetry introduced since the May 4th Movement of 1919, written in the modern vernacular language, in a wide variety of forms and styles.

The New Trend

The poet Kuo Mo-jo suggested that not so much attention should be paid to the question whether a poem was in old or new form but to its sentiments, language, its content; whether it was good or bad poetry. He drew attention to an important trend in the development of poetry: the integration of the classical and new poetry. He compared this to the integration of the traditional Chinese and Western schools of medicine which are being blended together to produce a new creative development.

The poet Emi Siao, describing himself as one who "loves old poetry without slighting the new," urged his colleagues to write more new poetry, poetry with modern themes in modern

forms, which he said, was widely popular among the masses. He himself had found that readings of new poetry are especially popular among workers and the young—from kindergarten children to college students. For several years past, Peking's Working People's Cultural Palace has been running a regular, a highly successful training course for workers wishing to master the art of reciting poetry.

Poetic Technique

The woman writer Hsieh Ping-hsin dealt with the difficulties of writing a good new poem. The new poetry is unrestricted by any set patterns which, she is afraid, might be exploited sometime to produce what was really *doggerel* devoid of wit, poetic emotion, imagination, or real life. She called for more poems for the children, poems with a natural charm and a musical beauty making them pleasant to recite; she also called for more poems of pleasurable ease for those of advanced years. She suggested that poets should pay more attention to poetic techniques and to the use of metre and rhyme so as to achieve greater musical quality.

The question of poetic technique was taken up by several other speakers. Emi Siao cited Mayakovsky as a poet who was most exacting in his demand for poetic skill and who paid the keenest attention to the musical quality of his works. "If we only pay attention to Mayakovsky's 'ladder' style in studying his poetry," he said, "we shall certainly be off the mark." He urged poets to pay more attention to the translation of poems, especially the poems of China's various minority nationalities.

The rising generation of young poets in China had an enthusiastic fan in the poet Ko Chung-ping, a hoary-headed veteran revolutionary. He praised Tien Chien whose lines, he said, "sparkle like lightning," and Li Chi with his songs "filled with a pastoral charm," and Yuan Chang-ching, Ko Pi-chou and Ho Ching-chih whose poems "vibrate with the spirit of youth." He told the meeting with a spirit as young as those he praised that he himself was striving to learn from all the experience of poets, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, to write a long poem in praise of the great age of Mao Tse-tung.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

To Halt or to Encourage U.S. Aggression?

General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnamese People's Army, has urged the International Commission to compel the U.S. Government to put an immediate stop to its armed aggression against south Viet Nam. The Chinese people fully support this just demand, declares *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (May 25).

At a time, Commentator adds, when large U.S. forces have entered Thailand with deliberate intent to spread the war in Southeast Asia, the slanderous statement made by the Indian delegate on the International Commission about alleged "subversion and aggression" by north Viet Nam in the south cannot but attract serious attention.

In spite of certain contributions it has made in the past, Commentator says, the International Commission has failed to accomplish the task with which it has been entrusted. The Indian and Canadian delegates on the commission have deliberately closed their eyes to the crimes of U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Now they have gone so far as to accuse the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam of carrying out "subversion and aggression" against south Viet Nam.

The U.S. imperialist tactic of slandering the south Vietnamese people's patriotic and just struggle as "subversion and aggression" by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is not new. What is surprising, says Commentator, is that the Indian delegate should repeat this shameless lie. The Indian delegate should understand that Viet Nam belongs to the people of Viet Nam. It is their sacred right to fight for freedom and liberation. How can this struggle be called "subversion and aggression"? Is it possible to say that the Vietnamese people have committed "aggression" against themselves?

Furthermore, nothing is more natural than for the liberated people in north Viet Nam to sympathize with and support the patriotic and just struggle of their compatriots in the south. In fact, not only the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam but all the people of the world who

cherish peace and freedom, including the Indian people, sympathize with and support the south Vietnamese people's struggle, just as all the progressives of the world sympathized with and supported the Indian people's struggle for the liberation of Goa. How can this sympathy and support be called "subversion and aggression"?

