

The Asian World at Year's End— Pot With Half Earth's Population Still Boils

(Editor's note: In the following dispatch, veteran UPI correspondents report on the situation in Asia today, including the prospects of war or peace and the stability of governments. Their reports have been summarized by UPI's general news manager for Asia.)

BY DONALD J. BRYDON
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Tokyo—UPI—While the eyes of the world are focused on Cuba and Berlin, the pot continues to boil over in Asia where half the world's population is packed into one-fourth of the land mass.

The Communist and Nationalist Chinese armies glare at one another across the narrow Formosa straits, each threatening to attack the other. And 2,000 miles away, the Red Chinese armies are menacing India's northern frontier, while thousands of other Indian troops are stationed in the Kashmir to keep Pakistan from taking it.

American troops are going into battle against the Communist-led Viet Cong every day in Viet Nam. Other American forces stand at the ready along the so-called demilitarized zone between North and South Korea, while thousands more are on constant alert on Okinawa, ready to move to any new trouble spot within the hour.

Where is the peace that seemed so near at the end of World War II? Where are the democratic leaders who sprang up in Asia, ready to lead their nations along the paths of Western society?

A survey by veteran correspondents of United Press International of the progress of each Asian nation over the past decade reveals that—with the exception of Japan, India, Malaya and the Philippines—democracy is a fading ideal. Most Asian nations never experienced true rule of, by and for the people. Some which had a brief taste now are ruled by "strongmen" leaders who believe in a concept sometimes called "guided democracy."

As 1962 comes to an end, there is one dark specter on the horizon. It is Communist China, and its possession of the nuclear bomb. Scientists all agree China has the technical and material ability to build its own atomic and hydrogen weapons. China admits it is working night and day on this grim project. Most experts think China will join the "nuclear club" in three or four years; some say within two years.

The face of Asia has changed drastically in the past 10 years. It has even changed in the past year. And it is certain to change still more.

Here, then, is the situation as it exists today in the far East, country-by-country:

Japan

The growth of Japan over the past 10 years in almost every field is little short of amazing. The gross national product has almost doubled. Although the figures for 1961 and 1962 are not yet available, the growth rate of the Japanese economy over the preceding year was 13 per cent in 1960 and almost 18 per cent in 1959.

The population of Japan has risen past 94 million, a jump of almost 10 million in the past 10 years, but the birth rate is the lowest in Asia and population experts believe this will not be a major problem in the future.

Today, Japan produces tanks, missiles, submarines, super-sonic jet fighter planes, missile destroyers and other modern weapons for its so-called "self defense forces."

The conservatives have been in power in Japan for the past 10 years, and even the left-leaning socialists show signs of moving more toward the center in Japanese politics. The socialists make up the largest minority party, with the Communists fading further into the background.

Communist China

Communist China has trod a long and wavering road in the past 10 years. China found itself a decade ago still largely shattered from the effects of the long war against the Japanese and the ensuing civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists. In 1957, the five-year plan had been put into effect by the Communists, pushing collectivization of farmland and building and beginnings of an internal industrial base.

The much heralded "Great Leap Forward" was launched in 1958, but by 1962 the worst effects of the "Great Leap" policy had made themselves felt. These included a lowered agricultural production. The 1961 harvest was about the same as the 1956 harvest, but there were 60 million more mouths to feed.

As political tensions increased between the two major Communist powers, Russia and China, the Soviets withdrew most of their economic and technical aid from China.

And at the end of 1962, China found itself engaged in an undeclared war with India along the mountainous border between the two countries.

Despite the mistakes that have been made since the Communists drove the Nationalist Chinese onto their island sanctuary of Formosa, there is mounting evidence that mainland China is beginning to build an industry that will have to be reckoned with in the future.

Nationalist China

Ten years ago Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was busy mustering all his strength to fend off the threat of Communist invasion of Formosa from the mainland. Today the roles are reversed. The Communists found it necessary last May to bolster their defense force along the Formosa straits in the face of mounting threats of invasion by Chiang's modern and well-equipped army.

The per capita income has risen from \$26 in 1952 to \$103 in 1961, despite the increase of four million in population to about 12 million.

