

# People's 人民中国 China

August 1, 1951

## THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PLA

Hsiao Hua

## FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA

Dr. Hewlett Johnson

## NEW PEKING

Jack Chen

# 3

VOL. IV

Supplement: *Documents on the  
Cease-Fire Negotiations in Korea*

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## ***The PLA—Defender of World Peace***

The Chinese people celebrate August 1, the birthday of their People's Liberation Army, with unbounded pride in its role as defender of the people's rights and of world peace.

It was only after the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, created their own armed forces that the revolution was assured of victory. Today, after the achievement of that victory, the PLA, under Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, stands as the guardian of the borders of the People's Republic, as the guarantor of the people's independence and democracy and the assurance that Taiwan, the last unliberated part of China, will be freed.

August 1 is a date of particular significance to the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for it confirmed a vital revolutionary truth. With brilliant foresight, in 1926 Stalin pointed out that the characteristic of the Chinese revolution was that of an armed people opposing an armed counter-revolution. On August 1, 1927, the Chinese people recognised this truth and acted on it with decisive effect. They created and launched their young revolutionary army in the arduous struggle against the brutal counter-revolutionary forces.

The birth of this mighty revolutionary armed force sounded the death knell of the reactionary regime. Though it started with only a few ill-equipped fighters, in a series of historic campaigns it defeated immensely superior enemy forces and finally routed the 8,000,000 U.S.-equipped KMT army in the War of Liberation.

### ***Old Poison in a New Bottle***

The U.S. imperialists and their chief satellite, the Attlee government, have learnt nothing good from their disastrous reverses in Korea.

While the Kaisung talks for a cease-fire in Korea are in progress, Washington and London have simultaneously made known the text of their so-called "revised draft peace treaty" with Japan and announced that a "conference" will be held in San Francisco on September 4 for the signing of this separate peace treaty.

No one need ponder long over the "revised draft": it is the same old poison—in a new bottle. All the fatal ingredients are there. Like the original draft, it aims to perpetuate Wall Street's enslavement of the Japanese people and streamline Japan into a major base for further aggressions against the Asian peoples.

This separate peace treaty is a flagrant attack on the sovereign rights of the Chinese people. It attempts to exclude from taking part in the Japanese peace settlement that nation which was the first to resist Japanese aggression and made the greatest

This was achieved because the PLA has been guided by the revolutionary strategy and tactics of Mao Tse-tung, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

During these 24 stormy years, the revolutionary forces have always maintained their unshakable confidence in the final victory. This is because they have a high political consciousness and are closely united with the people. This is because they understood that the material advantage enjoyed by the enemy, such as a profusion of armaments, was a transient factor while the permanent and decisive factor was the support of the awakened masses of the people in a just cause.

The victory of the PLA is the living proof of this fundamental law of war. Further proof of that has been afforded by the defeat of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in Korea at the hands of the Korean People's Army aided by the Chinese people's volunteers—men inspired by the spirit of the selfless heroes of the PLA.

Having suffered a century of ravages and destruction by the feudal-imperialist forces, the Chinese people naturally and profoundly hate war. They have already given remarkable evidence of the success of their peaceful efforts. In contrast to the monopoly-capitalist system of the imperialist countries based on exploitation for whom war is an inherent need. The essence of the People's Democracy is peace, for it is the expression of the will of the people whose primary need is peace.

The PLA is the army of the people, of the People's Democracy. The PLA is an army dedicated to the cause of peace.

contribution to encompassing Japan's defeat. It aims to legalise the U.S. seizure of the Chinese island of Taiwan.

It also constitutes a flagrant attack on the legitimate interests of the Soviet people in the Japanese peace settlement. It violates the true interests of all nations which fought against fascist Japan in the last war.

It must be stressed again that such a Japanese "peace settlement," violating the genuine interests of the Japanese people and without the participation of the Chinese People's Republic and the U.S.S.R., will be neither viable nor valid.

This U.S.-British draft peace treaty is dead before it is born. It is condemned by all peace-loving peoples. Several "invited" governments have already decided to boycott its signing at San Francisco, and the opposition to it is growing as realisation of its aggressive nature spreads. This U.S.-British plot of using the so-called Japanese peace treaty to further their aggressive plans in Asia will undoubtedly be smashed.

# The Communist Party of China and the Chinese People's Liberation Army

Hsiao Hua

It is exactly 30 years now since the birth of the great Communist Party of China. In these 30 years, the Party and its leader of genius, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have led the people throughout China through four extremely difficult revolutionary wars (the First Revolutionary Civil War from 1925 to 1927, the Second Revolutionary Civil War from 1927 to 1936, the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression from 1937 to 1945 and the Third Revolutionary Civil War beginning from 1946), founding and building up a powerful, unequalled People's Liberation Army, overthrowing the dark rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China, and bringing into being the great and glorious New China. The history of the Party's 30 years' struggle is mainly the history of leading the Chinese people and the PLA in revolutionary wars.

## II

In founding and building up the people's army and in leading the revolutionary wars, the Communist Party of China has traversed a difficult and circuitous road.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Party began to see the importance of armed struggle. The Party gave active help to Dr. Sun Yat-sen to organise the revolutionary military academy (in Whampoa, Canton—*Editor*), it led the work of remoulding the Kuomintang troops, took the lead in the revolutionary war for the unification of Kwangtung Province as well as in the 1926-1927 Northern Expeditionary War. The Party also controlled a part of the armed forces. Nevertheless, at that time the Party did not yet fully understand the extreme importance of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution, and did not seriously prepare for battle or for the organising of armed forces. This was especially so in 1927 when the Right opportunists inside the Party, as represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, followed a line of capitulation and refused to organise and develop the people's armed forces. Consequently, when the KMT reactionaries betrayed the revolution and, in collusion with imperialism and feudalism, launched a surprise attack on the people, the Party and the people were unable to organise effective resistance. The Party learned a painful lesson. To lead the people throughout the country in revolutionary struggle in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, the proletariat's main method and main form of revolution could not be peaceful; without armed struggle and without a people's army, the people would have lost everything.

When the First Revolutionary Civil War failed, the Party was neither frightened nor overwhelmed

in the face of ruthless massacre by the KMT reactionaries who would "rather kill a thousand in error than have one (Communist—*Editor*) escape." In spite of enemy oppression, the Communist Party of China continued to hold high the great banner of revolution and continued to wage heroic struggles in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. On August 1, 1927, the Party led the Nanchang Uprising. On August 7, 1927, the Central Committee of the Party called an emergency meeting, which firmly corrected and put an end to Chen Tu-hsiu's line of capitulation, decided on an over-all policy of agrarian revolution and armed resistance against the KMT reactionaries' policy of massacre, and called on the Party and the masses to continue revolutionary struggle. The Party also led one after another Autumn Harvest Uprisings in various places, the Canton Uprising and the South Hunan Uprising. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other comrades, the revolutionary troops, the workers' pickets and peasants' self-defence corps which took part in the uprisings joined forces and formed a real people's army such as had never been seen before in the history of China—the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

The Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung painstakingly nurtured and cared for the young Red Army. They put great effort into building up the Red Army ideologically, politically and organisationally. They corrected the adventurism and putschism of a few leaders within the Party in directing the war. They ensured that the Red Army, led by the Party and fully relying upon the strength of the masses, grew from being small and weak to being big and strong. In 1930, the Red Army grew to between 60,000 and 70,000 men. Fifteen liberated areas were established on the borders of Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangsi, Anhwei, Honan and Shansi Provinces, with the Kiangsi Base as their centre.

As the Red Army waxed in strength, the KMT reactionaries became extremely panicky. In the two years from 1930 to 1932, they assembled large and powerful armed forces and launched four successive "encirclement and annihilation campaigns" against the Red Army. Pursuing Chairman Mao Tse-tung's strategy and tactics, the heroic Red Army crushed one offensive after another of the KMT reactionary forces. And in the course of this fighting, the Red Army grew still stronger, to 300,000 men. Chiang Kai-shek became even more vicious after his failures. Disregarding the Japanese imperialists' invasion of the Northeast, Jehol Province and North China, he raised the treacherous clamour that "domestic security must precede resistance to foreign aggression." After long preparation, and assembling over a million troops with the support of imperialism, he started his fifth "encirclement and annihilation campaign" in October 1933. This offensive, too, could have

Hsiao Hua, Vice-Director of the Political Department of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, wrote this article in commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China.

been crushed. However, victory was not achieved on this occasion because of the serious "Leftist" mistakes of the then Party leaders, who refused to acknowledge the fact that the enemy was strong while we were weak. Violating Chairman Mao Tse-tung's military line, instead of the guerilla and mobile warfare at which the Red Army was expert, they resorted to positional warfare which the Red Army at the time was unable to sustain and they adopted so-called "regular" warfare instead of the people's warfare which was the correct thing to do. In October 1934, the Red Army, to break through Chiang Kai-shek's encirclement, started its world-shaking 25,000-li Long March.

In January 1935, the Central Committee of the Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, called a conference at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province. Here the "Left" opportunist line was ended, the correct line restored and there began the new leadership of the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This change within the Party was of the greatest historic significance. It saved the Party at its most critical moment, ensured success for the Red Army in carrying through the Long March under extremely difficult conditions, overcame the defeatism of Chang Kuo-tao, and preserved the backbone of the Chinese revolution. From then on, the Party, under correct leadership headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, developed not only the powerful political line of Marxism-Leninism, but also the powerful military line of Marxism-Leninism. The Party was able to apply Marxism-Leninism not only to the solution of political problems but also to the solution of military problems.

In the course of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, the Red Army was reorganised as the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. Under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, they made use of the experiences of armed struggle which were gained during the revolutionary civil wars and they resolutely applied the strategy and tactics laid down by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They penetrated deep into the rear of the enemy, organised the people, armed the people, established political power and unfolded the great people's war. In the eight years of the War of Resistance, they engaged 64 per cent of the Japanese troops in China and 95 per cent of the puppet troops; and on countless occasions crushed the cruel and ruthless "mopping-up operations" and "security strengthening movements" of the Japanese invaders. They struggled victoriously against the utterly barbaric "burn-all, kill-all, loot-all policy," "the boxing-in policy," "the blockade policy" and "the eating-in policy" of the Japanese invaders. Three times they repulsed the anti-Communist onslaughts of the KMT and all the attacks against the liberated areas made by the KMT in collaboration with the Japanese invaders. They liberated over 100,000,000 peo-



Gen. Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the PLA.

ple in the enemy-occupied areas, established 19 liberated areas and built up a people's militia of over 2,200,000. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army which grew to over one million were steeled in the crucible of war into an invincible and ever-victorious iron force. Finally, in co-ordination with the Army of the Soviet Union, they defeated Japanese imperialism and won the great victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.

Firmly applying the political and military policy of the Party led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the Third Revolutionary Civil War beginning from 1946, the PLA rallied the people and, relying on them and on the basis of its rich fighting experiences, put out

of action in less than four years over 8,000,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's bandit troops who were aided by American imperialism, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China and paved the way for the People's Republic of China. It did all this on the foundation of its rich war experience. The PLA has now grown to an invincible army of over 5,000,000. On top of its powerful land forces, it has built up a powerful people's air force and a people's navy and has made New China a world military power and a bulwark of peace in the East and the whole world.

History has proved that only with the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung could the PLA come into being and the victory of the Chinese revolutionary war and the freedom and emancipation of the Chinese people be attained.

### III

The most important reason why the Communist Party of China was able to create and build the PLA under extremely difficult conditions and to lead China's revolutionary war to victory was that it was guided by Mao Tse-tung's illuminating theory of the Chinese revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, by the guiding principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, brilliantly solved the strategic problems of the Chinese revolutionary war and created a masterly military theory. This was the ideological weapon that armed the PLA.

An army of people's liberation must be subordinated to the ideological leadership of the proletariat, serving the people's struggle and setting up revolutionary bases. Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us that it was not and could not be an army of any other type.

Because the characteristic of the Chinese revolution was an armed people opposing armed counter-revolution, the Chinese people had to build up their own revolutionary army before they could achieve freedom and liberation and had to rely upon this revolutionary army to gain victory. Thus the people's army, coming from the people, must serve the

people's struggle. This was why Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, when he laid down the aims for the building up of the PLA:

"All those who join it...are fighting a righteous people's war, in the interests of the masses and of the entire nation. The sole aim of this army is to stand firmly on the people's side and to serve them whole-heartedly." (*On Coalition Government.*)

Because the Chinese revolutionary war had to be led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, it would certainly have failed if this principle had been ignored or violated. Thus, the PLA was also necessarily the armed force for carrying out class political tasks under the leadership of the Communist Party. Moreover, the armed struggle of the Chinese people grew up in the special circumstances of a vast semi-colonial country, rich in resources but unbalanced in its political and economic development, a country in which the enemy was powerful and the people's army weak, where the people's armed struggle was linked with the peasants' struggle in agrarian revolution. Consequently, to carry the revolutionary war to victory, the people's army had to rely on the peasants and build the army with the peasants as its main constituent part; build revolutionary bases in a countryside populated by the peasant masses and use these as the strategic bases for protecting and developing itself and for driving away and wiping out the enemy; develop widespread popular guerilla war so as to conserve its strength and gradually organise mobile and regular warfare; co-ordinate the armed struggle with other forms of struggles directly and indirectly in an "all for the front" effort for the carrying out of the general policy of the people's war.

The revolutionary war would have been inconceivable if it had departed from the peasants and the agrarian revolution, from guerilla warfare, from the revolutionary bases. For this reason Chairman Mao Tse-tung defined the tasks of the PLA as:

"...by no means confined to fighting. Besides fighting, the Red Army should bear the great responsibility of educating, organising and arming the masses and helping them to build up political power." (*Resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Fourth Red Army of the Chinese Communist Party.*)

It had to oppose firmly the purely military viewpoint that the army should not engage in mass work, that it should oppose the warlordism that characterised the mercenary armies and the ideology of the roving bandits that was reflected in the old peasant wars.

Therefore, the PLA must strive whole-heartedly for the Party's line, programme and policy, that is, for the interests of the whole Chinese people in every respect. The PLA is not only a fighting force, able to wipe out the enemy on the battlefield, but also a working force, able to act as propagandists and organisers of the Party and the people's regime and able to "administer a state and ensure its domestic security." (An old Chinese saying—*Editor.*)

History has proved that the principle of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the building up of the army was absolutely correct. The PLA carried out this principle and in each revolutionary war fought heroically, did mass work, established political power, helped to build up Party organisations in various localities and consolidated and expanded its bases. Therefore, the Army was able to count on the help of the masses and the support of the political power and had bases to rely on, all of which created conditions making up for its deficiency in arms and other things and the prerequisites for overcoming all the difficulties of war. As a result, it was able to resist attacks by an enemy which outnumbered it ten or even several scores to one, persist in the war, develop itself and transform the unfavourable situation in which the enemy was strong and it was weak, until finally it won victory.

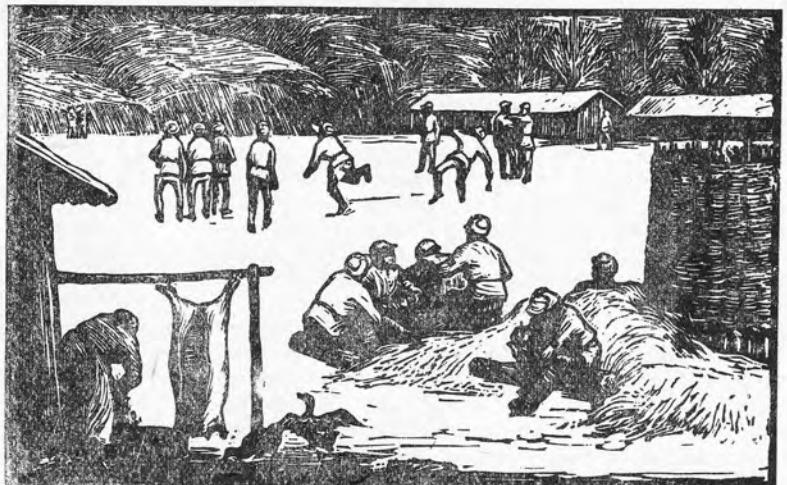
Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us that the PLA should not only be daring in battle and courageous in overwhelming all our enemies, but should also be skilled in battle and capable of coping with all the changes and developments in the whole war situation.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung said:

"Undoubtedly the success or failure in a war is mainly determined by the military, political, economic and natural conditions of both sides. But these are not all, the subjective factor of ability in direction is also a determining factor." (*The Strategic Problems in China's Revolutionary War.*)

This subjective factor of ability in direction is what is meant by strategy and tactics.

In each period of the revolutionary war, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, weighing up the relative strength of our troops and that of the enemy and the political, economic and natural conditions, worked out a brilliant scientific strategy and tactics with which to arm the PLA. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao Tse-tung correctly worked out the following strategical and tactical principles: the strategy of protracted war combined with the tactics of rapid decision in each operation; the strategy of defeating a numerically superior enemy with smaller forces combined with the tactics of defeating a small number of enemy troops in each



PLA fighters take part in group discussions, sports and study.

Woodcut by Ku Yuan

operation with large forces; "spread out the troops to mobilise the masses and concentrate them to deal with the enemy"; "when the enemy advances, we retreat; when the enemy stays, we harass; when the enemy tires, we attack; when the enemy retreats, we pursue"; "concentrate superior forces, select the enemy's weak points and make sure to wipe out a part or major part of the enemy so as to beat him bit by bit."

