

People's China

人民中国

September 16, 1951

MAO TSE-TUNG'S TEACHINGS AND CONTEMPORARY ART

Chou Yang

THE SAN FRANCISCO TREATY WILL FAIL

C. K. Cheng

WHY CHINA WANTS PEACE

As Seen by an American Atomic Scientist in China

Joan Hinton

6

VOL. IV

Supplements:

- 1) *The Korean Armistice Talks (III)*
- 2) *Shen Chun-ju: Report on the Indictment and Punishment of War Criminals*

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The Asian Peoples Will Smash the War Treaty

The San Francisco conference, brutally and unsubtly stage-managed by its Wall Street drillmasters, is now over. Forty-eight governments and regimes, all recipients of U.S. subsidies of one kind or another, have betrayed peace and their own peoples by putting their signatures under a "peace treaty with Japan" that is really a treaty to use Japan in a new war. Of these 48, a figure which the U.S. has given great publicity, no less than 31 did not send a single soldier into the war with Japan, while three farcical signatures belong to the French quisling "Associated States of Indo-China." By contrast, China was not even invited! India and Burma were asked but refused to come. These three nations together represent almost 800,000,000 people in Asia. What better exposure can there be of the goings-on in San Francisco, where the same historic Opera House in which the United Nations was inaugurated in 1945 has been prostituted to a callous and cynical attempt to line mankind up for new bloodshed.

But though the wirepullers at San Francisco and their conscienceless cosmopolitan stooges shut their eyes tight against the facts of the world today, these facts exist nevertheless. And if they have forgotten the lessons, aims and results of World War II, the people have not.

The war machine that is being built under cover of this "peace conference" mummery and the accompanying "security pact" signed between the U.S. and Japan in San Francisco is a rickety construction made of rotten materials. Pitted against the strength of the organised peoples, particularly the peoples of Asia, it will be flung into the garbage of history, its menace to peace ended.

The Japanese imperialism that was smashed in World War II was previously undefeated, well prepared and materially strong. By contrast, the cat's-paw Japanese imperialism that the U.S. seeks to revive and use against the freedom of Asia was prostrate until the Americans began to poke it to its feet. The Japanese people are opposed to new adventures. They want friendly relations with China and the rest of Asia. They continue their democratic struggle despite constant repression and arrests by the U.S. occupation authorities and the puppet Yoshida government.

The old imperial Japan was defeated even when, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic and the territorially limited liberated areas of China, the entire Asian continent was still plunged in colonial and feudal darkness. Today the People's Republic of China, born of her people's victory against American imperialism and its Kuomintang puppets, has already existed and grown from strength to strength for two years. The Korean Democratic Republic has successfully faced the entire available "might" of America and its satel-

lites during 15 months of bloody struggle. The Viet-Nam Democratic Republic is inflicting defeat after defeat on U.S.-backed French colonial forces. The protracted armed struggle of the peoples of the Philippines and Malaya against colonialism is daily proving its invincibility.

The governments of India and Burma have rejected the so-called "peace treaty" of San Francisco, clearly representing the will of their peoples in this respect.

This proves that the peoples of Asia cannot again be divided or disorientated. All Washington's intrigues have failed to stop other Asian peoples, victims of imperialism, from giving their admiration and sympathy to the Chinese people, the people which has dealt imperialism the hardest blow since the October Revolution, and to the Korean people, who have stopped imperialism in its tracks with the aid of the Chinese people's volunteers. And the billion people of Asia are not alone. The Soviet Union, mighty leader of the peace front, stands always for their interests as was again demonstrated so dramatically by the speech of Soviet delegate Gromyko at San Francisco. They are linked ever closer by the common struggle for peace with people of goodwill all over the world.

The San Francisco war pacts exist on paper. But there is another pact, a peace pact, which has long existed in granite reality. It is the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, signed on February 14, 1950 to prevent "the rebirth of Japanese imperialism and the resumption of aggression on the part of Japan or any other state that may collaborate with Japan in acts of aggression." This treaty is supported by all the peoples of Asia, including the people of Japan, because it marks out none to be either cannon fodder or victims in a new war.

In the United States itself, the stronghold of reaction, the American people are by no means reconciled to the unholy alliance between Wall Street and the rag, tag and bobtail of Japanese imperialism. They still remember Pearl Harbour. This was made clear in the courageous demonstration of World War II veterans before the Opera House in San Francisco, where the phoney "peace" was signed.

In Europe the peace partisans, grouping themselves around the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, have demanded an end to the rearmament of Japan just as they are demanding an end to the rearmament of West Germany. They know that peace is indivisible.

No, the world today is not what it was. The peoples of Asia, supported by the whole world camp of fighters for peace, can and will smash the plans of the Wall Street warmongers.

U.S.-Vatican Agent Deported

Wall St., Vatican and Co., specialists in rumour and warmongering, sabotage and espionage, are rapidly becoming bankrupt. A few weeks ago came the news of the conviction of Tarciscio Martina, a spy-priest, formerly the Vatican's representative in Peking. On September 4 the former Internuncio of the Vatican to the Kuomintang in Nanking, Antonius Riberi, a national of Monaco, was deported from China.

Since 1946, the record shows that under the cloak of his priestly garb, Riberi headed up numerous anti-popular activities. It was his unholy signature which ratified all the major Catholic directives calling for open hostility to the Chinese people's revolutionary movement. Evidence in the Martina case and others clearly proved Riberi's connection with the evil gang of U.S. "church" spies in China.

A number of U.S. agents dressed in ecclesiastical attire have been caught in 1951. One notorious example was Francis X. Ford of Meihsien County, Kwangtung, an American who has carried on espionage against the Chinese people since 1927. In April, the U.S. spy ring headed by Bonnique Alf, a Belgian priest, was smashed in Tientsin. In May, Jean De Vienne, Bishop of Tientsin, admitted in court that he had harboured U.S. spies in his church and distributed reactionary pamphlets.

Riberi's knavery in using the church to promote the U.S.-Vatican plot against the Chinese people had not escaped attention. For months a popular cam-

paign demanding Riberi's deportation has been underway. It was first started by Catholic circles in Nanking and soon spread over the country. With each fresh discovery of another spy ring in the dark labyrinth, Chinese Catholics, together with the rest of the nation, began to see more and more clearly the cloven feet of these "high priests" of Washington and Rome. When the Martina case was exposed, the nation's anger reached boiling point. Riberi's deportation was a logical demand. The resounding support to the government's deportation order, from religious as well as lay circles, testifies to the hatred Riberi earned during his assignment in China.

Following closely in the footsteps of the papal tradition of showering benedictions on gangsters like Mussolini and Hitler and offering unctuous eulogies to the fascist aggression in Abyssinia, Riberi openly boosted the Chiang Kai-shek gang and blessed the U.S.-KMT war against the people. Riberi, as the full account of his record on page 30 of this issue shows, placed all his church connections at the disposal of the doomed U.S.-KMT war machine.

While Riberi's mission has failed utterly, it has scored one success in China. It has brought home to the Chinese people, particularly to Chinese Catholics, just what the Vatican is, where it stands and whom it serves. The days are gone when an imperialist wolf could pose as a "friend" in sheep's clothing. A wolf is a wolf, and it is to be treated accordingly.

At the San Francisco "Conference"

Despite the chief Soviet Delegate A. A. Gromyko's warning that the states signing the U.S.-drafted "peace" treaty with Japan without the People's Republic of China, India and Burma would "assume grave responsibility for the consequences of this unjust and unlawful act," the U.S. and its satellites signed the so-called "peace treaty" at the recent San Francisco "conference."

Voicing the demands of all peace-loving peoples, Mr. Gromyko showed up the complete illegality and criminal absurdity of the U.S.-British draft and the conduct of the conference.

He emphasised the following, among the basic principles, that must guide the conclusion of any real peace with Japan:

Demilitarisation of Japan and a guarantee against the revival of Japanese militarism.

The withdrawal of all occupation forces from Japan; Japanese territory not to be used for the maintenance of foreign military bases.

Reviving and strengthening of the democratic tendencies among the Japanese people and democratic reconstruction.

Prevention of the militarisation of Japan's economy and no obstacles placed in the way of the development of Japanese peaceful economy.

Provisions for legitimate compensation for damage caused by the Japanese aggression.

The return of Taiwan, the Penghu Islands (Pescadores), Sisha Islands and other Chinese territories to the People's Republic of China.

Recognition of the rights of the Soviet Union to the southern part of Sakhalin and to all adjacent islands as well as to the Kurile Islands now under Soviet sovereignty.

Mr. Gromyko pointed out that the U.S. draft treaty violates all international agreements on Japan. The U.S. Government, he said, is "banking on the restoration of Japanese militarism."

He quoted from the August 15 statement of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai that "in reality this treaty is a treaty for the preparation of another war," and that "it represents a threat to the peoples of Asia, infringes on peace and security in the whole world and injures the interests of the Japanese people."

The Czechoslovak and Polish delegates supported the proposals of the Soviet Government. The Central People's Government of China, Mr. Wierblowski (Poland) said, was the "lawful government exercising authority on the entire territory of China, having the indisputable and sacred right to say its weighty word on the question of a peace treaty with Japan."

Mao Tse-tung's Teachings and Contemporary Art

Chou Yang

Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs and Noted Critic

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung's speech at the 1942 Round Table Literary Discussion in Yen-an advanced modern Chinese literature to a new stage of development. It not only dealt a devastating blow at all reactionary imperialist and feudal literature, but also justly and sharply criticised various kinds of petty bourgeois literary trends and tendencies. This criticism was justified because such petty bourgeois ideas had particularly deep roots in progressive literary circles. Revolutionary petty bourgeois writers had often appeared under the banner of "proletarian" literature and this resulted in a blurring of the ideological demarcation line between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. For this reason, in the ideological struggle it was a particularly important, but at the same time difficult and complex task to distinguish proletarian from non-proletarian thought, to preserve the purity and integrity of proletarian thought, and to bring the revolutionary petty bourgeois writers to side sincerely with the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly advanced the principle that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and people's fighters—a principle that directly concerns the writers' whole philosophy of life and raises the whole problem of remoulding their thoughts and sentiments. The realisation of this principle is in fact the crux of all their problems. Comrade Mao Tse-tung thus solved the crucial problem—the problem of bringing literature and art into unity with the masses. This was the task that so many vain attempts had been made to solve ever since the "May Fourth Movement" in 1919.

Realising Mao Tse-tung's Art Policy

A NATIONAL congress of literary and artistic workers met in Peking in July 1949, three months before the establishment of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic. It made a survey of cultural achievements since 1942 and took the principles advanced by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the Literary Discussion in Yen-an as the "common programme" for creative efforts in our modern Chinese art and literature. During the past two years, therefore, Mao Tse-tung's teachings on

literature have been widely propagated among the intelligentsia of the country.

Several literary works of the past two years can justly lay claim to some distinction. The fighting heroism of the People's Liberation Army is described in Liu Pai-yu's *Flame at the Front*, Ku Likao's *Ever Forward*, Han Feng's *Yin Ching-chun*, Han Hsi-liang's *68 Days* (novels), Chiao Fu-chun's *Storm on the Sea* (reportage), Hu Ko's *Grow and Mature in Battles* (a play) and some of the well-written reports from the Korean front such as *Who Are the Most Loveable People* by Wei Wei, etc.; stories of the people's heroic struggles with the enemy during the Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation are told in Hsu Kuang-yao's *Flame on the Plain*, Chen Teng-ko's *Sister-in-law Tu* and *The Pond of Living People* (novels). Lao Sheh's *Pearl Fang* and *Dragon-Beard Ditch* describe the tremendous changes in the life and thoughts of the urban labouring people after liberation; Ko Fu's *The Levee* (a play), Pai Wei's *Living Through The Barren Years*, Wang An-yu's *Sister-in-law Li Marries Again*, Chao Shu-li's *Registration*, Ku Yu's *New Ways of Doing New Things* (novels and novellettes), etc. describe new developments in the villages and the new life of the peasants; Chao Hsi's *The Beginning of Remoulding* (a novel) and Tu Yin's *In Front of New Things* (a play) describe the new industrial construction.

