

PEKING REVIEW

31

August 3, 1962

THE ARMY OF THE PEOPLE

1. Thirty-five years of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (p. 5).
2. Marshal Lo Jung-huan's reminiscences of the early days of the Chinese Red Army (p. 9).

China Greet's Anniversary of Cuba's July 26 Uprising

(p. 13).

The "Two Chinas" Scheme in World Sports

The U.S. attempts to use the forthcoming Asian Games for its cold war aims (p. 14).

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August 3, 1962 Vol. V No. 31

CONTENTS

ROUND THE WEEK	3
<i>How to Be a Good Communist;</i> P.L.A.'s 35th Anniversary; New Playwrights, Directors, Con- ductors	
ARTICLES	
The Chinese People's Liberation Army—Thirty-five Brilliant Years	5
Early Days of the Chinese Red Army —Lo Jung-huan	9
China Greets Historic July 26 —Our Correspondent	13
China Backs Soviet Decision on Nuclear Tests	14
U.S. "Two Chinas" Scheme in World Sports —Wen Wei-ming	14
Thailand—Victim of U.S. Economic Aggression —Chao Hsiun-kai	16
CHINA AND THE WORLD	17
Vietnamese, Laotian Guests Wel- comed; Fraternal Co-operation; At the World Youth Festival; Gifts From Indonesia	
CHINESE PRESS OPINION	18
British Cabinet Reshuffle	
SIDELIGHTS	19
POPULAR ART	20
Chinese Picture Story Books	
WHAT'S ON IN PEKING	23

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ROUND THE WEEK

"How to Be a Good Communist"

The big news of the week is the republication of Chairman Liu Shao-chi's famous work *How to Be a Good Communist*. This revised edition was carried first in the August 1 issue of *Hongqi*, fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Slight changes in phraseology and some additions to its content were made by the author before its republication. *Renmin Ribao* also carried the full text on August 1.

How to Be a Good Communist comprises a series of lectures given by Liu Shao-chi in July 1939 at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Yen-an. It was first published in the journal *Liberation* that year.

During the rectification campaign of the Chinese Communist Party in 1942, it was one of the required readings for all functionaries of the Party. This important work has played an immense role in building the Chinese Communist Party, in educating Party members and strengthening their proletarian ideology.

Liu Shao-chi in this work points out that it is important for every Communist Party member to steel and cultivate himself in revolutionary practice and proletarian ideology, particularly after the Party has taken over state power. "Our Communist Party," he writes, "did not drop from the heavens but was born of Chinese society. Every member of our Party came from this Chinese society and is still living in this society today and remains in constant association with all the squalid things of this society. It is not surprising that he may have brought with him more or less of the ideology and habits of the old society, whether he be of proletarian or non-proletarian origin and whether he be a veteran or a new member of the Party. In order to preserve our purity as the vanguard of the proletariat and improve our revolutionary qualities and working abilities, every one of our Party members must intensify his self-steeling and self-cultivation in every respect."

Since its first publication, this work has been translated into English, Japanese, Spanish, Czech, Dutch and

other languages. It has been distributed in more than 20 countries and has won widespread attention.

P.L.A.'s 35th Anniversary

Peking and other cities held celebrations on Wednesday, August 1, to mark the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army—the armed force of the people that overthrew reactionary Kuomintang rule and carried the Chinese revolution to victory, the defender of China's socialist construction and the champion of world peace.

Celebration parties and meetings of the people and their army were the order of the day. Congratulatory messages were received by the P.L.A. from all over the world. All the leading newspapers carried editorials paying warm tribute to the P.L.A.'s officers and men for their outstanding contributions to the socialist cause in safeguarding the fruits of revolutionary victory, strengthening the national defences, resolutely opposing imperialist aggression and defending peace. The P.L.A. has covered a long, hard and glorious journey in its 35 years; and August 1, the day of its founding, will always be an occasion for rejoicing among the Chinese people who well remember Chairman Mao Tse-tung's words: "Without a people's army there will be nothing for the people."

Peking Celebrates. Peking marked the day with varied activities. There were special film shows and theatrical performances, exhibitions, lectures and broadcasts on the exploits of the P.L.A. yesterday and today.

Climax of the commemorative activities was the grand party held on the eve of August 1 by the General Political Department of the P.L.A. in the halls of the Military Museum of the Chinese Revolution. More than 10,000 people attended. Marshal Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.; Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun and Vice-Chairman Chen Shu-tung of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress joined the festivities together with



The P.L.A. Helps With the Ploughing
Woodcut by Lin Teh-hung

other government officials, representatives of the capital's citizens, generals, combat heroes, officers and men of the P.L.A. and dependents of armymen and revolutionary martyrs. A myriad coloured lights lit up the towering museum and the square in front of it. There in the open, on the roof garden of the museum and in the halls inside they enjoyed Peking operas, songs, dances and comic dialogues or watched acrobatics and puppet shows, chess and table tennis exhibition matches.

Army veterans were there with young recruits. In some groups old generals and veteran revolutionaries were swapping stories about the Long March or the early armed struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries; in other groups young soldiers were exchanging experiences in training during the past year, and in still others the soldiers and the people were telling one another about their everyday life, their studies, their work and their wishes. It was a grand family gathering, a vivid expression of the great unity between officers and men of the P.L.A. and between the soldiers and the people.

Members of a Family. The P.L.A., today as always, is truly the Chinese people's army, maintaining the closest ties with the people. In those ties and

in its dedication to the service of the people lies the source of its strength. Armymen and civilians consider themselves members of one family, helping and supporting each other in times of revolutionary wars and in socialist construction.

While carrying out their defence duties, officers and men of the P.L.A. have this year already contributed more than 2 million workdays in agricultural production and other fields of national construction. They helped the people's communes with farm work during the busy spring ploughing and summer harvesting seasons. P.L.A. technicians repaired or made tens of thousands of farm machines and tools for the communes besides helping them train hundreds of junior technicians.

On the Fukien front and in other areas in southeastern China, P.L.A. units and the local militia and people are vigilantly guarding the coast together. A militant friendship between them, forged over the years, grows stronger day by day. Armymen on offshore islands often help with the farm work when the fishermen are out at sea. Naval forces of the P.L.A. guard the fishing boats at sea and provide the fishermen with reliable weather forecasts.

P.L.A. units in national minority areas spare no efforts in giving whatever help the minority peoples need. They have introduced advanced farming methods in many areas and set up farm tool repairing centres in others to help the minority peoples develop agriculture. In addition, they have opened schools and set up clinics for them. In the mountain villages of multi-national Yunnan Province, where the Lisu people live, they have established adult night schools. In Lhasa, Shigatse and other places in Tibet, medical units of the P.L.A. have helped train hundreds of Tibetan medical workers who are today playing an increasingly important role in promoting the people's health. In these national minority areas, as elsewhere in the country, P.L.A. men are ever-welcome guests in the homes of the people on national festivals or other holidays.

As a Chinese saying goes: "When you drink water, don't forget the well-digger." Throughout the land on Army Day—in the cities and rural areas, on the Fukien front and other coastal areas and far inland—the people visited the P.L.A. units stationed

in their districts to extend their regards and express their firm support to the Army whose men and women selflessly gave themselves to the cause of winning a peaceful and happy new life for the nation and are today defending the country with no less determination and dedication against all would-be aggressors.

New Playwrights, Directors, Conductors

The first group of playwrights and directors in Chinese traditional opera have just graduated from the China Institute of Operatic Arts. The Central Conservatory of Music announces the graduation of its first four modern orchestral conductors. All these new graduates will take up work with various opera companies or symphony orchestras.

Thirty-seven students specializing in libretto writing, directing or research work in Chinese opera have completed a three-year course and qualified themselves as full-fledged playwrights and directors. As their graduation theses, the fifteen students who specialize in libretto writing each wrote one or two libretti for Peking opera, Shaohsing, Kwangtung and five other local operas. Some have been staged, others are being rehearsed. Some of these graduates worked with opera companies before they enrolled at the institute three years ago; most were graduates of colleges specializing in the arts.

As his graduation thesis in libretto writing, Mo Ju-cheng wrote an historical play about a peasant uprising in the late 19th century. This was favourably received by both the faculty of the institute and the Kwangtung Opera Theatre where he previously worked.

The four new conductors are the first class of orchestral conductors to graduate from the Central Conservatory of Music. This brings to around 100 the number of China's young but maturing conductors. They include many returned students from the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other countries. The new graduates received three years of advanced training. All four recently led the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in a concert presenting a varied programme of orchestral music by Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Weber and other masters.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army

— *Thirty-Five Brilliant Years* —

AUGUST 1 this year is the 35th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Under the able leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, in these past 35 years, this armed force of the Chinese people has advanced triumphantly through long years of hard struggles, developed from a small, weak army into a great and powerful force, defeated powerful, armed domestic and foreign enemies and carried the Chinese revolution to its great victory. Today, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has achieved weighty successes in building itself into a fine, modern revolutionary army; it has become a mighty force defending the motherland and safeguarding peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Birth of the P.L.A.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army was born out of the armed uprisings of the Chinese people. In 1927, when the First Revolutionary Civil War was still going ahead triumphantly, the Kuomintang reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek, in collusion with imperialism and the feudal forces, betrayed the revolution in order to prevent it from winning complete victory and to seize the fruits of victory. On April 12, they started a savage, wholesale massacre of Chinese Communists and revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals. At that time, Chen Tu-hsiu, the then leader of the Communist Party, took a Right opportunist line, opposing the peasant movement and rejecting the idea of arming the workers and peasants. He even went so far as to disarm those workers and peasants who were already under arms. The First Revolutionary Civil War, which had been developing vigorously, thus ended in failure. But the ruthless massacres perpetrated by the enemy failed to cow the Chinese Communists and people. They continued to hold aloft the banner of the revolution and carried on the heroic struggle.

On August 1 in that same year, Chou En-lai, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting, Chu Teh, Liu Po-cheng and other comrades led more than 30,000 men and officers of the Northern Expeditionary Army, who were under the Communist influence, in staging an armed uprising in Nanchang, Kiangsi Province, against the Kuomintang reactionaries. In September, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, peasants, workers and revolutionary soldiers in western Kiangsi and eastern Hunan started the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising, formed the First Division of the First Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army and founded the first revolutionary base in the Ching kang Mountains. At about the same time, uprisings were also organized by the Communist Party in eastern Hupeh, eastern and southern Hunan, Canton and eastern Kwangtung, on Hainan Island and in other areas.

In April 1928, some of the armed units which had taken part in the Nanchang Uprising and the troops which

had participated in the Autumn Harvest Uprising joined forces in the Ching kang Mountains, establishing the Fourth Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. This gave the Chinese people a new army of their own led entirely by the Chinese Communist Party.

In his *Problems of War and Strategy*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, discussing the war history of the Chinese Communist Party, points out: "Having learned a bitter lesson from the failure of the revolution [the First Revolutionary Civil War], the Party organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Canton Uprising, and thus ushered in the new period of the founding of the Red Army. That was the crucial period in which our Party came to understand thoroughly the importance of the army. If in this period there had been no Red Army or the battles fought by it, that is, if the Communist Party had adopted the liquidationism of Chen Tu-hsiu, the War of Resistance Against Japan would never have been started or, at any rate, kept up for any length of time."