During the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his two historic documents, *On Protracted War* and *The Problem of Strategy in the Guerilla War Against Japan*, correctly defined the War of Resistance as a protracted one and that it must pass through the three stages of defence, stalemate and counter-offensive. He laid down the strategical and tactical principle of waging guerilla warfare in enemy-occupied areas without giving up mobile warfare under favourable conditions; of establishing guerilla bases everywhere and of consolidating and developing these bases for attack against the enemy and for strengthening ourselves by relying on the masses behind the enemy lines. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao Tse-tung summed up the rich military experiences gained. In his report on the *Present Situation and Our Task* in December 1947, he laid down the ten famous military principles. The PLA firmly applied the strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and in each period of revolutionary war achieved the goal of "preserving itself and eliminating the enemy" and it defeated the powerful foreign and domestic enemies.

That Chairman Mao Tse-tung's strategy and tactics was the factor that made the PLA invincible is because this was the art of war born of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, and the scientific summing-up of the rich experiences of the PLA which it gained in the course of long-term fighting against the foreign and domestic enemies. This strategy and tactics was a true expression of the over-all laws governing the war situation in each period of the revolutionary war. Therefore, it was only by mastering these laws that the people's war could be directed, the enemy annihilated and the war carried to victory. Chairman Mao Tse-tung constantly maintained that: "The kind of warfare you wage depends on the kind of weapons you have, the kind of enemy you face and on the time and place." He was resolutely opposed to the empiricism and conservatism which mechanically directed warfare on the basis of partial and narrow experience regardless of time, place and conditions. He was also opposed to doctrinairism and adventurism which directed warfare rigidly from book knowledge. Thus the fundamental principle which Chairman Mao Tse-tung strictly enjoined us to observe in our study and application of strategy and tactics was to proceed from the actual conditions, correctly grasp the over-all laws and only then to direct the war. Chairman Mao Tse-tung repeatedly instructed us that every commander of the PLA must get to know the nature of his own troops (the commanders, fighting men, arms, supplies, etc., and the sum total of all these); get to know the nature of the enemy troops (similarly: the commanders, fighting men, arms, sup-

plies, etc.) as well as all other relevant factors (political, economic, geographic and climatic). He taught us to pay great attention to the study of warfare in the actual practice of war and to sum up our practical experiences by scientific methods and to become courageous and wise heroes, not rash and foolhardy adventurers.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us that the PLA must carry out solid political work and struggle to unite our army, the friendly armies and the people, and to demoralise the enemy troops and ensure victory in battle.

In the very first period of building up the army, the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung set up the political commissar system and the political work system in the Red Army. In 1929, at the Conference held in Kutien, Fukien Province, Chairman Mao Tse-tung personally drafted the historically significant *Resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Fourth Red Army of the Communist Party of China*, which were a perfect outline of the basic principles of political work in the people's army. These basic principles were: to educate the troops in the programme and policy of the Party; to educate the troops in the revolutionary spirit so as to achieve unity in the ranks of the people's army; to achieve unity between the people's army and the people as well as the people's government; to bring the army entirely under the leadership of the Party; to raise the fighting capacity of the army; to carry out the work of demoralising the enemy troops and attain the goal of unity within our own ranks, defeating the enemy and securing the freedom and emancipation of the people. Thus revolutionary political work became the life blood of the people's army.

Proceeding from this basic principle, the relationship between officers and men in the people's army had to be one of unity and solidarity. The higher ranks must take good care of and educate the lower ranks and must not beat, abuse or insult the lower ranks; the lower ranks must without exception strictly obey the command, support the upper ranks, and have the right to submit suggestions and criticisms to the upper ranks. Officers and men share with each other pleasures and hardships. The relationship between the army and the people must also be that of unity. The people's army must strictly observe the "Three Disciplines," the "Eight Points for Attention," must carry out propaganda among the masses, organise the masses, arm the masses and help the masses to emancipate themselves politically, economically and culturally. The relationship between the army and the political authorities must also be one of unity. The army is responsible for establishing political power, but must respect and support the government, carry out the laws and decrees of the people's government and safeguard the security of the people's government. The relationship between our army and the friendly armies must also be one of unity: to learn modestly from each other and to be forbearing and polite to each other; not to scramble for trophies but to give one another active support. The policy of winning over enemy officers and men and the treatment of the prisoners of war must be correct. All enemy officers and men who revolt and cross over, or who lay down their arms and wish to take part in fighting

the common enemy, are welcome and given appropriate education. It is forbidden to kill, maltreat or insult prisoners of war. As a result of strict integration of revolutionary political work with revolutionary military work in the army, the people's army has become an army that thoroughly defends the people's interests and is invincible.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us that it is of special importance to strengthen the Party leadership in the PLA and make the Party the core of the whole leadership and unity of the troops.

In the early period of building up the army, the Party set up its organisations at all levels in the army. A Party branch was set up in each company. Under the unified leadership of the Party, the military, political and rear service organisations were established and the Party's leadership in the army was consolidated.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung constantly instructed us that the proletarian ideological education of Marxism-Leninism must be ceaselessly improved in the army, as the starting point of all its work, in order to consolidate and heighten the Party's leading role. As most of our army was founded on the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, these constituted its main force in the revolutionary wars. But coming from the petty bourgeois class, they retained in their minds narrowness, conservatism, selfishness, self-indulgence and other weaknesses when they first joined the army. If such non-proletarian ideology were not eliminated, it would seriously hamper the carrying out of the Party's line and policies. Therefore, as early as 1929, at the Kutien Conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung sternly opposed warlordism and the various other petty bourgeois ideological deviations then existing in the Red Army. During the Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War, the army under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung carried out the great ideological remoulding movement directed against subjectivism, sectarianism, liberalism, lack of organisational principle, lack of discipline and other forms of non-proletarian ideology. Thus, the ideological and the political level of the troops was greatly raised, the solidarity and unity within the army was consolidated as never before, and the links with the masses became closer than ever, thus ensuring the completion of the great historical tasks.

The Party in the army, therefore, must strengthen the collective leadership of the Party committees at all levels and develop its main role as the nucleus of leadership and unity in the army. It must pay constant attention to ideological progress in the army, carry on education in Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution both inside and outside the Party, develop the method of integrating theory with practice, of building close links with the masses and of self-criticism, and eliminate non-proletarian ways of thought. Only in this way can the standard of military, political and rear service work be raised and unity in both thought and action of the armed forces be guaranteed.

With the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, the PLA, in the face of a powerful enemy, was able to attack skilfully and retreat skilfully in order to make gains and achieve victory; it was able to build itself into a highly disciplined and powerful army, with noble ideals,

possessing complete and excellent principles for building the army, and of strategy and tactics; it was able to build up a fine fighting style, a glorious tradition of hard struggle and its unique revolutionary heroism; it was able to rely closely on the people and become the backbone of the people's war and the decisive force ensuring victory in the Chinese revolution.

The victory of the PLA and the victory of the people's revolutionary war signify the victory of the great military theories of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The brilliant art of war as evolved by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a precious part of Marxist-Leninist military theory. The people throughout the country will draw inexhaustible wisdom and strength from the treasury of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's military theory.

#### IV

For 24 years, under the leadership of the Party and our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the people's forces have heroically and unflinchingly been in the forefront of the struggle in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. Many fine members of the Communist Party have shed their last drop of blood for the people. The victory of the great Chinese people's revolution has at least been won. A heroic army has been created and built up, which is loved by the people throughout China and the world. The glory belongs to the Party and to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It belongs to the people throughout China and the world and also to every commander and fighter, and every Communist Party member in the PLA.

Today, China's revolution has entered a new era. The PLA has shouldered new, great historic tasks, namely: resolute opposition to imperialist aggression, the safeguarding of the national defences of the people's Motherland, the defence of peace in the East and throughout the world, the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship within the country, maintenance of public security and safeguarding of all construction, so as to usher in the great period of people's democratic construction and strive towards the splendid future of Socialism. In these conditions, the building of the PLA has also entered a new era, that of building itself up on its present foundations into a powerful, modernised and regular national defence army.

In celebrating the Party's 30th anniversary, all Party members in the PLA should make the Party's leadership in the army even stronger, study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution conscientiously and firmly apply Chairman Mao Tse-tung's principles of army building. They should develop to the maximum our fine tradition of army building and study modestly the highly developed military science of the Soviet Union. Every Party member and fighter should be trained not to be arrogant, not to be rash and to strive for progress. He should aim to become a good Communist and a good fighter of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. We are convinced that, under the brilliant leadership of the Party and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and supported by the people throughout the country, we are certain to complete our great, new historical tasks.

Long live the Communist Party of China!  
Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!



# Friendship with China

Dr. Hewlett Johnson

*Dean of Canterbury, International Stalin Peace Prize Laureate*



**Dr. Johnson at the meeting of the World Peace Council, Berlin, February 1951.**

During this twentieth century two supremely significant steps in man's upward progress stand out vividly above all the ebb and flow of minor matters and events. The first was the Russian October Revolution and the second, following logically from it, was the Chinese Revolution. Here the oldest civilisation in the world and the greatest country in the East steps forth in one giant stride from mediaeval backwardness and mediaeval exploitation into the very forefront of progressive nations.

China pursues the line traced out by the Soviet Union with its whole-hearted Socialist economy. Following that line, and taking what happened in the Soviet Union as a standard, it is safe to say that within a decade, perhaps less, the centuries of China's misery and hopeless poverty will give place to an era of unparalleled progress and abundance. China can benefit by Russia's experiments, also by Russia's powerful aid.

Already, famine, China's perennial and age-long plague, has yielded to the attacks of good farming, improved transport, better organisation and abolition of squeeze. Within one year of the victory of the Revolution, and despite the desolation of the fighting with the warlords, the eight-year invasion by the Japanese and the war launched by Chiang Kai-shek against the people, the threatened famine of 1949 was averted and now China holds out a helping hand to her great famine-stricken Eastern neighbour, India; over half a million tons of Chinese grain have been despatched to that country. What statesman, or what sane person could have imagined so vast a change in so short a time!

Britain, bound by close ties to China for a century, no small part of her wealth and strength com-

ing from China—alas, from the exploitation of China from the years of the opium wars and onwards—has great present-day interests still in China, huge capital investments and extensive trade. If we consider the size of China, the immensity of its mainly agricultural population, its trade possibilities and if we remember the smallness of our own island with its overcrowded industrial population, we see how dependent we are upon mutually beneficial connections with China. The recognition of this interdependence is essential to our future well-being.

The British Government realised these facts and acted on this necessity when it recognised the new Chinese Government. The popular demand for this recognition showed itself in the formation of the China-Britain Friendship Association and the various, and growingly numerous, "Hands Off China" Committees.

This friendship is no new thing. It would be hard to name any major country for whom the mass of the British people entertain warmer feelings than for China. Her art, her ancient culture, her kindly, friendly people win universal praise. Few merchants returning to England but speak highly of the fair dealing Chinese trader, whose word is as good as his bond. Our porcelain, our furniture, our fabrics, as well as from earlier times our paper, printing and gunpowder all bear the marks of Chinese influence....

The Chinese are a proud, patient, industrious and intelligent people. And China's people are ready for a renewal of friendship with us. They would be ready to forgive and forget the past. We need their friendship and they need ours. Friendship now would lay the foundations of future prosperity for both nations, as well as make reparation for the past. Good business and good ethics go hand in hand. We need China's goodwill and she needs ours. We need her good ideas and she needs ours. Each can make a powerful contribution to the world's development but only if we meet as equals. The mass of the British people and, I believe, the British Government would welcome this. But alas we are no longer free agents.

Britain is being dragged step by step by the U.S.A. from hostility to hostility. We approach the brink of war with China. This, while being a blow at China, would be disastrous for Great Britain. In recognition of this and to avoid the crime and penalty of such a war numerous meetings are being held in Great Britain demanding a truce in Korea.

And what we do here finds its echo across the Atlantic. Despite U.S.A. propaganda, despite those who would sell out to the U.S.A., the forces of peace grow ever more strongly in this land and elsewhere. The real peril lies in the fact that the virus of im-

perialism has crossed from us to capitalistic U.S.A., the last stronghold of monopoly big business and capitalist degeneration.

Capitalism in decay is ferocious, willing in its blindness to pull down the pillar on which its own safety depends. America of the warmongers and the monopolists still seeks to push back the hands of time and reverse the vast changes that China's people have wrought; it seeks to overthrow the People's Republic and prop up the corrupt puppet Chiang Kai-shek on his former throne.

But history has spoken. The hand of time is subject to no reversal. The forces released by the people's democracy in China cannot be overthrown. I know enough of China to realise this. I am not without personal knowledge of China and the Chinese. I have travelled north, south, east and west in China, even into Inner Mongolia in the north and to Tibet in the west. I am well acquainted with the potentialities of the land and its agriculture, its minerals, its varied climate, its rich soils. Well acquainted too with the quality of its people, their industry, their skill, their honesty, their trustworthiness, their humanity.

I have also observed—who could help it?—their need for us and our need for them. Could needs be more complementary? China needs machinery, heavy and light, and will need them for years to come. We can supply them. We need China's rice, cotton, silks, hides, bristles, tung oil for paints and food of all kinds, processed or semi-processed.

We need China's culture, a culture already high and distinguished when we were painted savages. Britain, at this moment, as part of her great Festival, is showing, as one of our esteemed treasures, a special exposition of our Tang Dynasty possessions. Deep in my memory are the splendours of that dynasty as I saw its marks in Sian and elsewhere. But how difficult was the transport from place to place when I saw it!

China is changing rapidly. Roads, railways, machines, heavy and light, machines for the factories—to supplement, I hope, not to replace, China's magnificent handicraftsmanship—and machines for the land, to replace the mattock and the stone ram,—bulldozers and concrete mixers for land clearance and road construction, and steamers which can do in a day what the hand-drawn river boats take weeks to do. In all these things that China is building and doing, we too could help.

China's rivers can be harnessed for transport. More important still, they can be harnessed for power and irrigation. What mighty potential power lies locked up in the rapids of the Yangtse alone! And what work here for our electrical engineering skill!

China needs electrical generating plants, China needs cotton goods and textile machinery. Must Lancashire factories and mills stand idle while China's trade departs to other channels, never to return; and while prices rise and unemployment mounts and all because Britain follows the insane lead of American imperialism?

Can we not learn from the bitter experience of past years? After the Revolution of 1917 we set out to do to Russia precisely what the American Assistant Secretary of State Rusk urges us to do today when he bids us "destroy China" and "smash Communism"—blunt, unguarded words which came as a salutary shock to many in Britain, who had thought it was for the freedom of oppressed Koreans that the United Nations troops were asked to reinforce the U.S.A. attacks. Now we know that behind that excuse were hidden far laid plans to smash China. As futile the "smash Russia" plans after World War I! If we pursue the U.S.A. policy we shall not destroy China. We shall incur the hostility of all Asia. We shall destroy ourselves. Is it to be that? Is it not rather to be a bright future for us and China?

If so, we must forsake the U.S.A. lead or redirect it. We must withdraw the British representative who is still maintained in Taiwan. We must vote for the admission of Chinese delegates to the U.N. Council and committees. We must back any feasible peace proposals from any source. We must remove the embargo on Chinese trade. We must reverse the passport policy which refuses admission to a leader of a Chinese delegation for friendship and grants one to an Ex-Minister of Education in the Chiang Kai-shek Government. Here are some steps. And there are many more.

One thing is sure. The victorious Chinese Revolution has come to stay as the Russian Revolution of 1917 came to stay.

Another thing is sure. The great World Island, the Heartland of which Sir Holford Mackinder spoke during World War I, that great tract of land which, being possessed of illimitable manpower and unlimited supplies of raw material and fighting on interior lines, was invulnerable to attack—is a hundredfold invulnerable now. United in a common purpose with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, that reinforced world island, stretching from Prague to Peking and mustering some 800 million souls, stands foursquare against all attack. And behind it stands the sympathy and will of hundreds of millions more in other lands.

Shall Britain smash herself and endanger all that is precious in her splendid civilisation in the vain attempt to crush herself against this great and new and beneficent world force? Millions in my country say, "No!"



Peace doves.

An ink drawing by Yu Fei-an

# The Just Struggle of the Iranian People

Saifudin

*The press of New China carried on July 8, 1951 the following statement by Saifudin, noted Moslem leader and Chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic League, on the present events in Iran.*

The Iranian people, fighting to nationalise their oil industry, are in the midst of a heroic struggle for their national independence and sovereignty. We extend our deep sympathy to the Iranian people in this just struggle of theirs.

The Iranian people's demand for the nationalisation of the oil industry is perfectly reasonable and just. It is essential for the achievement of national independence. For many long years, British imperialism has been using the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to control the economy and politics of Iran. This is the main cause of the extreme pauperisation of the Iranian people. Over several decades, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has sucked wealth amounting to at least four to five billion U.S. dollars from Iran. Iranian oil workers of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are treated inhumanly. They work 12 to 16 hours a day for a wage of one to three *toman* (Iranian currency), which is hardly sufficient for a semi-starvation subsistence. At present, there are over a million unemployed Iranians. These are calamities brought about by British imperialist economic exploitation.

The Iranian people certainly cannot endure such conditions passively. They are firmly opposed to this ruthless colonial policy of British imperialism in Iran. Their struggle against British exploitation and for oil nationalisation has gained momentum since March of this year, and precisely because it was the demand of the broad masses of the people, the Majlis and the Government of Iran passed legislation nationalising the oil industry at the end of last April.

Since the oil nationalisation act was passed, British imperialism has used devious, contemptible and shameless threats as well as persuasion with a view to maintaining its aggressive interests in Iran. It even threatened armed intervention to suppress the Iranian people's just action. The U.S. Government has openly helped the British Government in its attempts to threaten and bait the Government of Iran into abandoning the Oil Nationalisation Act. But at the same time, the U.S. Government is secretly trying to take advantage of the situation to get control over Iran's oil. These disgusting acts of intervention on the part of the British and American imperialists once again reveal to the Iranian people and to people throughout the world the ugly, aggressive face of British and American imperialism. The Iranian people have not been scared by imperialist threats.