It is particularly worth noting that many new writers are being recruited directly from the ranks of the worker and peasant masses. Chen Teng-ko, author of *Sister-in-law Tu* and *The Pond of Living People*, for instance, came from a poor peasant family and only started his regular education and began to learn to write after he joined the PLA. He is a promising writer who has succeeded in giving authentic expression to the feelings of the labouring people, and conveying a consciousness of their strength.

Considerable successes have been achieved also in other branches of art. The people's cinema is the youngest of the arts. But it is also the most effective art form enjoying the largest audience. Among the successful or comparatively successful pictures of the past two years we can mention *The White-haired Girl*, *The Steeled Fighters*, *Shangjiao Concentration Camp*, *Daughters and Sons*, *The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People*, *Unite! Fight for the New Day!* These productions have already gained for the people's cinema the love of the broad masses of the people. It has resolutely freed itself from Hollywood influence and has begun

This article is largely based on the author's report delivered at the Central Institute for Research in Literature on May 12, 1951.

to create a national art style of the worker and peasant masses.

Conspicuous successes have also been achieved in the work of reforming the various old art forms that are popular among the people. The first of these is the drama. Many playwrights, actors and actresses have shown unrivalled political zeal and spirit in this work of reform. They have created an exceedingly large number of entirely new dramas, plays and musical dialogues. The new opera, developed on the basis of the old *yangko* of the Northwest, has spread all over the country and stimulated new developments in the various forms of traditional local folk drama and musical culture. At the same time these old popular art forms are being drawn upon in the creation of new operas. Folk dancing has developed especially rapidly and new forms, new dances have been created. The reform of the old New Year pictures and picture-book serials has also resulted in the creation of a large number of new New Year pictures and picture-book serials with a new content and form.

The characteristically mass nature of our arts and literature is also shown in the amateur cultural activities of the broad masses of workers, peasants and people's fighters. These activities have become an integral part of their cultural life and one of the important means for the self-education of the masses. Our arts and literature have in fact two component parts—professional literary and artistic activities and the amateur literary and artistic activities of the masses. Amateur drama groups and other cultural-recreational organisations are now a usual part of the life of the villages, armed forces and factories. Many excellent works have been the fruit of the creative activities of the masses themselves. The two plays *Not a Cicada*, *Gate No. 6* and many poems and drawings by workers outstandingly demonstrate the artistic creative talent of the emancipated Chinese working class.

It is thus clear that every achievement in our literary and artistic work has been made as a result of correctly carrying out Mao Tse-tung's policy for art. This policy is the class policy of the proletariat, its mass policy in the sphere of literature and the other arts, directing that they must serve the people, and first of all, the workers, peasants and people's fighters. Literary and artistic workers must unite under the leadership of the working class with the masses of workers, peasants and people's fighters; for without such unity, the source of artistic creation is cut off and the artist deprives himself of the very basis on which he must remould his outlook.

All literary and artistic workers have now in fact proclaimed their support for the artistic principles enunciated at Yen-an and the great majority of them are completely sincere in these professions of support; nevertheless it is not uncommon still to find in individual cases ambiguity, vacillation and even opposition on this fundamental question of unity with the masses of workers, peasants and people's fighters.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls on us to enter the struggles of the masses "with persistence, uncon-

ditionally and whole-heartedly," but some of our literary and artistic workers often do so in a half-hearted spirit of temporising and with reservations. Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls on us to throw ourselves into the fierce struggles of the masses, but some of our literary and artistic workers often stand apart from these struggles. Bear in mind that as soon as cultural workers isolate themselves from the masses and from reality, they are invariably attacked and made prisoner by various bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends of thought.

If our literature and the other arts are to benefit the workers, peasants and people's fighters, and are to serve them fundamentally, then, our literary and artistic thought must be proletarian and not bourgeois or petty bourgeois. Therefore, our primary mission today must be to carry out Mao Tse-tung's policy for art in all our literary and artistic work, and to combat every tendency which deviates from this policy.

The Great Theme of Patriotism

"OUR nation will never more be insulted, we have stood up." These were Chairman Mao's words in his opening address to the First General Assembly of the People's Political Consultative Conference. This solemn declaration defined the position of the Chinese people in the modern world. Thus the central theme of patriotic literature must be to express the outlook and aspirations of the Chinese people who have "stood up."

Our arts have traditionally been patriotic, i.e., they have been traditionally opposed to imperialist aggression and feudal oppression. They have been filled with hatred for all aggressors and oppressors and with deep concern for the nation's destiny. Now the Chinese people have overthrown the rule of the reactionaries both native and foreign, and have created the people's own political power—the people's democratic dictatorship. The Chinese people, always industrious and courageous, have been well steeled and trained in the protracted course of the revolution and under the guidance of the people's democracy. Their vitality is being daily enhanced. Out of the midst of the masses, new heroic and model characters are appearing in an unending stream on the battlefield, the production line and in other spheres of endeavour. To fulfil its role our literature and art must in the first place depict these leading characters among the Chinese people, show the great strength of the Chinese nation and of the Communist Party of China, show the wisdom and heroism of the people.

Our cultural workers have described how difficult is the process of self-remoulding in the course of the people's struggles. This is very necessary. This process of remoulding will be a protracted one. Literature and the other arts should reflect and facilitate this process of remoulding so as to help raise the people's consciousness to the levels of democracy and of Socialism.

Han Feng's novel *Ying Ching-chun*, published in *People's Literature*, was a powerful expression of the new qualities of a people's fighter. The hero Ying Ching-chun had his shortcomings. He violated

the discipline of the battle front, and because of this, he was not accepted into the Communist Party. This was a bitter disappointment, for his desire to join the Party was one of the mainsprings of his entire life. But as the political commissar said: "He is an 'iron man.' Some people are not afraid of the enemy; but they cannot conquer their own moral weaknesses. But this man is not afraid of anything. He can stand on his feet wherever you put him." Finally he makes good and joins the Party. When he is admitted, he declares: "This is a great honour that I have received from the Party. Whenever I thought of the Party, I felt strengthened in face of difficulties. Apart from this, what would I be worth?"

When a fighter fights heroically only in order to protect his own home and his own plot of land, or when a farmer actively engages in production only in order to become rich, he cannot thereby be called a new character. Only when a man consciously fights for the common good and places the national interest and interests of the entire people before personal and family interest, can he be called a new character, and only then can his qualities be called new qualities.

Our writings must express these new qualities of the new people. They must portray the heroism of the Communists; they must educate the broad masses of the people and youth with true descriptions of valiant deeds and model conduct. This at the present time is the first and foremost task for creative workers in the field of the arts.

Our Great National Art Tradition

THE new people's literature and arts must follow the great tradition in our own national literature and arts and develop and enrich the national forms of creative art.

We have a rich legacy in literature and art. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said in his *On New Democracy*:

"In the long history of feudal society, the Chinese people created a brilliant ancient culture. Therefore, to re-evaluate our ancient culture, to sift the feudal rubbish with which it is cluttered and absorb its rich democratic content is a necessary task for the development of our new national culture and for the elevation of our national self-confidence."

To consider the new culture as something to be transplanted in its entirety from "the West" and not as something developing in our own national soil; to consider it unnecessary to undertake a critical re-evaluation of our ancient culture as a necessary prerequisite for the development of our new national culture; to ignore the relationship between the old and the new culture—all these are anti-historical and harmful views. Yet there are not a few literary and artistic workers and youth who blindly admire "the West" and slight our own na-



A peasant family discusses how to increase production

Woodcut by Shih Ke

tional literary and artistic tradition, popular art forms and the interests and tastes of the people. This is in fact a typical expression of a lack of national self-confidence and of the mass viewpoint. This is a serious obstacle to the popularisation and development of literature and art.

Of course, we are not chauvinists. We must learn from other countries and especially from the Soviet Union. Socialist realistic literature and art are the most beneficial spiritual food for the Chinese people and the broad ranks of the intelligentsia and youth. We must improve and extend our work on translations. The purpose of learning from the experiences of the progressive countries is for the specific purpose of enlarging our own experiences. We should respect other people's history and cultural tradition and we should particularly respect our own national history and cultural tradition, otherwise, we are no true patriots and no true internationalists. A real internationalist cannot afford to go to his friends empty-handed. Our literary and artistic techniques are quite insufficient, and we need to learn and to improve our techniques. But to learn techniques does not mean merely to imitate Western forms, rather, it means to develop and enrich our own national form.

The most important factor in literary form is language. Comrade Stalin said:

"...Proletarian culture, which is Socialist in content, adopts various forms and methods of expression, depending on the differences in language, customs, etc., of the various peoples participating in Socialist construction." (J. Stalin: Speech on *The Political Tasks of the Eastern People's University*)

Languages and customs must be learned from a study of the people's actual life and from our own national traditional literature and art. Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives prime importance to the study of languages and dialects. Of course, language is

not the sole element in artistic literary form. There are other factors such as plot, etc. Our finest literary tradition excels in the brevity, vividness and spontaneity of its language, clarity in character depiction and logical development of the narrative. All these qualities are worth mastering.

We must overcome the defects which make literature lack mass appeal. The popularisation of literature cannot be separated from its national quality. Lu Hsun said:

"It is quite common in the history of literature that when the old literature declines, a renaissance is achieved by absorbing folk literature and foreign literature."

Such a renaissance has already occurred in China. It is in fact exemplified by the development of the new Chinese literature from the stage of the "May Fourth Movement" to Mao Tse-tung's speech at the Literary Discussion in Yen-an. We must exert every effort to complete this renaissance.

In order to develop the great tradition in our national arts, we must carry out, on a wide scale, the work of collection, systematisation and research as well as the work of reforming the old artistic forms which are still popular among the people.

We have, for instance, a rich legacy in the drama. Many fine historical tales and legends have been preserved and these dramatic forms are still well loved by the broad masses of the people today. There are many styles of dramatic art in the country. We should continue to do serious research work in and reform the various local dramas, folk plays and musical dialogues and develop them on a modern basis. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions and the *Instructions on the Reform of Dramas*, issued by the Government Administrative Council of the Central People's Government, the main plan of dramatic reform is to encourage free competition among the various dramatic forms, so that all the finest forms can flourish together and new forms develop out of the old.

With respect to music, our researches into folk music should be continued and at the same time particular attention should be paid to research in and the reform of Chinese dramatic music, musical dialogues and Chinese national instrumental music. The dances of the various fraternal nationalities are rich and healthy in outlook and should be widely collected, studied and developed. With respect to painting, the correct tradition in Chinese painting should be followed and further developed. In the difficult work of research into and systematic classification of the legacy of Chinese literature, a first priority is the study of the history of modern Chinese literature.

We have the deepest respect for our own national literary and artistic heritage. But we cannot praise everything indiscriminately. We must examine this heritage in a strictly scientific manner. From the entire legacy we must absorb only the "democratic cream" and resolutely "clean out the feudal rubbish." That portion of the "democratic cream," which we accept as the great tradition, we develop on a modern basis. We do not consider the national art forms fixed and immutable. Rather, we consider them as developing and continually being

transformed in the process of practice. On the question of the arts, as on all other questions, we adopt the viewpoint of development and not of conservatism. What we aim at in literary and artistic work is not the preservation of the old national literature and art forms, but rather the development of a new national literature and art.