The Nationalist government has become more stabilized. In 1952, only three years after Chiang led his two million mainland followers to Formosa, wholesale political arrests on the slightest suspicion of Communist connections were common. Today political arrests are uncommon.

India

India's history for the past 10 years has been one of increased economic growth, on which the Indian government has concentrated in a series of five-year plans beginning in March, 1951.

Increased production has brought more good things to the poor masses of India. Most Indians are noticeably better dressed than they were 10 years ago. Kerosene lamps, which were a luxury then, can be seen burning now even in remote villages, and the middle classes ride bicycles instead of walking.

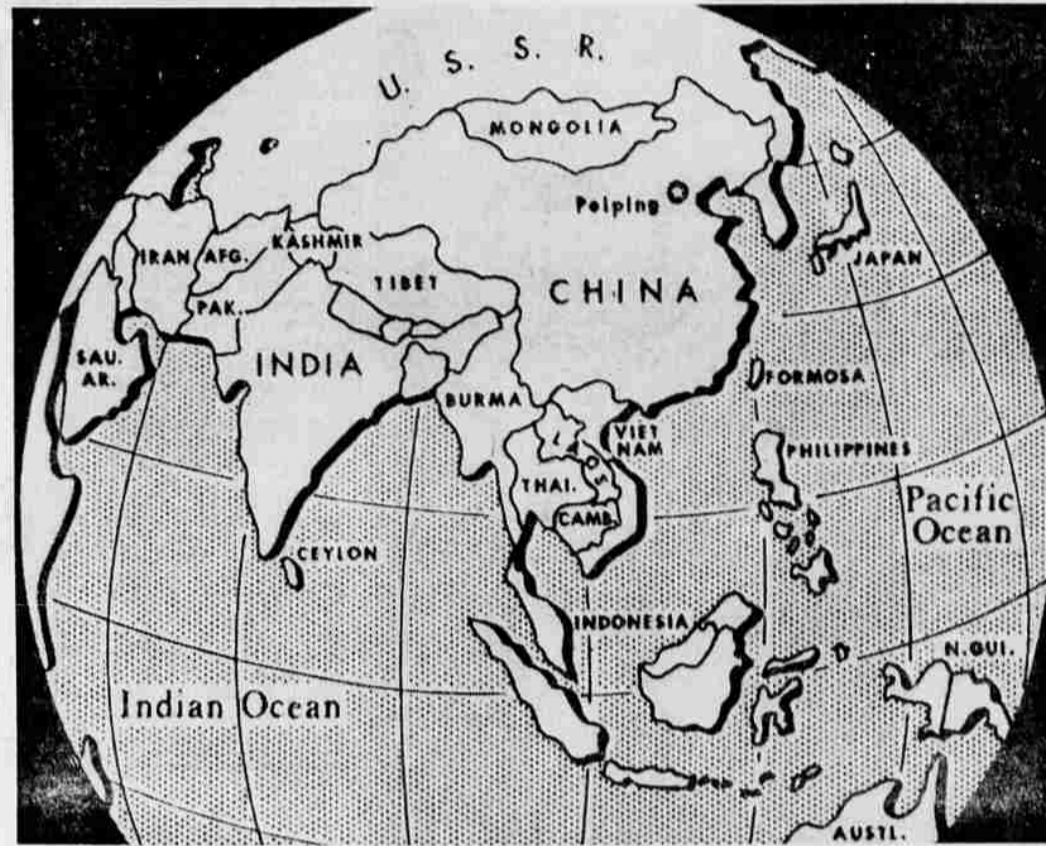
As the year ends, India is locked in a battle of words and bullets with its giant neighbor, Communist China. What this will do to India's economic problems can not be foreseen, but it certainly will slow down Prime Minister Nehru's program.

Ceylon

Ceylon a decade ago was ruled by the pro-Western, but unsteady government of Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake who followed his strongman father after the latter's death. The economic situation was good with the tea and rubber economy riding high on the Korean war boom. Foreign private investment was beginning to leave the country at the rate of \$8 million per year. The Tamils and Sinhalese were getting along together.