By bold demonstrations of tens of thousands of people and by large-scale strike action, they have dealt counter-blows to the imperialist attacks. The Government of Iran vacillated and wavered for a time but urged on by the masses of the people, on June 20 it finally decided on the immediate enforcement of the Oil Nationalisation Act and announced the dissolution of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

However, the British and American imperialists have not as yet abandoned their intervention policy. They are still actively pursuing their plans to undermine Iran's Oil Nationalisation Act. On June 21, Herbert Morrison, British Foreign Minister, speaking in the House of Commons, openly discussed in threatening tones the military action that might possibly be taken. Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, also issued a statement in Washington on June 27 calling upon the Government of Iran to "reconsider its present actions." Under the manipulation of the British and American imperialists, the International Court of Justice is also actively intervening against Iran's oil nationalisation, in an attempt to forbid the Government of Iran to take over the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company before it renders a "decision" on the question. These facts prove that imperialism will not tolerate the Iranian people carrying out their nationalisation act smoothly. For this reason, the Iranian people must make strenuous efforts to achieve their objective of oil nationalisation. We believe that the Iranian people will unanimously unite and guard against the imperialist intrigues and treachery and the danger of compromise, and will persist to the end in their patriotic struggle.

The Iranian people's struggle has the support of all progressive people throughout the world. The sympathy of all the people of Asia and the Moslem masses is with the Iranian people. At the present time, the aggressive policy of the American and British imperialists has met with the heroic counter-attack in Korea. The struggle of the peoples throughout the world for peace and democracy is steadily rising to full strength. The international situation is favourable to the Iranian people in their fight for national independence and oil nationalisation. We, the Chinese people and the millions of Moslems of China, fully support the Iranian people's just struggle and oppose the unwarranted intervention of the imperialists. We consider that the Iranian people absolutely have the right to settle their own internal problems which involve the life of their own country.

# Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China

## II—The Second Revolutionary Civil War

Hu Chiao-mu

*Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of China*

In 1927, during the rapidly developing revolution, the young Communist Party of China was assailed by powerful enemies both from within and outside the ranks of the revolution. The Party failed to resist these assaults in a proper way because of errors committed by its leading organisations and, as a result, suffered extremely serious blows. The Party tried to save the revolution from defeat. On August 1, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Yeh Ting, Ho Lung and other comrades led over 30,000 troops of the Northern Expeditionary Army, who were under the influence of the Party, in an armed uprising at Nanchang, Kiangsi Province. But instead of joining with the peasant movement in Kiangsi they marched southward to Kwangtung Province. Later, though they preserved a small part of their strength, the major part was defeated in battles against the enemy in the eastern part of Kwangtung Province. After that, the situation pointed to the inevitable defeat of the revolution. From April 12, when Chiang Kai-shek began his massacre, until after the defeat of the revolution, many brilliant leaders of the Party and many revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals were savagely slaughtered throughout the country. The whole country was suddenly plunged into darkness. Not only the national bourgeoisie, but many of the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie deserted the revolution. Many intellectuals of petty bourgeois origin, who had joined the Party but who lacked resolution, announced their withdrawal from the Party. But the heroic Communist Party and the revolutionary people of China, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his *Coalition Government*, "were not frightened, not conquered, and not annihilated. They stood up again, wiped off the bloodstains, buried their fallen comrades, and went on fighting."

Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, the betrayers of the revolution, did not and could not solve any of the problems that gave rise to the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, China's national crisis was aggravated by Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT who were even more thoroughly dependent upon imperialism and suppressed the revolutionary people even more ruthlessly than the previous reactionary rulers. The imperialists made certain formal concessions to Chiang Kai-shek (such as giving up the right of consular jurisdiction and conventional customs tariffs), for they knew it made no difference whether these rights were vested in Chiang Kai-shek or retained by themselves. But in reality, their aggression penetrated ever deeper into China. Especially conspicuous was the ascendancy of American imperialist economic and political influence in China.

Manipulated as in the past by imperialism and feudalism, the new warlords of the KMT engaged

in unceasing internecine wars with each other. Workers and peasants were subjected to heavier exploitation and oppression than before. Especially in the cities, KMT rule was even more brutal than that of the old-style warlords. After his betrayal of the revolution, Chiang Kai-shek no longer represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie, but the interests of imperialism, feudalism and the comprador-bourgeoisie. Chiang Kai-shek developed what was later termed bureaucratic capitalism—comprador, feudal, military, monopoly capitalism. Consequently, the national bourgeoisie suffered greater oppression under Chiang Kai-shek's rule than before. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in summing up the situation at that time stated, in 1928:

"The workers, peasants, the common people throughout the country and even the bourgeoisie still remain under the counter-revolutionary rule without being liberated at all politically or economically." (*Why It Is Possible for China's Red State Power to Exist*)

Herein lies the fundamental reason why Japanese imperialism dared to launch large-scale military offensives against China in 1931 and 1937.

Although the rule of Chiang Kai-shek was more brutal than the previous warlord rule, it had its weaknesses, which fundamentally were its separation from the people and its internal conflicts. Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary state apparatus was strengthened in order to suppress the people. But, its main force could be put only in the cities. As a result, it was not easy for the people in the cities to resume or develop their struggles rapidly. However, it was impossible for Chiang Kai-shek to establish a powerful reactionary rule everywhere over the extremely vast rural districts throughout the country. The continuous wars waged among the various factions of the KMT warlords added to Chiang Kai-shek's difficulties in this respect. Especially in the rural districts which had been influenced by the revolution, the peasants urgently wanted land and had experience in organising themselves to fight the landlord class. This was favourable to the revolution and unfavourable to the counter-revolution. If the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War resulted from the failure to lead the peasants correctly to solve the agrarian problem, then the hope of reviving the revolutionary movement lay precisely in correctly leading the peasants' struggle for land in the new conditions.

In the situation where the revolution had been defeated and Chiang Kai-shek had established his out-and-out reactionary rule, the task of the Party was to make clear to the people the necessity of continuing the revolutionary struggle, and to lead them along the correct path of reviving that struggle.

To do so, the Party had to sum up the experiences of the First Revolutionary Civil War, correct the mistakes of the Party's leadership, and quickly assemble the revolutionary forces in order to organise an orderly retreat and defence in face of the enemy's offensive. In effect, it was necessary: for some of the Party's organisations to move to the rural districts where the counter-revolutionary forces were relatively weak and where the revolution was relatively well entrenched in order to lead the peasants in carrying out agrarian reform and guerilla warfare; for another part of the Party's organisations to remain in the cities, go underground, and carry on work under cover in order to preserve the cadres and Party organisations and preserve and build up the revolutionary forces of the masses; and after this, for these two contingents to co-ordinate their struggles and taking advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions and weaknesses, fight for the revival of the revolutionary movement.

Immediately after the KMT at Wuhan turned against the Communist Party in July 1927, the Party called an emergency conference on August 7. This conference thoroughly rectified Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism and removed him from leadership. Chen Tu-hsiu's mistakes were again examined in greater detail at the Sixth Party Congress in July 1928. Chen Tu-hsiu did not admit his mistakes. He and his supporters stated at that time that, with the victory of the bourgeoisie, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution was ended, that the bourgeoisie had already established and would consolidate its rule, and that the Chinese proletariat should give up the revolutionary struggle, turn to legal activities and wait for a Socialist revolution to be launched in the future. Since then, Chen Tu-hsiu and his supporters took the counter-revolutionary path of collaborating with the Trotskyites in carrying on anti-Party activities. Therefore, the Party expelled them in 1929.

In order to save the revolution the Party at its August 7th Conference (1927) issued a call to the peasants to launch autumn harvest uprisings. After the conference Comrade Mao Tse-tung went to various places in the west of Kiangsi Province and the east of Hunan Province where he led a part of the peasants, workers and troops of the Northern Expeditionary Army in carrying out uprisings, founded the workers' and peasants' revolutionary army at the border of Hunan and Kiangsi Provinces and fought against the enemy.

In addition, from the autumn and winter of 1927 to the spring of 1928, the Party organised armed uprisings in eastern Hupeh, in eastern and southern Hunan, in the city of Canton, in eastern Kwangtung, on Hainan Island, in western Kwangsi and in other places. The uprisings in southern Hunan were headed by Comrades Chu Teh, Chen Yi, Lin Piao and others, who led some of the troops that had participated in the Nanchang Uprising and were preserved after the defeat in Kwangtung, into southern Hunan. Soon after, they took their troops, together with the peasant army that was formed in the course of the uprisings, to join forces with the troops under Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Part of the armed forces which were created in the course of the uprisings in other places was also maintained intact.

In those places where these armed forces were correctly led, the revolutionary armed struggle developed. After this the Second Revolutionary Civil War began. These troops were the embryo of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the present-day Chinese People's Liberation Army.



But in the situation where the revolution had been defeated, what was required of the Party organisations as a whole was to conduct an appropriate retreat instead of continuing the offensive. For the time being local armed struggles could constitute nothing but a special form of defence. As a result of incorrectly appraising the situation at the time as though the revolution were still on the ascendant, and by refusing to admit that the revolution had failed, the Party, from the winter of 1927 to the spring of 1928, under the leadership of Comrade Chu Chiu-pai, fell into "Left" putschism, opposed retreat and wanted to continue the offensive, thus continuously causing no small losses to the remaining revolutionary forces.

The Sixth Party Congress, held in July 1928, liquidated Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism and at the same time criticised the error of "Left" putschism. This Congress re-affirmed that the Chinese revolution was a democratic revolution in character and that the general task was to establish a workers' and peasants' anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic dictatorship. The Congress also worked out the various aspects of the programme for the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship. The Congress put forward the task of founding a Red Army, establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and carrying out land distribution. The Congress pointed out that the revolutionary upsurge was bound to come, but that the political situation then was one between two revolutionary upsurges; therefore the general task of the Party at that time was not to take the offensive or organise uprisings everywhere, but rather to win over the masses. These were the accomplishments of the Sixth Party Congress. The shortcomings of this Congress were: it lacked a correct appraisal of the protracted nature of the democratic revolution, the role of the intermediate classes and the contradictions within the reactionary forces; nor did it correctly understand that tactically the Party should conduct a retreat, and especially that the key question was the necessity of shifting the centre of the Party's activity from the cities, where the enemy was comparatively strong, to the rural districts, where the enemy was comparatively weak. The leadership of the Party was still in the hands of the "Left" elements. These shortcomings of the Sixth Party Congress militated against the thorough rectification of the "Left" deviations in the Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung was not present at the Sixth Congress. The congress elected him to the Central Committee of the Party.

The problems that had not been correctly solved by the Sixth Congress were solved later by Com-

rade Mao Tse-tung both in practice and in theory. In October 1927, Comrade Mao Tse-tung led a contingent of the newly founded workers' and peasants' revolutionary army in a withdrawal to the Chinggang Mountain area, on the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan Provinces, established there the Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Workers' and Peasants' Government, repulsed repeated attacks by the enemy and started to lead the peasants in distributing the land.

After the troops under Comrades Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai one after the other joined forces with the troops under Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary bases with the Chinggang Mountain as their centre, gradually expanded. During this period, peasant guerilla warfare and the struggles for the land under the leadership of the Party also developed in Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangsi and other provinces. Several contingents of the Red Army and several revolutionary bases were founded one after another. In 1929, the Red Army, led by Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, advanced to the south of Kiangsi and the west of Fukien Province, and founded the Central Revolutionary Bases with Juichin, in Kiangsi, as their centre.

The revolutionary bases first founded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the winter of 1927 and the revolutionary war led by him, as well as the revolutionary bases and the revolutionary wars founded and led elsewhere by other comrades, became the main content of the Chinese revolutionary struggle in the new period. They constituted the main factor in the nation's political life, presented the greatest threat to Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule and represented the greatest hope of the labouring people throughout the country.

Why were the development of Red Army warfare and the creation of rural revolutionary bases possible? Why were they the main content of the Chinese revolutionary struggle then? The theoretical answers to these questions were given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his two articles: *Why It Is Possible For China's Red State Power To Exist* written in October 1928, and *A Single Spark Will Kindle A Flame* written in January 1930. In the first article, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that there were five main conditions which made the existence of Red State Power possible at that time:

- (1) China's localised agricultural economy together with the imperialists' policy of carving up and exploiting China by dividing the country up among themselves into spheres of influence created gaps in the reactionary rule, of which advantage could be taken by the revolutionary forces.
- (2) The influence of the First Revolutionary Civil War still remained among the people in vast areas of the country.
- (3) The revolutionary situation throughout the country continued to develop.
- (4) There existed the Red Army to support the Red State Power.
- (5) There existed the Communist Party, whose organisation was powerful and whose policy was correct, to guide the Red State Power.

In the second article, Comrade Mao Tse-tung appraised in detail the significance of the war waged by the Chinese Red Army. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that Red Army warfare and the revolu-

tionary bases were "the highest as well as the necessary form which peasant struggles in a semi-colony must adopt," and were "important factors in accelerating the forthcoming nation-wide revolutionary upsurge." Comrade Mao Tse-tung was of the opinion that the war waged by the Red Army, the agrarian revolution and the building up of revolutionary state power should be developed to the maximum extent. "Only by so doing can we win the confidence and respect of the revolutionary masses throughout the country as the Soviet Union has done throughout the world. Only by so doing can we create great difficulties for the ruling classes, shake their foundations and accelerate their disintegration. And only by so doing can we really create a Red Army that will be one of the important instruments in the forthcoming great revolution. In short, only thus can we accelerate the oncoming revolutionary tide." Thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung discovered the only correct law of the development of the Chinese revolution in the situation where the Chinese revolution had been defeated in the cities by powerful enemies and where for the time being there was no way to win victory in the cities. This law was to encircle and subsequently to seize the cities occupied by the counter-revolution, by means of armed, revolutionary rural districts. The development of the Chinese revolution in the ensuing 20 years fully bore out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's foresight.



In this period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only mapped out for the Party the general course of development of the revolution in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, but also made important creative contributions in various aspects of concrete policies, such as policies regarding the agrarian revolution, the intermediate classes, mili-

tary strategy and tactics to defeat superior enemy forces, work among the troops and the work of building the Party in the rural districts and under war conditions. In view of the facts that the poor peasants and the farm labourers were the most revolutionary forces in the rural districts, that the middle peasants were an important force which firmly supported the revolution, that in the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the rich peasant economy still needed to be preserved and medium and small scale industry and commerce needed to be protected and developed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly laid down and resolutely followed the line in the agrarian revolution of relying upon the poor peasants and farm labourers, uniting with the middle peasants, protecting the rich peasants and the medium and small industrialists and businessmen and liquidating only the landlord class. Since war was the main form of struggle and the army was the main form of organisation in the Chinese revolution, and since the characteristic of the revolutionary war at that time was that the enemy was strong while we were weak, the enemy was big while we were small, and that the enemy was divorced from

the masses while we were closely united with the masses, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly laid down such basic principles as that the Red Army must be propagandists and organisers in the work of the Party, of the people's state power, of the agrarian reform and of all other local work; the Red Army must develop strong political work and strict mass discipline among its rank and file; the war waged by the Red Army must be a people's war relying on the masses with guerilla warfare or mobile warfare having the character of guerilla warfare as its main form of fighting at that time; strategically it must carry on a protracted war but tactically it must fight battles of quick decision; it must at ordinary times send troops to mobilise the masses and at the time of battle concentrate superior forces to encircle and annihilate the enemy. All these basic principles and certain other military principles constitute the military line of the Chinese revolutionary war. In view of all this, it can be said that the work Comrade Mao Tse-tung did in this difficult period of the Chinese revolution laid the main foundations for leading the Chinese revolution towards victory.

In 1930, the Red Army throughout the country grew to about 60,000 men, of whom over 30,000 were in the Central Area in Kiangsi Province. In 1930 and a little later, revolutionary bases were extended to Fukien, Anhwei, Honan, Shensi, Kansu and other provinces as well as to Hainan Island, Kwangtung Province. The rapid development of the Red Army caused a very great shock to Chiang Kai-shek. Towards the end of 1930, Chiang Kai-shek sent seven divisions, totalling about 100,000 men, in an encirclement campaign against the Red Army in the Central Area with the result that one and a half divisions were wiped out by the Red Army and Chiang Kai-shek's field commander was captured. In February 1931, Chiang Kai-shek sent 200,000 men, with Ho Ying-chin as commander, in a second encirclement campaign against the Red Army in the Central Area. It was again crushed. Over 30,000 men and over 20,000 small arms were captured by the Red Army. In July of the same year, Chiang Kai-shek started the third campaign. Himself commanding and accompanied by British, Japanese and German military advisers, he led 300,000 men, penetrated from three directions deep into the bases of the Red Army in the Central Area. But again the attack was crushed. At the same time, many important victories were won by the Army led by Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien which was first stationed at the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Base and later shifted to the Northern Szechuan Base, and by the Red Army of the Western-Hunan and Western Hupeh Bases led by Comrade Ho Lung.

Influenced by the victories of the Red Army, over 10,000 troops of the KMT 26th Route Army which was sent to attack the Red Army mutinied at Ningtu, Kiangsi Province, in December 1931 under the leadership of Comrades Chao Po-sheng, Tung Chen-tang and others and joined the Red Army. Through such victories, the strength of the Red Army continued to grow, and a new revolutionary situation thus gradually approached fruition.

It was just at this time, that the large-scale invasion of Northeast China was started by Japanese

imperialism on September 18, 1931. The Japanese imperialists, who had been determined to invade China ever since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, saw that following the economic crisis which had struck the capitalist world by the end of 1929, Britain, the United States and other countries were much too preoccupied with their domestic affairs to compete with Japan in the seizure of China. They also saw that Chiang Kai-shek's government had completely capitulated to the imperialists, relying on the help of the British and American imperialists to wage civil war among the counter-revolutionaries themselves, and the civil war against the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, and dared not resist the Japanese invasion of China.