Strengthen Criticism and Self-criticism, Combat Liberalism and Vulgarity

CHINESE literature and art today comprises a united front which includes the different tendencies of the workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. But the guiding direction must be given by proletarian thought, Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. All Communist Party members and revolutionary workers in the arts must increase their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism as a prerequisite for the cultivation of their creative thought, the raising of their artistic level and the development of their militant spirit. We must adopt the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method in order to sweep away the ideological influences of imperialism and feudalism, and at the same time, criticise the erroneous thoughts of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry.

We must overcome both routine methods and vulgarity in the leadership given to literary and artistic work. "Routine" leadership is thoughtless leadership. It neglects to direct the literary and artistic tasks from a political and ideological standpoint. It fails to take into consideration the specific qualities of creative activity and criticism. It gets bogged down in the routine methods of bare administration instead of showing the delicate qualities of creative thought that are needed.

There is the need also to overcome the liberalism and the vulgarity of style which still exist among some of our cultural workers.

These find expression in an uncritical attitude towards all antagonistic and erroneous ideologies, giving rise to an attitude conducive to a peaceful co-existence with such ideologies without struggling against them and even agreeing with them. These find an expression in a dislike of criticism and refusal to be criticised under various pretenses; either of "friendship" or of false pride which results in incorrect and unprincipled relationships between literary and artistic workers and vulgarisation of the serious business of struggle between the ideologies.

We must overcome all these bad styles of work, and the main method to adopt is criticism and self-criticism. We must further raise the political level of our criticism and unite this with factual analyses of particular artistic works. We must struggle with all unhealthy tendencies in literary and artistic work on the one hand and on the other discover and encourage new forces, new results and new experiences in literature and the other arts. The defects in our literary and artistic work can surely be overcome under Mao Tse-tung's direction and with the care and guidance of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself. Let us overcome our defects and continue our advance. Let us continue to strive for the complete triumph of Mao Tse-tung's art policy on the entire battle-front of literature and the arts!

Why the San Francisco Treaty Will Fail

A Review of the Indian Press

C. K. Cheng

Summoned to San Francisco to sign on the dotted line, many governments dependent on U.S. pensions have obediently put their names under the fake "peace treaty with Japan" drafted by John Foster Dulles and other imperialist schemers in Washington. Conspicuously absent from the list of signatories, however, are the nations which are geographically closest to Japan and played the greatest part in the defeat of Japanese imperialism in World War II—China and the U.S.S.R. Moreover, all the threats and blandishments of the American framers of the "treaty" and their British satellites failed to secure the signatures of India and Burma.

India, the second most populous country of Asia after China, refused to endorse the "treaty" or accept the invitation to attend the so-called "conference." The same was true of Burma. The peoples of these countries, with their own long experience of colonial servitude, could not be made to swallow either the continued enslavement of the Japanese nation under American occupation or the revival, as U.S. subordinates, of the same Japanese militarists who have already once menaced the independence of all Asia and cost millions of Asian lives. The crude manoeuvres that culminated in the disgraceful warmongering activities in San Francisco have awakened the peoples of these countries more fully to the real aims of American imperialism in Asia.

The "Treaty" Exposed

Long before the Indian Government rejected the American invitation to come to San Francisco, the Indian press had done much to expose the U.S. game. Even a cursory survey of newspapers during the past weeks yields a wealth of sharp and instructive reactions.

The *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi penetratingly exposed the real meaning of the first U.S. draft, shortly after it was made public:

"India cannot, obviously, be a party to a settlement with Japan which would make the latter a helpless satellite of America in any future war, instead of conferring on that country a peace which would have a reasonable prospect of lasting."

The *Bombay Free Press Journal* used much stronger language in its editorial of August 27, 1951:

"The Japanese peace treaty in its present form is an act of provocation. It is a fraud on Japan and the people of Asia."

The arrogance of the United States in presenting its draft on a take-it-or-leave-it basis was witheringly branded. Representative of the comment in this regard was the following extract from one of the leading newspapers, as quoted by Indian Information Service on August 31:

"If the draft is unalterable like the laws of the Medes and Persians, the San Francisco conference

has no utility. The U.S. Government is certainly entitled to its views but its refusal to revise the draft in accordance with the views that may be expressed by other nations at the coming conference is incompatible with its professed belief that 'peace will be more stable if it is founded on united action...' The draft is the result not of 'united action' but merely of 'Anglo-American action.'"

All India was enraged by the crude threats of American legislators like Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, Senator William F. Knowland of California and Representative Wesley A. D'Ewart of Montana who assailed the Indian Government as a "Kremlin tool," and either hinted or said outright that no more wheat should be shipped to India if she maintained an independent attitude.

The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote on Sept. 1:

"Almost every time there is any kind of conflict between Indian and American views on any international question, a set of Americans can be depended on to flaunt the wheat loan in a language and spirit that are cheap, petty and repulsive.... All the cheap gibes that are being indulged in, in the matter of the wheat loan to India, amount to a dangerous confession. Was the wheat loan intended after all to purchase the self-respect and freedom of India?"

More and more Indian organs of opinion are coming to the same conclusion as the progressive weekly *Crossroads* which has not only stated clearly that the U.S. treaty is directed at "the independence of all Asian countries," but shown that it can be successfully opposed. The rearmament of Japan, which conjures up both the past horrors of Japanese imperialist aggression and visions of Japanese fascists acting as U.S. janissaries to subjugate Asia to a new Dollar Empire, is not frightening Indian opinion but sharpening its judgement.

Thus *Pyam*, an Urdu-language daily published in Hyderabad, recently denounced U.S. imperialism, drew attention to the great defeat it has met at the hands of the Chinese and Korean peoples, and gave its opinion that the U.S. treaty with Japan is a desperate scramble to avert new and inevitable failures. It wrote:

"Today American eyes are set on Asia. They realise that the victory of the Chinese revolution has almost ended American imperialist influence in the Far East. In Korea it has to face defeats. But in spite of all these shameful fiascos, America is making her best efforts to rule over the whole of Asia. That is why military bases are being created everywhere and special envoys and arbitrators are being sent to different Asian countries. That is why America wants to make Japan its military base in the Far East in an attempt to attack China after establishing complete control over Japan and to disrupt other democratic movements in Asia."



The Japanese people's "rice bowl" is menaced by the big arms of the U.S.-drafted "peace treaty" and the rearmament drive symbolised by the steel helmet

Cartoon by Mori Tadao, reproduced from the Japanese National Railway Front

An increasing number of papers do not confine themselves to comment but insist that the answer of the Indian people to the "treaty" and the aggressive U.S. designs which it seeks to advance must take the form of mass political action. *Crossroads* has called for a "most relentless and resolute struggle against the realisation of the imperialist plans in Japan."

The Hindi-language weekly *Naya Sabera* of Lucknow has urged its readers to hold meetings and demonstrations and pass resolutions to defeat the American imperialist conspiracy against the People's Republic of China and Asian peace.

"Let contemptuous and invincible determination be voiced throughout India against the draft war treaty. Let hearty messages of peace and the desire of Indians be expressed through meetings, demonstrations, resolutions and mass signature drives against it. Let Indians, along with other peoples in the world, vote for establishing real peace in Japan by nullifying the false votes of the satellites of the Anglo-American warmongers in San Francisco."

Solidarity With China

Realisation of common interests with the People's Republic of China, defence of China's legitimate interests and advocacy of Indian-Chinese solidarity in international affairs, have been finding ever wider expression.

The *Indian News Chronicle* commented:

"India has during the last two years consistently urged the view that there can be no stability or progress in Southeast Asia until New China is not only formally recognised but is also given the important role which is legitimately hers in Asia."

The Urdu daily *Tej*, also published in India's capital, stated:

"India has made it clear that without the participation of China any treaty with Japan will be meaningless.... Hence India has refused to participate in the conference that is being held to sign a peace treaty with Japan."

The *Bombay Free Press Journal* wrote:

"The Soviet Union, India and other Southeast Asian countries want Peking to be represented at San Francisco. The United States has resolutely set its face against this proposal. Thus, the Chinese people, who have fought the Japanese longest and who have suffered most from Japanese militarism, have been excluded from the peace table.... This is an outrageous decision.... With China absent at the peace table and with India refraining from taking part in the talks, the draft treaty can well be described as an imposition of U.S. terms on the Asian people.... For the doubtful advantage of gaining American goodwill, India cannot barter away her determination to judge every issue on its merits. India has thus retained her right to discuss the Japanese question at a later stage. India has also kept faith with the new China."

Imperialism's Feet of Clay

This increasing awareness and vigilance of the Indian and other Asian peoples and the clear emergence of their common interests with the Chinese people has not passed unnoticed outside.

The *London New Statesman and Nation*, concerned with Britain's position in Asia, has warned the Attlee Government that it was "time to say no" to the U.S. on the Japanese treaty and that the Government "cannot emerge... without disaster if they ignore the concrete facts of China's position in Asia."

The Australian Labour politician and former Foreign Minister, Herbert Vere Evatt, has denounced the San Francisco proceedings and publicly expressed his worry lest serious consequences follow.

The worriers have reason to worry. Instead of arranging the situation in Asia to benefit American imperialism and ease its further plans, the antics at the San Francisco are serving to further consolidate the unity of the Asian peoples against this common danger. The U.S. aggressors will reap bitter fruit from the seeds they have sown.

At the San Francisco conference itself the delegates of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Czechoslovakia and Poland voiced the unshakable opposition of the peace-loving and freedom-loving people of the world to the American "peace treaty," which they correctly branded as a treaty of preparation for war. They pointed out the only true path to peace in Asia—a just, over-all peace treaty guaranteeing the independence and democratisation of Japan and precluding her remilitarisation. The aggressive bloc hammered together by the U.S. imperialists cannot prevail against the united will of peace-loving mankind, either by paper arrangements or by military force. This lesson is being taught daily by the Korean people and the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea.

Indian public opinion, as we have shown, is well aware of the dangers of U.S. policy. It has found reflection in the Indian government's refusal to recognise the San Francisco farce. Thus, it is already a powerful obstacle to the aggressive plans of the U.S. This is a development of the greatest importance. With further consolidation of the anti-imperialist front in Asia, the possibility of a speedy and final defeat of the aggressors will be increased. Despite all the efforts of the imperialists, the people themselves will achieve an era of a true peace in Asia—an era of co-operation for common constructive tasks and the people's welfare.

Why China Wants Peace

Joan C. Hinton

Joan Chase Hinton, a young American scientist, witnessed the first atomic bomb explosion in the New Mexican desert. A graduate of Bennington College, Miss Hinton took up graduate studies in physics at the University of Wisconsin and at the University of Chicago. From 1943 to 1945 she was a research assistant at the atom bomb project at Los Alamos. An active member of the Association of Atomic Scientists, Miss Hinton was opposed to the secrecy and government control which became attached to all work on atomic research. She came to China in 1948. In 1949 she married and is now working with her American husband in an animal breeding farm in Inner Mongolia.

With the publication of this letter, readers are given the opportunity to know the impressions of a young American scientist, living and working with the Chinese people, joining with them in their great work of peaceful construction.

Federation of American Scientists
1749 L Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Wolfe and the FAS:

Yesterday I received your application for membership in the Federation of Scientists. As I am just now almost directly under your feet, in Suiyuan Province, Inner Mongolia—where it takes two weeks for mail to arrive by donkey from the nearest railroad—I must say I was rather surprised and pleased to receive your application, and in two months' time at that!

You asked, "What has been happening to you since you were an FAS member?" As it was just the FAS and the questions with which it deals which drove me to China, I thought I would take the opportunity to write to you, though I should have told you long ago why my dues stopped coming.