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike won an upset election over the ruling United Nations secretary in 1956 and, as premier, formed a neutralist, leftist government. His platform of making Sinhala the official language and the rise of Buddhist Nationalism threw the island into turmoil.

Bandaranaike's widow is now the world's only woman premier. Sinhala is the national language, and the Tamils in the north continue to agitate.



An area where world tensions still exist.

Pakistan

Although President Mohammad Ayub Khan has said the people are free to form political parties, many of the former political leaders have been barred from politics. Many of these men have joined forces with the old Muslim league leaders to form a so-called non-political national front, campaigning for "the restoration of democracy" in the new constitution promulgated by Ayub.

Economically, Pakistan has moved forward in the past 10 years, mainly because of foreign aid, the effort of the martial law regime to cut down on graft and corruption, and the Ayub regime's newly-established relationship with Communist nations in matters of trade and other exchange programs.

Indonesia

Indonesia today is under the full and complete personal rule of President Sukarno, backed by armed forces chief-of-staff Gen. A. H. Nasution and a hand-picked parliament. The revolutionary constitution of 1945 has been restored, and the nation is in a state of martial law under the president's direct command to enforce his "guided democracy," with tight controls over the press, political activity and individual liberty.

Sukarno's campaign to get control of West New Guinea from the Netherlands was culminated in a negotiated settlement giving Indonesia control of the largely undeveloped territory after a brief United Nations interim administration.

Malaya, Singapore

Malaya has emerged within the past decade from a dependent territory ruled by Great Britain to a thriving independent nation with one of the highest standards of living in Asia.

Foreign investors, impressed by a proposed merger of Malaya with Singapore and the Borneo territories into a combined Malaysia, are today pouring in capital.

Although Communists and leftist labor groups have launched numerous strikes and demonstrations in Singapore, the breakaway of these groups from the ruling party last year, followed by the decision of the people of Singapore in voting for merger and Malaysia, has regained the confidence of investors in Singapore's industry. Business is booming and Singapore's future is bright.

Philippines

Changes in the Philippines have not been great in the past decade. President Macapagal is sworn to fight corruption, just as President Magsaysay in 1952. The democratic form of government is the same, as is the political alignment.

The population has gone up by seven million to nearly 29 million. Per capita income has increased from \$81 in 1952 to \$101 in 1961.

The economic future of the Philippines is bright. The country is made up of rich underdeveloped islands which could support a population much larger than the nation will have in the foreseeable future.

Viet Nam

Viet Nam, once part of the fabled French Indo-China empire, is one of Asia's two partitioned areas that exist half Communist and half militantly anti-Communist.

South Viet Nam, under the control of President Ngo Dinh Diem, is perhaps as troubled today as it was when it first came into being as a state on Oct. 26, 1955.

North Viet Nam may be less disturbed than it was when the ceasefire ended a long and costly battle against the French on July 21, 1954, and resulted in the dividing of the country along the 17th parallel. But the Communist rulers of North Viet Nam are trying just as hard to bring the entire country under their control with the usual Communist tactics.

The United States stepped in a year ago and staked its reputation—and perhaps the future of southeast Asia—on a battle against the Communists. The United States has poured in millions of dollars of military and economic assistance. It has an estimated 11,000 U.S. military men helping direct the anti-guerrilla war in South Viet Nam at a cost of a million dollars a day to the American taxpayer, and at the even greater cost of American lives in combat.

Laos

The little kingdom of Laos has had more than its share of troubles in the past 10 years. In 1952 Laos was an "associate state of the French Union," having made some progress toward independence from French rule with agreements signed with France in 1946 and 1949. The form of government existing in 1952 was, as it is today, constitutional monarchy, governed by a council of ministers responsible to a national assembly.

Thailand

Thailand has moved much more firmly toward the West in all its dealings. It has banned Communist Chinese products, and closed left-leaning newspapers. Although Thailand's history has generally been on the side of the West, including sending troops to Korea to fight for the United Nations, the new government has firmly blocked Communist inroads which were being successfully made under the government which was deposed in 1958.

The United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand sent troops to Thailand earlier this year—at Thailand's request—when there was a threat of a Communist invasion from Laos, but these troops have virtually all been withdrawn.