In order to build the Red Army into a people's army, during the period of struggle in the Ching kang Mountains, Chairman Mao Tse-tung took personal charge of the tasks of establishing solid political work in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the Party representative system in the army, organizing Party branches at the company level as the core of each company's unity and fighting strength, carrying on political education in the army and bringing about unity between officers and men within the army. At the same time Chairman Mao also personally drew up for the Red Army the "Three Cardinal Rules of Discipline" and the "Six Reminders" (later developed into the "Eight Reminders");* he taught the Red Army how to observe discipline conscientiously in dealing with the masses, thereby maintaining the closest relations between the Red Army and the masses of the people, so that the troops would be "like fish in the water."

The Kutien Congress

In December 1929 the Fourth Army of the Red Army called its Ninth Party Congress in Kutien, Shanghang County, Fukien Province. This congress summed up the experience gained in building the Party and the army, adopted a resolution drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung entitled "On the Rectification of Incorrect Ideas in the Party," criticized all sorts of the non-proletarian ideas

* The "Three Cardinal Rules of Discipline" are: 1. Obey orders in all actions; 2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the people; 3. Turn all booty over to headquarters.

The "Eight Reminders" are: 1. Talk to people politely; 2. Be fair in all business dealings; 3. Return everything you have borrowed; 4. Pay for anything you have damaged; 5. Don't beat or bully people; 6. Don't damage crops; 7. Don't flirt with women; 8. Don't ill-treat prisoners of war.

then existing among Party members in the Fourth Army, and summed up and established the principles of building the Red Army. The resolution of the Kutien congress pointed out that the Red Army must be an armed unit formed to carry out the Party's political tasks, and, in addition to waging battles, would also undertake such important tasks as doing propaganda work among the masses, organizing and arming them, helping them set up their revolutionary political power, and establishing Communist Party organizations. The resolution endorsed the Red Army's Party representative system, its system of political work and its democratic system under centralized guidance. This resolution made it possible to build the Red Army up completely on a Marxist-Leninist basis and freed it from all influences of the old-type army. Its provisions were carried out not only in the Fourth Army of the Red Army, they were later followed out one after another by the various detachments of the Red Army, thus moulding all the units of the Chinese Red Army into a real people's army. Since it was founded, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has been under the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and advanced along the correct political and military lines drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is because of this fact that during the following decades of hard revolutionary struggle, the Chinese People's Liberation Army could fully display the political superiority characteristic of a people's army, win the wholehearted love and full support of the masses of people, overcome all kinds of difficulties, pass a series of serious tests, grow from a small and weak force into a great and powerful army invincible in its strength.

The Second Revolutionary Civil War

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army increased to 300,000 men and set up a dozen or so revolutionary base areas with a population of over 10 million people in more than ten provinces and regions. Between 1930 and 1933, under the correct guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Red Army successively smashed four big encirclement campaigns launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. In October 1933, with the direct participation

of military advisers sent by the German, Italian and U.S. imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek mustered a million men to start his fifth large-scale encirclement campaign. Because at this time the proponents of the "Left" opportunist line occupied the Party's leading positions and rejected the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Red Army suffered serious setbacks. In October 1934 the Central Red Army had to withdraw from the revolutionary base area in Kiangsi and started the Long March, an unprecedented feat in the history of the world. During the Long March the Party corrected the "Left" opportunist mistakes of the leadership, established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leading position throughout the Party and enabled the Chinese revolution and the Red Army to develop once again along a new and correct road. During the 25,000-li Long March, the Red Army with exceptional courage and perseverance smashed the attempts of several hundred thousand enemy troops to trap and encircle it; it overcame untold hardships and dangers and finally victoriously entered the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, an anti-Japanese advance base area. This turned the Chinese revolution from the edge of danger to safety and gave the whole nation new hope for the revolution.

The War of Resistance Against Japan

Following the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Kuomintang army commanded by Chiang Kai-shek met with one defeat after another and the Japanese invaders penetrated deep into China. The Chinese Communist Party decided to mobilize the masses freely deep behind the enemy lines, develop its independent guerrilla warfare and engage in an all-out war of resistance. The Red Army was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army respectively in August and October 1937. Shouldering the national hopes, these two armies and the other anti-Japanese armed forces led by the Chinese Communist Party in various parts of the country fought hard against the Japanese aggressors and dealt them heavy blows south and north of the Great Wall and the Yangtse River. In September 1937, the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army, in its first encounter with the Japanese invaders in Pinghsingkuan, Shansi Province, wiped out

over 3,000 men of the crack Itagaki Division. This greatly heightened the confidence of the people throughout the country in victory in the War of Resistance. Thereafter, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the South China Anti-Japanese Column were active in north, east, central and south China; they armed the broad masses of the people, developed powerful anti-Japanese guerrilla operations and gradually established many anti-Japanese democratic base areas.



The great and rapid growth of the guerrilla war behind the enemy lines forced the Japanese invaders to a military stalemate after they occupied Wuhan and Canton. They could make no further advances. Their rear was exposed to the attacks of powerful guerrilla forces, so they were forced to turn around and concentrate their main pressure on the battlefields behind their lines, cease from strategic attacks on the front line battlefields and try to bring about the surrender of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang by political means.

From that time on, Chiang Kai-shek pursued a reactionary policy of passively resisting Japan while actively engaging in anti-Communist and anti-popular activities. While permitting the Japanese invaders to launch large-scale attacks on the Liberated Areas, he himself avoided fighting any battles; he callously looked on at the battle that was going on; meanwhile he himself carried out various anti-Communist and anti-popular activities.

The danger of Chiang Kai-shek's surrender reached a climax in September 1939 when war broke out between fascist Germany on the one hand and Britain and France on the other hand. From 1939 to 1943 he launched three large-scale anti-Communist campaigns, dispatching Kuomintang troops to conduct large-scale attacks and encirclements of the anti-Japanese democratic base areas. At that time the Chinese Communist Party put forward the slogan of "persisting in resistance and opposing capitulation, persisting in solidarity and opposing splits, persisting in progress and opposing retrogression," and led the people throughout the nation to fight against the reactionary tendencies of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries.

The years 1941-42 were the most difficult period on the battlefields behind the enemy lines. The Japanese aggressors concentrated more than 60 per cent of their forces in China on these battlefields, launching large-scale "mopping-up campaigns" and carrying out a policy of "burning all, killing all and looting all." Chiang Kai-shek issued secret orders to a large number of his commanders to the effect that they should take their troops to surrender to the Japanese invaders and allow them to be organized as puppet armies, so that, under the command of the Japanese aggressors, they could attack the Liberated Areas. Under these circumstances, the areas, population and troops of the Liberated Areas dwindled. They suffered great financial difficulties. In addition to heroically fighting back the attacks of the Japanese and puppet troops, the Party led the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army in launching a large-scale production movement and carrying out the policy of "picked troops and simplified administration," so as to lessen the burdens on the people and overcome material difficulties. Under the brilliant leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, these grave difficulties were finally overcome and the Liberated Areas were further consolidated and expanded steadily. During the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other anti-Japanese people's armed forces engaged 64 per cent of the Japanese invading troops in China and 95 per cent of the puppet forces, and killed, wounded and captured more than 1.7 million of them. During this great and victorious war, our army grew to 1.3 million, the people's militia reached more than 2.2 million, the Liberated Areas were established in 19 provinces with a total population of over 100 million.



Talking With a Peasant

All this ensured victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The War of Liberation

When the War of Resistance Against Japan came to an end, the traitor Chiang Kai-shek, in July 1946, supported and aided by U.S. imperialism, launched a nationwide civil war in an attempt to seize the fruits of victory from the people and keep China a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie. In the interests of the people throughout the country, the Chinese Communist Party led the People's Liberation Army in heroic counter-attacks against the onslaught of the Kuomintang reactionary troops. In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the P.L.A. in the early stages of the war adopted a concept of operations aiming chiefly at wiping out the enemy troops; it put a large number of them out of action and forced Chiang Kai-shek's bandit troops to switch from their "attacks on all fronts" to "attacks on key sectors." The "key sectors" in these attacks were Shantung and northern Shensi. In hard-fought battles the P.L.A. crushed Chiang's attacks on these sectors; at the same time, it successively went over to the counter-offensive itself in the northeast, and in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei and Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan areas. In one year of fighting, the P.L.A. annihilated 1,120,000 of Chiang's bandit troops and completely smashed his strategic offensive.

Beginning in July in the second year of the war, the P.L.A. switched from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive, while the Kuomintang was compelled to relinquish its "attacks on key sectors" and go on the "defensive on all sectors," and later even to a "defensive on key sectors." Nevertheless the P.L.A. successively captured a large number of "strongly defended" cities from the Kuomintang. Following this, the Northeastern Field Army of the P.L.A. conducted its Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign. In an operation lasting 52 days from September 12 to November 2, 1948, it wiped out a total of 472,000 enemy troops and liberated the whole of the northeast. On November 7, 1948, the Second and Third Field Armies of the P.L.A. launched their Huai-Hai campaign near Hsuehchow, Kiangsu Province; in 65 days of fighting, they ac-

counted for more than 555,000 Kuomintang troops, thus exposing Nanking, the centre of the Kuomintang's reactionary regime, to P.L.A. attacks. Between December 5, 1948, and January 31, 1949, the Fourth Field Army and the North China Field Army of the P.L.A. fought their Peiping-Tientsin campaign in which they wiped out or reorganized over 520,000 Kuomintang troops. By then the main forces of the Kuomintang had been wiped out and nationwide victory for the revolution became a foregone conclusion. Following this, a million P.L.A. troops crossed the Yangtse River and soon afterwards liberated Nanking. The P.L.A. then carried out mopping-up operations against the remnant enemy troops on the various fronts. Acting in accordance with the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet, it later marched into Tibet. In the four years of the War of Liberation, the People's Liberation Army accounted for a total of over 8,070,000 U.S.-armed Kuomintang troops and liberated all of China, with the exception of Taiwan and some other offshore islands.

In June 1950, just as the Chinese people were concentrating their efforts on peaceful construction, U.S. imperialism launched its war of aggression in Korea and at the same time openly occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan. Disregarding the repeated warnings given by the Chinese people, they arrogantly crossed the 38th Parallel in Korea, advanced towards China's borders and bombed China's northeast, posing a serious threat to the country's security. The Chinese people answered this intolerable threat and provocation by organizing the Chinese People's Volunteers. The C.P.V. crossed the Yalu River and, in co-operation with the Korean people and the Korean People's Army, repulsed and drove back the U.S. imperialist aggressors. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the Chinese People's Volunteers resolutely carried out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions about loving and protecting everything belonging to Korea. Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking of despising the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically, and taking advantage of his weaknesses while bringing our own advantages into play, the C.P.V. won great victories both in the early stages when they waged mobile warfare and afterwards when they waged defensive positional warfare. In the three years and one month of the war, the people's forces of China and Korea killed, wounded and captured over 1,090,000 enemy troops, including more than 390,000 U.S. troops. Driven back to where it started the war of aggression — in the vicinity of the 38th Parallel — U.S. imperialism was forced to sign the armistice agreement. Carrying forward the glorious tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers fought heroically in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; it defended the security of the motherland, supported the Korean people, and demonstrated to the people of the world that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger.