As you probably do not remember me, let me begin by telling you a bit of my history. From as early as I can remember, I was determined to become a scientist. Even in grammar school, I can especially remember forcing the teachers to let me study Faraday's *The Candle* instead of taking Latin. In high school, I concentrated on chemistry, oblivious to all my other courses. Finally in college, I settled on physics, building a Wilson cloud chamber in my sophomore year and spending as much time as I could getting in the way of the cyclotron boys at Cornell. From college I went to Wisconsin where I studied as a graduate student for two years. As people became more and more scarce, disappearing to secret places, I became restless too and finally ended up at Los Alamos where I worked another two years on the "W.B."

Then came the bomb and Hiroshima and the mass migration of atomic scientists to Washington. I first joined the association of Los Alamos scientists, and then spent some six weeks in Washington working for the FAS. Your pamphlet mentions the "enthusiastic if inexperienced emissaries" now flocked to Washington. I am afraid both these statements applied to me above anybody else—especially

the inexperience. I will never forget my chagrin when I went to a certain Senator's office to get some information and the secretary condescendingly looked up at me asking, "Is this in connection with your school work?"—me, an atomic scientist, coming to Washington to fight for scientific freedom and world peace—the very nerve of her! Well, my heart was in the right place anyway.

From Washington I went to Chicago as an assistant in the Institute for Nuclear Studies, and later as a Fellow. By 1948, I had about one more year to go for my degree. In physics I could not have dreamed of a better opportunity for studying—I loved it! I was just beginning to get the feel of quantum mechanics—as though it were a part of me instead of something strange in textbooks. I was devouring Dirac and what I could get hold of on statistical mechanics. Yet the better things became for me in physics, the more depressed I became. Even since that morning when we sat on a hillock south of Albuquerque and felt the heat of that bomb 25 miles away, something had started to stir in me. It forced me to Washington. Then I forced it down and left for Chicago, but it refused to stay down. The Truman doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the stagnation of the Atomic Energy Commission in the U.N.—how could one just sit still in a laboratory and ponder in the depths of statistical mechanics! The memory of Hiroshima—150,000 lives. One, two, three, four, five, six . . . one hundred and fifty thousand—each a living, thinking, human being with hopes and desires, failures and successes, a life of his or her own—all gone. And I had held that bomb in my hand. Could I sit and ponder Dirac? What was science for? For the sake of Science? That is what I had thought before. But we all pondered over Dirac and then suddenly 150,000 people were killed. Were we to blame? We were only studying science, finding out how the world was put together. Was the government to blame—really? Do we not have any say as to what our life work is to be used for? Are we puppets or human beings? Can we not vision the world of tomorrow? Will it be a world of destruction and misery, agonising death by radiation or will it be a world where mountains are moved by atomic bombs to change the course of

rivers and make rich green land out of deserts? Where is our imagination?

By 1948 I could not stand it any longer. My friends all seemed to be going back into secret work. Were they crazy? Were we who studied physics to spend all our lives thinking up means of mass extermination? Even my fellowship money came from the Navy. We were doing non-secret work at the time. We needed some deuterium for our accelerator. In the room where I studied there was only a little space in the corner for a desk, the rest of the room was piled with cases of heavy water right up to the ceiling—for the argon. We asked for some. Nowhere in America could we get any. Finally we sent to Norway and two little bottles were sent back to us with a picture of a Viking ship and a little note saying, "I thought you had civilian control."

In Washington, a friend of mine had asked me to go to China. I had refused. I was determined to become a physicist. But the idea kept gnawing at me. It would not let me go, until finally I felt like I was being caught in a horrible trap. No matter where you turned, you were faced by war, secret work, the Navy, the Army and madmen locked in their laboratories thinking up new and better methods of total destruction. Suddenly, I made up my mind and left. But it was not easy. The love of science and physics was pretty strong. Of all my notebooks and books I only had room for two in my trunk. I sat for a long time looking at those books, then took Joos and the handbook of physics and chemistry and set out for China alone with a terrible emptiness in my heart. I had broken away from everything I ever had desired or known. I broke away because I had to. I had to find out what was going on in the world outside of physics. What was happening to the peoples of the world—so I came to China, to see America from the outside and to understand the tremendous upheaval going on inside Asia.

What I Learned in China

And what have I learned in the three years since I have been in China? Perhaps the main thing is that the people of the East do not want war. That the peoples of the East are not interested in America. They are occupied with building up their own countries, pulling them out of their centuries of feudalism, changing them as fast as possible into modern, industrialised lands with abundance for all—lands where beggars cease to exist, and slums and "Maxwell Streets" are things of the past that the children read about in history books. Everything is for peaceful production, for building, for life, for the people—and I learned something else—that these people can get along perfectly all right without America. I used to think that American aid would mean a lot to China. A country so backward—how could she develop without American help? But where there is a will there is a way and the Chinese people have a will so strong that nothing America can do will ever stop it. They will think of plenty of ways and they will develop fast. The only obstacle to their development would be a war. They are not afraid of America. If she must fight, China will show that she is made of steel—but China will never start a war, war is against her every interest.

I know that you may ask, "How do you know? They are just filling you with propaganda, you fool!" So I will not talk any more in generalities. I will only tell a few things from my experience. The first is the conditions I found in Kuomintang China. I spent a year in Kuomintang territory, and all that time it never ceased to amaze me why we (America) should be giving millions of dollars of aid to such a stupid, corrupt, conceited, useless government as the government of the Kuomintang. Just one example will suffice (though anybody who lived in Shanghai for just a few months at that time could cite countless examples). That is, the business of the "gold yuan."

For the fun of it, I kept a logarithmic plot of the inflation and it was a fairly straight line. I have forgotten just now what the period was, but the line was pretty steep. It was steep enough so that towards the end, prices would double or even triple in a day. I remember especially how carefully I had to plan to buy a jack-knife. I went to a certain place (of which kind Shanghai was teaming) early in the morning with a briefcase to cash one American dollar. The briefcase having been duly loaded full of Chinese notes, I tore as fast as I could to the store and emptied them out on the counter before the price could rise. A briefcase full of notes for a jack-knife? The poor store keepers were in a terrible fix. They had to either not count their money and get stuck short or hire several extra hands just for counting money and lose that much in wages anyway. And the banks were in an impossible state. The cost of shipping and counting money was far beyond the value of the money. In fact, it was not even worth the paper it was printed on. The clerks in the banks were peering out from behind heaps of bills piled up to the ceiling. "Money, money everywhere, but not a crumb to eat." And so, of course, in order to stay alive one had to put one's wealth into something besides paper money: in silver dollars, American dollars or goods, and the barter system flourished.

Then the government announced its "currency reform." Under penalty of death all gold, silver, American dollars, and hoarded goods were to be turned into the banks and exchanged for the new stable "gold yuan." Everyday the paper had pictures of people being shot for disobeying this order. Houses were searched. Anybody found guilty was dragged off to prison. Thousands upon thousands of ordinary folk turned in the little bit of savings they had in return for paper "gold yuan."

For a week or two, as I remember, prices remained stable. Then whisperings began in the blackmarket—and soon they broke—the "gold yuan" fell off its pedestal. To where? Right smack on the extrapolation of the exponential inflation curve which I had been plotting all year. What did this mean? Only that the government had previously printed this tremendous excess of notes, had held them out of circulation for a week or two until as much gold and silver, etc. as could be collected from the people was taken in, and then let go, leaving the whole population with nothing but worthless scraps of paper. Thousands upon thousands of people left without a cent of savings—the biggest, most cold-blooded mass robbery in history

The First Railway in Szechuan Province

The 164-kilometre section of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway from Chungking to Yungchwan was formally opened to passenger and freight traffic on August 5, 1951. Two passenger and freight trains a day link up Chungking and Yungchwan.

For over 40 years governments have considered building the Chengtu-Chungking Railway. In 1906 the Manchu Government planned the establishment of the Szechuan Railway Corporation. In 1931 and 1936 the Kuomintang regime brought up the subject again, set up the Chengtu-Chungking Railway Engineering Bureau, swindled funds for constructing the railway from the people of Szechuan, and did nothing whatever about the project. But today it is a different story. Szechuan Province has been liberated and the people's government has fulfilled the people's hopes.

The work of track-laying is proceeding rapidly along the rest of the line, and soon tracks will be extended as far as Lungchang, 230 kilometres west of Chungking. The total length of the railway which will run through eight counties is to be 530 kilometres.

Actual construction began on June 15, 1950 and the project is scheduled for completion in 1952. It involves 970 bridges of various sizes, 40 tunnels and the movement of 15,500,000 cubic metres of earthwork. To date, over 50 per cent of the earthwork and tunnelling has been completed and over 30 per cent of the bridge building. The job is a difficult one technically as the railway line runs through the mountainous area of the province.

The railway is opening up a great area. Rich agricultural products, rice from Chengtu, sugar from Neikiang and salt from Tseliuchin now can be shipped by rail and Yangtse River transport from Chungking. With the full effects of the line on the area's economy still to be realised, already hundreds of thousands of people have begun to feel its benefits. In Chungking alone, over 400 machine plants and 185 large smithies are running on government orders which have spurred the restoration and development of the local engineering industry. The Szechuan Cement Plant which had closed down before liberation now finds that its record output falls short of meeting the demand. Coal mining, tile making, electric appliances, chemicals and hardware are also experiencing an expanding boom. Production in all these lines is being increased.

The railway project has improved the living conditions of over 150,000 people in southern Szechuan who are directly or indirectly working on the railway. Hundreds of thousands of people have supplemented their incomes by felling wood and making and transporting sleepers. Women also take part in the lighter work to increase the family income.

When the first passenger and freight trains moved quickly along the line on August 5, there were hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic spectators on hand to cheer them. Inspecting the train when it stopped, peasants proudly said: "The Kuomintang cheated us. The people's government does things for us!"

Sah Fu-chun, formerly Vice-Minister of Communications under the KMT, and now Vice-Director of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway Construction Bureau, said: "For 38 years I've taken part in planning this line, but only today can I say that the railway has materialised!"

or ever dreamed of. And the gold and silver was pocketed by the "Big Four"—the ruling families of China and shipped to America and other safe places as fast as possible before liberation. At the time I was too stupid to realise what was happening. I naively assumed that this time maybe the government was finally really planning to do something about the inflation. It was only after that point fell so perfectly on my curve that the truth began to dawn. But even then, it took me a long time to really realise the treachery, the calculated cold-blooded intent of these criminals who called themselves a government. And it was these crooks to whom America was sending millions of dollars worth of "aid"—guns, bombs, tanks, trucks and a trickle of powdered milk.

Enough for the Kuomintang. Perhaps the next thing I might mention is the liberation of Peking. American papers always implied that the Chinese Communists were supplied by Russia. So I rather

expected to see Russian weapons as the People's Liberation Army marched past. But in the whole parade which I watched for three or four hours, I never saw a single Russian weapon. A few old Japanese guns, but mostly new American trucks, cannon, tanks, guns and trucks with "United States Army" written on the side in white letters as plain as day. The soldiers laughed when you asked them about it and said, "Uncle Sam sends them to Chiang and Chiang sends them to us."

Then again, people told me that foreigners would never be allowed to travel alone in the liberated areas. That the Communists would keep a pretty close eye on the travellers and be sure only to let you see what they wanted you to. In the back of my mind, I thought perhaps this might be true, too. I was all prepared to have an escort wherever I might choose to go and in the beginning I was given one. I wanted to go and visit a friend of mine who was staying at a place about 100 miles

away, so I was supplied with a guide and went. But on coming back, my friend explained that I was used to travelling and could find the way back by myself and without further ado, I was left to go back alone. So again, the American press was wrong. Nobody was watching me, they were only helping me. I was free to look at whatever I liked. That was the first time and it has been that way ever since. When I go to a new place, someone is always ready to help me out to find the way. Once I have become familiar with the place I am left completely free.