South Korea

South Koreans lived through two revolutions and the end of the Korean war during the past decade. They have recently been under a strict military rule, but they are much better off than they were 10 years ago. Earlier this month, the military junta that has been ruling South Korea announced the end of martial law. And a new constitution was scheduled to be submitted to the people for approval in a referendum.

South Korea today is under the rule of a military junta headed by strongman Gen. Park Chun Hee and martial law is in effect. Civil rights have been curtailed. There is no elected parliament, and political parties are not allowed to operate.

North Korea

Premier Kim Il Sung has consolidated his dictatorial control over the North Korean people through a series of purges during the past decade while rebuilding the country from the destruction of the Korean war.

In 1960, North Korea claimed it had reached the goals of an ambitious five-year plan one year ahead of schedule, and launched a more ambitious seven-year plan starting in 1961. The new plan envisages North Korea as a highly industrialized country on about the same level as Japan by 1970.

Russian Generations Are Crossing Quills

BY JAY AXELBANK
United Press International

Moscow—UPI—In the Soviet Union where poetry and politics mix, there is an old saying, "if it is written with a pen you cannot remove it with a hatchet."

Seldom has this been more evident in today's Russian literary world in which two generations are crossing quills in a dispute over de-Stalinization, a dispute as political and personal as it is literary.

In one camp are many of the writers and poets who rose to prominence under the late dictator's rule and who cannot, even if they would, change the record they wrote. In the other camp is the younger generation, writers born too late to remember, let alone admire, a now-shattered God—and too late to respect or understand well those who offer apologies for the Stalin era.

While literary feuds are not a Soviet monopoly, they have a special significance in Russia. From Pushkin to Pasternak—and now Yevtushenko—Russian poets have often been the exposed nerves of the Russian conscience, revered by intellectuals and respected by the nation's rulers.

When a poet speaks the Russian people listen. So when the good or evil of the past—or the present—is recited in the works of contemporary poets, the significance goes deep.

Russian poetry does not translate well into English but two "Stalin" poems, by two of Russia's currently best known poets, will illustrate the unique situation in current Russian literature.

The first is by Yevgeny Yevtushenko who in the past year has gained international attention as Russia's "angry young man." He was only 19 when Stalin died. His is anti-Stalin in aim and tone.

The other is by Yevgeny Dolmatovsky who, at 47, is well known in Russia both as poet and song writer. His work is more gentle with the Stalin memory and strikes out against such writers as Yevtushenko.

There are the poems in as nearly literal translation as possible:

"Stalin's Heirs"

By Yevgeny Yevtushenko

"When he was carried through the door of the mausoleum.
"The marble was silent. The speechless glass was glistening.
"The guards were standing silently.
"Turning the bronze in the wind.
"While the coffin was slightly steaming,
"The breath was leaking through the lids

"The coffin was floating slowly, touching the bayonets by its edges,
"He was silent, too, but terribly silent,
"Grimly clenching his embalmed fists,
"In the coffin a man who pressed himself against the slits,
"A man who pretended to be dead.

"He wanted to remember all those who removed him from the mausoleum—
"Young recruits from Ryazan and Kursk—
"So that sometime later he could gather up the strength and get out
"And stand up from the ground and show them, unreasonable souls, the truth.

"He has something on his mind,
"He has just lain down to have a nap.
"And I address our government with an appeal:
"To double, to treble the number of guards at his slab

"So that Stalin cannot rise, and together with this Stalin—the past.

"I am speaking not about that sacred and valiant past . . .
"In this case I mean by the past the oblivion of people's interests, calamities, arrests of the innocents."

"We sowed honestly,
"We melted metal honestly,
"And we honestly marched, formed into soldiers' ranks
"While he was afraid of us.

"He, who believed in a great goal still did not believe
"That the means must be worthy of that goal's greatness."

"He was far sighted,
"He was wise in the laws of the struggle,
"And he left behind many an heir on the globe.
"It seems to me as if a telephone is put into the coffin
"And Stalin is giving his instructions to Enver Hoxha
"Where else does the wire from that coffin stretch?

"No, Stalin has not surrendered.
"He thinks that death can be helped.
"We have removed him from the mausoleum
"But how can we remove Stalin from Stalin's heirs?"