After the People's Republic Was Founded

In the 13 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the P.L.A., in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has speeded up its efforts to build itself into a modern revolutionary army while vigilantly keeping watch on the enemy and defending the

country. Today, the P.L.A. has grown from a single service army into a composite army of various services. Its equipment is being constantly improved and it has established appropriate systems and drawn up various manuals and regulations. In recent years, the P.L.A. has summed up the historical experiences accumulated since the birth of the people's forces; it has continued to make a deep study and put into practice Mao Tse-tung's military thinking, and in various ways made further progress in building the army. The "Resolution on Strengthening the Political and Ideological Work in the Army" adopted in October 1960 carries forward the tradition established at the Kutien congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking and teachings, it comprehensively sums up the rich experience in army building and political and ideological work accumulated over the 11 years since liberation; it clearly points out the direction which political work in the army should take in the new historical period. The resolution emphatically points out that in political work, special attention must be paid to ideological work and that in ideological work, special attention must be paid to "ideas learnt from life." It points out the importance of carrying out the "three-eight" style of work* in the army, of improving methods of work and of firmly anchoring the work at the grass-roots level, i.e., the companies. Around that time, a vigorous movement was launched throughout the entire army to foster the "three-eight" style of work. Following this, another extensive and deep-going movement was developed for the companies to attain the standards known as the "four goods," i.e., good political and ideological work, good "three-eight" style of work, good military training and good living arrangements. At the same time, five sets of regulations governing the political, administrative, educational and other aspects of the work in the companies were promulgated. The realization of these principles, requirements and measures for army building has further enhanced the fighting ability of China's armed forces.

The glorious 35-year history of the Chinese People's Liberation Army shows that without a people's army, the people can achieve nothing. It was by relying on this army that the Chinese people achieved their liberation, and it is by continued reliance on this army that they have defended the fruits of victory of the Chinese revolution and of socialist construction. Today, with ever greater vigour, the P.L.A. pursues its aim of building itself into a fully modern revolutionary army, working unremittingly to defend socialist construction and to recover China's territory Taiwan, and maintaining its readiness to deal a crushing blow to any enemy who dares to invade China's soil. It stands alert to defend its great motherland and peace in the Far East and the world.

*This refers to the three pointers and the eight Chinese characters that embody the fine tradition formed by the people's forces in the course of protracted revolutionary struggle and summed up by Chairman Mao during the War of Resistance Against Japan. The three pointers are: a firm and correct political orientation, an assiduous and simple working style and a flexible and mobile strategy and tactics. The eight Chinese characters mean: be united, alert, earnest and lively.

Early Days of the Chinese Red Army

by LO JUNG-HUAN

The following consists of reminiscences of the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the ensuing struggles which led to the establishment of the first revolutionary base area on the Ching kang Mountains. These reminiscences by Marshal Lo Jung-huan who personally took part in those struggles first appeared in Chinese as a contribution to a symposium in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of China's Army Day. Minor details have been omitted by the translator to give a more connected narrative. Subheads and notes are ours.—Ed.

IN 1927, the revolution had suffered defeat. The forces of counter-revolution were on the rampage, but the Chinese Communist Party led the people in an armed struggle against them. An uprising was staged on August 1 in Nanchang, the capital city of Kiangsi Province, as an answer to the massacres staged by the counter-revolution and in a heroic attempt to save the revolution. That uprising held aloft the banner of armed struggle in those days of great peril for the revolution. On August 7 the Central Committee of the Communist Party, meeting in emergency session, categorically repudiated the Right opportunist line of capitulation that was represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, the then General Secretary of the Party, and decided to carry out an agrarian revolution, to meet the Kuomintang's white terror with armed resistance, and to organize uprisings at the time of the autumn harvest to roll back the attacks against the people.

In the southern provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung and Kiangsi the tide of revolution still ran high. The peasant movement there had surged forward with great spirit and vigour. The peasants everywhere demanded agrarian revolution; there were even cases of peasants acting on their own and confiscating the land of the landlords. The gathering momentum of the peasant movement struck terror into the hearts of the Kuomintang reactionaries; it also scared the wits out of the adherents of Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunism. Came the May 21st Incident* in Changsha, Hunan. That was reaction's first blow at the workers and peasants in the province, a signal that the government at Wuhan** would

* On that day, Hsu Ke-hsiang, a Kuomintang commander, staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in Changsha, the capital city of Hunan, and massacred the revolutionaries there.

** After the Northern Expeditionary Army reached the triple city of Wuhan on the Yangtse, the revolutionary National Government moved there from Canton. Following Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary coup d'etat on April 12, 1927, the Kuomintang rightists headed by Wang Ching-wei in the Wuhan government secretly negotiated with him. They finally decided to co-operate and fight against the Communists together. On July 15, Wang staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in Wuhan and started a massacre of the revolutionaries there.

betray the revolution. However, it had not yet completed its preparations for wholesale suppression of the peasant movement everywhere. The Communist Party therefore decided to organize autumn harvest uprisings in those provinces where the movement enjoyed solid and widespread support. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was sent to lead the uprising in Hunan.

The Autumn Harvest Uprising

Some of the troops which had been scheduled to participate in the Nanchang Uprising had set out too late to get there in time. These were still on the march. There were other revolutionary troops too in the rural areas: These were detachments which had lost contact with their units following the defeat which the Nanchang forces had suffered after their withdrawal to Sanhopa in eastern Kwangtung Province. These forces joined the peasants, giving a boost to their morale. They became the military backbone of the uprisings. They expedited the uprisings and helped get the armed peasants into fighting trim.

Of the units taking part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising special mention should be made of the main detachment mustered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the border areas of the three provinces of Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi. The Guards Regiment, formerly of the 4th Group Army of the National Revolutionary Army,* was its mainstay, but its ranks were filled with armed peasants from the counties of Pingchiang, Liuyang, Tungcheng and Chungyang and the peasants who had already started an uprising at Liling. There were quite a few Communist Party members in this detachment but they failed to give it strong organizational leadership or a clear-cut programme of action, for the commanding officers were mostly cadets of the Whampoa Military Academy,** intellectuals who had seen little action before, lacking skill in directing military operations and addicted to the old ways of commanding their troops, which were by no means conducive to fostering unity between of-

* Organized on August 26, 1925 in Canton as a result of the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, with the cadets of the Whampoa Military Academy (see *infra*) as its backbone. It started its Northern Expedition against the imperialist-backed warlords in July, 1926.

** Established after the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924 at Whampoa, near Canton, by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with the help of the Chinese Communist Party. Before Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927, the academy was run jointly by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Comrades Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Yun Tai-ying, Hsiao Chu-nu and others all held responsible posts in the academy at one time or another. Many of the cadets were members of the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League, and formed the core of the academy.

fficers and men. Naturally such a force was not a good fighting force.

The Autumn Harvest Uprising was launched on September 8. Changsha was the target of attack. But the masses were not roused on a wide enough scale nor was their co-operation sought so the whole thing turned out to be simply a military operation. One of the units incorporated earlier into the revolutionary force defected to the enemy side; another was routed in a surprise attack by an enemy force; a third was ambushed by a stronger enemy force and suffered heavy casualties; still another was nearly wiped out as it broke out of an enemy encirclement. Comrade Mao Tse-tung hurried to the scene of action from the Provincial Party Headquarters but fell into enemy hands while en route to Tungku. Although he finally succeeded in making good his escape, the Autumn Harvest Uprising had by then failed. At Wenchih he collected together what was left of the detachment for a retreat to the south, only to be ambushed by the enemy again. Of the original detachment less than a thousand men were left as an organized force. When we reached Sanwan in Yunghsin County, Kiangsi Province, Comrade Mao Tse-tung immediately reorganized this force.

Reorganization of the Army

Organization was the first thing he tackled. The division was reorganized and reduced to the size of a regiment. It was renamed the First Regiment of the First Division of the First Army of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army, but our actual strength amounted to only two battalions comprising seven companies. This reorganization left more officers, mostly intellectuals, than were actually needed. Some of these redundant officers had been frightened by the series of setbacks we had suffered and were scared of the perils and difficult times that lay ahead. They had lost heart and wavered, and a few had even fled the field of battle. Unless something was done quickly about them, the morale of the rest of the troops would be affected. Comrade Mao Tse-tung acted at once. Steps were taken to find out who wanted to stay and who wanted to quit. Those who wanted to quit were given their travelling expenses and sent to the villages. This served to knit our army into a more compact fighting unit. With these men going away among the villagers it also served to sow the seeds of revolution. Though the number who chose to remain was small, they had been tried and tempered in the crucible of struggle, and proved to be staunch revolutionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung then set about establishing the Party organization in the army. It was decided that there should be a Party group for each squad, a Party branch for each company and a Party committee for a battalion or regiment. A Party representative was appointed to the company and upwards, and a Front Party Committee was set up with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as secretary. From that day on our army came under the absolute leadership of the Party, and this ensured the successful completion of the army reforms that were taking place.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also initiated a series of revolutionary measures designed to eliminate the pernicious practices of the old-type armies. These were essential

democratic reforms, for if the old army ways were to be done away with, it was necessary to establish political equality between officers and men and a new method of command to replace the old.

New Relations Between Officers and Men

The Soldiers' Committee which came into being in this period was one such reform. It exercised, in those days, wide powers, which included calling officers to account. This smacked of encouraging ultra-democracy and equalitarianism in the army, but looking back, it seemed called for since what was wanted more than anything else at the time was the abolition of the old ways of command to make way for a new kind of relationship between officers and men, to forge, in fact, ties of class unity. If there is no democracy the political consciousness of the masses cannot be enhanced nor can centralization of command be made secure. As to equalitarianism, which is a typical trait of the peasants, it can be overcome without much difficulty. In those days, as I recall, the Soldiers' Committee even took the trouble of seeing how an egg confiscated from a landlord was to be shared out. But as time went on the exemplary conduct of the officers, plus their democratic way of doing things, made a deep impression on the rank and file who came to realize that absolute equality was unattainable and of no use to anybody. The soldiers began to think better of the matter and love and respect their officers and willingly obey their commands.

The various measures adopted to improve the relations between officers and men covered a wide range. These included changes affecting their material life. Prior to the Autumn Harvest Uprising, the officers as a rule ate well, sitting down to four dishes and a soup at every meal, this by comparison made the food of the soldiers look dull and measly. The reorganization carried out at Sanwan gave completely equal treatment to officers and men. Both now ate the same sort of food and were issued uniforms of the same kind and quality, for we were going through a most difficult and bitter struggle then and it was important that the officers should bear and share hardships with their men. This was a great reform. It strengthened the ties between officers and men and went a long way in steeling and remoulding the officers, too. Of course, with the conditions existing today when our army has advanced to a high level of development, when being an officer means holding a career job, one that calls for specialized knowledge, and when the rank and file, instead of being all volunteers, are enlisted men, it is reasonable, and necessary too, that there should be some sort of distinction, though not an extreme one, in the pay and other material benefits which officers and men receive and as between one level and another in the army.