My first job was working in an iron factory packed away in the mountains of Shensi. What were they making there? They were melting up American-made hand-grenades, shells, wings from crashed planes sent from America to Chiang, steel and aluminum of weapons sent by America to kill them and making them into cooking pots, ploughs and hoes. They were transferring these things of destruction into useful tools to build up a new and prosperous China, making wagon wheels and pumps and gates for irrigation canals. Americans would probably not even realise it was a factory and they would laugh at it when told so—not even a lathe, nothing but the hands of the people. Everything was made by hand. But Americans might do a little thinking, too. The Chinese with their bare hands are building up a new nation, while the Americans with their tremendous industrial strength are preparing to destroy mankind. The Chinese are not afraid, they are just sorry. If America were not preparing for war—if she were not threatening China at every point—China could put even more effort into construction, into building better homes for her people, into eliminating floods, into stabilising crops, into bringing in machinery and transforming their land from one of despair and poverty into one of prosperity, enlightenment, a nation of scientists working for the enrichment of mankind. But America seems bent on war. So China will continue her construction despite America. She will keep on putting all she has into the betterment of the living conditions of her people. But at the same time, she will never stop watching America. She will not tolerate any high-handed action against her sovereignty. She is not afraid and her people know how to fight and know what they are fighting for. Anyone who came to work at that factory could not help but learn this. The irresistible strength of New China seemed to permeate everything, even the silent walls of the caves at night, waving black shadows and crimson reflections from the furnaces outside.

Since then all of China has been liberated and she now has more regular factories day by day. Skilled mechanics and engineers are being trained. Though some places still work by hand, others are forging ahead still faster with machines while others are using machines to make machines. It will not take her long.

At present I am working on an animal breeding farm in Inner Mongolia. Of what I have learned here I will only say the following: that I was amazed to hear Acheson—a responsible representative of the U.S. government—say that the Soviet Union was “annexing whole territories” of Northeast China

and Inner Mongolia to herself. I have lived here two years. So far I have only seen one thing Russian, that is, ten Soviet stallions given to our farm for breeding purposes, along with apparatus for artificial insemination. What are we doing with these stallions? We are breeding the farmers' horses and the Mogolian ponies, improving the horses of Mongolia. The farmers come for miles around to get their horses bred. The stallions were given to China under the Agreement signed last year—an Agreement of friendship and mutual assistance between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese are free to use them where and as they see fit. The Soviet Union does not interfere. To the peasants here, the Soviet Union is symbolised by these stallions, sleek-haired, refined, bigger than anything they have ever seen before and with no stud fees. The silent eyes of these ten stallions tell more to the Mongolian horsemen than any amount of insinuating speeches that Acheson ever could. If this is what is meant by being annexed by the Soviet Union then they would just as soon! They are not afraid of words, they only believe in what they see. And what do they see as far as America is concerned? Again, it is not empty words of friendship which impress them. It is bombing planes, guns and tanks given to the Kuomintang. In our farm's cornfield are two old craters from American-made bombs. No amount of speeches from American diplomats can erase these holes and the people do not easily forget.

China Wants Peace

The people of China want peace. The people of the world want peace, including the people of America. Though I suppose I have been away too long to still be considered a member of the American scientists, yet I personally still feel as though I am one of you. I have written you to let you know at least the story of one of your members. One person refusing to work on secret projects, refusing to work on war, of course, does no good. But all of you at home united together have a very special strength in your hands. I only want to say to you: Use your strength, use whatever you can to work actively for peace and against war. As long as there is war, science will never be free. Are we scientists going to spend our lives in slavery for madmen who want to destroy the world? At home one gets frightened. Listening to so much war talk one begins to believe that if we do not prepare for war the other side will and then we will be destroyed. But now I have been living on the other side for some time and know for sure that this is a lot of lies, that China wants peace and is working for peace with all she has. She will never attack America, nor will any of her allies. If you people would only believe this, if you could only see for yourselves as I am seeing, then, I am sure you would not hesitate for a minute to work for peace with every ounce of strength you have.

So long for now and remember me to whomever is there that I might know.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

JOAN HINTON

June 4, 1951

People's China

Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China

V—A General Review of the Thirty Years

Hu Chiao-mu

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

AS has been said above, the 30 years which the Chinese Communist Party has passed through are 30 great and glorious years—30 years in which the Chinese Communist Party and the working class and the people of China, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, fought heroically against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, underwent many hardships and reverses, overcame various opportunist tendencies, mistakes and shortcomings within their own ranks and finally defeated their enemies and gained the victory.

The history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that without the leadership of such a party—a party of the Bolshevik-type, which is “well-disciplined and armed with the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and which adopts the methods of self-criticism and maintains close contact with the masses of the people,” as described by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese working class and people would have been unable to overthrow the rule of the powerful imperialists and their lackeys and to establish an independent people’s democratic state.

Before the Chinese Communist Party was founded there existed in China political parties of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie which endeavoured to lead the Chinese revolution. These parties had played a certain progressive historical role, but they all failed under the manifold attacks of the enemy. Although the onslaughts against the Chinese Communist Party by the imperialists and their lackeys were far more ruthless and menacing than any previously experienced by the Chinese people, the Party nevertheless succeeded in leading the people to victory. This is because the Chinese Communist Party is a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type, cast in the mould of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

At the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Mao Tse-tung defined the outstanding characteristics of



Hu Chiao-mu

the Chinese Communist Party as the integration of theory and practice, the maintenance of close ties with the masses of the people and the practice of self-criticism. Only by integrating theory with practice has the Party been able to make effective and creative use of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to overcome doctrinaire and empiricist deviations and to discover and define the correct way to defeat the powerful enemy and to build up a new nation. Only because of its close contact with the masses has the Party been able to lead the people’s revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war, create a people’s army, and a people’s state power and by relying on the inexhaustible strength of the people defeat an enemy that was once obviously superior in strength. Only by practising self-criticism has the Party been able to learn lessons from its past failures and mistakes, improve

itself and constantly maintain and improve its relations with the masses. A Party possessed of such characteristics is the essential guarantee of success in leading the Chinese revolution to final victory.

THE history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that the correct leadership of the Party is primarily determined by its correct theory concerning the Chinese revolution. Without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung it would have been impossible to lead the Chinese working class and the Chinese people to victory.

In reviewing and summing up the Party’s history in the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars and in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote in October 1939 as follows:

In the first stage the Party was in its infancy. In the early and middle periods of this stage, the Party line was correct, and the revolutionary zeal and activity of both the rank and file and the cadres of the Party was of an exceedingly high degree. Hence we achieved victory in the First Great Revolution.* But the Party then was after all still in its infancy, inexperienced in the three basic questions of the united front, armed struggle, and Party-building. It had very little or no knowledge of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese

This is the concluding part of the outline history of the Chinese Communist Party. The first four parts appeared in our preceding issues.

* The First Revolutionary Civil War was formerly known as the First Great Revolution.

revolution or about Chinese history and society, and still lacked an integrated understanding in uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Hence in the last period of this stage, the critical juncture of this stage, the dominant section of the Party's leading organisations was unable to give leadership to the whole Party to consolidate the victories of the revolution, but instead fell victim to the deceptions of the bourgeoisie. Consequently the revolution failed.

In this stage the Party's organisation developed without being consolidated; the Party members, cadres, and organisations were not consolidated either ideologically or politically. New members were numerous, but they were not given the necessary Marxist-Leninist education. Much experience was gained in the course of their work, but was not well summed up. Large numbers of careerists sneaked into the Party and were not cleaned out. Both our enemy and our ally were plotting against our Party, yet we showed no vigilance. Within the Party, a large number of active members came to the fore, but no time was found to transform them into the mainstay of the Party. The Party had a number of revolutionary armed forces but could not establish full control over them. All these circumstances were consequences of the lack of experience, the lack of a profound revolutionary insight, and the lack of understanding in uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Such was the first stage of Party-building.

The second stage was that of the ten years' civil war. With the experience of the first stage, with the advance in the understanding of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, and the knowledge of Chinese history and society, and with the closer integration of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, our Party was able to lead the Red Army to carry its ten-year war through to victory. Although the bourgeoisie deserted to the enemy, our Party was able to rely firmly on the peasantry. The Party organisation was not only developed anew but also consolidated. Despite the enemy's ceaseless conspiracy against our Party, we drove out the conspirators. Not only were there again large numbers of cadres coming to the fore in the Party, but these cadres became its mainstay. The Party opened the path for the people's political authority and thereby learned the art of administering the state and maintaining public order. It created strong armed forces and thereby learned the art of war. All these were momentous advances and achievements of the Party.

But during this great struggle some members were slipping or had at one time slipped into the quagmire of opportunism. This was still due to their lack of humility in appreciating the experiences of the past, to their ignorance of the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, to their woefully inadequate knowledge of Chinese history and society, and to their lack of understanding in uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Hence a section of the Party's leading organisations was unable to completely and at all times grasp the correct political and organisational lines throughout this stage. At one time the Party and the revolution were placed in jeopardy by the "Left" opportunism of Li Li-san, at another time by the "Left" opportunism in the revolutionary war and in the work in the white areas.

But all these were overcome at the Tsunyi conference (held at Tsunyi, Kweichow, January 1935).

After the conference the Party was set once for all on the road of Bolshevisation, and the foundations were laid for the subsequent victory over Chang Kuo-tao's Right opportunism and for the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front. Such was the second stage in the course of the Party's development.

The third stage in the course of the Party's development is that of the anti-Japanese national united front. This stage is now already in its third year and the struggle during these years has been of great significance. Thanks to its experiences in the previous two revolutionary stages, to its organisational and armed strength, to its high political prestige among the people of the whole country, and to its more profound and unified understanding of the relations between Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution, the Party has not only established the anti-Japanese national united front, but has also carried on the great War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. In the sphere of Party organisation, we have stepped out of narrow confines and become a great nation-wide party. Our Party's armed forces are again growing and are being further strengthened in the struggle against the Japanese. The Party has widened its influence among the people throughout the country. (Mao Tse-tung: Introduction to *The Communist*)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's vivid description of the Party's history fully explains the vital significance of revolutionary theory. A wrong theory can lead an epoch-making revolution quickly to disaster, whereas a correct theory can rescue the Party at the moment of its greatest difficulties and advance the revolution step by step towards an upsurge.

From the moment of its foundation the Chinese Communist Party was guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. This was an advantage enjoyed by the Party. Nevertheless, in order to lead the Chinese revolution to victory it is not sufficient to rely only on the guidance of ready-made general principles. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's contribution has been to synthesise the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the guidance of Lenin and Stalin regarding the principles of the Chinese revolution with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Such being the case, he had of necessity to undertake a further development of Marxism-Leninism. In his report in November 1919 to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the Eastern Peoples, Lenin issued the following call to the Communists of the Eastern peoples:

Here before you stands a task which was not faced before by the Communists of the world: relying on the general theory and practice of Communism, you must adapt yourselves to particular conditions which do not exist in European countries and be able to apply this theory and practice to conditions, in which the main mass is the peasantry, in which it is necessary to solve the problem of a struggle not against capital but against remnants of the Middle Ages.

It should be said that Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese Communists have correctly solved this historical task set by Lenin, and thereby further developed Marxism-Leninism.

In summing up the experiences of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has re-

peatedly pointed out that under the leadership of the Party, the people's democratic united front and the people's armed struggle as the main form of the revolution, were the two fundamental experiences gained by the Chinese Communist Party in the course of the Chinese people's democratic revolution. The creation of these two experiences is an important example of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

THE 30 years' history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that the development of the Party and of the Chinese revolution was inseparable from the development of the Chinese people's democratic united front. The Party and the revolution speedily developed when the Party correctly solved the problem of working-class leadership in the people's democratic revolution, the problem of the alliance between the workers and peasants, and especially of uniting with, or struggling against, the different bourgeois blocs. Both the Party and the revolution suffered setbacks when these problems were wrongly dealt with.