In view of the Indian delegate's action in the International Commission, one cannot help asking: As chairman of the commission, what does the Indian delegate want to do? Does he want to control and supervise implementation of the Geneva agreements or to undermine them? To halt U.S. aggression against south Viet Nam or to cover up this aggression? To safeguard peace in Indo-China or to encourage the United States to extend the war in that area?

People are perfectly justified in demanding, says Commentator, that the Indian delegate stop following the U.S. in slandering the Vietnamese people, honour the trust placed in him by the countries participating in the 1954 Geneva Conference, and fulfil his responsibilities impartially. This is the only way to help uphold the Geneva agreements and safeguard peace in Indo-China and other parts of Southeast Asia.

Franco Hard Hit

The Spanish people's present struggle against dictatorship, for democracy

and freedom and in defence of their vital interests is a powerful blow against Franco's fascist dictatorship, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (May 23).

The struggle started with the coal-miners' strike in Asturias on April 22. It quickly developed into a general strike involving 100,000 workers. Peasants, students, intellectuals and other patriots have staged big demonstrations for democracy and freedom. The workers' strike has now entered its fifth week. A strike movement of this magnitude is unprecedented in postwar Spain.

Under Franco's fascist rule the Spanish people have suffered appalling misery and humiliation for the past 23 years. From the very day when Franco came to power, aided by German and Italian fascism, he began his persecution of the Spanish people. He deprived them of democracy and freedom and even of the right to live. After the collapse of German fascism, Franco turned to U.S. imperialism for support. Backed by this ruthless imperialist power, Franco has continued to exploit and oppress the people. He has betrayed their national interests by surrendering the country's sovereignty to foreign imperialism. His regime has aroused the intense resistance of the Spanish people.

The Spanish people's struggle, Commentator says, is not isolated; it is supported by the peoples of all the world, including the Chinese people. Many obstacles may still stand in the way, but final victory will certainly go to the heroic Spanish people.

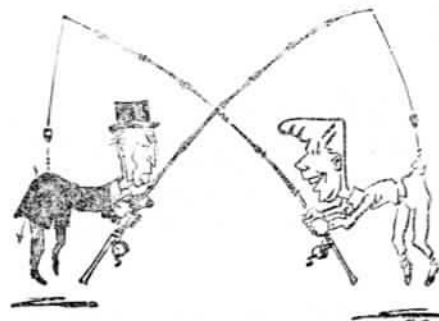
THE PASSING SHOW

The Uncle image

The American publicity firm of McCann-Erickson (already handling advertising accounts for beer, etc.) has signed a contract to create a new image of Franco as "a kindly uncle whose ideas have worked wonders with the Spanish economy," says a *Sunday Express* report. The new publicity campaign is optimistically planned to run for an initial 3-year period and involves several hundred thousand pounds in films, radio, literature and visits by impressionable foreign politicians to see "the achievements of Franco's regime."

On a Direct Line

The *General-Anzeiger* reports that a direct telephone line has been set up between Adenauer and the White House. Now he can get his orders direct.



CHINA AND THE WORLD

Chairman Mao's Works in Japanese

The Japanese translation of the 4th volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was on sale throughout Japan on May 15. The Japanese edition is published by the Publishing Department of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and distributed by the New Japan Publishing House.

The translation was made by a special committee, set up by the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P. It is published in two parts. The first part which has just come off the press includes 34 articles, the second part which will appear in June includes 36 articles.

Friendly Ties

Chinese Delegations in Japan. The friendship delegation of Chinese film workers, after a month-long visit to Japan, left Tokyo for home on May 25.

The delegation visited Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and other large cities. They were everywhere accorded a warm welcome and kindly hospitality. They saw Japanese films and held discussions with Japanese film workers. They attended a film party at the Hosei University where the Chinese film *Song of Youth* was screened. Chin Yi who played a prominent part in the picture spoke at the party. The delegation also saw Japanese productions of *Third Sister Liu*, the well-known Chinese Kwangsi folk opera, and *Chu Yuan*, a play on the life of the famous Chinese poet of ancient times.