The Sanwan reorganization was in essence the rebirth of our army, for it was there that the Communist Party firmly established its leadership over the revolutionary armed forces. But for Comrade Mao Tse-tung's initiative and brilliant solution of this fundamental problem our army would not have gained the political consciousness it has today nor would it have become equipped with a clear, purposeful programme of action. The practices of the old-type armies and peasant lapses into indiscipline would not have been overcome either. The Sanwan

achievement was still limited to laying the foundation for a new type of revolutionary army; the work of reshaping the army politically and ideologically remained to be done in a protracted struggle down the years.

With Comrade Mao

In early October Comrade Mao Tse-tung led a contingent of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army on a march to Suichuan. Cold weather was setting in; the men had only old, tattered uniforms; supplies were fast running out, and we had not had a chance to get a good rest. But thanks to the work already done among the troops by the Party, spirits were high. Even after exhausting marches the men would go out to put up posters, do propaganda and explain to the people what and for whom we were fighting.

We decided to billet at a market town named Tafen lying in the western part of Suichuan where we hoped to get our winter clothing and supplies. But before we had time to plan our next move, the "house-to-house regular militia" of the landlords pounced on us. The attack was so sudden that we were taken completely by surprise. We gave battle but thought it best to disengage and disperse. The 4th Company, with only two platoons, fled with Comrade Mao Tse-tung to a place, where we finally collected a little over 30 men. We hunkered or sat in twos and threes famished for want of food. With our cooking utensils and supplies lost in the retreat we were finally obliged to ask the folk there for food. There were no bowls or chopsticks and we had to make do with our hands, Comrade Mao not excepted.

When everybody had eaten Comrade Mao got up. He took a few measured steps forward to an open space. Clicking his heels to stand at attention, his back straight as a ram rod, he called out to us in a voice brimming with fighting spirit, "Fall in! I'll stand first in the ranks. Will the company commander give the marching order?" His resolution, his composed and collected manner, was infectious, and produced an instant and powerful effect on us. One and all, we raised our heads, got to our feet, and with renewed confidence shouldered our guns to fall in line with his tall, strong figure. In a short while, one of our other battalions caught up with us and we headed for the Ching kang Mountains. A third battalion which had been operating in southern Hunan joined forces with us following our withdrawal from Chaling County.

Founding the Ching kang Base

On arriving in the Ching kang Mountains we lost no time in carrying out the agrarian revolution and carving out an independent revolutionary regime in the Ching kang Mountains in the middle section of the Lohsiao Range in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions. The revolution in the country as a whole was developing at an uneven pace, varying in success from one area to another, and it was necessary at this time when the revolutionary tide was ebbing, and when the forces of revolution were making a general retreat, to develop guerrilla warfare and strike at the local tyrants, redistributing their land and setting up small base areas in the rural districts of the Ching kang Mountains on the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan Provinces, where the counter-revolutionary rule was weaker than elsewhere.



Map by Su Li

All the same, the new strategic task of building base areas in the countryside, of "enabling the countryside to encircle the cities and thereby seize the cities" meant an arduous, long-term struggle. The march on the Ching kang Mountains could only be the initial stage of preparation for this struggle. The positions we then held in the countryside were few and far between, they were not stable or contiguous. All this added up to a situation very far from constituting any encirclement of the cities.

A Fighting Force and a Work Team

It was at this time that we put forward our slogan that the army is as much a working team as a fighting force. This slogan embodies the idea of closely integrating military operations with political work and their interaction on each other; it also makes it clear that the military and political qualities of the army can only be raised in the course of the actual, day-to-day, sharp class struggle.

In those days it was the job of our army to carve out armed independent regimes. Possessed of these, we were free to take the offensive and attack the enemy or else to go on the defensive so as to conceal our forces, avoid engagements where victory was not certain and await opportunities to deal the enemy fresh blows. On arriving at a place or after concluding a battle, our forces would break up into small squads or groups to rouse the masses in the villages to action, we would attack the local tyrants, distribute their land to the peasants and set up peasant associations. This was how the Red political power was established in the counties of Ningkang, Yungshin, Suichuan, Chaling and Taiho, and these places were thus turned into revolutionary bases. These activities had the effect not only of educating and tempering

our troops but also of cementing the bonds between the army and the people. It was at this time that in laying down rules about how revolutionary soldiers should conduct themselves in relation with the masses, Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally drafted what came to be known as the "Three Cardinal Rules of Discipline" and "Six Reminders" which to this day are the code of conduct for officers and men alike in the people's armed forces.

Meanwhile, democratic reforms continued apace in the army. The Party organization was finalized at all levels, and so was the system of Party representatives. There were now political departments at various levels in the army, and the Soldiers' Committees, now still more widely established, were playing a very positive role. Officers and men truly went through thick and thin together. Whenever new uniforms were issued priority was always given to the rank and file. In those days the more responsible officers from company level upwards were entitled to a horse but no one ever thought of availing himself of the privilege. The animals were used for carrying the wounded when in action and the sick when on the march. The implementation of the reforms in the army proved to be a rather protracted struggle, however, because, for one thing, the captives we accepted into our ranks were still full of the bad ways and habits of the old-type armies; and for another the peasants who came to join us in a continuous stream brought with them elements of indiscipline and conservative and backward ideas.

But through sustained and profound struggles, both inside and outside the army, we were able to achieve real "unity between the army and the people" and "unity between officers and men." Political enthusiasm remained high, and there were hardly any cases of desertion. I remember one particular instance. One day Comrade Mao Tse-tung took a battalion down the mountain to meet the 28th Regiment returning from southern Hunan. The party was attacked by the enemy when passing through Kweitung and the troops were scattered in the darkness of the night. Anxiety gripped everyone. When the battalion reassembled early next morning, only one stretcher-bearer was found missing. But on reaching home base we discovered to our surprise that the man had reported back for some time.

A Turning-Point

The Autumn Harvest Uprising was a turning-point in the history of the Chinese revolution. It blazed the path for its advance, the path, indeed the only correct one, of storming the countryside and relying on the revolutionary base areas built there to nurse, muster and steadily develop the forces of the revolution to encircle the cities and finally seize them.

It was Comrade Mao Tse-tung who in actual practice first correctly solved this problem of revolutionary strategy of relying on the countryside to carry on persistent guerrilla warfare. By virtue of this we held aloft the banner of armed struggle, carried out the agrarian revolution with the support of the armed forces and rallied the masses around us. Without the armed forces it would not have been possible to carry through the agrarian revolution, but then if the armed forces had not

identified themselves with the agrarian revolution and if the agrarian revolution had not been made the content of the armed struggle, defeat would have been certain, armed force or no armed force. On the other hand, if the base areas are not built up, then the armed forces cannot take root among the masses—a situation that leaves the armed forces wide open to attack and defeat by the enemy. Revolutionary armed force, agrarian revolution, and revolutionary base areas—these three together formed the hard core of the strategic thinking worked out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese revolution.

The troops which took part in the Autumn Harvest Uprising, under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, accumulated a store of rich and valuable experience regarding the building of revolutionary armed forces. One such instance comes to mind. It is that an armed uprising must rely on the broad mass of the peasantry and that it must have a certain number of revolutionary-conscious regulars as its backbone; in the absence of either condition it is difficult to launch an uprising, or even when launched it will not produce a fighting force of any great combat effectiveness.

Party Leadership — The Decisive Factor

Nevertheless, without the leadership of the Party an insurrectionary army will have no guiding hand even if the peasants taking part in the uprising are numerous and the necessary military backbone is not found wanting. For without the Party putting them through some political remoulding, the insurrectionary peasants will lack a sense of organization and discipline. Without remoulding politically the officers who form the military backbone of the uprising cannot at the same time play the part of political backbone; in such a case the role of military backbone will come to naught. Now as always, the Party is the leader, organizer and inspirer of the army. Without the Party's leadership there can be no revolutionary army. A departure from Party leadership means the end of everything. The history of our army has fully borne out this truth. Vacillation in the Party's collective leadership is certain to cause losses politically, even if only for a time, as witness countless instances in the past. These were profound lessons for us. The great historical significance of the reorganization of the army at Sanwan is that it put the Party in a position of absolute leadership over the army; it laid the foundation organizationally for a new type of revolutionary army. With this as our basis we continued in subsequent years with the work of eliminating the hard-to-eradicate habits of the old-type armies and brought into being a well-integrated, solid organization, system and style of work worthy of a revolutionary army. The comprehensive theory of army building with which Comrade Mao Tse-tung's name is associated was born in the actual struggle of those early years. This treasury of experience in army building was summed up comprehensively at the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army held at Kutien, Fukien Province, in 1929. It has become the glorious tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and, exerting as it does for over 30 years, the most profound influence on our revolutionary war and the growth and build-up of our revolutionary army.

China Greet Historic July 26

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people celebrated July 26, the 9th anniversary of the Cuban revolutionaries' historic attack on the Moncada Barracks and the precursor of the Cuban people's successful armed struggle against the hated U.S.-Batista rule.

In a joint message of greetings to Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos and Premier Fidel Castro on this great day of the Cuban revolution, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai wrote:

"The victory of the Cuban revolution is of great and far-reaching world significance. It not only won independence, democracy and freedom for the Cuban people, but has set a brilliant example of revolutionary struggle for the Latin American peoples, and greatly inspired the struggle for liberation of all the oppressed nations of the world. The Second Havana Declaration, solemnly adopted at the Second General Assembly of the Cuban People in February this year, dealt another hammer blow at U.S. imperialism and pointed out the correct and bright road for the Latin American peoples in their united struggle and their fight for liberation.

"The Chinese people are gladdened by the fact that the heroic Cuban people, under the correct leadership of the revolutionary Cuban Government headed by Premier Castro and in an indomitable and militant spirit, are waging a resolute struggle against the policies of aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and victoriously defending their fatherland, thus making great contributions to the safeguarding of world peace. At the same time, carrying their revolution to a new stage, the Cuban people are confidently moving forward along the road of socialism and have achieved outstanding successes in the political, economic, cultural and educational fields, and in social reform."

World Significance of Cuban Revolution

Renmin Ribao, in a special editorial also dwelt on the great significance of the Cuban revolution. It demonstrates to the oppressed peoples, says the paper, that even in a country like Cuba, where Batista had established a bloody rule and which is almost on the doorstep of U.S. imperialism, the revolutionaries can still win victory when they rely closely on the people, dare to wage resolute struggles against the enemies of revolution at home and abroad, and oppose armed counter-revolution with armed revolution. In the period between the July 26 Armed Uprising and today, the editorial goes on to say, the Cuban revolution has advanced by leaps and bounds and opened up broad perspectives for the Cuban people. Cuba is now in an entirely new era. The Cuban people, trained in the spirit of July 26, will surely be able to defeat all U.S. imperialist interventionist and aggres-

sive plots, overcome all difficulties in the course of their revolution and national construction and advance along the road of socialism.

Also on July 26, as part of the celebrations, *Renmin Ribao* carried selections from *History Will Absolve Me*, Fidel Castro's passionate defence of his revolutionary ideals and exposure of Batista's reactionary rule delivered at the Santiago Emergency Court following his imprisonment for leading the July 26 attack on the Moncada Barracks. The full text of the speech has been translated into Chinese and issued in book form by the World Culture Publishing House in Peking.