Obviously, the Chinese Communist Party had to make an independent study of such serious and complex problems, on the basis of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and of the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution. It could not rely on any formula copied from any given foreign country. For example, during the Second Revolutionary Civil War the "Left" opportunists in the Party, imitatively demanded that the Party regard the "middle camp" as the "most dangerous enemy," for they had never known a "middle camp" which was willing to accept the leadership of the working class. Again, for example, during the War of Resistance the Right opportunists in the Party also imitatively demanded that the Chinese Communists should carry out all their activities "through" the united front formed with Chiang Kai-shek, for they had never known an example of a revolutionary state power existing under a reactionary central state power, not breaking with that reactionary state power and yet maintaining its independence and autonomy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung rejected these erroneous views. He formulated different policies to be applied at different times to different allies. He pointed out that after 1927 the Chinese bourgeoisie was still divided into two different groups: the big bourgeoisie or bureaucratic capitalists who were in power, and the middle bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie who were being driven to the wall and victimised. The former group is the target of the Chinese revolution. Although some of them stood in the anti-Japanese camp during the war against Japan, they never formally entered into a united front with the Chinese Communist Party either in

the sphere of organisation or programme. On the contrary, they regarded the Chinese Communists and the people as their bitter enemies. Therefore, the Communists could not carry out all activities "through" them, but had to maintain a high degree of independence and initiative within the united front.

The second group—the middle or national bourgeoisie—is a weak and vacillating force. It has differences with the working class, but it also has differences with imperialism, feudalism, and the big bourgeoisie. For this reason, under certain specific conditions, this group might be won over. It might become to some degree or other linked with the working class, fulfil its still uncompleted historical role, and not become "the most dangerous enemy," provided the working class adopted a firm revolutionary policy and appropriate organisational procedure, at times uniting with the national bourgeoisie, and at times struggling against them. Facts have proved that the policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has successfully overthrown the rule of the big bourgeoisie, i.e., the bureaucratic comprador capitalists, and won the national bourgeoisie over to form a part of the people's democratic united front. In this case, it is obvious that Comrade Mao Tse-tung was correct, and that the "Left" or Right opportunists were wrong.

THE 30 years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has proved that the development of the Party, the development of the Chinese revolution, and the development of the Chinese people's revolutionary war cannot be separated from each other. Comrade Stalin said:

"Formerly, during the 18th and 19th centuries revolutions usually began with the rising of the people, for the greater part unarmed or poorly armed, and they came into conflict with the army of the old regime, which army they tried to disintegrate or at least partially win over to their side. This was the typical form of revolutionary outbreaks in the past. This was what took place with us in Russia in 1905. In China, things happened differently. In China it was not an unarmed people, but an armed people in the person of its revolutionary army—that stood up against the armed forces of the old government. In China, the armed revolution fights against the armed counter-revolution. This is one of the characteristics and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution. It is also in this that the special significance of the Chinese revolutionary army lies." (Stalin: *On the Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution*)

This view of Comrade Stalin has been fully developed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung both in theory and practice. Actually, since August 1927, when the Communist Party of China independently undertook the leadership of the revolutionary war as well as of the revolutionary army the Chinese Communist Party has never ceased to carry on the revolutionary war. Revolutionary war has become the main form of struggle of the Chinese revolution, while revolutionary armed organisation has become the main form of organisation of the Chinese revolution. The ebb and flow of the revolutionary war and the advances and retreats of the revolutionary army



reflect the fluctuations of the Chinese revolution. Throughout the many years of revolutionary war all the main cadres of the Party have lived a life of military Communism. Their revolutionary discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice have been of such a high order that it is difficult for people living in peaceful conditions even to imagine.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made outstanding contributions to Marxist-Leninist military theory by his work on the strategic problems of the Chinese revolutionary wars. These, like his contributions in other fields, have resulted from determined struggles waged by true Marxism-Leninism against doctrinaireism. The doctrinaires, for instance, ignored the teachings of Comrade Stalin, and during the four or five years after 1927, insisted that the Party should concentrate its work on preparations for uprisings in the cities. Later, after the ideas of organising uprisings in the cities had caused serious damage to the Party organisations and had been crushed by the logic of facts, the doctrinaires then imposed on the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of 1934 their ideas of positional warfare with the result that the Red Army was forced to retreat from its original bases of military operations. In opposition to the doctrinaires, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the actual practice of the Chinese revolution after 1927, first evolved the policy of encircling the cities from the rural areas as a substitute for the policy, which is applicable under normal conditions, of placing the rural areas under the leadership of the cities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung evolved a form of guerilla warfare, and guerilla-type mobile warfare to guide the Red Army when it was absolutely inferior both in numbers and equipment to the enemy. Facts have proved that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy of encircling the cities from the rural areas has been completely successful, while the Red Army, developing in the course of victorious guerilla warfare, eventually grew into the powerful People's Liberation Army of today, well able to wage positional warfare. Here again, it is obvious that Comrade Mao Tse-tung was correct, and not the doctrinaires.

IN summing up the historical experience of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out more than once the great significance of international aid for the Chinese revolution, and above all the aid given by the Soviet Union. The fundamental starting point of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of China's New Democratic revolution is that since 1919 the Chinese revolution has been an inseparable part of the world proletarian Socialist revolution, which was inaugurated by the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and that the Chinese revolution has been decisively influenced by the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The Chinese revolution has never proceeded in isolation or without help; it has gone forward constantly with the guidance, encouragement and support of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat. The 30 years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has proved that without the great and unfailing assistance of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat, and particularly the aid given to the Chinese

Communist Party and the Chinese people during the First Revolutionary Civil War by the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, without the aid given by the Army of the Soviet Union in destroying Hitler in the West, and annihilating the Japanese Kwantung army in North-east China, without the assistance the Soviet Union has extended in diplomatic, economic and other spheres to the People's Republic of China since its inauguration, the present victory of the Chinese revolution could never have been achieved.

The victory of the Chinese revolution has firmly convinced the working class and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world that the cause of the liberation of the world's working class and colonial and semi-colonial peoples, which was unfolded by the great October Socialist Revolution, is bound to succeed.

In his article, *The October Revolution and the National Question*, written in 1918, Comrade Stalin explains the world significance of the October Revolution as follows:

The great world significance of the October Revolution lies chiefly in that:

- (1) It extended the scope of the national question, transforming it from a particular problem of the struggle against national oppression in Europe into the general problem of the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism.
- (2) It opened up broad possibilities and real paths for this liberation which made considerably easier the tasks of liberation of the oppressed peoples in the West and in the East, drawing them into the general stream of the victorious struggle against imperialism.
- (3) It thus threw up a bridge between the Socialist West and the enslaved East, establishing a new revolutionary front against world imperialism stretching from the proletarians of the West through the Russian revolution to the oppressed peoples of the East."

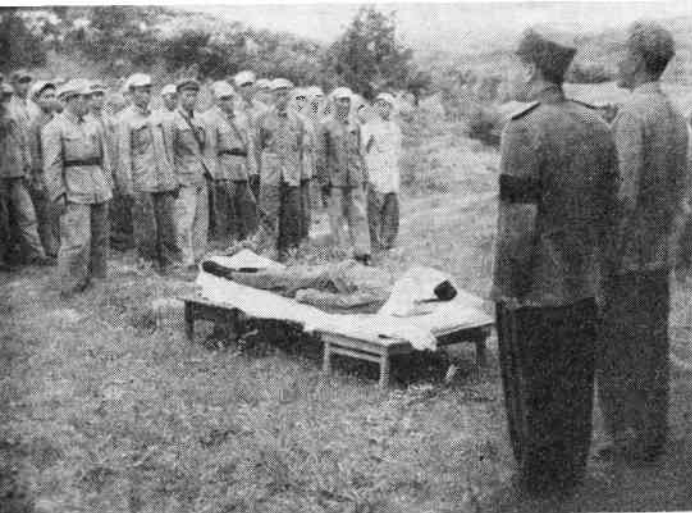
This great prophecy made by Stalin 33 years ago has become a great reality. Moreover, a strong revolutionary bulwark has been established in the East as a result of the victory of the Chinese revolution. This bulwark has joined with the Soviet Union and with the People's Democracies in Southeastern Europe in a single bulwark. There can be no doubt that this gives the working people of the whole world the greatest encouragement in their struggle as well as faith in victory.

Imperialism is rapidly approaching its doom.

Long live the great, glorious, and consistently correct Communist Party of China and its leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the teacher of the working people of the whole world, Comrade Stalin!

CORRECTIONS: Our reader's attention is called to the following corrections in the serialised "Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China" by Hu Chiao-mu. Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 31, col. 1, para. 2, line 7, should read: "Chiang Kai-shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup in Shanghai in the last 10 days of April." Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 14, col. 2, para. 2, line 30, should read "... restricting the rich peasants..."



Generals Li Sang Cho (left foreground) and Hsieh Fang of the Korean-Chinese Delegation pay homage to Yao Ching-hsiang, Panmunjon murder victim



Generals Li Sang Cho and Hsieh Fang (2nd left) with patrolman Wang Jen-yuan, wounded at Panmunjon



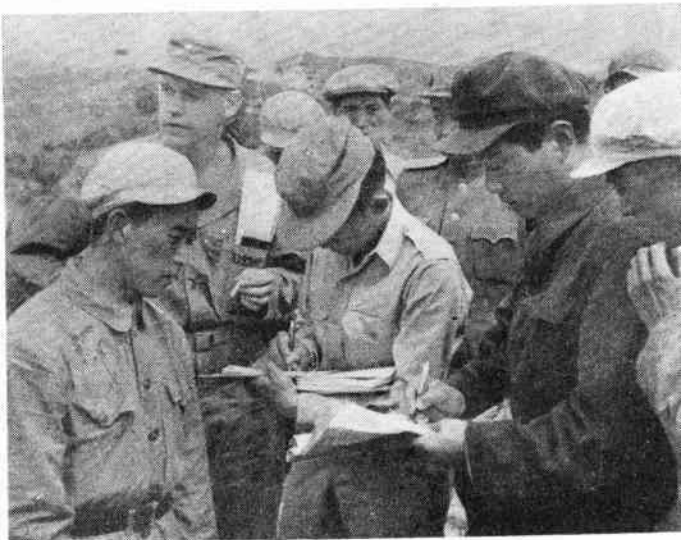
Liaison officers of both sides are inspecting a bomb crater from the U.S. bombing of the Kaisung neutral zone on Aug. 22

U. S. Violations At Kaisung

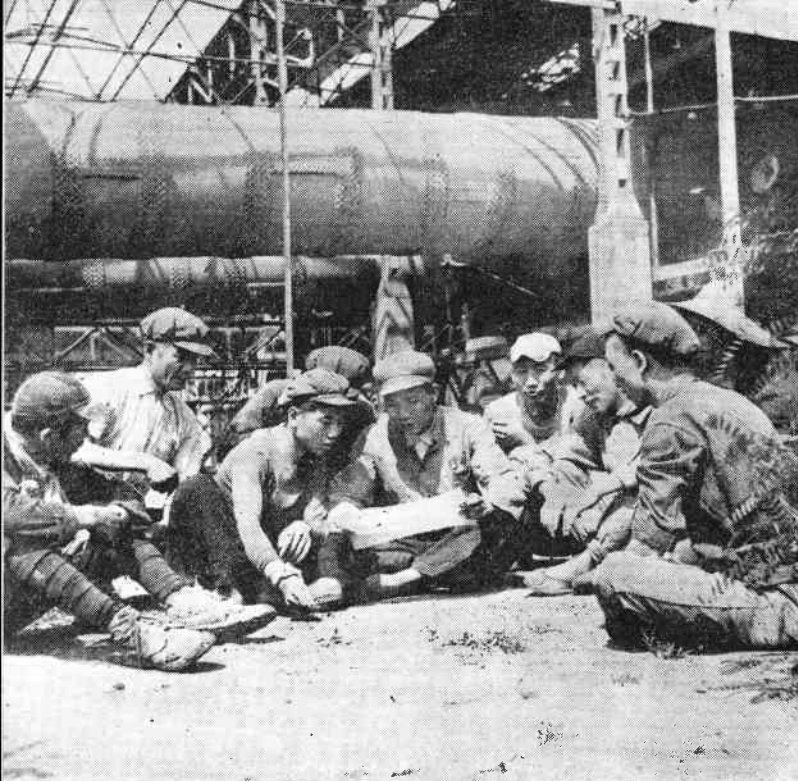
On Aug. 19, U.S. - Syngman Rhee troops invaded the Kaisung neutral zone at Panmunjon, killing one Chinese people's volunteer patrolman and wounding another. Three days later, a U.S. plane bombed the area of the Korean-Chinese Delegation's residence at Kaisung. These outrageous violations of the Kaisung neutral zone, heralding a further series of U.S. provocations, led to a suspension of cease-fire talks.