* * *

A Chinese youth delegation headed by Wang Chao-hua, Vice-President of the All-China Youth Federation, is visiting Japan at the invitation of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

Japanese Delegation in China. In Peking, the Japanese press, radio and

publications delegation was warmly welcomed at a meeting on May 26. At the meeting, Wang Yun-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Journalists' Association, paid high tribute to the part played by Japanese journalists and others in the great patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism. He expressed the hope that workers in the press, radio and publications departments of both countries work together to promote friendship between the two peoples, to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and the revival of Japanese militarism, and to defend peace in Asia and the world.

On May 29, Vice-Premier Chen Yi received and had a friendly talk with the delegation.

Northern Ireland's C.P. Greeted

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on May 22 sent a message greeting the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland.

It wished the Communist Party of Northern Ireland new and still greater successes in defence of the democratic rights and the vital interests of the labouring people of Northern Ireland and in the struggle to achieve socialism by rallying the broad masses of the people in a still firmer unity. May your Party make new contributions to the struggle in defence of world peace and against the U.S.-led imperialist policies of war and aggression, the message said.

Afghan National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, on May 26, in a message to King Mohammed Zahir Shah offered his congratulations on Afghanistan's National Day and wished prosperity to the kingdom and its people. He expressed the hope that, under the guidance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, friendship and co-operation between the two countries would continue and develop.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi also sent National Day congratulations to Afghanistan.

Sino-Sudanese Trade

The first Sino-Sudanese trade agreement was signed in Peking on May 23 by Lu Hsu-chang, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and

Sayed Mansour Mahgoub, Director of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Supply of Sudan and head of a trade and cotton delegation.

The agreement, based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, stipulates that all trade between the two countries will enjoy most-favoured nation treatment. It lists the goods to be supplied by each country.

The Sudanese delegation left Peking for home on May 24. The day before its departure the delegation was received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

Chen Yi Receives Guests

During the past two weeks, Vice-Premier Chen Yi had friendly talks with visitors from many countries. Among them were trade unionists from Cuba and Africa including representatives from the Cuban Sugar Workers' Trade Union, the General Union of Algerian Workers, the National Confederation of Guinean Workers, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, the Ghana Trade Union, the Mali National Union of Workers and the Japanese Central Council of Metal Workers for Joint Struggle.

Other foreign guests were Major Rene Rodriguez Cruz, head of the Cinema Department of the Cuban Insurgent Army, and his wife; Haruo Okada, Japanese Socialist Party Diet Member; Seimin Miyazaki, Vice-Chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Association; and Pheng Pheongsavan, Advisor to the Royal Government of Laos, and Champao Vanthanouvong, Governor of Xieng Khouang Province.

Briefs

Flown by a Chinese pilot, a Chinese-made civil aeroplane "Harvest Two," a gift to King Mahendra of Nepal from Chairman Liu Shao-chi, reached Kathmandu recently.

* * *

The Chinese Ambassador to Cuba Shen Chien, on behalf of the Chinese Government, presented President Dorticos with a copy of a coloured film of his tour of China last year.

* * *

N. N. Mesiatsev, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy, on behalf of the Presidium of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., presented the certificate of

Foreign Membership of the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences to Professor Huang Chia-szu, President of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences at a ceremony in Peking on May 25.

Professor Huang was elected a Foreign Member of the Soviet Academy last year.

* * *

Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and Vice-President of the

World Federation of Trade Unions, and his party left Peking on May 26 for Budapest to attend the 25th meeting of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U.

Warnings on U.S. Intrusions

Despite China's repeated serious warnings, U.S. military provocations continue.

On May 4, between 07:59 and 09:55 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area of Yunghsing and Shih Islands of the

Hsisha group, Kwangtung Province. On May 10, between 12:38 and 12:42 hours, a U.S. military plane flew over the area of Yunghsing Island of the Hsisha Group, Kwangtung Province. On May 22, between 20:04 and 20:38 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area south of Tsingtao in Shantung Province.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued the 201st, 202nd and 203rd serious warnings against these U.S. military provocations.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

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

MODERN OPERA

▲ **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 stepmother'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.