The Japanese imperialists decided to start by invading the Northeast and then gradually to expand their aggression to embrace the whole of China. Because the Chiang Kai-shek government persisted in carrying out its policy of offering no resistance to Japan, stepping up the "suppression of Communists" and intensifying the fascist terror, the Japanese quickly occupied the whole of the Northeast in 1931. In January 1932, they invaded Shanghai. In 1933, they occupied Jehol and the northern part of Chahar. In 1933, they occupied the eastern part of Hopei.

The Japanese imperialist invasion brought about a fundamental change in the political situation in China. To resist Japanese invasion became the urgent task and the universal demand of the whole Chinese people. Movements conducted by workers, peasants and students against Japanese imperialism gained momentum in all parts of the country. The upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, which withdrew from the revolution in 1927, now changed their political attitude, began to be politically active and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek's government change its policy. Political disintegration began, even in the ranks of the KMT and the KMT troops. In January 1932, the KMT 19th Route Army, under the influence of the anti-Japanese movement of the Shanghai people, heroically resisted the Japanese troops invading Shanghai. In November 1933 the leaders of this army, together with other KMT members, founded a people's government in Fukien Province which opposed Chiang Kai-shek and sought to unite with the Communists. In May 1933 Feng Yu-hsiang in co-operation with the Communists, organised the Anti-Japanese People's Allied Army at Kalgan, Chahar Province.

After the Japanese invaders attacked China, the Chinese Communist Party was the first to call for armed resistance. It also led or took an active part in the nation-wide people's anti-Japanese movement and the anti-Japanese guerilla war waged by the people of the Northeast. In January 1933, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army declared that, on the three conditions of ceasing the attacks on the Red Army, safeguarding the people's democratic rights and arming the masses, the Red Army was willing to stop fighting and make peace with all other troops in the country for the purpose of jointly resisting Japanese aggression. But in spite of this, the leadership of the Party, between 1931

and 1934 committed new, serious "Left" mistakes. As a result, the revolution not only failed to advance in the favourable conditions created by the Red Army's victories and the rising popular struggle against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, but it even suffered new setbacks.

In spite of the lessons of the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War and the various events which ensued, the leading organs of the Party after the Sixth Party Congress were still located in Shanghai—the centre of counter-revolution, and the leadership of the Party still was not focused on Red Army warfare and did not have Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its centre. Imbued with petty bourgeois impetuosity and ignorant of the significance and laws of Red Army warfare, the "Left" opportunists, who held illusions of organising uprisings in cities which were under counter-revolutionary white terror, continued to occupy leading positions in the central organs of the Party. Headed by Comrade Li Li-san, the Central Committee of the Party, from June to October of 1930, demanded that a general uprising be organised in the key cities and a general offensive against key cities be launched by all Red Army forces. This erroneous plan had caused serious losses to the underground organisations of the Party in the KMT-controlled areas, but it did not produce serious effects in the Red Army, where Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the resolute opposition to it. In October 1930, Comrade Li Li-san's mistakes were corrected at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth Party Congress. However, in January 1931, a new "Left" faction headed by Comrades Wang Ming (Chen Shao-yu) and Po Ku (Chin Pang-hsien) and characterised by its doctrinairism, made use of the cloak of Marxist-Leninist "theories" to attack the Third Plenary Session from the "Left." The members of this faction held the view that the chief mistake committed by Comrade Li Li-san, and the chief danger within the Chinese Communist Party at that time, were Right deviations and not "Left" deviations. They charged that the Third Plenary Session "had not done anything to expose and attack the Right-opportunist theory and practice which the Li Li-san line had consistently followed." They finally secured the leading positions in the central organs at the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee elected at the Sixth Party Congress. This new "Left" faction headed by Wang Ming and Po Ku completely denied the important changes which the Japanese invasion had brought about in China's domestic political situation and regarded the various cliques and the middle groups in the KMT as equally counter-revolutionary; therefore they demanded that the Party should wage a life-and-death struggle against all of them without distinction.

As to the question of Red Army warfare, this "Left" group opposed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's ideas of guerilla warfare and mobile warfare and persisted in demanding that the Red Army seize all the key cities. On the question of Party work in the cities in the KMT-controlled areas, they opposed the views of utilising legal forms and accumulating revolutionary strength, as firmly held by Comrade Liu Shao-chi and continued to carry out the adventurist policies which isolated them from the majority

of the masses. Under this erroneous leadership, almost all Party organisations in the KMT-controlled areas were destroyed. The provisional Central leading organs formed by the "Left" elements were moved to the Central Red Army bases in 1933. The provisional Central leading organs, following their arrival in the Red Army bases, joined up with the Central Committee members, such as Comrade Mao Tse-tung and others who had been working in the Red Army and the revolutionary bases, and later became the formally established official Central leading organs. But Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership, especially his leadership of the Red Army was thrust aside, and thus the revival of the revolution demonstrated by the victories of the Red Army and the upsurge of the mass movement in the KMT-controlled areas was undermined.

From June 1932 to February 1933, Chiang Kai-shek, immediately after selling out the War of Resistance to Japanese Imperialism in Shanghai, employed 90 divisions totalling 500,000 men in the fourth all-out encirclement campaign against the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's strategy, the Red Army again won great victories in this counter-encirclement campaign. But in October 1933, Chiang Kai-shek unleashed the fifth encirclement campaign against the Red Army, with a force of 1,000,000 men and sent 500,000 troops to attack the Central Red Army. During this campaign, the Red Army failed to smash the enemy's encirclement, owing to the completely wrong military line of remaining solely on the defensive and other wrong policies pursued by the Central leading organs of the Party.

In October 1934, the Central Red Army withdrew from bases in Kiangsi Province and began the Long March which was unparalleled in world history. Meanwhile, other revolutionary bases and Red Army forces throughout the country suffered similar losses at the hands of the "Left" elements. With the exception of the Red Army units led by Comrades Liu Tse-tan, Kao Kang and others in Northern Shensi, the Red Army units in various places withdrew from their original bases one after another and joined the Long March.

During the Long March of the Central Red Army, the Central leading organs of the Party continued to commit military blunders which several times put the Red Army in dangerous predicaments and caused extremely great losses with the enemy blocking the route of advance and pursuing from the rear. In order to save the imperilled Red Army and China's revolutionary cause, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other comrades conducted a resolute struggle and secured the calling of an enlarged conference of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party in January 1935, at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province. With the majority of the comrades conscious of the issues and with their support, the Tsunyi Conference removed the "Left" opportunists from the Party leadership and established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leading position in the Central organs and in the Party as a whole. From that time on, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Revolution have been continuously

(Continued on page 33)





Chairman Mao Tse-tung lectures on the ideological remoulding movement at Yanan, in February 1942.

*Oil painting by Lo Kung-liu*

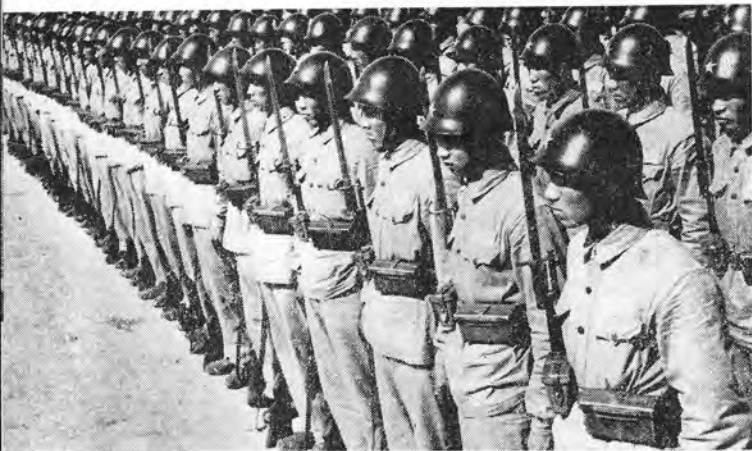
# The PLA

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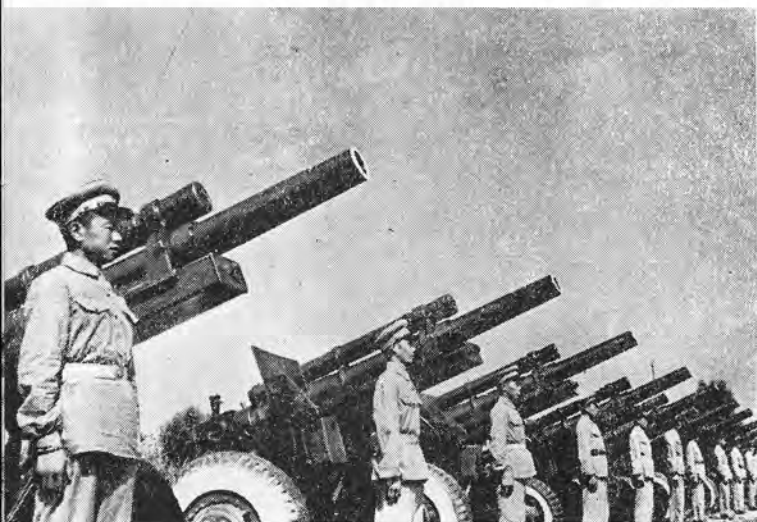
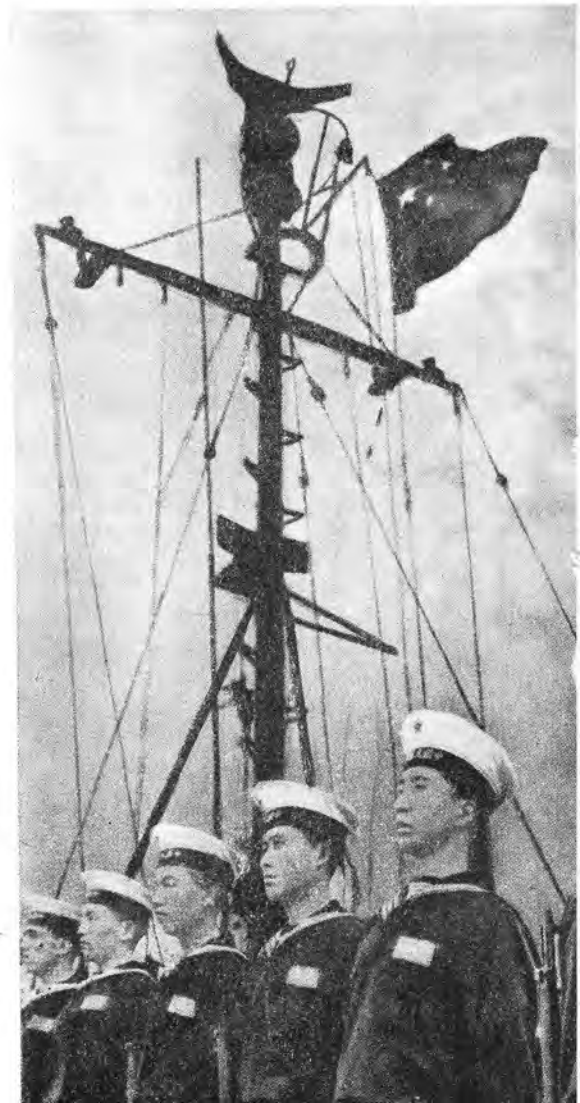


A tank unit of the PLA on review.

Some of the famous PLA Infantry.



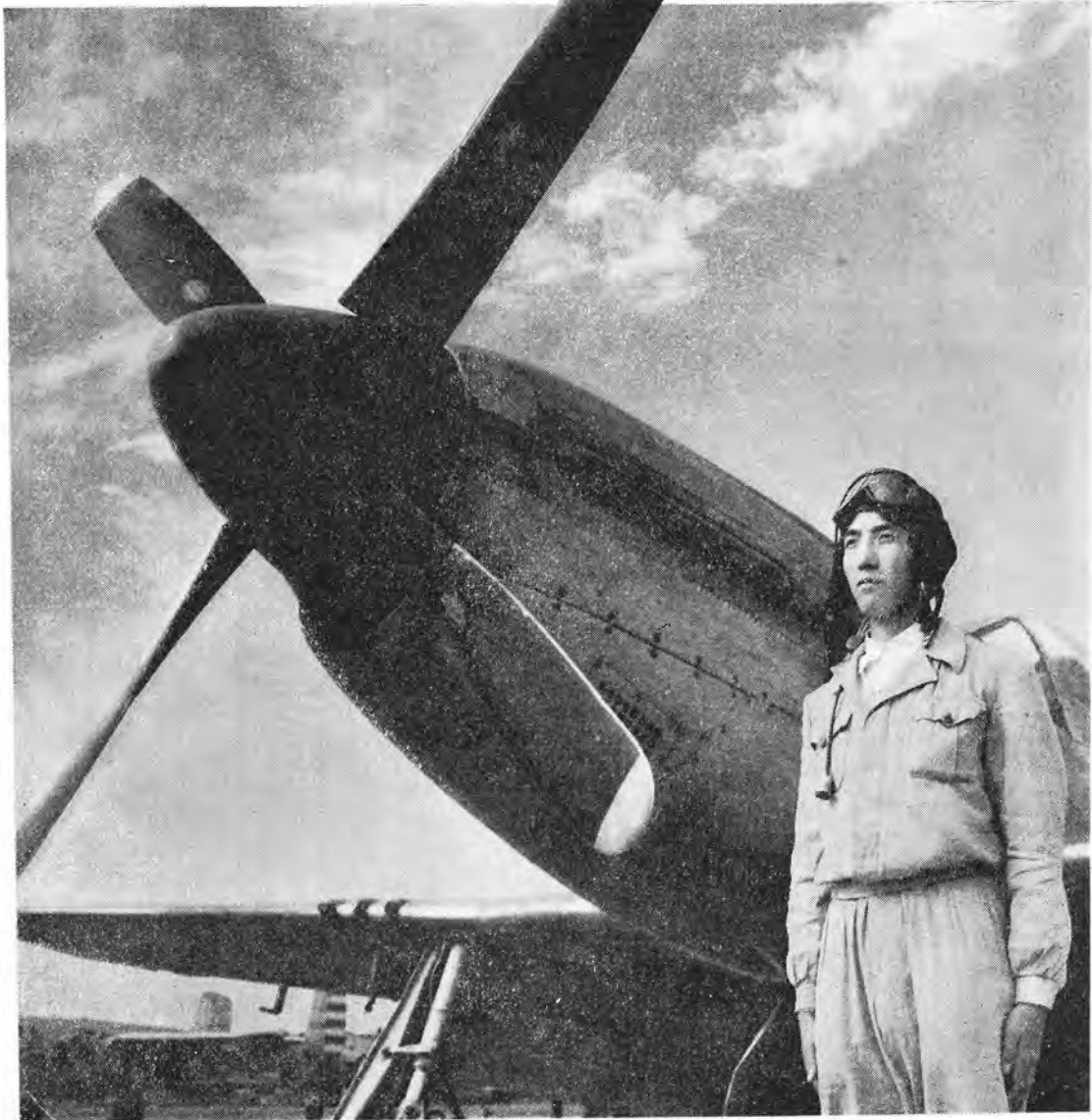
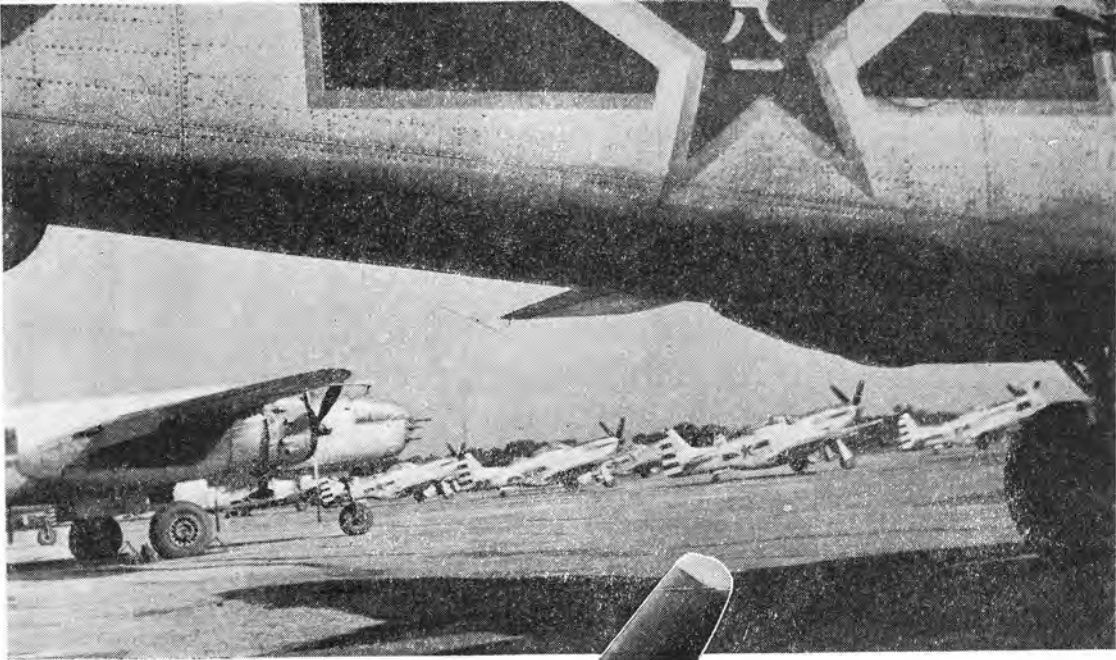
Fighters of the People's Navy.



A howitzer unit on parade.