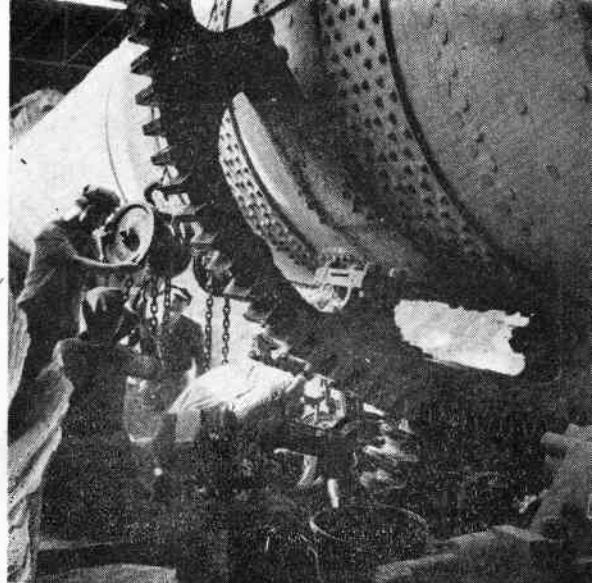
At the Panmunjon murder site W. Burchett of *Ce Soir* picks up a U.S. cartridge case, and shows it to Alan Winnington of the *London Daily Worker*



Vice-deputy platoon leader Li Ching-lin gives liaison officers of both sides an eyewitness account of the Panmunjon murder



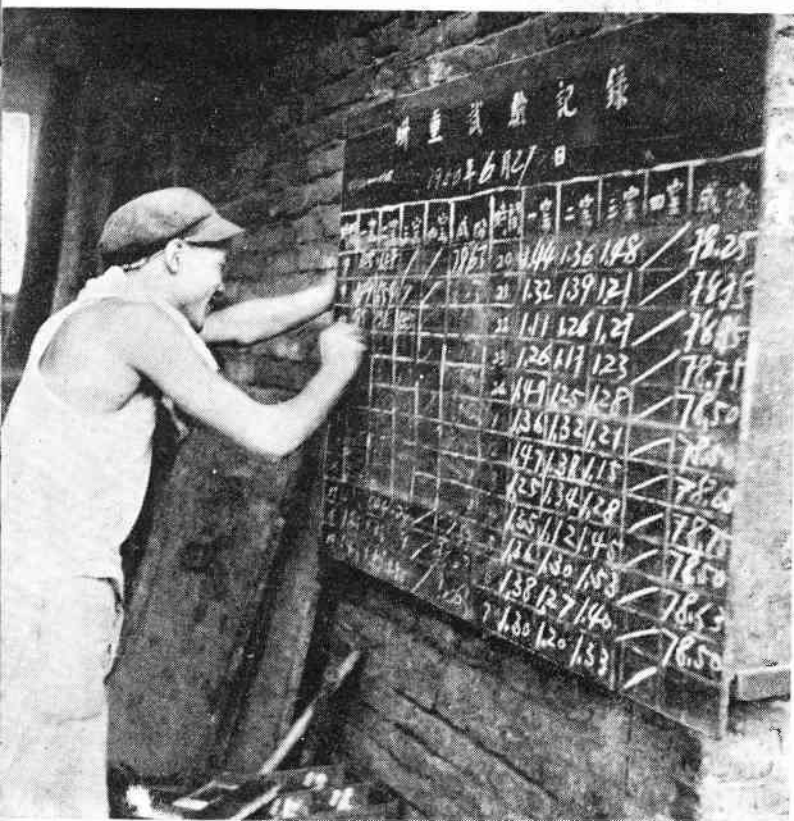
A brigade of the Liuliho Cement Factory workers discuss plans for increasing output with their trade union leader



A careful check-up before work begins

MORE CEMENT PEOPLE

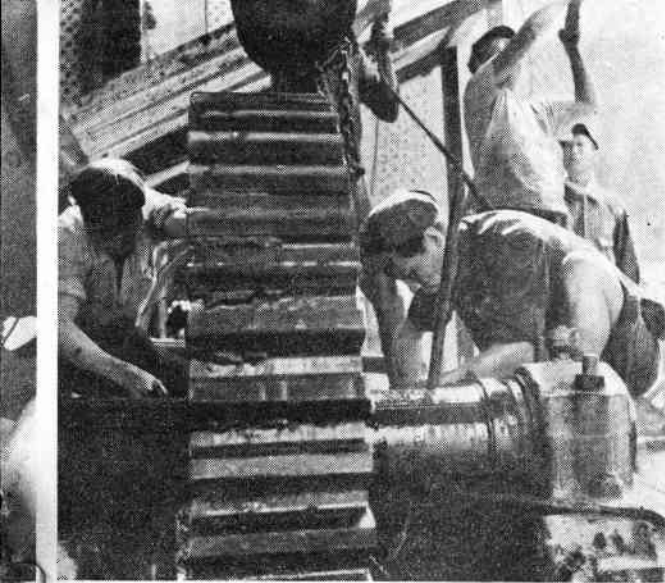
The workers of the Liuliho Cement factory and mine throughout the country are working for the building of a peaceful and prosperous Motherland, their happy present and bright future.



Chalking up the results of the Patriotic Emulation Movement



The finished product with its proud trade mark—
The Great Wall



assures economical, uninterrupted production

NT—FOR THE 'S CHINA

Factory, Hopei Province, like those in every
y, are working hard to increase production for
New China. They also know that every extra
aggressors invading Korea and threatening their
ght future.



Loading raw material for the factory—a modern
plant near Peking



A silk banner from the railway workers congratulates
them on over-fulfilling their plan



The Liuliho workers rejoice at publication of their
successes in Peking's *People's Daily*

The production team
tots up the day's
achievements



In the midst of the harvest



Women Field Workers

Freed from the feudal bondage of centuries, the women of New China have mightily reinforced the production front. This team of women field workers in Shantung Province is reaping a bumper harvest.



Measuring and sacking their golden grain



Stacking the hay on the Shantung plain

I Saw the Chinese Volunteers Fight

General Chen Yee

Deputy Leader of the Chinese People's Delegation to Korea

I have been asked to describe my impressions, gathered as a member of the Chinese People's Delegation which recently visited our volunteer fighters in Korea, a powerful armed force of a kind never before seen in history.

As its name implies, the Chinese people's volunteers were formed entirely by free enlistment for the sacred cause of resisting Wall Street's invasion of the Asian mainland, aiding the Korean people to free their soil and securing the safety of our own frontiers. The rallying of the volunteers was accompanied by a great nation-wide movement in China—the movement to resist the U.S., aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our Motherland.

How deeply the entire Chinese people felt these tasks to be their own may be seen from the fact that, in many of our cities, only one man could be accepted for every 20 who clamoured to shoulder a gun. Those who got to the battlefront comprise the cream of Chinese youth. The whole nation is working and contributing to back them up.

Last October, when the Chinese volunteers crossed the Yalu River and entered Korea, the aggressive forces headed and commanded by American imperialism had just occupied Chosan on the border of China. Their shells and bombs were already falling in our own territory. Their aim, as was obvious to every Chinese, was to follow the old route of the Japanese imperialists—from the complete occupation of Korea to the attempted subjugation of China herself.

The Chinese people already knew, and the volunteers found by their own experience after they crossed into Korea, that our Korean neigh-

bours cherished peace and had never thought of attacking any other nation. They also knew and could see at each step that the imperialists care nothing for Korea or the Koreans—as demonstrated by the fact that they have scorched the earth and slaughtered the people to clear a base for their own aims. No city has escaped their indiscriminate bombing. They regard every patriot, who believes Koreans should rule their own land, as a criminal to be exterminated. The volunteers saw at first hand how the U.S. air force blasted even bare mountains in Korea, determined, by its own boast, to “kill everything that moves.”

It is not on hearsay but on the evidence of their own eyes that the Chinese people's volunteers have accused the American imperialists in Korea of war crimes unparalleled even in barbarous ages; of innumerable acts of banditry, wanton incendiarism and murder of the defenceless. These acts have made them burn to avenge the sufferings of the fraternal Korean people. They have filled every volunteer with a stern resolve to prevent these ghastly war crimes from being repeated in China.

U.S. Crimes in Korea

Here are some examples of what the armies of U.S. imperialism have done in Korea, things the whole world should know.

There are ten large towns lying between Sinyichu on the Chinese border and the 38th Parallel, 130 miles to the south—Sunchun (North Pyongan), Chungchu, Anju, Sukchun, Sunchun (South Pyongan), Pyongyang, Suan, Sinke, Ichun and Chulwon. All of them have been almost completely reduced to rubble, with hardly an undamaged house left standing. When our trucks passed these places at night, nothing could be seen but darkness and heaped-up

ruins. Everything had been smashed and burned by American planes, artillery and that diabolic incendiary weapon napalm (jellied gasoline). Even the nearby hillsides and woods had been scorched.

In Pyongyang alone, we heard how over 15,000 persons had been killed in cold blood during the 40 days of the U.S. occupation. As a result of these executions and previous bombing casualties, more than 43,200 of the city's children were orphaned. The mass graves of the victims of imperialism can be seen on the banks of the Taitong River on which Pyongyang stands.

Apart from such mass destruction, countless separate acts of inhuman cruelty have caused the Korean people and the Chinese volunteers to refer to the U.S. troops as “beast soldiers.”

In Kangtong, the Americans captured a Korean named Han Ki Tshun, pierced his nose with iron wire, drove him in this condition to his native village, and suspended him from a tree. A group of them then used his sex organs as a target for rifle practice.

In Rjulzari there were two empty warehouses, in a place now turned into a memorial by the Korean people. When the Americans occupied the town, they herded 54 Korean mothers into one warehouse and locked the 77 children of the women in the other. After raping the mothers, they set the first warehouse on fire and burned the imprisoned women to death. The second warehouse was never unlocked. The children, left without food, starved and froze to death. We were shown the blood-stained finger-nails of the children, ripped from their little fingers when they tried to climb to a window high on the wall to see what had happened to their mothers.

The Spirit of the Koreans

But alongside these horrors, we heard on every hand testimony to

General CHEN YEE is Director of the Cultural Department under the Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

the unbreakable spirit of the Korean people—who have withstood every attempt to cow or humiliate them.