CONCERTS

June 2, 7:30 p.m. At Peking Concert Hall

RECITAL

Sponsored by the Central Philharmonic Society. Programme includes operas by Rossini, Dvorak and Glinka; Chinese compositions; folk songs.

Soloists: Chang Li-chuan & Chen Yu (sopranos)

Lo Tien-shan (alto)

Wei Chi-hsien (baritone)

Szutu Hua-cheng (violinist)

* * *

June 3, 2:30 p.m. At Peking Concert Hall

The Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio Orchestra presents a concert of symphonic and Chinese orchestral music and vocal and instrumental solos. Programme includes *Spring Festival Suite*, Symphonic Poem *Gada Mirin, banhu* (Chinese fiddle) and *pipa* (Chinese lute) solos, and others.

Conductors: Yao Kuan-jung, Feng Kuang-tao

Guest Soloist: Lu Teh-wu (tenor)

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **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.

▲ **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. Pro-

duced by the Modern Drama Group of the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A.'s General Department.

▲ **RICKSHAW BOY** Adapted from Lao Sheh's famous novel about the life of the dispossessed in old Peking. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THE MAGIC BOAT** A fairy-tale play also by Lao Sheh. The wood-cutter Wang Hsiao-erh gets a magic boat which he uses doing good turns for others. The wicked and envious Chang Pu-shan takes the boat and presents it to the lazy emperor who makes him prime minister. But Wang's good friends, the white cat, the stork and others help him. After fierce fighting he regains his precious boat. China Children's Theatre.

▲ **TSAI WEN-CHI** A five-act historical play by Kuo Mo-jo. T'ai Wen-chi, a woman scholar of the Han Dynasty, is captured by and marries a noble Hun invader. The play tells how twelve years later, with peace restored, she is asked to return to her homeland to continue her scholar-father's work. Peking People's Art Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **BLOSSOMS IN THE SUN** A colour film for children. A group of children celebrates their festival, International Children's Day. It reflects the new outlook of China's children today. Peking Studio.

▲ **UPROAR IN HEAVEN (Part 1)** Gay, fast-moving, and brilliantly drawn, a cartoon in colour adapted from an episode in the classical novel *Pilgrimage to the West*. Shanghai Art Film Studio.

▲ **AH FU RECOVERS LOST TREASURE** A film for children. The adventures of a Young Pioneer who recovers a valuable tool which has been sold by mistake. Shanghai Film Studio.

▲ **SONS OF THE FISHERMEN** A film for children. Some brave and resourceful children of a fishermen's village help the P.L.A. capture Chiang Kai-shek's secret agents.

▲ **OPERATION "COBRA"** A Soviet film. There is a fascist spy operating in a Soviet border region. Alert Soviet border guards go into action to trap him.

▲ **DARCLEE** A Rumanian colour film describing the life and work of the well-known Rumanian woman singer, Darclee, one of the founders of Rumanian opera.

▲ **THE TENANT** A Spanish film. What happens when a house is condemned and a poor tenant with a large family goes house-hunting in Spain.

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.)

FLOWER SHOW

Pay a visit to the Temple of Heaven to see over 200 varieties of roses now in full bloom. Those on display include "Golden Peony," "White Swan," "Independence," "Ten Sisters" and "The Flame."

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY

— June 1 Entertainment —

* There will be games and performances in all Peking's parks on International Children's Day.