Expression of Mutual Support

Highlights of the Peking celebrations were the Cuban Ambassador's reception and a public meeting of the capital's citizens. Premier Chou En-lai, other government leaders and representatives of the national people's



In the Havana Museum

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

China Backs Soviet Decision on Nuclear Tests

Firm support for the decision of the Soviet Government to test its latest nuclear weapons was voiced by Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun on July 26.

Speaking at a public reception given by the Cuban Ambassador to China, Oscar Pino Santos, in Peking, the Chinese Vice-Premier declared: "In the past few months, the Kennedy Administration of the United States, in defiance of the strong opposition of the people of the world and unanimous con-

demnation by the world's unbiased opinion, has time and again conducted nuclear explosions. It is actively preparing for nuclear war and menacing world peace and the security of all peoples. The recent Soviet government statement announcing the decision to test its latest nuclear weapons is an answer to the imperialists' war provocations. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this important measure taken by the Soviet Government."

organizations attended the reception. They extended warm greetings to Premier Fidel Castro and the Cuban people through Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos and the evening's guest of honour, Dr. Merba Hernandez, Cuban heroine and one of the two women who took part in the July 26 Armed Uprising.

Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun, speaking at the reception, praised the revolutionary heroism of the Cuban people whom he called the hope and example of the Latin American peoples. He condemned Yankee imperialism for attempting to strangle the Cuban revolution and enslave the Latin American peoples. To perpetuate its neo-colonialist rule over Latin America, the Vice-Premier said, Washington is applying its counter-revolutionary dual tactics more energetically — political deception and economic infiltration through the "Alliance for Progress" programme and military control and armed intervention through its "special forces."

Vice-Premier Hsi Chung-hsun characterized the militant friendship between the Chinese and Cuban peoples

as "everlasting and unbreakable." The fearless and hard-working spirit displayed by the Cuban people, he said, is an immense inspiration to the Chinese people who are pressing on with their forward march in full confidence. "The Chinese people who have suffered bitterly from imperialist aggression and oppression are, as they were in the past and will for ever be, the Cuban people's most reliable and faithful comrades-in-arms," Hsi Chung-hsun declared.

Ambassador Pino Santos in his speech pointed out that relations between the Cuban and Chinese peoples are growing ever closer. "The Cuban Government and people support the just demand of the Chinese people for the recovery of their rightful seat in the United Nations. Should the evil Taiwan clique and its U.S. supporters dare to touch the free land of the People's Republic of China with their blood-stained claws, the Cuban people and Government will, as they do now, stand by the Chinese people," Ambassador Pino Santos stressed.

U.S. "Two Chinas" Scheme in World Sports

by WEN WEI-MING

THE Fourth Asian Games will be held in Djakarta, Indonesia, from August 24 to September 4. The U.S. imperialists are busily intriguing to have a team from the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan take part in the games.

U.S. Sporting Politics

While the U.S. press pays lip service to the "spirit of sportsmanship" and "non-political sports," U.S. imperialism has been intriguing for a long time now to create "two Chinas" in the realm of international sports. In fact, Washington is using sports as a political football.

From the very beginning, the United States did its utmost to prevent the national sports organization of the

People's Republic of China from participating in international sports activities. As this scheme fell through, it has tried, by various other means, to enable the so-called sports organization of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to participate illegally in the international sports organizations and international competitions. The purpose of this manoeuvre is to create a situation of "two Chinas," to provide a pretext for perpetuating its occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan.

U.S. imperialism has used a variety of tactics in pursuing this intrigue. In 1952, as a result of China's strong protest and under pressure of world public opinion, the International Olympic Committee was compelled to invite China to take part in the 15th Olympic Games.

In 1954, the International Olympic Committee recognized the legal status of the All-China Athletic Federation as the China Olympic Committee.

Faced with these setbacks, the U.S. imperialists changed their tactics. In 1954, bypassing a discussion and decision by the International Olympic Committee, its president Avery Brundage, U.S. imperialism's spokesman in the committee, arbitrarily placed the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the list of the national Olympic committees recognized by the International Olympic Committee, thereby violating the principle laid down in the charter of the International Olympic Committee that only one Olympic committee of a country will be recognized.

Between 1952 and 1958, U.S. imperialism successively instigated its lackeys in the international federations of football, basketball, swimming, track and field, weightlifting, shooting, wrestling and cycling, and the Asian Table Tennis Federation to violate, under cover of the slogan "No politics in sports," the principle of the international sports organizations that only one athletic federation of a country will be recognized, and so got the Chiang Kai-shek clique's athletic organization accepted as a member of these international sports federations.

In protest against the illegal recognition of the Chiang Kai-shek clique's athletic organization by the International Olympic Committee and the nine above-mentioned international sports federations, the China Olympic Committee announced in 1958 that it would no longer recognize the International Olympic Committee and severed relations with it. China also withdrew from the nine international sports federations.

Wrecking Friendship of Asian Peoples

Despite the protests of the Chinese people and condemnation by fair-minded athletic circles and sport lovers all over the world, the U.S. imperialists have continued these despicable political intrigues in sport. They have again and again hindered friendly contacts between the sportsmen of China and other countries by invoking the rule that member nations of these international athletic organizations cannot compete with non-member nations. Their latest manoeuvre is to get the Chiang Kai-shek clique to participate in the Fourth Asian Games, and so prevent the participation of the People's Republic of China.

This plot is clearly aimed at wrecking the friendship between the people, including the sportsmen, of China and those of Indonesia and other Asian countries. It has deeply angered the Chinese and Indonesian peoples and they have protested strongly against it.

A responsible official of the All-China Athletic Federation, in a statement issued on July 24, pointed out that the Chinese people firmly oppose participation by the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the Fourth Asian Games and are firmly against any attempt to create "two Chinas"



Kennedy and his human torpedo

Cartoon by Jack Chen

in international sports organizations. There is only one China, he said, that is, the People's Republic of China. There is only one legal representative organization of all the Chinese sportsmen and that is the All-China Athletic Federation. Taiwan is a Chinese province. The Chiang Kai-shek gang there has absolutely no right to participate in any international competition whatsoever. The spokesman of the A.C.A.F. expressed the hope that the Indonesian people and Government will take resolute measures to foil this scheme which endangers the interests of the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. Now, he added, is an important moment for the Chinese and Indonesian peoples to stand still more vigilantly on guard against imperialist schemes and to support each other. At this moment the Indonesian people are waging a heroic struggle for the liberation of West Irian and the Chinese people are waging a resolute struggle to smash the vicious schemes of U.S. imperialism instigating and supporting the Chiang Kai-shek gang in its plans for an invasion of the Chinese mainland.

The Indonesian Organization for Asian-African Solidarity, the Indonesian Peace Committee, the Front Pemuda Indonesia and other popular organizations have issued forthright statements, and the press has responded with editorials and articles expressing determined opposition to participation by the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the Fourth Asian Games and are urging their Government to take steps to prevent it.

The Chinese people are confident that their firm stand against the "two Chinas" plot will have the understanding and deep sympathy of the Indonesian Government and people and of all who have the interests of international good will and sport at heart. No Chinese or Indonesian who treasures friendship between China and Indonesia will allow U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to use the Asian Games to poison and undermine friendly relations between the two countries.

Thailand—Victim of U.S. Economic Aggression

by CHAO HSIUN-KAI

THAILAND is a typical example of the disastrous consequences in store for a country whose rulers become the willing tools of U.S. aggression. More than ten years of abject subservience to U.S. war policy has not only reduced it to a base of U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia but also brought ruthless exploitation by U.S. monopoly capital. The Thai people, ground down by the double oppression of U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction, are in dire poverty.

Before World War II, the United States played an insignificant part in the Thai economy. After the war, having gained a tight political grip on Thailand, U.S. monopoly capital penetrated into every aspect of its economy. The agreements for military and economic assistance concluded with the United States in 1950 made the Thai rulers follow the United States in arms drive and war preparations. The Thai economy has deteriorated and the people have suffered grievously ever since.

Huge Military Expenditures

As a result of the pro-U.S. policy of the Thai rulers, the country has been turned into a huge military base. The army has been expanded. Railways, strategic highways, airfields and ports have been built and extended on a large scale. Military expenditures have mounted steadily. According to an official Thai announcement, the Defence Department, between January and September 1961, spent 1,070.7 million bahts, more than any other government department. This year the Defence Department's budgeted expenditures have risen to 1,500 million bahts. If the expenses for building military bases, airfields, strategic highways, for the U.S. Military Advisory Group and the expenditures arising from SEATO commitments are counted in, the total military spending amounts to about 50 per cent of the entire budget outlays.

The huge military spending has given rise to serious financial deficits. In the eight years from 1955 to 1962, these totalled 8,102 million bahts. The budget for fiscal 1962 shows a deficit of 1,430 million bahts, the highest in eight years.

The Thai Government has resorted to borrowing, printing more paper money and increasing taxation to cope with its financial difficulties. Between 1950 and 1960, it borrowed more than 2,120 million bahts from the World Bank alone. By the end of May 1961, according to an official announcement, the domestic and foreign debt totalled 11,633.9 million bahts. Inflation has grown to serious proportions. The Thai Financial Ministry disclosed that by the end of 1961, paper currencies to the value of 7,200 million bahts was in circulation (700 million bahts more than in the beginning of 1961). Tax burdens on the people are becoming ever heavier. Both the total amount of taxation and the share of budget receipts it represents have increased. In 1958 the revenue from taxes was 3,529 million bahts, making up 60 per

cent of all budget receipts; in 1959 it rose to 5,316 million bahts, making up 89.3 per cent, and in 1960 to 6,020 million bahts, making up 92.1 per cent of all budget receipts. The 1962 budget provides that 6,915 million bahts, or 93 per cent of the budget receipts, will come from taxes.

Foreign investments and "aid" from the United States and other imperialist powers are another way in which Thai rulers have tried to retrieve their financial plight. But since most of the U.S. "aid" is for military purposes it has only added to Thailand's economic troubles, which were caused by the arms drive and war preparations. According to official Thai figures, the United States gave Thailand \$520 million in aid between 1951 and 1961. Of this, \$300 million was "military aid" and \$220 million "economic aid." But of the "economic aid," about 72 per cent was used to buy U.S. goods, and 19 per cent to pay for U.S. "specialists." In 1962, the United States will grant Thailand an additional \$50 million in "special military aid," and another \$22.5 million in "economic aid." Half of the "economic aid" will be used for building strategic highways and bridges.

Penetration by U.S. Capital

Since the Sarit Thanarat regime came to power in 1958, U.S. capital has penetrated into Thailand in a big way. Today it holds a predominant position among foreign investments. Direct U.S. investments in Thailand amounted to U.S.\$25 million in 1960 alone. Since October 1958, more than a dozen U.S. companies have signed agreements with the government of Thailand for the establishment of factories on its soil.

U.S. monopolies have set up their subsidiaries in Thailand. Its oil is controlled by the U.S. Standard Oil Company and Texaco, as well as by British Royal Dutch Shell Company. Direct U.S. investments have spread to its banking, insurance, aviation and trade. The U.S. Export-Import Bank, the Bank of America and the World Bank have made loans on severe terms. In 1960, the U.S.-controlled World Bank loaned more than 2,120 million bahts to Thailand at the high interest rate of 4.5 per cent. The loans for building and expanding railways and the Bangkok docks were made on the condition that these enterprises be switched from state to private operation.