# Today

by Comrade Mao  
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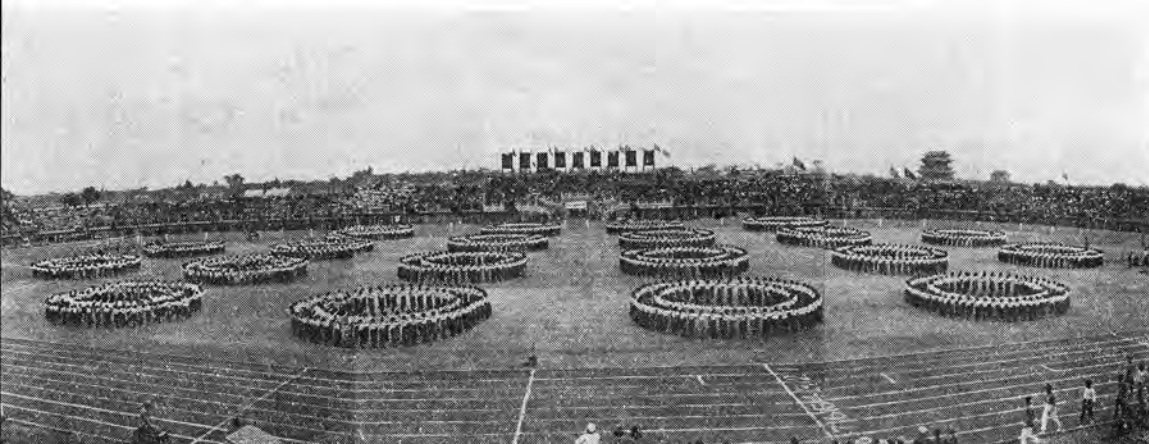
Planes of the People's Air Force.



At the Working People's Palace of Culture, the former imperial ancestral shrine.



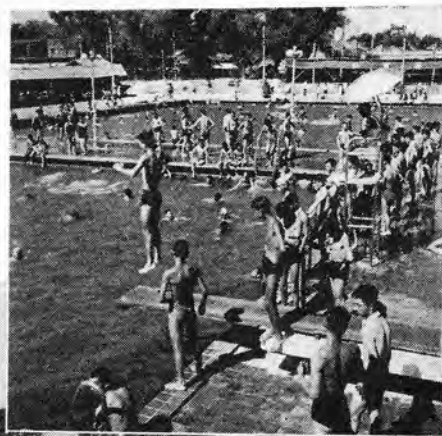
The demand for books is insatiable. Workers at an open-air bookstall.



Girl students performing group gymnastics in a recent Peking athletic meet.

## Peking, Heart of the Nation

Peking, magnificent ancient capital of China, has returned to its rightful owners, its builders—the working people. They have taken over the former imperial palaces and parks. They are making their city a model of people's municipal construction. The old charms of the city have been preserved and enhanced, and new public works have been completed for the welfare of the working people.



One of the many new municipal construction projects—spacious, modern swimming pools built over the former site of a neglected lake.

# New Peking

Jack Chen

Seen from above, from a plane in the middle distance, from the favourite viewpoint of the classical landscapists, set where the Hopei plain meets the Western Hills, Peking lives up to all one's expectations of one of the most historic of China's cities: the crenellated walls within walls with their bastions and gate buildings, the magnificent spacing of the old Forbidden City and the Temple of Heaven, the green clusters and ribands of squares and avenues amid gently tapering roofs. A thin mist heightens the picturesqueness. It rises from the necklace of bright lakes stretching from north to south in a graceful curve through the pleasure gardens of the people.

This essential beauty remains and will be eternally new. But it is by the transformation of its people, a transformation wrought by liberation, that Peking today attracts the eyes of the world—of friends as well as foes.

Old Peking lived with a skeleton in its cupboard. I knew it in the days of its degradation. It was a city of ostentatious wealth and sickening poverty; a servile puppet capital of a warlord clique; a city of slowly crumbling ruins of a mighty past, in which the restaurant parties, the feasts on Peking Duck, the sing-song girls, the boating of the rich on the reed choked lakes was like ghoulish roistering by a grave.

## A Great World Capital

Now its life is a vivid, swiftly moving round of creative activity with all the excitement of the ever-new! The dark shadow has been lifted. The faces of the people wear the look of liberation. It is unforgettable to see them in their joyous hundreds of thousands at the great demonstrations on the Tien An Men Square. Thousands of children throwing their festival bouquets to the stands of the heroes of the liberation war and of labour, covering them with flowers. While from the rostrum, Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his grey cadre's uniform, flanked by Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh—veterans of world shaking battles, historic victories—applaud.

Once the centre of the Eastern world, finally reduced to the status of a provincial town by the KMT, Peking today is again one of the modern world's great capitals, it takes its role naturally and in an unexampled way as the leader of the country, politically, economically, socially and culturally. This seat of the Central People's Government is the scene of great events; great movements spread from here throughout the vast territory of China and have repercussions far beyond, throughout the globe and on into world history.

In contrast to the hectic goings on in Washington, there is a sense of calm and strength in Peking born of confidence in the future. Hardly a month goes by without one of the great national conferences on the New Democracy's industry, agriculture, finance or culture, or of the movement against American aggression and in aid of Korea. In the last 18 months, great international congresses have met here: the International Union of Students, the Asian sections of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Trade Unions, with its 78,000,000 members.

This too is the first port of call for the many fraternal delegations that come to greet the new country. Each one of these events has been like a homecoming in its warmth, the visitors in immense demand by organisations wanting to welcome them.

This is a new role for Peking—the centre of the people's democratic national and international life. It has become the symbol of victory for a billion Asian people in the struggle for liberation.

Once again it is the diplomatic capital of China, with embassies and missions from the fraternal lands, the Socialist Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and from those capitalist and other countries who have accepted the principle of "equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect." The "Legation Quarter" is dead. With its grey, embrasured walls and barracks it was the supreme symbol of foreign imperialist domination of China.

Now its grey wall is being pulled down. Its embassies are interspersed with the national organisations of the new China. Here are the busy headquarters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the China Peace Committee, the Youth League, the people's banks.

The delegates of the people pass through this national centre of the country as through a great heart pulsing with the rich flow of life. They crowd its streets at the magnificent revolutionary holidays and festivals. Representatives of the national minorities from the farthest corners of the land make Peking a concert of diverse yet fraternal tongues.

The whole country looks to Peking for leadership. Here is the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, the supreme organ of the people's state power. Here are the headquarters of the great mass organisations, of the all-China federations of the trade unions, of the women, youth, students, Pioneers, scientists, artists and scores of others.

"From the people and to the people," is the principle of the Communist Party's mass line. Messages, requests, suggestions and proposals come in a constant stream to the capital from every part of the country. They are discussed, analysed and made the basis for decisions of national and international importance. Peking expresses the unparalleled degree of unity that has been achieved in the new China between the people and their government, among the democratic classes and between the various nationalities.

## Trade Booms

The people are preoccupied with the works of peace: manufacture, trade, education, art.... This is a unique aspect of their attitude throughout the war in Korea. Every effort to aid the volunteers has strengthened the peaceful consolidation of the country.

Business booms healthily in the main shopping centres—the Wang-fuchin Street and outside the Chien Men Gate. Never has business

been so good or economic development so steady. Clothes, household goods, small luxuries find a ready sale at cheap prices. With the big state-owned department stores setting the pace for service, the shops are also going to the masses. Co-operative trading is taking a steadily rising share of the market with branches conveniently placed in every big factory and institution.

Peking trade shows all the marks of an expanding economy. Last year, in addition to new state-owned and public enterprises, the number of private industrial factories and workshops increased by 3,629, the number of commercial firms by 715 over 1949. In the first half of this year, another 2,207 new private firms were established.

The character of private trade too has changed. There are big banners outside many shops: "Facing the villages and selling much at low profit rates!" The Juifuhsiang Silk Store is typical. Formerly relying on the luxury trade, exclusive Juifuhsiang, famous as the "Clock Store," never advertised. Now they have sent leaflets to the factories and taken their name to the villages. They converted the luxury textile goods on their shelves into their worth of good sturdy materials. Business leaped. Compared with March 1949, their trade turnover in October and September 1950 was ten times greater. And 40 per cent of their customers were peasants. The big change came after the land reform and the currency stabilisation.

This story of expansion is the same in every useful sphere of industry or trade. Former second-hand booksellers clubbed together, turned their faces to the villages and workers, invested in new mass editions on politics and current affairs and sold out their stocks. Peking will probably never be a great industrial centre, but it has already become the economic capital of the country as the seat of economic planning organisations, the major state trading mart and the financial hub of New China.

#### Cultural Renaissance

Peking has always prided itself on its heritage as a cultural centre. But never before has its cultural life flowed so freely and abundantly. Cultural discussion has broadened out far beyond "intellectual"

circles to include all strata of the people—the workers, the peasants, the people's armymen, the women, formerly considered quite beyond the pale of such discussions—and this extension has given it a new reality, depth and vitality. The talk now is not of the influence of a work of art on some small clique or distant generations, but of the immediate impact of thought and artistic expression on millions now moving forward in unity to complete a mighty revolution and build a new society for nearly a quarter of the human race.

And this discussion is effective because it is informed. Art and culture have gone to the people. Tens of thousands were enabled to enjoy the festival of the dancers and music of the national minorities. A series of great international exhibitions from the Socialist Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other People's Democracies brought fresh currents into the intellectual and artistic life of the capital, and from thence spread through the land. Never has the theatre, the cinema, the dance, literature and art enjoyed such popular acclaim and patronage. The classical Peking opera is on the threshold of a brilliant renaissance of all its unique forms. The urge for knowledge seems insatiable. On every shopping street the newest, most crowded shops are those selling books. The People's Houses of Culture send round their mobile lending libraries and art exhibitions to factories and neighbourhood centres. Study circles are ubiquitous. It is perhaps not surprising that in addition to the schools, universities and special courses, every factory, government department or institution should have its classes for literacy and technical training, but these are found too in the *hutungs* (lanes) embracing whole groups of houses, kindling interests in current events of every significant kind. In the big open air Tungtan Market near the Peking Hotel, when the goods are packed away, you can see the stall-holders, youngsters and once hard-bitten hagglers, take out their books and pencils to study.

The more formal methods of education are of course being steadily expanded. In 1949, over 143,600 children were in primary schools. By 1950 this figure had grown to 171,700 and this year it is 181,200.

And the schools too are improving in equipment and all-round care for the children. New schools are being opened for the masses. Here is the first People's University for the training of new cadres from among the workers and peasants. Peking, like China today, is a great mass school.

It is also the centre of Marxist thought and research in China. With the Marxist-Leninist Academy here and institutes of the Academia Sinica, with primacy in the theatre, with the leading writers of the country and most of the foremost painters, engravers, dancers and musicians congregated here, Peking has established its undisputed leadership in the intellectual and artistic life of the country.

#### Civic Improvement

Peking is civically conscious of its new dignity. It is boldly advancing to new forms of democratic municipal life with its increasingly well-knit organisations of political parties, trade unions, of businessmen, intellectuals...and a system of life built up on collective principles and mutual aid able to mobilise its people effectively for big, concentrated efforts.

Peking is still in process of being transformed into an entirely modernly built city. This is very much as Moscow was some 25 years ago, but the transformation promises to be hardly less swift. Only two years ago a mouldering ruin ruled by warlords, the most abject type of comprador and arrogant U.S. colonialists, it is today a city ruled by its citizens through its elected delegates to the People's Representative Conference of all strata of the population. And the brief activity of its municipal government is the best proof of whose interests it serves.

Peking has become a model of municipal construction. First of China's major cities it has carried through the complete liquidation of prostitution. The streets of former brothels have been turned into centres of co-operatives and workshops for the expansion of Peking's famed handicrafts. This is a measure of Peking's swift, determined energy and humanity.

Hardly less remarkable has been the transformation of the police force that had been corrupted by the KMT. Today the old police, merged with progressive cadres from among the workers and demo-

bilised PLA men, are fully imbued with the idea of service to the people. All the petty crimes and racketeering with which they were associated have been done away with. Reformed themselves, they have prevailed on and helped their former accomplices in the petty underworld of crime to reform. And so Peking today is a city without prostitution, without beggary, without organised crime.

These spectacular reforms have proceeded on a background of steady improvements in public places, with a great programme of public works—the laying of new and the cleaning of old drains, and provision of other amenities mainly in the former slums. Particularly dramatic was the covering of the old eyesore and cesspool—the Dragon Beard Ditch—that polluted a whole neighbourhood.

One of the most notable accomplishments has been the dredging of 1,500,000 cubic metres of silt from the famous Peking “seas”—the system of rivers and lakes that help drain Peking and keep down the dust in the dry spring and summer days. This 1950 project typified the practical approach of the municipal people's government. Peking's vegetable supplies have been improved by using the rich silt, the city's health and amenities have been much enhanced, notorious mosquito breeding grounds have been eliminated and many thousands of men have been re-made, re-trained and educated.

In every part of the city and particularly in the workers' quarters, the new city construction goes on. The paved roads are being expanded—337,000 square metres of roadway have been newly surfaced—new modern buildings are rising over the rubble of single storied courtyard dwellings; modern drainage is banishing the night soil carts and the water carts of the outer districts and suburbs. Now 1,220,000 of Peking's 1,350,000 dwellers have fresh piped water as good as in any modern city, an increase of 600,000 since 1949. Plans are going ahead to turn the wide and useless ramparts into a raised avenue and hanging gardens for the people. New libraries, dwellings and people's clubs are being opened. Step by step all the grand monuments of the past are re-emerging in the glory that is uniquely theirs. Splendid new open-air swimming

pools and boating lakes have been built in the north of the city.

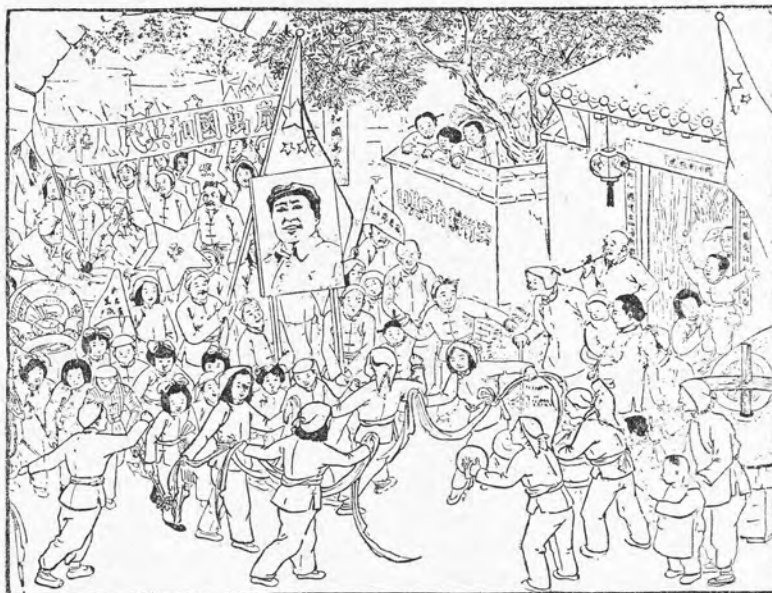
Health care has been improved out of all recognition. The “usual” spring epidemics are a thing of the past. Nearly half a million persons were vaccinated against smallpox this year; 25,000 were given special anti-TB treatment; a major health clinic is being established in each district. First rate attention is available to all in the big hospitals such as the famous Peking Union Medical College for a nominal fee. A feature of the streets are the telling posters on health and hygiene.

#### The Phoenix

Peking retains the essence of its olden charm: the traditional polite-

people revelling in the glorious sunshine, the blue sky, the scenery of the Western Hills, the rising balustrades and towers of the Cloud Pavilion—one of the most glorious bathing sites in the world.

The pigeons wheel overhead, the whistles attached to their legs shrilling in the sunlight. The old men take their birds for a quiet walk along the banks of the canals. From a neighbourhood square come the strains of some gaily dressed itinerant band. There are joyous shouts and some tears shed around a brilliantly coloured bridal car covered in dazzling artificial flowers from fender to fender. From amid the trees of a park come the valiant beats of a *yangko* troupe



A Peking suburb celebrates the establishment of the People's Republic.  
A New Year picture by Chiang Yen

ness of its citizens; their love of trees, of flowers; their intense enjoyment of the small things of life: a good talk, a stroll in the parks or along the banks of the willow-lined moats; wine from the lotus near the Summer Palace; a well-cooked meal or delicacies at the famous sidewalk stalls. What is added is that the charm is broadened. It had an air of evanescence—of something sinking into the past. Now it is growing, blossoming. More and more of the people are enjoying them and hugely. Where the Empress Dowager reclined in lonely state on the shores of the Summer Palace, today there is a *plage* filled with happy young

re-enacting the heroism of the people's war in Korea. At a curbside newspaper board, a group of workers read the news of New China, of the whole modern world. In the many offices, the administrative work of the national capital goes on apace. The dust raised by a new construction job hangs sparkling in Peking's golden air.

Emerging from the old like a phoenix, the capital is rising in outlines that show the greater things to come. This is the capital of a free people who, under the guidance of the greatest of China's leaders, are joining the most advanced techniques and thought to their enormous native talents.

From the Korean Front

## A Regiment of Heroes

Pai Shih

Outside the spring rain of Korea drizzled persistently. Inside the school hall it was comfortably dry. Somehow it had missed the attention of the bombers. People were in festive mood. The walls were covered with posters and cartoons: "Down with the American Invaders!" "For the Peace of the World!" Colourful flags and banners had been sent by various groups and popular organisations in the Motherland, saying: "Glory to the People's Defenders!" A tremendous shout of greeting poured from the crowd outside and rolled in a great wave into the packed hall, when more than 400 volunteers—all combat heroes and model fighters—arrived. They marched in down the centre aisle. Straight ahead of them on a background of pine branches was a portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Azaleas, peach and pear blossoms decorated the frame. The presidium rose and clapped them. The band played the stirring "March of the Volunteers" for them. Women comrades presented them with bouquets.

These 400 all belonged to the same regiment. They had fought in four battles after crossing the Yalu River, dealing one deadly blow after another against the U.S. invaders and their puppets.