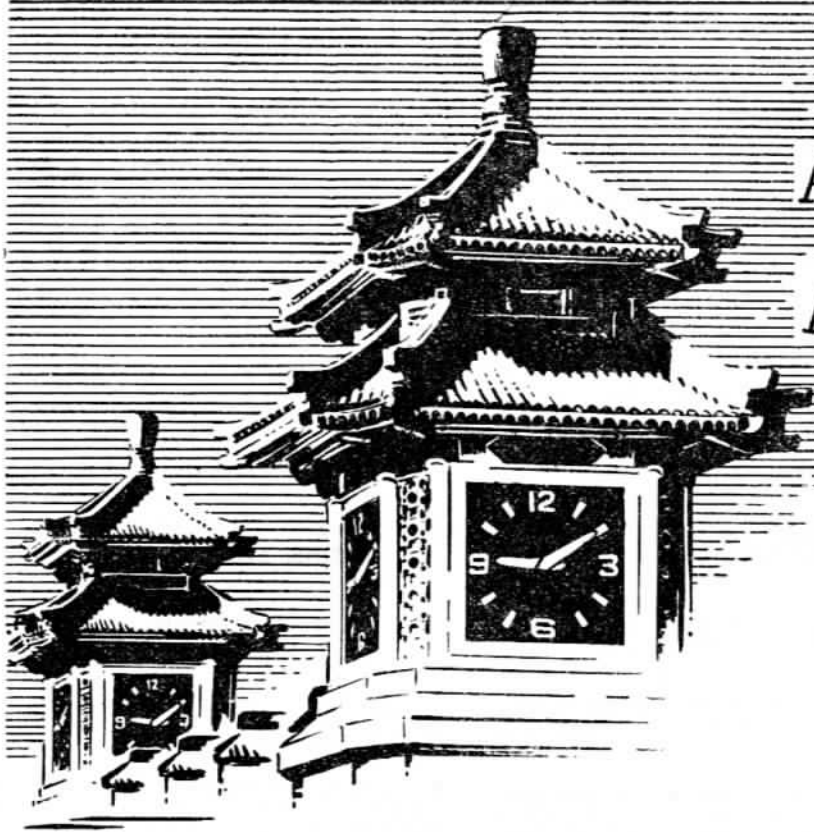
* A special gala party with conjurers, acrobats, Peking operas, other performances and games will be held in Chingshan Park's Children's Palace.

* See the show of model aeroplanes and boats at the Children's Science and Technology Hall at Beihai Park.

* At theatres and cinemas special plays and films for the children.

* Please watch the daily press for other activities.

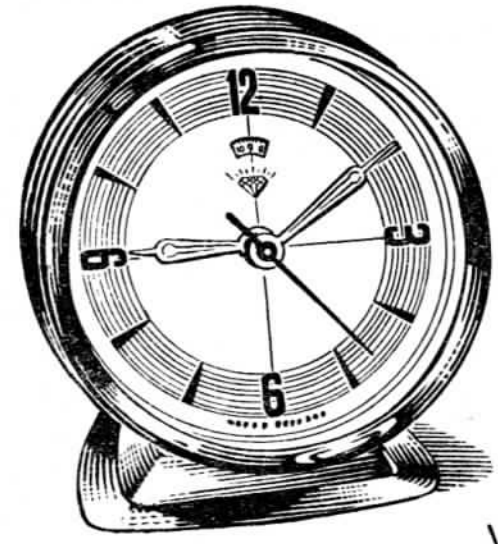




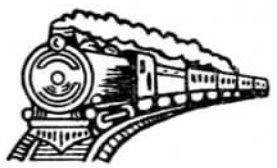
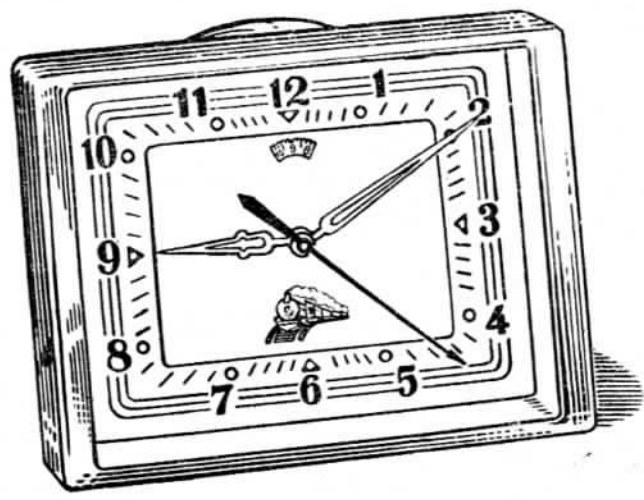
Clock towers of the new Peking Railway Station

ACCURATE ATTRACTIVE

ALARM CLOCKS



"Diamond" brand



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- Chime or buzzer alarm
- Sweep-second hand
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