U.S. capitalists have raked in huge profits through the plunder and exploitation of Thailand. It is estimated that the actual investments of the Standard Oil Company and Texaco in the country are \$10 million. But their profits (and those of Royal Dutch Shell) between 1950 and August 1956 were more than \$99 million. From 1958 to 1960 the profits raked in by the United States through various forms of exploitation, amounted to 19,300 million bahts, (or more than U.S. \$960 million). This sum was nearly double the U.S. "aid" to Thailand up to that time.

Thailand is an agricultural country. Foreign trade plays an important role in its economy. After World War

II, its production of rice and rubber increased, and more became available for export. Thailand had a favorable trade balance between 1948 and 1952. But in the past ten years since 1953, because its government has followed the United States in enforcing an embargo policy against the socialist countries, its foreign trade has declined with an unfavourable balance every year. Its exports of rice have come up against the dumping of U.S. farm produce on the Southeast Asian market, and its rubber exports have gone down because the United States has poured large stocks of rubber onto the capitalist world market. As a result the prices for its rice and rubber on the foreign markets have dropped steadily. Last year, Thailand exported roughly the same amount of rubber as 1960, but earnings from this source were lower by 390 million bahts.

Sufferings of the Thai People

U.S. exploitation of Thailand has impoverished the Thai people. Their agricultural production is declining steadily and 60 per cent of the Thai peasants are landless. Most peasants have fallen victims to the usurers. Ground down by landlords and money-lenders, they cannot afford to buy fertilizer; as a result, the rice yield per hectare has never been restored to its prewar level. The fall in the price of rice has forced down peasant income and drastically reduced their purchasing power. As income from the production and export of rubber has also dropped, many rubber plantations in southern Thailand have closed down, throwing large numbers of labourers out of work. Thai tin mines, furthermore, have been forced to cut down their production by the quota set by the International Tin Council. And large numbers of factories and shops have closed as a result of the dumping of U.S. goods on the Thai market.

It is clear that U.S. imperialism is the source of the troubles of the Thai people. They are resolutely fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression and the traitorous policy of the Sarit regime. They strongly resent the presence in their country of U.S. troops threatening its security and its very existence. There is no doubt that the Thai people will drive their deadly enemy—U.S. imperialism—out of their country.

China and the World

Vietnamese, Laotian Guests Welcomed

On July 27 Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in honour of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Ung Van Khiem, the leader, and Tran Cong Tuong, member, of the Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the enlarged Geneva Conference; and Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Laotian delegation to the conference, who had arrived in Peking the same day.

At the banquet, Premier Chou En-lai greeted the international agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question reached in Geneva. He also greeted the fact that the Laotian Government's statement of independence, peace and neutrality has been incorporated in the international agreement. But, he warned: "The signing of the agreement is the beginning of a new struggle. The carrying out of the agreement still depends on the efforts of the various sides and, first of all, the efforts of the Laotian people themselves."

"As a neighbour of Laos," Premier Chou continued, "China sincerely hopes that the three sides in Laos will maintain unity and continue to fight for the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos." He stressed the point that "the participating nations at the Geneva Conference have only obligations—to observe the international agreement, and absolutely no right to intervene in the internal affairs of Laos."

Fraternal Co-operation

China-Soviet Union. The 1962 executive plan for scientific co-operation between the Academies of Sciences of China and the Soviet Union was concluded in Moscow recently. It was signed by Chin Li-sheng, head of the delegation from the Academy of Sciences of China and Deputy Secretary-General of the Academy; and G.D. Afanasiev, head of the delegation from the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and Deputy Academic Secretary-General of the Academy.

China-G.D.R. The 6th session of the standing committee for co-operation in technology and technical sciences between China and the German Democratic Republic was held

from July 10 to 21 in Berlin. It discussed and took decisions on items concerning scientific and technical co-operation which had been submitted by both sides to the session for consideration.

China-Rumania. The 7th session of the Joint Sino-Rumanian Committee on Scientific and Technical Co-operation was held in Bucharest from July 10 to 17. The session reviewed the implementation of decisions taken at the 6th session of the committee, and discussed questions relating to the extension of scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries.

At the World Youth Festival

The 8th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship opened in Helsinki on the afternoon of July 29. More than 10,000 young people from 140 countries attended the opening ceremony at the Olympic Stadium. It was a grand manifestation of the determination of the youth of the world to uphold peace through international unity and solidarity. Marching down Mannerheim Avenue to the stadium for the opening ceremony, the Chinese youth delegation, bearing its national flag, got a big hand from the friendly crowds lining the route.

Earlier in the day, the Chinese youth delegation had a gay get-together with the youth of Cuba and other Latin American countries. It was a grand demonstration of the militant friendship between the young people of these countries who are supporting each other in the struggle against imperialism and to defend world peace.

Gifts From Indonesia

Some rare animals, including a Malay tapir, never seen in China before, are among the more than one hundred animals and birds that have just arrived in Peking from Indonesia. Belonging to 31 species, these animals and birds are gifts to the Peking Zoo from a number of Indonesian zoological gardens.

In the third exchange of such gifts since 1959, Peking Zoo presented to its Indonesian counterparts as many rare animals and birds.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

British Cabinet Reshuffle

The recent drastic cabinet reshuffle in Britain reflects the insurmountable difficulties facing the declining British empire in its domestic and foreign policies, the unpopularity of the Conservative government and the ever widening rift inside the Conservative Party, says a dispatch from *Renmin Ribao's* London correspondent.

The immediate factor that led to the cabinet overhaul was the loss of votes by the Conservative Party in recent by-elections. In the 12 by-elections for the House of Commons held since March this year, the Conservative Party got 51 per cent less votes than in the 1959 general elections. The vote for the Labour Party dropped by 25 per cent. The Liberal Party increased its votes four and a half times. In the local government elections in May this year, the Conservative Party lost 816 seats.

The by-election results make it clear that the British people are greatly dissatisfied with the Macmillan government's social and economic policy and particularly its wage-freeze policy. In the past two years, the British economy has been steadily deteriorating as a result of the increasing difficulties and sharpening competition in the capitalist world. The sterling crisis and the serious international payments deficit last year brought even greater economic difficulties. In July 1961 the outgoing Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd put forward a so-called "austerity plan" in order to shift the burden of these economic difficulties onto the shoulders of the mass of the people. This plan consisted of increased taxation, a credit squeeze, higher bank rates, loans from international monetary organizations, the wage freeze and so on. To strengthen the competitive position of the British monopoly capitalists and secure them ever bigger profits the Conservative government asked the people to tighten their belts and be satisfied with low wages so as to reduce production costs.

In the past year, the execution of this policy of deflation has led to stagnation in industrial production,

decline in orders for industrial goods, under-capacity operation of enterprises, soaring prices and increasing unemployment. Industrial production in the first four months of this year remained at the same level as during the corresponding period of last year. Production in certain branches of industry—steel, shipbuilding and cotton textiles—dropped sharply. In June this year, the number of unemployed reached 397,000, or 50 per cent more than at the same time last year. In the past year, prices soared 6 per cent, and retail sales fell drastically. In these circumstances, Selwyn Lloyd's wage-freeze policy naturally provoked strong opposition among broad sections of the people.

In an attempt to appease popular anger, Macmillan made Selwyn Lloyd a scapegoat. But this was also an indication of the failure of his government's wage-freeze policy.

Meanwhile, the Tories have been quarrelling among themselves over ways and means of getting over Britain's economic difficulties and also on the question of its entry into the Common Market.

In face of the failure of the "austerity policy" influential British industrialists and businessmen in recent months have pressed the Macmillan cabinet to halt its deflationary measures immediately so as to stimulate the domestic market and industrial production. Although the Macmillan cabinet had no two minds about upholding the super-profits of the monopoly capitalists and shifting the burden of economic difficulties onto the people, it was divided on the issue as to whether deflationary measures should be continued or replaced by a policy of cautious expansion. The quarrel among the Tories is in fact a mirror of the insoluble contradictions in the British economy. For many years now the British economy has been in the grip of a vicious circle of deflation and inflation. Be-

cause 90 per cent of Britain's industrial materials has to be imported, any industrial upswing and improvement in the domestic market are immediately followed by bigger imports, an unfavourable balance in international payments and a threat to the stability of sterling. In these circumstances the British Government has had to return to the path of deflation.

Since Britain applied for entry into the Common Market in July 1961, the Macmillan government has been rent by sharp differences on this question too. At the time, 60 Conservative M.P.s issued a statement against Britain's entry. Some backbench members stressed that Britain should not abandon the British Commonwealth but should instead strengthen preferential trade relations with the Commonwealth. These differences could not but be reflected in the cabinet, thus weakening the British position in the negotiations and creating fresh difficulties for the Macmillan government. Macmillan hopes that the cabinet reshuffle would give him a new, powerful team to strengthen Britain's position in the negotiations in the months to come so as to clear the way for entry into the Common Market.

The reconstructed cabinet may have to make adjustments on certain questions calculated to catch more votes in the next general elections, but there will be no change in its basic policy.



If you want to know about China's views on current international problems, her foreign policy and her relations with the rest of the world,

PEKING REVIEW

is what you need, with its weekly, **Authoritative and Comprehensive** coverage of Chinese news and views.

SIDELIGHTS

Common Enemy. The former world table tennis champion Jung Kuo-tuan has been writing his impressions of his African tour for the *Beijing Wanbao* (Peking Evening News). What impressed him most were the friendliness of the people of Ghana, Guinea, Mali and the other independent African countries they visited, and their hatred for imperialism and colonialism.

One interesting sidelight of the tour was a visit the Chinese table tennis delegation paid to the tomb of the Sudanese patriot Muhammed Ahmad El Mahdi in Omdurman.

Inside the museum near the tomb of the Mahdi they saw an article of dress, unmistakably Chinese, given only to generals of the highest grade in the old Ching Dynasty army. It was a Yellow Jacket.

This was the Yellow Jacket given to a British adventurer C.G. Gordon by the Ching emperor for his part in the bloody suppression of the Taiping Revolution, the Chinese peasant movement which fought against Ching reaction and imperialist aggression. After serving British imperialism well in China this mercenary went on to Egypt and the Sudan to wage war against the people there too in the interests of British imperialism.

Things did not go well for him. He was finally forced by patriotic Sudanese forces to hole up in Omdurman. The Mahdi, leading his people, stormed and took Omdurman and killed this darling of the British and Belgian imperialists. That is why a Yellow Jacket is in a Sudanese museum.

The Mahdists movement in many ways was remarkably similar to the Taiping Revolution. Both were popular patriotic movements in the second half of the 19th century against domestic reaction and its supporter — imperialism, their common enemy.

Pillar-box Green. The green-clad postal service reaches out to lumberjacks deep in the forests, to the surveying and prospecting teams far off the beaten track and now to remote Tibetan villages where not so very long ago people had never seen

a postman. Today, if someone in Tibet or anywhere else in China wants to send a letter he sticks on an eight fen stamp and pops it into a grass-green box just like anyone in the city. Eight fen is the general rate. It is the same whether the addressee is in Hongkong or Urumchi. The colour of the post boxes is the same grass green as the postal vans, packet-boats and postmen's uniforms.