For 13 successive days and nights, they held the hill of Hwangtsoryeng and checked the enemy advance towards the Yalu. Then they thrust themselves like the blade of a knife deep into the enemy lines at Nyengwon and Mangsan. The enemy fled and they pursued him across the 38th Parallel. There they gripped him in a deadly vice for 48 days on the Han River.

After their fourth battle the regiment was awarded a collective citation. On the red poster at the entrance of the school house the regiment had put up a list of its merits: five of its members had been awarded three major merits; three had won two major merits; 55—one major merit. Two had been awarded five secondary merits; 19—four secondary merits; 76—three secondary merits; and 227—two secondary merits. The 9th

Company was nominated a Heroic Company. The 2nd and 6th companies, five platoons and ten squads were each awarded collective citations. Those who had been awarded minor merits were not even listed, for there were too many of them, over a thousand. And there are many such regiments and divisions on the Korean front.

\* \* \*

Mulunyun, northwest of Hoengsung, is a hill 415 metres high, which commands the highways from Hoengsung westwards and from Ryuchu to the north. The U.S. 2nd Army sent some 800 men to take it. They began to climb it from three different directions only to find the volunteers from this regiment's vanguard already in occupation.

Next day at early dawn, enemy artillery laid down a barrage to prepare a fresh attack. The guns roared. But, the defenders—only 12 of them—were not ones to let noise disturb them. They improved their entrenchments and even managed to snatch a rest. Enemy shells fell harmlessly until daybreak. The volunteers crouched in their dugouts. An observation plane flew over, then returned with four jets which strafed the hill. The volunteers, knowing the routine, took up more advantageous positions.

### How Mulunyun Was Held

Enemy trench mortars sent up a smokescreen. The attack was coming. About 200 GIs preceded by four tanks began climbing the hill.

At that moment the Regimental Commander who was watching the scene attentively from his post nearby ordered his artillery into action. Shells exploded right behind the tanks and killed a score of the enemy. This cheered the squad. Wu Shih-pao, the combat-team leader shouted: "The hill's too steep for the tanks. Use grenades! Aim at the infantry!"

Tension was high. Firing opened up on all sides as the enemy rushed towards the volunteers' position. But their first assault was repulsed instantly. A dozen enemy dead littered the approach

to the trenches. The other attackers fled. The volunteers had suffered five casualties. The medics came to fetch them away.

The bombardment that followed became more and more intense. Snow fell from the pine branches and bits and pieces of jagged rock flew about as in a whirlwind. The telephone lines were cut. The squad lost contact with Headquarters.

At 10 a.m. five planes came over again and this time they dropped bombs. But our fighters had dug in deep and well. They waited calmly for the second assault and, when it took place, downed another dozen of the enemy with hand grenades and forced the rest to flee in confusion. But five more of the squad were badly wounded and had to leave the position.

Only one slightly wounded comrade remained with Wu Shih-pao, the combat-team leader. Their ammunition was exhausted. What now? They crawled out and took whatever they could from the bodies of the enemy dead. With this fresh stock of grenades they drove back a third assault.

Wu's fellow fighter was now badly wounded. He asked Wu whether he thought that they should retire. Wu, though he himself was slightly wounded,



answered shortly: "So long as a single man remains, this position holds."

It was almost dark. He bore the fourth assault alone and drove off a dispirited enemy with hand grenades. By nightfall, the reinforcements arrived. Wu, by then completely exhausted, was taken back to the regimental post. Mulunyun had been held, and Wu was later decorated for outstanding bravery. The whole squad was given a collective citation.

Such is the heroism which, added to that of the Korean People's Army, has brought victory to the people's cause in Korea.



How the Tillers Win Back Their Land—VII

## The First Taste of Happiness

Hsiao Ch'ien

In the newly emancipated Peng Chu Homestead a tender undulating sound could be heard, regular, rhythmic, like the beat of the heart. It was Hsin-wu's twins crying.

The two babies lay in a pair of wicker baskets, yelling at the top of their lungs, sometimes alternately, sometimes in unison. Then they would kick up their heels and throw their arms about, as though doing their best to announce to the world the good news: there won't be any more feudal exploitation in the new China—the new China is ours!

Peasants kept going in and out of the room. Some brought food and delicacies. Some just wanted to "lend a hand." And some came out of a curiosity to see what those clever babies were like. Clever they certainly were, because they had chosen a most opportune moment to be born.

Instead of enjoying a bit more leisure, now that the land had been distributed, Hsin-wu was, if anything, busier than before. He would leave his home early in the morning, buttoning up his coat as he went. After dashing from one small group to the other all day, he would come back very late at night.

Enriched with the fruits of struggle, both Chun-hsing and Yueh-lien started thinking about their "trous-seaux." The romance between Chun-hsing and Fu-chuan had long been a matter of common knowledge, and people had gradually stopped teasing them. But the first inkling people had that there was "something" between Yueh-lien and Li Su-ming, a young farmhand from the Li Garden and a member of the militia, only came on the day of the Emancipation Meeting, when the two partnered in a long harvest-dance, totally oblivious of the others. The two young couples all belonged to the militia. It was this that drew forth from Hsin-wu the jocose remark that the joint wed-

ding ought to be officiated through the Militia Headquarters.

Grandma Li's first reaction to her daughter's coming marriage was one of undiluted joy. She was proud of Fu-chuan. He worked hard and was dependable. As she was talking, however, tears began to trickle down her cheeks. Yes, she'd be very lonely once Chun-hsing left.

Chun-hsing understood perfectly what was troubling her mother and reassured her by telling her that Fu-chuan had promised that the old woman would not be deserted. He'd personally see to readjusting the rooms, so that mother and daughter needn't be separated.

On the evening of the day of the Emancipation Meeting, an "Exchange of Opinions" was held in the temple, attended by the Work Team cadres and various Peasants' Association officers. The purpose was to get the peasants to point out to the land reform cadres mistakes and deviations in their working methods and attitude during the period of the land reform. The next day, all the Work Team comrades, scattered throughout the Huilung *hsiang* villages, met together first in the District Office and from there were led by Chao Chieh-min to the county seat to attend an enlarged cadres' meeting. There they were to sum up the experiences they had obtained and exchange opinions. Then they would go on to some other *hsiang* to take part in further land reform work.

Thus, the important job of consolidating the success of peasant emancipation devolved on the shoulders of people like Peng Hsin-wu—activists who rose from among the ranks of the peasants.

On the morning of January 26, when Lu Yang was scheduled to start off, all of the Hsinlu Village peasants gathered together, amidst the music of gongs and drums, to give him a warm send-off. There were the militia men and women, harvest dancers, Pioneers wearing red ties and bearing flowers and,

way up in front, Fu-chuan carrying a red banner on which were embroidered the characters, "Victory in Land Reform." This strong, well-organized and disciplined procession of peasants picked its way along the paths planted with telephone poles and went towards the Seven Star Slope.

With Shuang-chuan punting, the boat slowly glided towards Shihma *hsiang* on the other side of the Pigeon River. Standing near the helm, Lu Yang pointed at the dyke and then formed a trumpet with his hands, through which he shouted to the peasants who had come to see him off: "Work on those dykes and have a good year. Remember, this year you're bringing in your own harvest!"

At this, many of the peasants standing on the dyke shouted back that they would do what he said, and Lo Shu-min certainly expressed the sentiment of the majority when she shouted in a shrill voice: "Come back at the Autumn Festival, Comrade Lu, and taste our new rice!"

The same evening, a meeting of Hsinlu Village Peasants' Association officers and activists was called by Hsin-wu and Village Chairman Peng Yu-tang. One topic came up to which Uncle Kuang-lin, Tu Yu-chen and Lo Yung-nien all contributed factual details—the evils brought by water. Uncle Kuang-lin recalled eloquently how his whole family had suffered from the "tyranny of water" all through the years. The crops would have just begun to display tassels when along would come a huge flood. The dyke would collapse and everything sink under water. Lo Yung-nien's land was situated on a high ridge to which the water supply was controlled by the landlord, Lo Pei-jung, his uncle. During drought years, he had to buy water from the latter, using the "green sprouts" as his security. What frequently happened was that the interest piled up, with the result that when autumn came along, his entire harvest, over which he had sweated

This is the concluding section of our seven-part reportage-novelle on land reform in Hunan Province.

for a year, would go into Lo Pei-jung's barn.

The Village Chairman then reported on winter production plans for the whole county. The central work was to be the repairing of dams and dykes, and getting it done before spring cultivation began. He also explained how, in the other districts which had gone through land reform already, every family made out its own production plan. Then discussion began as to how they should make a production plan of their own.

Everyone agreed that two sub-committees should be set up under the Production Committee of the Peasants' Association, on the basis of the four small groups of the village, one on dyke-repairing and one on the repairing of the reservoirs. Seventy per cent of the expenses involved were to be met by the peasants themselves, the amount being determined by the degree of benefits enjoyed by individual plots of land. Farmhands and poor peasants could pay with physical labour. For the 30 per cent deficit, they could apply for a government loan.

The work had already been drafted by the County Committee on Dyke Repairing. The section that Hsinlu Village was given the responsibility extended from the Seven Star Slope to the Shaho River, altogether 12 li in length. The width was to be increased from the original 4.5 feet to 20 feet, and the height from the original 10 feet to 33.8 feet. The local sub-committee would take care of the division of labour among the four small groups and the driving in of stakes.

There were 33 reservoirs of various size in the village and most of them badly needed repairing. It was decided that for this year repair work would be done on a selective basis, repairing only the most dilapidated and those with the greatest capacity. If there were time and labour to spare, new reservoirs would be opened. For instance, the reservoir that watered the largest area in this village was the "Horseneck Reservoir" near the Big Graveyard, but it had long been leaking like a sieve. The corner-stones were out of position and on the verge of breaking and the main pillar had already toppled down in the flood last year. The plank to keep the water back



The emancipated peasants hurried to repair the dyke.

had also fallen down. That was where they needed to put in some good hard work without delay.

Early the next morning, when the fields were still wrapped in a haze, the Hsinlu Village peasants, old and young, under the leadership of small group officers, began to journey towards the dyke near the slope. Some carried hoes or shovels, some baskets for carrying the earth and some pushed handcarts. The winter sun was smiling warmly on a Huilung *hsiang* decked in silver. Along the way, they could see nail-shaped prints made by the magpies in the snow. Treading lightly on the path, the peasants chattered, laughed and sang as they went on their way.

"Grandma Li! Surely at your age you could stay behind and let Chun-hsing go alone!"

The remark was made in obvious admiration of her "activeness" and not intended to dissuade her from going.

Grandma Li, with a meal-basket dangling loosely from one arm, turned around: "Chun-hsing's got her land and I've got mine, haven't I? How can she go in my place then? I've lived for over 50 years and this is the first time I repair the dyke 'for my own good.'"

On the dyke the Construction Team from town had already marked out with chalk and willow branches the projected height and width of the dyke, according to the All-County Plan. The moment the peasants arrived, Hsin-wu summoned together the small group leaders and divided up the work into "zones." Some of the peasants started digging earth at the foot of the dyke. Some busied themselves

with carrying basketfuls of earth up the terrace-shaped slope. Above and below, you could see the energetic peasants at work, perspiring freely in spite of the bitter cold weather. As the "squares" of various size got deeper, shovels of solid, hard, wintry earth were added on to the dyke. Thus slowly, against a cold blue sky, the dyke grew.

That went on until the sun had gone down behind the hills. The small group leaders had to beat their gongs three times before the peasants reluctantly left off.

"Now that the local tyrants are down, it seems to be pretty easy to tackle the water tyrant."

This came from Uncle Kuang-lin, as he jauntily swung his hoe on to his shoulder. Each then went back to the group he belonged to and the peasants started on their homeward journey. In the deepening twilight, more than one head turned from time to time to look at the visibly heightened dyke with pride and elation.

On the way, the groups also discussed launching an emulation drive to increase efficiency.

\* \* \*

That evening the classroom in the Lo Primary School was even more crowded than ever. Children of seven or eight rubbed elbows with their elders. His mind busy with the practical problems involved, Peng Kuo-chang was fully aware that it was going to be a red-letter day in the cultural emancipation of the local peasants.

When Li Su-ming complained that no more copies of the "Elementary Reader for Workers and Peasants" were available at the local Hsinhua Bookstore, he nodded sympathetically, but there was a suggestion in his manner that "everything would come out fine."

"Peasant comrades!" At these words of Peng Kuo-chang's the noise quieted down. "You have worked hard the whole day at the dyke and you must be very tired. Can anyone tell me why you're still so enthusiastic about studying?"

They could think of a lot of reasons. One said in the past he had been cheated and he didn't want anything like it to happen again. Another said he would like to be able to read the "Blackboard News."

Other peasants also told about what they had suffered through "having no education." Some got swindled when the landlords made out contracts which they could not read. Some could not even read the lots they drew and were pressganged into the KMT military service. Fu-chuan also spoke up: "If we can't read, we can't look at the newspapers and can't tell the truth from the rumours!"

Seeing that the mass feeling was so high, Peng Kuo-chang said: "Peasant comrades! Your demand for literacy is natural and legitimate. The difficulty, however, is in the shortage of classrooms and teachers. Ours is a fairly big village, seven or eight hundred people, and we have only two primary schools. Of course free education will be provided for all by the state before very long. But the problem is: What are we to do now?"

There was temporary lull and everybody began to think.

"I'm willing to contribute five *tau* of grain out of what I've received in land distribution, so that we may also have a school in the Peng Chu Homestead!"

The one that spoke was Tu Yuchen, nursing her baby as usual. She turned her head slightly and glanced meaningfully at her ex-ferryman husband, who promptly raised his hand in support of the motion, as he, too, had suffered from being illiterate. The ball started rolling. One *tan* from Uncle Kuang-lin, some from Grandma Li and some from Fu-chuan. Twenty-odd *tan* was got together in no time at all by the peasants of the Peng Chu Homestead. Those of the Li Garden followed.

At Lo Yung-nien's suggestion, the peasants of the Big House Lo and the Seven Star Slope, who already had schools of their own, also chipped in and helped with small amounts of grain.

At this point, Head of the Women's Small Group Lo Shu-min had a brainwave. There used to be a good deal of "school land" in the villages, but the landlords usurped it all. They collected rent but didn't build any school. In land distribution all "public land"

had gone into the pool but the Association reserved 2 per cent of the "public land," and further confiscated a whole lot of lumber and coffins from the landlords. They had carpenters and builders right in the village. Why couldn't the Association contribute the land and the building material and the peasants contribute labour power? They could then build a school house.

Everybody applauded the brilliant idea.

Going home in the starlight, the peasants from the two homesteads carried on heated discussions about the architecture and set-up of their future school. It seemed as though the building had already risen up before their eyes and was no longer only in their dreams.

\* \* \*

When the future marriage of Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing, of Li Su-ming and Yueh-lien were taken up during a militia meeting, everyone agreed that these two couples symbolised the true emancipation of the peasants of Hsinlu Village. The double wedding was set for the 29th of the Twelfth Moon, according to the lunar calendar, and it was to take place in the office of the *hsiang* Government. The militia body was prepared to pool its strength and resources and make it a big event.

The two couples were moved beyond words when the meeting dispersed. In the old society all they had to expect was to be spat and trampled upon, and now a new life was open before them. They knew that this would not have been possible without Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. Hence they planned to write a letter to their benefactor—Chairman Mao, in which, besides thanking him for helping them in their struggle, they would tell him the future plans the four of them had made. It was naturally a bold thing to do, but they felt they ought to do it.

On the "Kitchen-God Day," the Association decided to give the two couples a day off so that they could go shopping for the things they would need in the "bridal chambers." Chun-hsing and Fu-chuan had already converted some of the "fruits" they got from land distribution into cash, and they went forth happily towards the Seven Star Slope.

The street certainly looked different. Formerly, the peasants were

only there to sell, but now scores of them could be seen, with baskets on their arms, negotiating to buy fish and ham for the New Year. The restaurant "Home of Spring" which only catered to the landlords in the past now advertised its "economic meals" to appeal to the peasants. Newly-made implements piled up in the blacksmith shops, with name tags pasted on them of the people who had sent in the orders. Six new cotton-bowling machines from Hsiangtan County were being operated in the four cotton stores. An atmosphere of prosperity enveloped the whole street. When Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing entered Chou Jui-hsiang's department store to buy some towels and a washbasin, they saw quite a number of people from other villages who seemed also to be on the lookout for various things. Thought Chun-hsing, "Strange, is everybody getting married?"

At the west end of the street a new store had just opened. A placard told the passers-by that it was the "Mobile Section of the Hunan Trade Company." The attendants of this state-owned enterprise had on light-blue uniforms. In the past the peasants had to sell their by-products at an impossibly low price to the merchants, from whom again they had to buy manufactured products at a high price. The Mobile Section bought pig bristles, eggs, tea and tobacco leaves from the peasants. Being free from middlemen's exploitation it was in a position to offer better prices. At the same time it sold all kinds of equipment for production to the peasants, including things like new-model implements, refined cotton and chemical fertilisers at a low price.

What pleased Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing most was a copy of the eagerly-awaited "Elementary Reader," which they picked up at a Rural Branch Office of the Hsinhua Bookstore. Among other things they also bought some copy books and a pencil for each of them, and then the crowning touch—a coloured portrait of Chairman Mao.

Li Su-ming and Yueh-lien, who had gone to the Shihchiao Village Co-operative Store instead, also came back with armfuls of packages. From them, the peasants learnt that already over 2,000 farmhands, poor and middle peas-

ants had joined the co-op, and that with the conclusion of land reform they would develop further and take in all the nine villages of the *hsiang*. Yueh-lien then mentioned how much things like soap, candles, oil, homespun cloth and salt cost there, and the prices were really cheap.

\* \* \*

At the general call sent out by the *hsiang* Association to make redoubled efforts at hoeing, fertilising and threshing, the Hsinlu Village Production Committee also got busy organising Mutual-Aid Small Groups, thus solving the problem of the shortage of implements, draught animals and labour power.