(Editor's note: Hoxha heads the Albanian government which is antagonistic to Khrushchev's co-existence policy and ideology and favors the old Stalin "hard" line also supported by Red China.)

"Some of his resigned heirs cut rose bushes
"But in their heart of hearts they think that this resignation is temporary.

"Some of them curse Stalin from the tribunes
"While at night they pine for old times.
"It's not without reason that Stalin's heirs are subjected today to heat attacks.

"For they who used to be pillars, don't like the time when prison camps are empty
"And halls, where people listen to the poetry recited, are over-crowded.

"The party has ordered me not to stay tranquil.
"Let someone repeat over and over again, 'Be Quiet'
"I cannot be quiet.
"I won't be able to be still while there are Stalin's heirs on the earth.
"It will seem to me that Stalin is still in the mausoleum."

"The Funeral That Never Was"

By Yevgeny Dolmatovsky

"I am being buried by young men
"As if to say your time has travelled by.
"First they are taking out my medals, like cakes on a plate.

"And here is the coffin, a roughly-hammered crate,
"Since my grave-diggers do not know how to use real tools,
"A chisel and a hammer.
"There are only a few people in the funeral procession—
"A cocktail drinker, a master of wild dances,
"And a decadent who is shouting I am an innovator,
"What is he, that I fostered yesterday?"

"Here is Vaganova cemetery
"It is time to dig the grave.
"Their shoulders are rather aching under the weight of the coffin
"And where can they find the ability and strength to dig a trench?"

"The dead man has to rise from his coffin and hold a short instruction session

"Myself, a subway builder, and a lieutenant colonel. I am digging my pit for the last time.

(Vaganova is a cemetery where a number of Russian writers are buried.)

"Now I am not trying to force myself on you as an instructor or a teacher,
"But while burying old optimists you will, in the first place,

"Learn from me how to dig trenches and mould iron.
"Yet cynics cannot bear other people's counsels
"And they detest my knowledge.
"However they beg for money I remember me.
"If they will not, they will spend it for their daily needs.

"I cannot entrust my interment to boys who look like old men.
"So the dead man, cursing and swearing, has risen up from the his grave.
"He belongs to the ages, now to you."

Yevtushenko, in his "Stalin's Heirs" and other writings goes at the Stalin era with a sledgehammer, a sledgehammer that has made some of the older Russian writers such as Dolmatovsky wince as they feel it strikes at them, too.

Thus, it is taken for granted here that when Dolmatovsky poetizes about "being buried by young men" he means Yevtushenko and others like him. Another older poet, Ashot Garnakeryan, took pen in hand recently to put in verse that "there is not a single stain on our conscience." The point he argued was that the younger poets and young generation in general had been taught their very spirit of rebellion by his own generation. This is what Dolmatovsky's "The Funeral That Never Was" also is saying.

Yevtushenko, 29, was born to a father who was a man of culture, a concert pianist and geologist. The boy showed a literary flair early in life. At 10 he had written a childish novel and two years later was getting some occasional verses printed. Through his earliest 20's he ground out non-political poems, mostly about love, while others wrote of social themes. He still is scorned by some of the country's older writers for this "escapist" period.

He became angrier—or perhaps bolder—under the growth of the Khrushchev de-Stalinization drive which also brought with it a general liberalization of written thought.

Then a year ago his poem "Babi Yar"—an indignant blast against anti-semitism—was given a public reading and Yevtushenko became famous almost overnight.

Dolmatovsky, son of a working man, has known hard work, which Yevtushenko never has. In contrast to Yevtushenko's quick success Dolmatovsky's came more slowly, building up after the war during which he joined the Communist party and served as a war correspondent. In 1943 he turned his hand to a series of inspirational poems titled "Faith In Victory" which were published in 1943. A year later he attracted attention with another collection he called "Poems From Afar." In 1950 was awarded a Stalin prize.

Whatever Yevtushenko and other angry young men in Russia may claim, Dolmatovsky and other middle aged writers do not believe they have anything to apologize for to the upstarts described by Garnakeryan as "angry and unsavory." So, until and unless the Kremlin orders a halt, the battle of words presumably will go on.