"A pleasant, peaceful colour, suggestive of spring and new life," said the delegates to the first national postal conference held not long after liberation. "Let green be the colour for China's first truly national postal service." And it is.

Hunting Flies and Centipedes. One of the big health drives of the summer is on. When Peking people took out their raincoats and fans they also remembered to buy themselves new fly swats. The drive against flies has as usual been swift, brisk and thorough.

While people inland are hunting high and low for flies to kill, members of five people's communes on one of the Choushan Islands off the east coast are out after a certain species of centipede, only they're not out to extirpate the centipede. Once a year the islanders earn extra money from catching these creatures with poisonous claws to sell to pharmacists.

The Big Yellow Croaker. There is an expressive Chinese saying about people "casting their nets two days and then drying them for three," meaning they are feckless, ne'er-do-wells. No one can say this of fishermen in China now. They worked hard before liberation, but it did them precious little good under the Kuomintang regime. They work hard today, but with better ships, equipment and organization they can fish about 20,000 kilometres of the coast, stay out longer and range further out to sea than ever before and know that every catch will raise their standards of living.

Big catches have been made this year of mackerel, cuttle-fish, prawn, pomfret, hair-tail and big yellow croaker. The last is aptly named. They really croak, contrary to usual belief that fish are voiceless. On a calm moonlit night, 100-200 li out at sea

fishermen in their boats can hear the shoals of yellow croakers kicking up a din like a chorus of frogs. There's no need for an echo-sounder to guide the fishermen to fill their nets; the fish are calling to be caught. Another reason why Chinese fishermen seldom dry their nets is that now their nets are of nylon.

An Old Man and His Pheasants. There is an old man of Miao nationality, reputed to be a hundred years old, who lives in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, south China, and keeps a dozen tame pheasants for amusement. Once a famous hunter he now likes to get his pheasants the easy way. Lo Kuo-ching's pet birds lure the wild pheasants from the hills into his traps and eventually into his 78-year-old wife's cooking pot.

One day when he was out some children freed his pets. This did not upset the old hunter. He had been setting his hen pheasants free in the hills every spring for years and they always returned, plus their broods. The next morning he went up to the hills and he whistled. Before noon all his pets were back home.

Catching pheasants is not the only amusement of this hardy centenarian, who is grey-haired but still has most of his teeth. Like most Miao people, he is an excellent performer on the Miao reed pipe which he not only plays but also still dances to.



Hauling in the Net
Woodcut by Chang Yun-hui

Chinese Picture Story Books

Close on a quarter of a million people saw the recent National Art Exhibition in Peking. The works exhibited were some of the best of their kind produced in the twenty years since Chairman Mao gave his talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art. The graphic arts section was particularly strong and there was great interest in the fine selection of originals from picture story books.

With a drawing and a caption on each page, Chinese picture story books are bright, coloured covered, pocket-sized paperbacks telling complete stories. In every children's library, in clubrooms and waiting-rooms, at dentists, barbers and children's clinics, in trains and teahouses, you will find them absorbing the attention of their readers. Not only children like them but millions of adults, particularly those who are learning to read. Extensive collections of them are always available in libraries of factory and office clubs, schools and people's communes. At the lending libraries of one Shanghai district alone, a million readers read them every month.

The pictures tell the story almost without the aid of words. They range

through all the genres of literature: fairy and folk tales, retellings of the classics, pictorial versions of modern best-sellers about the revolution or socialist construction. Most are drawn in black and white, but some use stills to tell the stories of popular films, both Chinese and foreign. There are some de luxe editions in full colour all through. The price is always cheap.

Some History

The earliest picture story books appeared in Shanghai 40-odd years ago. At first, the stories were mostly taken from the classical operas. Later came retellings of stories from such literary classics as *Shui Hu Zhuan* (*Water Margin*) and *San Guo Yan Yi* (*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) with plenty of action and incident. The best were good examples of the popular art of that time.

The Kuomintang regime induced corruption in this field as in every other. A flood of obscene and obnoxious picture stories propagating feudal ideas, superstitions and degenerate ways of living appeared. Artistic standards were usually low and little care was taken to correctly present

historical details and facts in general. A good proportion were translations of the so-called "comics" from the U.S. with their propaganda of violence and sex.

A few progressive artists used this popular medium to expose and fight reaction. Adaptations of progressive novels and films were also made, but few survived long under Kuomintang censorship. One artist made a picture story history of World War II. It was banned because it contained a portrait of Chairman Mao.

Cartoonist Chang Lo-ping describes how, in pre-liberation Shanghai, he was walking home one wintry night in 1947 when he saw three ragged waifs in an alley huddled before a small fire and trying to blow it up to keep warm. He watched them a long time with compassion. The next morning he passed the spot again and found two of them frozen dead. Shanghai, in fact all China, was filled with homeless and starving people. A hatred of the man-eating society that caused such crimes roused the artist to action. From his pen emerged *San Mao*, a lovable, brave, stubborn street urchin who fought against injustice. Drawn first as a cartoon strip with a light, incisive, lively line and a Chaplinesque sense of humour and knowledge of the big city's streets, his *Adventures of San Mao* in many series became one of the best-known picture story books in pre-liberation days.



A stormy meeting as the villagers discuss the question of forming a co-op farm.

GREAT CHANGES IN A MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

Drawing by Ho Yu-chih



ADVENTURES OF SAN MAO

Drawing by Chang Lo-ping

The life of the picture story artists was no bed of roses. The artists peddled their sets of drawings to publishers engaged in a cut-throat competition that put the artist at the least receiving end. Chu Jun-chai, who did *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, got only 60 cents for a full page drawing. Lesser known artists got 10 to 20 cents, if they found any publisher at all. A society which had no use for real art threw talented artists into the discard. Chou Yun-fang, who did the famous *Feng Shen Bang (Canonization of the Gods)*, was so skilled that once when his right hand was injured, he drew perfectly with his left. But he was driven to smoking opium at an early age and ruined his health and career.

The smaller publishers, under the double pressure of the Kuomintang censors and their bigger competitors, were hardly better off than the artists. The bigger publishers flooded the market with pirated rubbish. In the competition for sales they didn't scruple to threaten rivals with physical violence.

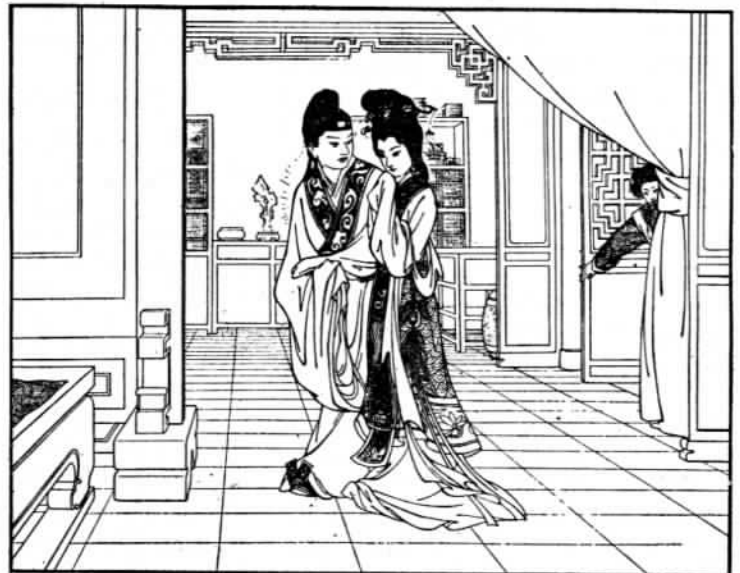
The Picture Changes

Picture story books are flourishing in New China. In the first ten years after the liberation, 20,000 titles were published in editions totalling 600 million copies. New and varied

themes have appeared: stories of the revolution, of revolutionary history and of socialist construction. All traces of the cheap-jack art of the past have been weeded out. Clean and healthy in content, the new picture story books are both entertaining and educational.

They make use of various techniques: black and white line and tone drawings, wash drawings in coloured inks and water colours, both Western and traditional Chinese.

Among such a wealth of good works, it is an invidious task to name names, but if you are looking for excellent examples of these new picture story books, then look for *Great Changes in a Mountain Village*, a story of the agricultural co-operative movement in 1955, *The Carpenter Welcomes His Future Son-in-Law*, a modern comedy,



At long last, after so many twists and turns, the lovers broke through the barrier of feudal ethics. As in a happy dream, they found the night passing only too quickly.

THE WESTERN CHAMBER

Drawing by Wang Shu-hui

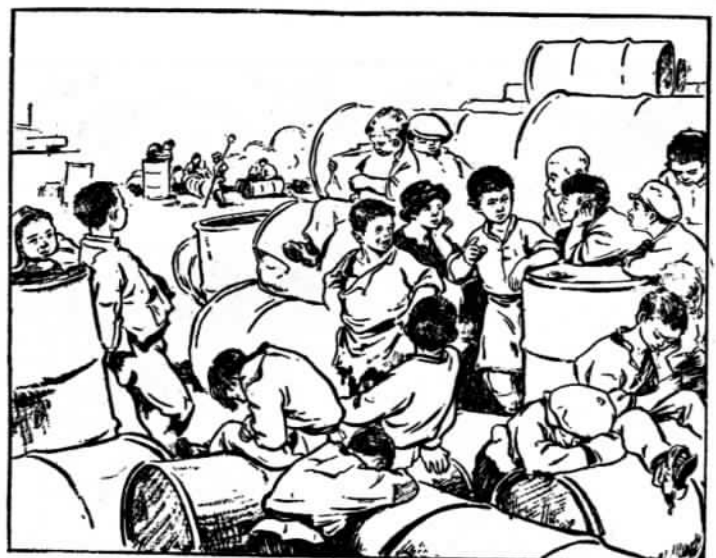
The Shepherd's Message, a revolutionary children's adventure story, *Chu Yuan*, the story of the great patriot-poet of the 4th century B.C. All these are in black and white line technique. Each has its own distinctive artistic style; all show an outstanding skill in pictorial characterization. Another small masterpiece in this genre is *Child Labour*. In its 95 pages it creates a vivid picture of Kao Yu-pao, the little son of the Chinese working class, keen-witted and coura-



"Please sit down!" Meeting him for the first time Mama Wang is quite satisfied with her future son-in-law.

THE CARPENTER WELCOMES HIS FUTURE SON-IN-LAW

Drawing by Sheng Liang-hsien and Shen Ti-ju



There were now about seventy children jammed on the work site. More children meant more eyes to watch the Japanese and it became even more difficult for the guards to supervise them. They took naps in turn, while others sat around telling jokes or stories.

CHILD LABOUR

Drawing by Chou Li, Lu Tan and others

geous in fighting the Japanese oppressors at a pottery works during the Japanese occupation. Artists who created illustrations for *Uproar in Heaven*, *The Flaming Mountain* and other episodes from the classical fantasy *Pilgrimage to the West* had the difficult task of portraying personages and events already familiar to millions through the printed word, the ballad singer and the theatre. With fertile imaginations they have synthesized the popular images of Monkey Sun Wu-kung, his allies and enemies, and brought them to life in pictures that now count their readers in millions. *Chaoshutun and Nannona* and *The Painted Skin* by the painter Cheng Shih-fa are two good examples of books using the technique of traditional Chinese painting. Wang Shu-hui's *As Evergreen as the Fir* and *The Western Chamber* are two other most attractive stories. She has beautifully illustrated these romantic love tales of the past in delicate line drawings.