The Blackboard News announced the "production plans" made by the various families in Hsinlu Village. Young people who were strong would repair the dyke and cultivate their own land. If there was still time left, they would go far into the hills to work at reclaiming wasteland. Older men would weed, sweep leaves and sift and store up fertiliser, and older women could spin yarn, make shoes and sandals and feed chickens and pigs.

One thing had caused a good deal of comment among the villagers: so far there had been no trace of production plans for Fu-chuan and Li Su-ming, two of the most generally admired activists.

An idea had occurred to lots of peasants while pondering over their production plans. Why couldn't we also write to Chairman Mao and tell him about our emancipation just as the two couples were doing? Our improved livelihood, our plans for tomorrow—surely these were things we should let him know.

Schoolmaster Peng Kuo-chang was the one to whom most people turned. Everyday over a dozen "letters" would be handed to him,

many of which were actually scraps of paper with a barely intelligible sentence or two, the stationery as well as the handwriting showed a tremendous variety. Some of them contained very detailed homely information like what they would plant on their newly-acquired land and how family discord (especially among in-laws) was smoothed out after land distribution.

It was Uncle Kuang-lin who remarked wisely that they should ask Peng Kuo-chang to incorporate everybody's ideas into one composite whole. Eyeing the sheaves and sheaves of letters on the table, he said, "We have hundreds of thousands of villages like ours in China, don't we? If you write a letter and I write a letter and everyone writes a letter, won't Chairman Mao get tired out?"

His idea met with general approval. Thus, in the literacy class of the night school, collaboration in letter-writing became an item of universal interest.

Each peasant stood up and told what he wanted to have put in and Peng Kuo-chang took everything down swiftly.

"Say that in the past those who could read in our village could be counted off on one hand and now many of us know over 100 words.

"Say this year on 'Kitchen-God Day' we had glutinous rice. We also bought two new coverlets. In the past dried potato was all we had even on New Year's Day, and our clothes were in tatters and there was only one quilt for the whole family!"

Fu-chuan said, "Be sure to let Chairman Mao know that I wouldn't have got a wife if it hadn't been for land reform!"

"And Chun-hsing," yelled the peasants in great glee. "You must say something too, Chun-hsing!"

When they finally got the remark out of her, Chun-hsing was already in tears. "I—I'd be a widow now if it hadn't been for Chairman Mao." The consumptive boy to whom Chun-hsing was originally promised had recently died.

On the morning of February 4 (the 28th of the Twelfth Moon, according to the old calendar), the two couples, accompanied by the Village Chairman Peng Yu-tang, went to the District Government to apply for their marriage licenses.

A charcoal fire was burning in the District Chairman Shao Tsu-chang's office. Portraits of Chairman Mao, Commander-in-Chief Chu, Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou decorated the walls. Since the District Chairman was having a meeting inside, Peng Yu-tang used the opportunity to introduce these national leaders to the four young people, who stood for a long time gazing with undisguised interest and admiration.

At last the District Chairman came out and listened to Peng Yu-tang describe the miserable past of the young couples and the courage they showed in struggling. Peng Yu-tang also took care to point out that it was during land reform that their love for each other grew.

Shao Tsu-chang then asked a few questions about their personal backgrounds and made sure that they were getting married of their own free will. Then he produced application forms from a drawer, and the young people filled in their names, ages and home town. The forms were subsequently passed on to the Clerical Section where the licenses were issued.

At this point, Hsiung Peng, the Secretary of the Communist Party's District Branch, also arrived on the scene. He congratulated the two couples and the conversation turned to their plans after marriage.

"Chun-hsing and I have already decided," Fu-chuan was the first to speak up. "We're both young. I have no family and she has only her mother. The two of them could easily support themselves by labouring. Therefore I request to be allowed to join the People's Liberation Army."

"We too have decided," said Li Su-ming, rising from his seat. "If the PLA wants me, as a soldier, as a cook or as anything, I'm ready to go!"

"Aren't all four of you already members of the militia?" asked Hsiung Peng.

"Yes," replied Fu-chuan. "We joined the militia to watch the landlords. Now that land reform is completed, the Peasants' Association can take care of them. We know Chiang Kai-shek is the master of the landlords, and American imperialism is the master of Chiang Kai-shek. Until their masters are overthrown, the landlords will never really behave!"

### HOW THE TILLERS WIN BACK THEIR LAND

Hsiao Ch'ien

This reportage-novelette about land reform in Hunan Province, serialised in an abridged form in *People's China*, will shortly be published in full as a book by the

Foreign Languages Press,  
Peking.

When Shao Tsu-chang and Hsiung Peng heard this, they both shook hands with each of the four young people. Hsiung remarked, "I'm convinced what the PLA needs is just such emancipated peasants like yourselves, courageous, loyal, with a high level of political consciousness."

When the young couples returned, they were met at the ferry place by the entire militia body. The dyke-repairers also quit early and, carrying implements on their shoulders, they trailed behind the two couples to the Peng Chu Homestead. On the way everybody sang songs.

In front of the temple, once more a platform was put up. Red scrolls on either side read: "Freedom in Marriage!" and "Companions in Revolution!" Even the old trees on the open ground had red silk streamers tied around them. The slanting sun threw a shaft of light over Chairman Mao's portrait.

Amidst the music of gongs and drums and the rising and falling of harvest songs, the two couples mounted the stage. Chun-hsing and Yueh-lien had on newly-made gowns with bright patterns. Grandma Li wore a blue silk gown with fur lining which was handed in by some landlord in lieu of surplus grain. And Fu-chuan and Li Su-ming, too, were in new, blue uniforms.

Under the supervision of Peng Yu-tang, the young people put their seals on the marriage certificates. Scattered shouts came from the peasants below. "Come on, bridegrooms! Speech!"

Fu-chuan and Li Su-ming stood up and announced, one after the other, that they were going to join the army after they got married and that their wives had consented.

In the midst of the loud applause that greeted this announcement Li Chen-nan's voice was heard. "Chairman, I want to join too!" A forest of arms were raised to express the same intention.

Here, Hsin-wu felt an explanation was needed, hence he went up to the stage, and the people quieted down. "Peasant comrades! It's good that so many of you should want to join the PLA after you have been emancipated through land reform. This shows that not only has land reform broken the economic chains of us peasants but it has also stimulated our pa-

triotism. It has made us see that the Motherland belongs to us all and it is up to us to defend it.

"Yet, joining the PLA impulsively without careful deliberation beforehand isn't right either. I would like to ask those who demand to enlist in the PLA to study the examples of these two newly-married couples. They have been discussing this since the day of the Emancipation Meeting and have got everything finally settled. They know how to carry on production alongside with their enlistment, since for us now production is the main task.

"After you have thoroughly considered this matter, if you still think you should join, then the Association and the Village Government will certainly recommend you, provided you're in good health and have the consent of your family."

There was another wave of applause.



The letter to Chairman Mao was read.

The next one to go up was Peng Kuo-chang. After he had carefully unrolled a sheet of paper, he addressed the audience: "During the last ten days or so, lots of people in our village, the old as well as the young, have offered to write to Chairman Mao. Now I have collected all of your ideas and have put them together in one letter. I have tried to keep your original remarks but avoided repetitions. Let me take this good opportunity to read it aloud to you. If there are things you don't approve, say so and we'll change them. If everything is all right, we'll stamp and address the envelope and in about five days, Chairman Mao will have it in Peking!"

Immediately everybody became quiet and attentive. This was their letter, therefore of the utmost importance. In a clear and resonant voice, Peng Kuo-chang started to read, articulating each word clearly:

"Our Beloved Chairman Mao, Saviour of the Chinese People:

"We are peasants of Hsinlu Village, Huilung *hsiang*. We are writing to you to express our thanks for the emancipation you helped us obtain and also to report to you on our future plans.

"There are still in our village people who can remember the year 1927 when you led us in a bitter struggle against the reactionary warlords and landlords. Later on, you were forced to leave because the dirty swine, Chiang Kai-shek, betrayed the revolution, and a period of utter darkness began to come upon us. On the one hand, the landlords took staggering rents from us, on the other,

we had to pay taxes and provide manpower to meet all kinds of impossible demands from a reactionary government. For over 20 years, we rice-growers had not been able to taste one grain of rice. We subsisted entirely on dried potato strips. Our clothes were shot through with holes and a pair of sandals was a great luxury to us. In the night, we slept together with

draught animals in damp and filthy barns. Our life was not even equal to that of some kinds of animals, and all the time we lived under the threat of Chiang Kai-shek.

"In August 1949, you came back. That is to say, the PLA and cadres you led and trained came back. To us peasants, that was like finding water in a desert or seeing a withered tree bursting forth in bloom.

"For the last 30 years, you and those under your leadership have led the Chinese people in their determined struggle to free China from its semi-colonial fetters and now we have our first taste of happiness. We owe all this to you.

(Continued on page 35)



### Cultural Front

At the height of the famous Huaihai Battle that sealed the fate of the KMT north of the Yangtse River, a young girl in battle dress made her way cautiously, yet with the calmness of a veteran, up to the front line trenches. She carried a violin. It seemed incongruous in a landscape of explosively churned up earth, smoking ruins dominated by the chatter of machine-guns and the heavy thunder of field artillery. Crouching for a moment in a dugout, she answered the query of a tyro news reporter merely by pointing to her badge: "The PLA 3rd Field Army Cultural Troupe," and adding: "Front line awards are going to be given and we're to perform!"

It is routine for the PLA cultural troupes to work under fire. They grew up on the battlefield with the people's army. They are part of the army and live with it under its command. Where the Army is, there they are. Part of their work even is to help win over the enemy troops. Under the direct supervision of the army political commissars, they are responsible for all kinds of cultural activities in the ranks. They put on their own performances, plays, playlets, concerts, but they also take care of the cultural development of the fighters themselves, helping them in their drive for literacy, to compose their own literary works, poems, essays, articles for unit wall-newspapers, or plays and sketches, closely integrating these activities with the political tasks of the moment. Their's is a fighting art of the people's liberation with a glorious tradition.

There were propaganda teams in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. They cheered the troops on the Long March. But they got major attention and settled organisational status only after the famous Kutien Conference back in 1929 when Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out their great importance as the propaganda arm, the morale

builder and educator of the armed forces in the spirit of revolutionary service to the people.

This conference gave the fundamental direction of work to the cultural troupes. Later during the Anti-Japanese War they were joined in front line service work by cultural teams organised by the progressive students and the Left-Wing Writers' Federation which, despite bitter persecution, had continued its activities in the KMT areas. This fresh talent for the cultural troupes of the 8th Route and New 4th Armies was reinforced by the graduates of training schools like the famous Lu Hsun Art Academy in Yen-an, which combined art teaching with instruction in the arts of guerilla fighting.

These cadres did yeoman service at the front and in the guerilla bases behind the enemy lines throughout the Anti-Japanese War. They expanded steadily to keep in pace with the needs of the growing people's army during the War of Liberation. Now they number 100,000 men and women of the PLA.

### Artistic Ingenuity

They have shown the utmost ingenuity in carrying out their tasks under the most varied conditions of battle against home reactionaries or foreign invaders. Music and story telling, ballad singing, comedy cross chat, dancing, lantern slide talks, "living newspaper" performances and stage plays both classic and modern done to the light of the moon or on improvised stages with scenery and lighting and orchestral accompaniment—these are the "set pieces" of cultural troupe work.

But when there was little time for a full performance, the teams used the "wave system," going in succession in small teams or individually into the front lines to lead songs, tell the latest news and propagandise the slogans of the day. They bring the cultural world to the PLA, but their characteristic work is composed of the stuff of army life. Every worker of the cultural teams is expected to "go into the army," to share the life

of the fighters fully. By assisting the men in their own cultural activities, they enrich their own art, as when in 1947 they launched the slogan of "Soldiers act soldiers!" At first the fighters thought it strange to act the part of someone they knew. But soon they learnt the meaning of it. They were keen to discover their heroes, to dramatise and commemorate their deeds, so that their examples may be followed. The 1st Field Army produced more than 2,000 such playwrights. The 4th Field Army has been proud to hear that one of its plays will be performed at the coming Berlin Youth Festival—the story of Tung Tsun-jui, a Communist who sacrificed his life to save his comrades at the liberation of Changteh.

"Rifle poems"—couplets, epigrams, simple expressions of the faith of a people's soldier, militant pledges, jotted down on the butt of a rifle, for remembrance or dedication—countless articles for papers, paintings, drawings, sculptures.... these are only some of the activities cultivated among the troops. Many of them have a supremely practical and urgent significance. In the days of the Liberation War, when the PLA fighters came up against massed tanks for the first time, the cultural troupes composed a telling poem on "Ten Ways to Attack a Tank" and a dance on the same theme that played a big role in creating that psychological attitude that enabled a peasant volunteer to climb single-handed aboard an American "Sherman" and demolish it with a well-placed grenade.

In May this year, the 3rd Field Army held one of the first formal reviews of its artistic activities. It staged a programme of 80 selected items as well as exhibitions of its literary work, models of battle scenes, paintings, hand-made musical instruments—a display of artistic talent of every description, that was at the same a tribute to the work of the cultural troupes.

With its more than 500 cultural troupes, the People's Army is an army of liberation and culture.

# CURRENT CHINA

July 11—25, 1951

## Triumphant Peace Drive

The China Peace Committee announces that the nation-wide twin campaign for signatures to support a 5-Power Peace Pact and voting on the question of Japanese rearmament was concluded successfully on July 18. In less than three months, beginning on April 20, the Committee collected a total of 343,808,541 signatures for the Peace Pact and 339,658,730 votes against Japanese rearmament. These figures represent 72.4% and 71.5% of the entire population respectively.

## Bumper Wheat Harvest

China's wheat harvest was completed by the end of June. Reports from all parts of the country show that yields this year averaged about 10 per cent higher than last year. East China had the best results of any of the great wheat areas. Its harvests of wheat and barley were 30% higher than last year.

## Grand Reservoir Completed

The Shihmantan Reservoir, one of the most important installations of the Huai River project, was completed in early July after three months' work. The Reservoir is located on the upper reaches of the Hung River, a tributary of the Huai in Honan Province. Capable of holding as much as 47,000,000 cubic metres of the water that rushes in spate down the neighbouring mountains, it will harness this supply to irrigate 90,000 *mou* of farmland.

Another major construction job is the Junhochi Dam on the middle reaches. Its completion on July 20 marked the conclusion of the first stage of the Huai River project.

## Rail Workers Agreement

A further rise in living standards is assured the 40,000 workers and staff of the Shanghai Railway Bureau by their new collective agreement. The management under this agreement undertakes to provide three more sanatoria, a new hospital, special care for working mothers, schools for the workers' children, etc. In return, the workers pledge themselves to overfulfil the year's transport plan and to put forward at least 100 innovations and rationalisation proposals.

## PLA Day Preparations

Throughout the country preparations are being made to celebrate August 1, the People's Liberation Army's 24th anniversary. At Nanchang, birthplace of the PLA, a special committee is arranging the celebrations. People from all circles in Peking and other cities have drawn up pacts or plans to extend the benefits given to dependents of revolutionary martyrs and PLA fighters. The China Peace Committee has sent a special letter of greetings to the PLA.

## A Creche per Factory

Every factory and mine where women workers have infants in Northeast China must set up a creche or a kindergarten or both, states a directive issued by the Northeast People's Government. All costs will be borne by the management.

## Labour Insurance Benefits

Labour insurance benefits covering sickness, injury and old age as well as death insurance have been extended to over 477,000 workers and staff in 1,006 factories and mines in East China, states a recent Hsinhua News Agency report.

## Youth Delegation for Berlin

The Chinese Delegation, headed by Feng Wen-pin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League, left Peking for Berlin on July 16 to attend the 3rd World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace. It is composed of 300 members, including a cultural troupe and basket and volley ball teams.

## Jen Pi-shih Buried

Jen Pi-shih, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, who died on Oct. 27, 1950, was buried in the People's Cemetery, Peking, on July 18. The funeral service was attended by his comrades-in-arms Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and others.

## Korean Front

**Cease-Fire Talks:** The Korean cease-fire negotiation teams on July 21 held their 8th meeting since the talks began on July 10. In view of the U.N. delegation's consistent refusal to place on the agenda the question of withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the talks, on the proposal of the delegation of the KPA and Chinese people's volunteers, were adjourned for three days until July 25 "to give both sides adequate time to consider the question carefully."

**U.S. Hostile Activities:** While cease-fire talks are being held in Kaisung, the U.S. and its satellite troops have launched a series of attacks along almost the entire front.

Meanwhile, U.S. planes have made repeated intrusions into China's territorial air over Northeast China. On July 21, at 08:29 hours, seven of eight U.S. F-94 jet fighters, while flying in the direction of Mukden and then turning towards Liaoyang and Fengcheng, were brought down by the Chinese air force which rose to defend its Motherland. In a statement protesting against this act of aggression, Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, pointed out that this provocation was the "most flagrant" of its kind and that it was committed even during the present Korean cease-fire talks. He concluded by stating that the U.S. Government must be held fully responsible for the consequences caused thereby.

**Enemy's Casualties:** The U.S. and satellite troops sustained a loss of 19,000 men in Korea during the 20 days' fighting ending July 10.

## Soviet Challenge Accepted

Dairen's all-women crew of the "March 8" locomotive, headed by model worker Tien Kuei-ying, has written to B. A. Ivanova, woman deputy captain of the Soviet Union's steamer, "Minin," taking up the latter's challenge to fulfil work targets in honour of the 34th anniversary of the October Revolution and the 2nd anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

### Viet-Nam Delegation Arrives

A Viet-Nam People's Delegation, whose mission is to strengthen the already firm friendship between the peoples of the two neighbouring countries, arrived in Peking on July 23. Its 16 members, led by Hoang Quoc Viet, Vice-Chairman of the National United Front, were welcomed at the station by Li Chi-shen, Shen Chun-ju, Kuo Mo-jo and Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese PPCC. The Committee gave a dinner party the following evening at which Comrade Liu Shao-chi, representing the Chinese Communist Party, delivered a welcoming address.

### Film Workers Honoured

Stalin Prizes were awarded to eight Chinese film workers on July

13 by Soviet Ambassador Roshchin for their outstanding work in filming *The Victory of the Chinese People and Liberated China*, joint Soviet-Chinese productions. Winners included Liu Pai-yu, Chou Li-po and Li Hua.

### Cultural Exchange

A cultural co-operation agreement between China and Hungary was concluded on July 12. It was signed by Shen Yen-ping, Minister of Cultural Affairs, for China and by Erik Molnar for Hungary.

### Polish National Day Marked

Dodin, Charge d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Polish Embassy gave a reception on July 21 in Peking to mark the Polish National Day. Over 300 people were present, among whom were Li Chi-shen, Vice-

Chairman of the Central People's Government, and other leaders.

### Swedish Ambassador Presents Credentials

Staffan Soderblom, the newly-appointed Swedish Ambassador to China, presented his credentials to Vice-Chairman Chang Lan of the Central People's Government on July 21.

### Requisition of U.S. Oil Firms

The properties other than the sites of their head offices and branches and sales agencies of three U.S.-controlled firms—the Standard Vacuum, Texas Co. (China) and Cathay Oil Companies—are to be taken over and their oil stocks requisitioned by cash payment by order of the Shanghai Military Control Committee.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Sino-Indian Friendship

To the Editor:

Though we are all non-Communists, we want to stand by the people's China because it is China which has come forward with a sympathetic heart to save us from starvation by sending food. Of course there are many in our country who don't like this friendly attitude. They want to sell our country to the American imperialists. I have studied in a U.S. institution and been closely associated with Americans for the last ten years, and I know what they are. We cannot be deceived by their Wall Street propaganda. We are receiving American *Reporter* and we know how they try to poison the minds of Indians. We want peace, but the American imperialists don't.

G. D. Krishnaswamy  
Devakapuram, India  
June 15, 1951

### Indian Protests U.S. Slander

To the Editor:

In these days of the people's rising consciousness, Asia welcomes China as the torch bearer of New Democracy. It is shocking what the American imperialists are doing; their puppets are engaged in throwing mud on the new born Republic of China. One shameful article against China was published in the Hindi American *Reporter* of May 2, 1951. I wish that in future *People's China* would, too, expose

the misdeeds of the imperialists and their lackeys.

Sharma

Bihar, India

### Australian Workers Hail New China

To the Editor:

The Australian workers demonstrated fiercely against John Foster Dulles' presence in this country. They demanded that the people's China be consulted on the Peace Treaty with Japan. Thousands of letters and telegrams flooded the Parliament demanding that we recognise the Central People's Government of China and stop fostering Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Taiwan.

Much is being done, even more has to be done before we can extend the hand of a Socialist Australia to New Democratic China. The working class warmly welcome China's freedom from the age-old feudal system.

F. H. Miller

Sydney, Australia  
April 20, 1951

### Canadian Youth for Peace

To the Editor:

I am writing you on behalf of progressive Canadian youths who want to let you know that they are with you in fighting against those Yankee imperialists who are trying to create a new war. The youth of Canada do not want to

be conscripted, and we will fight until our last breath against conscription. The Yankee imperialists are also trying to rebuild a German army in Europe and a Japanese army in the Far East—armies which were our enemies during World War II.

We are all with you in defeating imperialist powers in Asia. Most of my comrades wish they could go as volunteers to help drive the imperialists out of Asia, but we are so far away. Our main task today is the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a new life.

F. Monk

Ontario, Canada  
May 2, 1951

### Greetings from Canada

To the Editor:

I find *People's China* very interesting. I wouldn't miss one copy.

Unfortunately the Canadian Government is completely under the influence of the warmongering imperialists in Washington. If the Canadian people were given the truth about China you would have many millions of friends here. Your great liberation army encouraged millions of people in all capitalist and colonial countries to throw off their imperialist masters.

Scott Mclean  
(A Worker)

Toronto, Canada  
June 27, 1951



## THIRTY YEARS OF THE C.P.C.

(Continued from page 16)

under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of this outstanding, great and completely reliable leader—and this was the most important guarantee for the victory of the revolution.

With incomparable tenacity, after overcoming innumerable military and political difficulties as well as other natural obstacles, and after completing the Long March of 25,000 li (over 8,000 miles) and crossing almost impassable snow-clad mountains and steppes, the Central Red Army reached North Shensi in October 1935, one year after the beginning of the Long March, and joined hands with the Red



Army units in Northern Shensi. The Red Army units led by Comrades Jen Pi-shih and Ho Lung and the Red Army units led by Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien also joined forces with the Central Red Army in October 1936 in the Shensi-Kansu area.

Chang Kuo-tao, who worked in the Red Army units led by Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien, lost faith in

the future of the revolution and engaged in activities to split and betray the Party. He refused to go northward from northwestern Szechuan in company with the Central Red Army, coerced part of the troops into retreat towards Sikang Province and unconstitutionally set up another Central leading organ. Thanks to the correct policy on inter-Party struggle adopted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and thanks to the persevering efforts of Comrades Chu Teh, Jen Pi-shih, Ho Lung, Kuan Hsiang-ying and others, the splitting intrigues of the traitor Chang Kuo-tao quickly met with complete failure, but not before they had caused further great losses to the Red Army. Before the fifth KMT encirclement campaign, the Red Army had expanded into a force of 300,000 troops, but after reaching Northern Shensi at the end of the Long March, owing to the many setbacks caused by erroneous leadership within the Party, the Red Army totalled less than 30,000 troops. These were the most precious flower of the Red Army and the Party.

The victorious Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army marked the turn from danger to security in the Chinese revolution. It gave the Chinese people hope in the future of the revolution and in the future of the anti-Japanese national salvation movement. It convinced China and the whole world of the invincible strength of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese Red Army and forced them to see that, in order to defeat Japanese imperialism whose ambitions of encroachments on China were insatiable, China had to rely upon the Communist Party and had to put an end to the civil war against the Communists.

In November 1935, immediately after joining forces, the Central Red Army, the Red Army units in North Shensi and the Red Army units which had marched northward from Hupeh, Honan and Anhwei

Provinces, jointly smashed the third encirclement campaign of the KMT troops against the revolutionary bases in Northern Shensi, thus greatly consolidating these bases and raising the prestige of the Red Army. Later, owing to further attacks on North China by Japanese imperialism, the "December 9" movement, beginning with the great Resist-Japan-and-Save-China Demonstration by students in Peking on December 9, 1935, spread to the whole of the country. During this movement, the broad masses of the people unanimously adopted the slogan of "Stop the Civil War; unite to resist Japan" formulated by the Communist Party of China. The tide of the revolution was once more on the rise. Meanwhile, there was an urgent need to make an accurate analysis of the internal situation since the Japanese invasion of China, to decide the policy of the Party and to correct the "Left," "closed-door" tendency prevalent within the Party. This work could not have been accomplished by the Central leading organs of the Party between 1931 and 1934 and, similarly, it could not have been accomplished by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1935, during the Long March. This need was met when, aided by the correct policy of the united front against fascism adopted by the Communist International, the Communist Party of China issued a declaration on August 1, 1935, calling for a united front and, in particular, when the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party on December 25 passed a resolution on the current political situation and the tasks of the Party and when Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a report entitled *The Policy of Fighting Japanese Imperialism* on December 27, at a conference of Party activists.

The problem of establishing a national united front against Japanese imperialism was systematically expounded in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report. After pointing out the possibilities that the Left wing of the national bourgeoisie might join in the fight against Japanese imperialism, that the rest of the national bourgeoisie might move from vacillation to neutrality, that the KMT camp might split, that the clique of pro-Anglo-American compradors within it might, under given conditions, be compelled to take part in the fight against Japan and after pointing out the great significance of the Long March, Comrade Mao Tse-tung summarised the Party's tasks as follows:

"The task before the Party is to integrate the activities of the Red Army with all the activities of the workers, peasants, students, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie of the whole country and to form out of this integration a united national revolutionary front."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung vigorously rebutted all the arguments of the "Left" elements in the Party against a united front. Comrade Mao Tse-tung raised the slogan of a people's republic to replace that of a republic of workers and peasants, and formulated an accurate policy towards the national bourgeoisie both politically and economically. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, during the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary period, the People's Republic would protect those members of the national bourgeoisie who did not support imperialism

and its lackeys, together with their industry and businesses and that the People's Republic, with the workers and peasants as its foundation represented the interests of all strata of the people who opposed imperialism and feudalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the difference between the present united front and that of 1924 to 1927 lay in the participation of the resolute and powerful Communist Party and the revolutionary Army. Comparing the differences between the two periods, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"But the situation is changed now. Not only are there a resolute and powerful Communist Party and a strong Red Army, but there are also bases for the Red Army. They are not only initiators of the national anti-Japanese united front but will inevitably become the strong supporting pillar in the future anti-Japanese government and army, thus ensuring the final frustration of the plots of the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek to disrupt the anti-Japanese national united front and spread defeatism among us."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report not only laid down the Party's policy at that time and foretold the future development of the Chinese political situation, but also summarised the fundamental experiences of the two periods of revolutionary civil wars and defined the basic line of the Party in the period of democratic revolution.

The correct political line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, rapidly achieved great results and quickly brought into existence the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. After driving into Shansi Province in February 1936 by advancing east and winning many victories, the Red Army issued an open message to the KMT in May proposing cessation of hostilities, negotiations for peace and concerted action against Japanese imperialism, and first of all secured a truce with Chang Hsueh-liang, Yang Hu-cheng, and others in Shensi Province. In the KMT-controlled areas, the Party work and the national salvation movements against Japan carried out by people of all strata were similarly resumed and were spreading under the correct leadership of Comrade Liu Shao-chi. But Chiang Kai-shek still clung to the reactionary policy of opposing the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, and continued to attack the Red Army. On December 12, 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, who demanded an alliance with the Communist Party of China in resisting Japan, detained Chiang Kai-shek in Sian, forcing him to put an end to the anti-Communist civil war which was ruining the nation. In this situation, the Communist Party of China considered it necessary to secure a peaceful solution of the Sian Incident in order to resist Japanese imperialist aggression, and Chiang Kai-shek was therefore released and internal peace achieved.

After the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident, to assist in maintaining internal peace and to win the landlord class over to joint resistance to Japanese imperialism, the Communist Party of China decided temporarily to suspend carrying out the policy of confiscating and redistributing the land of the landlords. Thanks to the achievement of internal peace, when the Japanese imperialists used the pretext of the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge) incident of July 7, 1937, to launch a new offensive against China, Chinese troops, including Chiang Kai-shek's army,

resisted Japanese aggression and the national War of Resistance broke out. The realisation of internal peace and of the War of Resistance, which resulted from the correct views and work of the Communist Party of China during and after the Sian Incident, greatly raised the prestige of the Communist Party among the masses of the people throughout the country.

In May, 1937, the Central Committee convened a Party Conference which discussed and ratified the political line of the Party since 1935 and made political and organisational preparations for the War of Resistance.

During the years in which the revolution emerged from danger and was approaching a new upsurge, Comrade Mao Tse-tung devoted great efforts to theoretical work in order to sum up experiences and train cadres. In the autumn of 1936, he wrote *The Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary Wars*, which summed up the experiences of the revolutionary wars between 1927 and 1936, explained the characteristics of China's revolutionary wars and systematically criticised the mistaken military lines of the "Leftists" and the Rightists. This was one of the most brilliant Marxist works of the world Communist movement on military science. More than that, this book was an important political and philosophical work, because it made a penetrating analysis of the laws of the Chinese revolution as a whole, of the causes of victory and defeat in war, of the laws of war as well as the process of understanding the laws of war.

In the summer of 1937, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote his renowned philosophical treatise entitled *On Practice*. In this book, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a comprehensive, profound and popular exposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge. It



is of the utmost importance and value in the history of Chinese thought and in the ideological work of the Party. It is the best textbook for teaching the people how to think, act and study correctly. It analysed the philosophical nature of the inner-Party controversies during the Second Revolutionary Civil War and by means of the irrefutable principles of materialism, exposed the doctrinaire and empiricist errors in the theory of knowledge of the "Leftists" and Rightists. It not only laid the foundation for the education of the Communist Party of China in Marxism-Leninism but also made a splendid contribution to the world's philosophical treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War was a period in which the Communist Party of China, in extremely difficult circumstances, reached political maturity and advanced the revolution to new heights. During this period, mainly owing to the efforts of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party profoundly recognised the importance of military work and rural work, created the revolutionary army and the revolutionary bases in the countryside, and learned how to lead the revolutionary war, land reform

and various kinds of work involved in state power. During this period, the Communist Party of China recognised Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its own real Marxist-Leninist leader and at the same time also recognised the danger and the harmfulness of the various types of "Left" petty bourgeois ideology.

In the struggle against various erroneous petty bourgeois ideologies, the Party established its leadership with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head. Just as Rightism caused the main damage during the KMT-Communist coalition in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, "Left" deviations constituted the chief mistake of the Party's leadership during this period. "Leftist" mistakes caused the Party and the Red Army to suffer serious setbacks, retarding the advance of the revolution to new heights. Nevertheless, the Party and the Army which emerged with rich experience from many tribulations and complex ordeals, later on constituted the main force that subsequently led the War of Resistance and the People's Liberation War. In the light of these facts, it may be stated that it was during the Second Revolutionary Civil War that the most important political preparations and nurturing of cadres was made for the victory of the Chinese revolution today.

The Party tided over the extremely reactionary period between 1927 and 1937. During this period, on the one hand, the enemy attempted to annihilate

our Party completely and our Party conducted most difficult, intricate and brave struggles against them; on the other hand, having overcome the Right opportunism of Chen Tu-hsiu, the Party was assailed several times by "Left" opportunism, which brought it into the greatest danger. However, thanks to the correct creative Marxist-Leninist leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, his unusual patience and his spirit of observing discipline, the Party finally succeeded in overcoming the opportunist errors with perfectly satisfactory results and in extricating itself from an extremely dangerous situation. Thus, during the 10-year period of reaction, the Party, in spite of being assailed by enemies, from both within and without, was able to educate the vast masses of the people throughout the country in the revolutionary spirit, uphold the revolutionary banner of the Party among the masses of the people, preserve the essential main force of the Red Army and part of the revolutionary bases, preserve a large number of the outstanding cadres of the Party and tens of thousands of Party members and amass a wealth of revolutionary experience, especially regarding warfare and revolutionary bases, to meet the new revolutionary tide—the nation-wide patriotic War of Resistance and the new co-operation between the KMT and the Communist Party of China.

(To be continued)

## THE FIRST TASTE OF HAPPINESS

(Continued from page 29)

With your shining example and the example of the Communist Party before us, we have come to see that all the talk about 'fate' and 'horoscope' has no truth at all.

"Your instruction has helped us to change our fate. Our village has now carried through land reform, wiped out the feudal system of exploitation and cut apart the chains of slavery. We can now stand up erect and be the masters of our village.

"We want especially to tell you about two marriages: between Fuchuan and Chun-hsing, Li Suming and Yueh-lien. All four are members of the militia. The bridegrooms both used to be farmhands without a *sheng* of land or a roof above them that they could call their own. Now each has got some land, a house and a wife. Chun-hsing used to be a child-bride, and Yueh-lien a maid-servant. Both were direct victims of feudal society. And now both have got land and houses of their own and have chosen their life companions of their own free will.

"There are altogether 192 families in our village, of which 115 were families of landless or almost landless farmhands or poor peasants before land reform. After we

carried out land reform, we got from the landlords 82 *tan* and seven *tou* of marshy land, 12 *tan* and five *tou* of dry land, 45 farm implements, six oxen, 52 rooms both big and small, and over 4,000 catties of surplus foodstuffs. In the past, both the land beneath our feet and the roof over our heads belonged to others, we dared not complain or shed tears. Now we have our own houses and our own land, and a prosperous future is in sight.

"We understand that these changes have only become possible with the liberation of the whole nation. Only with a government of our own could we have obtained the present conditions. We realise that the future success of the nation rests largely on our efforts at production and in protecting the people's democratic dictatorship in the rural areas.

"Therefore we have decided to devote all our power to repairing dykes and water-gates and cultivating and fertilising the land, so that in the coming autumn we can bring in a bumper harvest to repay your goodness and help strengthen our nation economically.

"There is a lot else we might tell you. We are planning to build a school of our own. We will soon have our own co-op. A medical clinic will soon be established near the Seven Star Slope.

"After the autumn harvest the

women in the village plan to open a weaving factory with the help of the co-op. We are convinced our days will become steadily better and better. Today is but the beginning of a yet more glorious tomorrow.

"We know if we really cherish our happiness, we should persist in the Resist-America-and-Aid-Korea Campaign until we have completely overthrown the enemies—American aggressors and their lackey, Chiang Kai-shek.

"Hence, we peasants of Hsinlu Village have solemnly undertaken to do the following things:

"(1) repair all dykes and water-gates, step up spring cultivation and increase foodstuff production.

"(2) enlarge and strengthen the organisation of the Peasants' Association and the militia. Heighten our vigilance against counter-revolutionary elements and strengthen public security.

"(3) support whole-heartedly the campaign to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea with material and manpower and carry on the revolution to a victorious end.

"We wish you

"Unbreakable health like the rock's and

"Eternal brightness like the sun's.  
(Signed)

The whole body of Hsinlu  
Village peasants

February 4, 1951."

# People's China

經中國人民郵政登記認為第一類新聞紙類  
及北京郵政管理局登記執照第一三三號



Chinese People's Volunteers Capture a Key Mountain Pass in Korea.

Woodcut by Yen Han