This renaissance of the picture story book is due directly to the new conditions for art, publishing and mass education created by the new China. Like all art in this country, the art of the picture story book has the warm encouragement of the state and the people.

Picture story artists are provided with all the necessary conditions to enable them to devote themselves to their work. Many of them get regular salaries as staff artists or editors of

the publishing houses, and a royalty on their published works.

Close Contact With Life

Artists are given every assistance in their work. To make their art better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers—the people—as Chairman Mao advised in his Yen-an Talks, they have been eager to get out among the masses to find fresh themes, inspiration and test out their works. They are given every facility for doing so. The illustrators of such outstanding modern picture story books as *Railroad Guerrillas*, *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, *Great Changes in a Mountain Village*, *The Carpenter Welcomes His Future Son-in-Law* have all spent much time in the places where the events of the stories are laid or actually took place. A recently published new work about life in a people's commune, *Changes in Changshih*, was the collective work of three artists who stayed in the Changshih People's Commune in Kweichow Province and collected material about the people and real events that took place there.

Shanghai artists and writers of picture story books—the big producers in this field—have gone to bookshops, libraries, the armed forces and people's communes to get readers' opinions and suggestions on their work. For the same purpose they have sent representatives as far afield as Fukien to hold discussions

with artists, readers and booksellers there.

This close contact with life has given a deep realism to the best of the new picture story books. Here one finds vivid and authentic images of New China's workers, peasants and people of all strata, a true reflection of life today.

New Titles

Critics recommend among the new titles describing New China in construction: *New Friends* and *Taking the Underwater Fort*; among stories of the revolutionary past: *Liu Hu-lan*, *Wang Hsiao-ho* and *Reconnaissance Across the River*; and among the folk legends and fables: *The White-Tiger Ridge* and *Schoolmaster Tungkuo*.

Chang Lo-ping is just now working on further sequels to the *Adventures of San Mao*. This time, just before liberation, San Mao has gone underground and joined the underground Young Pioneers of Shanghai. The People's Government has helped him in many ways, supplying him with much authentic data and finding many real-life Young Pioneers of that time whom he has interviewed.

Several fine new adaptations of the old classics and folklore tales have appeared. One recently published is *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* in a set of 60 books with 8,000 drawings. Many artists have attempted to illustrate this masterpiece before, but none have had at their disposal such a wealth of historical material



Monkey thereupon pulls out his magic cudgel and wards off Bull Monster's attack. The fight is at its fiercest, when they hear a voice from the top of the mountain urging Bull Monster to go for a drink. Monkey thereupon agrees to a truce until he comes back to fight it out.

THE FLAMING MOUNTAIN
Drawing by Liang Shih and Hsu Hung-ta



Master Tungkuo stopped and asked the wolf a simple question. The wolf not only replied, but gave an answer that greatly satisfied the scholar.

SCHOOLMASTER TUNGKUO
Drawing by Liu Chi-yu

and assistance as the state has provided its present creators. The finished work is a work of art and scholarship. *The Dream of the Red Chamber* and *Water Margin* have also come out in new editions. New sets appearing are the complete *Pilgrimage to the West* as well as the historical *Taiping Revolution* and the *Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95*. These latter themes are ap-

pearing for the first time in this medium.

The Foreign Languages Press in Peking has published a number of the best of the picture story books such as *Child Labour*, *The Shepherd's Message*, *Reconnaissance Across the River*, *Chu Yuan*, *The Western Chamber*, *As Evergreen as the Fir*, *Schoolmaster Tungkuo* and others in various lan-

guages including Russian, English, French, Spanish and Indonesian.

It is hardly any wonder then that the picture story book originals at the National Art Exhibition were one of the most popular displays—it was like meeting beloved old friends. Several of the accompanying illustrations to this article are from that exhibition.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

HIGHLIGHTS OF CURRENT ENTERTAINMENT, EXHIBITIONS, ETC.

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

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE NINE-DRAGON CUP** A valuable jade cup of the Ching court is stolen by an outlaw to show his skill. When the outlaws learn that the life of an innocent guard is threatened because of the loss, the cup, after many adventures, is returned to the court. China Peking Opera Theatre.

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **THE BEAUTY SENT BEYOND THE GREAT WALL** Story about Wang Chao-chun, the imperial concubine of the Emperor Yuan Ti of the Han Dynasty, who is presented to the king of the invading Hsiung Nu in an attempt to appease him. Also on the programme: **CHUNG KUEI MARRIES OFF HIS SISTER**. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

▲ **THE CHAIN SCHEME** An episode from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. It tells how the beautiful girl, Lady Cicada, is used to entice General Lu Pu to turn against his master Tung Cho. North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

CONCERTS

August 4 & 5 Peking Concert Hall

A concert of vocal and instrumental solos and orchestral music jointly produced by Peking's music ensembles including the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre, the Central Philharmonic Society, the Central Conservatory and the Central Nationalities Music Ensemble.

MODERN OPERA

▲ **EUGENE ONEGIN** Tchaikovsky's great opera. First presentation in Chinese. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **THE WHITE-HAIRED GIRL** One of China's most famous modern operas. A peasant girl, forced to flee to a mountain wilderness to escape from landlord tyranny returns dramatically to her village after liberation. Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre.

▲ **BLOOD AND TEARS OF HATRED** One of the famous modern operas of the old Yenan days. A poor peasant family, suffer-

ing from natural calamities and the tyranny of the Kuomintang regime, is on the verge of starvation. Its members flee to the Northern Shensi Border Region where they are rescued by the Communist Party and find a way out of their bitter plight. Produced by the Modern Opera Group of the China Railway Workers' Cultural Troupe.

MODERN DRAMA

▲ **CHINGKANG MOUNTAINS** A historical episode from the Chinese revolution. It tells how in 1927, at one of the darkest moments in the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung led a contingent of the newly formed Workers' and Peasants' Red Army to Chingkang Mountains and set up China's first revolutionary base there. This revolutionary spark later flared into a beacon lighting the advance of the Chinese people to final victory. Produced by the Modern Drama Group of the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A.'s General Political Department in celebration of "August 1," China's Army Day.

▲ **I AM A SOLDIER** (Also known as *Twin Brothers*.) A comedy of mistaken identities. A pair of twins who look alike but are different in character both join the people's revolutionary army. This has some interesting and amusing results. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **THERE'S A BIT OF FOOLISHNESS IN EVERY WISE MAN** One of A. Ostrovsky's plays staged in Chinese. Peking People's Art Theatre.

▲ **PAVEL KORCHAGIN** Adapted from N. Ostrovsky's famous novel *How the Steel Was Tempered*. China Youth Art Theatre.

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

▲ **THE YOUNG GUARD** Adapted from the novel of the same title by A. Fadeyev. China Children's Theatre.

FILMS

▲ **THE WONDROUS TRAVELS OF A MAGICIAN** China's first widescreen stereoscopic feature film. It tells of a Shanghai magician who has been abroad for more than twenty years, and who upon his return, finds Shanghai utterly transformed. With excellent juggling and acrobatics. Shanghai Tienma Studio.

▲ **TWIN BROTHERS** Film version of the modern play now being staged in Peking. A comedy about life and work in the people's revolutionary army. "August 1" Studio.

▲ **TEMPEST OVER TAPIEH MOUNTAINS** A new feature about the struggle of the Communist-led guerrillas in the old revolutionary base of the Tapieh Mountains. Anhwei Film Studio.

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

▲ **THUNDERSTORM** A Hongkong film production of Tsao Yu's classical play. A damning exposure of the family of semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in pre-liberation China.

▲ **A DREAM COMES TRUE** A Soviet colour film dedicated to the heroism and inventiveness of the Soviet technicians and workers who built the great Dnieper Hydro-Electric Power Station.

▲ **QUEEN OF SPADES** A Soviet colour film version of Tchaikovsky's great opera. In Russian with Chinese subtitles.

▲ **HUMAN BLOOD IS NOT WATER** A Soviet feature film adapted from Mikhail Stelmakh's novel of the same title. It tells of a fierce and intricate struggle against counter-revolutionaries in a Ukrainian village in 1920.

▲ **PEOPLE LIVE EVERYWHERE** A Czechoslovak feature film. A medical college graduate prefers to live in Prague but is assigned to work in the countryside. Later, he learns what medical work really means and finds happiness there in the countryside.

▲ **BASED ON LAW** A Finnish feature film. Because he defies a wealthy man who abducts his wife, a poor man is framed before the courts as a would-be murderer.

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **PHOTOGRAPHIC ART EXHIBITION** on occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army, showing its history, life and work. Daily (except Mon.), 8:00 a.m.-12:00 noon, 2:00-6:00 p.m. till August 19. At Artists' Union Gallery.

▲ **MILITARY MUSEUM OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION** Open every Tues., Thurs., Sat. and Sun. 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

▲ **SOOCHOW ART HANDICRAFTS** Embroideries, red-wood carvings, national musical instruments, Chinese brushes, fans, etc. 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily till August 31. At the Round City, Beihai Park.

SWIMMING

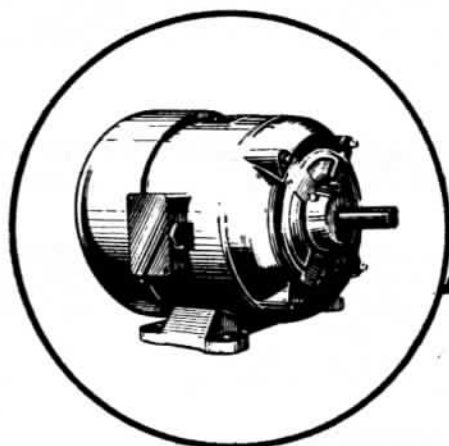
▲ **OUTDOOR SWIMMING POOLS**

* The swimming pools at Shi Cha Hai, Workers' Stadium and Tao Ran Ting.

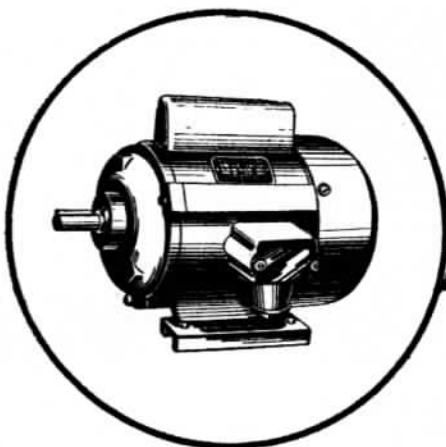
* Summer Palace
Daily, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.



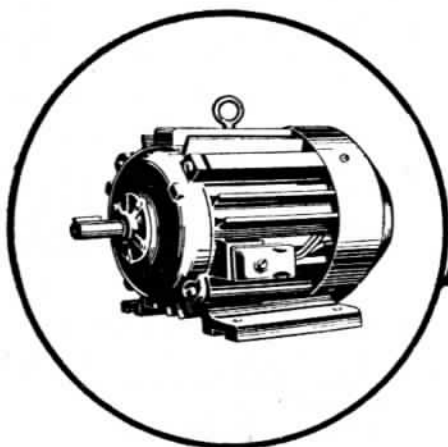
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