In a field hospital north of Pyongyang, there is a nurse named Sin Sin Za. During the occupation, some American soldiers caught her, stripped her naked and put her up on a platform with a large mirror behind. Then they forced several hundred Koreans to come and look at her, to lower her before her compatriots. The Koreans covered their eyes and would not look. But Sin Sin Za cried: "Fellow countrymen! Why be afraid to look at a brave daughter of Korea? Take your hands off your eyes. See how the aggressors treat us. Our people's army will avenge me." The Koreans did as she asked and shouted: "Kill the American aggressors!" The "beast soldiers" who were tormenting Sin Sin Za became apprehensive. They abandoned their "game" and left her unharmed.

Ri Sun Chin was secretary of the Korean Labour Party in Kilimli. Enemy troops captured him, and told him to crawl in front of them. He spat in their faces instead. When they threatened to kill him if he did not shout "Long Live Syngman Rhee," he shouted, "Long Live Kim Il Sung," and died the death of the brave.

Millions of Koreans are as upright and as stubborn. When they say, "the American imperialists can destroy our body but not our spirit," these are no empty words. From June 1950, when the U.S. invaded their country to May 1951, when we made our survey, more than 1,100,000 patriots joined the Korean People's Army. During the period of the liberation of Seoul, the capital, over 11,000 women joined the armed forces in the capital city alone.

Hard Fought Battles

Having seen all these things, our Chinese people's volunteers bitterly hate the imperialist enemy. They are animated by the will to avenge the martyrdom of Korea, to vindicate the Chinese people and all the peoples of the East whom the imperialists do not regard as human beings, to preserve all the peoples of the world—wherever they may live—from suffering as the Koreans have suffered. This is the root of

the power which swept the American imperialists from our border.

Patriotism and international brotherhood gave impetus to the advance of the volunteers to the south. Together with the heroic Korean People's Army, overcoming unbelievable difficulties, they surged forward in four great offensives, one following on the other. Side by side with the veteran Korean fighters, they liberated Pyongyang, reached the 38th Parallel and crossed it, freed Seoul and held it for some time. Their magnificent counter-blows threw the men of Wall Street and Washington into confusion, forced the recall in disgrace of the war-mongering loud-mouth MacArthur and shattered the plan, dreamed up in Washington, under which U.S. troops hoped to follow the old "Korean path" of the Japanese samurai to China.

These victories were not easily achieved. The enemy faced by the Korean People's Army and the volunteers was American imperialism, the leading force of world reaction, the best-armed imperialism of this or any other time. The enemy was far more mechanised, far better provided with motor transport. He had many more war planes, heavy guns and tanks. Yet, in their very first encounters, the volunteers forced him to retreat—and not only to retreat but to run. In the sub-zero weather of the Korean winter, they sometimes pursued the motorised Americans on foot and did not lose contact with them. When they marched, their clothes were soaked with sweat. When they stopped, their uniforms froze into ice. At times they had nothing to eat and drink for long periods.

Few armies have ever experienced such hardships. But the Chinese people's volunteers, the best youth of China, were educated by Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. Their powerful conviction stood the test of the fiercest battles, the most arduous campaigns. With their Korean comrades, they not only forced the enemy to retreat half way down the peninsula but, within six months, annihilated 200,000 of his troops. Booty captured within this period included 3,186 artillery pieces of various calibres, 20,126 automatic weapons, 158 tanks, 3,910 military vehicles and ten planes. Enemy equipment totally destroyed includ-

ed 392 tanks, 1,335 other vehicles and 335 planes, while 167 planes were damaged in varying degrees. Just before the fifth campaign began, more territory was recovered in a week than the aggressors had occupied in two months.

The deeds of our Chinese volunteers will shine forever in the annals of people's struggles and of military history. The enemy himself has had to admit the brilliance of this glorious force—in battle, strategy and tactics. His spokesmen have wondered aloud:

"How could so many troops conceal themselves and prepare new blows under constant air and artillery bombardment?"

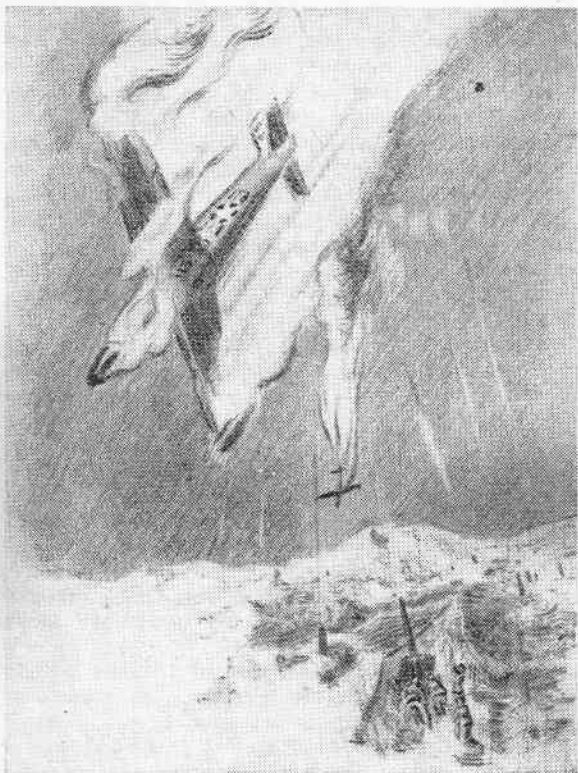
"How could they get field artillery, howitzers and even heavy guns up those mountains?"

What will always be a mystery to imperialism while it encumbers the earth is the courage and endless ingenuity of people who have known oppression but have straightened their backs.

Rain of Steel

In our glorious defensive battles of White Cloud Mountain, Iron and Blood Mountain and Nightingale Peak, the enemy employed scores of tanks, planes and guns. The Americans never charged until they were convinced that their preparatory rain of steel had annihilated all possible opposition, yet they were thrown back by our volunteers with only machine-guns and grenades. Each attack left a tide-mark of corpses piled up in front of our trenches. On White Cloud Mountain, where the stubborn fight lasted 11 days and nights, over 2,000 lost their lives in this way. Within one 24-hour period there, U.S. artillery fired over 12,000 rounds into a single volunteer position, but our defences were so well built that we lost only 20 men. Here, as in many other places, the enemy learned that steel alone will not win a war, not all the steel of imperialism!

Our defences, dug in stony ground in the freezing Korean winter, were themselves magnificent proofs of courage, persistence and morale. Some of these shelters, which withstood the heaviest bombardments, and then served as the bases for our counter-attacks, were given affectionate nicknames by volunteers from various cities of China. One was "Nanking Road" (main



U.S. "Air Superiority"!

Pencil drawing by Wu Pi-tuan

street of Shanghai); another "Broadway Mansions" (Shanghai's biggest skyscraper apartment house); still another "Peking Hotel." Our men also made up many poems about these entrenchments.

Doggedness in defence was matched by impetuosity and initiative in attack. Many individual fighters of the Chinese volunteers specialised in destroying tanks, in which the enemy had an over-riding advantage which he thought would bring him victory. The most famous of these men was Sung Chi-jui, who lay in wait for tanks and not only smashed several but found clever ways of taking prisoners. The exploits of Sung and other "tank demolishers," retold over and over, instilled all volunteers with confidence in their own ability to outwit and outfight American armour.

In MacArthur's helter-skelter retreat from the Yalu River, his troops never managed to outrange our pursuing units. Marching 24 hours without rest, the volunteers succeeded in destroying Muryngkyo Bridge, 50 miles behind the enemy on his main escape route. Hopelessly outflanked, the Americans lost 1,500 vehicles and over 7,000 sold-

iers in the two battles of Kunwuli and Samsoli.

The enemy's heavy artillery, on which he depended for domination of the battlefield, also fell prey to our raiding columns. Penetrating deep into his rear, the volunteers destroyed many batteries. When our own artillery appeared, the enemy showed both surprise and cowardice, fleeing before our fire where we had never flinched before his.

As for the American air force, the volunteers made up a saying about it, on which they always acted: "Being scared is no answer; the only way is to hit

back." Volunteer truck driver Chao Pao-ying and his assistant brought down an enemy light bomber with four rifle shots. Thanks to such spirit, enemy planes no longer dare fly low over our transport. Moreover, Korean and volunteer planes have appeared to punish them in the air as well.

Finally, the enemy has tried "psychological warfare." How pitiful were his efforts in this regard, when compared with the effect of the truth with which we exposed the unjust nature of the American aggressive war! The enemy's feeble "best" in propaganda was to broadcast "enticements" by shameless hussies of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, such as, "we have atom bombs, we have good clothes, we have good food and women." To this the volunteers replied with fire against the loudspeakers and the proud answer: "We have justice on our side and political principles."

Key to Volunteer Morale

The political convictions of the Chinese people's volunteers are indeed the key to their unconquerable fighting morale and their magnanimous humanity towards the

enemy once he is disarmed or disabled; so different from the craven spirit of the hired or forcibly conscripted soldiers of imperialism, who are fierce enough among defenceless civilians but quick to run or surrender in close battle. While the volunteers fight for our own people, the Korean people and world peace, many Americans, captured, have answered frankly when asked why they fought, "For \$150 a month."

While all but the most severely injured volunteers insist on remaining in the ranks when wounded, many American soldiers rub their legs with gasoline to make them swell, maim themselves in other ways or deliberately court trifling wounds—anything to get taken out of the lines.

Our volunteers left home and family by their own will because each felt it was his duty to his people and the just cause of the people of the world. What a contrast to the complete lack of any reason for fighting in the minds of the cannon fodder of imperialism, and their consequent defeatism. One private of the 24th U.S. Division, now a prisoner, said frankly to our men: "We all hope you will chase us out of Korea quickly so we can get home."

Our volunteers are united in aim with their families in the rear, who are proud of them and the job they are doing, who are as determined as they are that imperialism should be cleared from Korea and China. The captured correspondence of American soldiers, on the other hand, shows that they don't care for anything except getting home, and that their mothers, wives and sweethearts pray only for the same thing.

The Chinese people's volunteers hate imperialism and hold its "power" in utter contempt. But while they are relentless in battle, they are kind and lenient to prisoners, whom they cure when wounded and whom they often release back to their own lines. The minds of thousands of captives have been enlightened by this treatment. Many have expressed not only gratitude but a determination to fight for peace and international friendship as a result. Today the prisoners in Korea have their own peace committees and address messages of

solidarity to peace fighters in their home countries. Even the imperialist press, with all its lies, has not been able to cover up this fact.

Chinese-Korean Brotherhood

The brotherly feelings of the volunteers towards the Korean People's Army, and their tender solicitude for the Korean people are in the best traditions of revolutionary internationalism. "Unity, friendship, mutual assistance"—these words describe the relations of the Chinese and the Koreans at the front.

During the third campaign the

volunteers crossed the 38th Parallel near where a unit of the Korean People's Army had been cut off in the enemy rear, where it fought heroically. Hearing that the Chinese people's volunteers had entered their sector, they jumped with incredulous joy and, summoning their energies, broke through to meet our men. When the two forces made contact, the soldiers and commanders embraced. Seeing that the Koreans were still in thin uniforms, the volunteers took off their warm padded coats and pressed them on their allies. The Commander of the Korean unit said: "We don't know

much Chinese and can't speak our thoughts, but we can share our rations with you."

When a volunteer unit was to be relieved by Korean soldiers on a particularly bloody sector of the Han River front, our men voted to hold the line for another day so the Koreans could "take a rest and learn the situation."

Korean civilians, too, never stop talking about the volunteers' attitude.

Wang Lin-po, an anti-aircraft gunner, saved a wounded 17-year-old girl and a child in a village set afire by enemy planes. The child soon died of its injuries. Wang dressing the girl's wounds said to her: "I am 26 years old, old enough to be your elder brother. I am treating you as my little sister, take off your clothes without fear." Before leaving, he found the girl a cotton-padded gown and some rice.

No wonder the Korean people treat the volunteers as their own brothers and sons.

The enemy, who thought Korea was a small country and our volunteers were a minor force, now recoils in confusion from this unbreakable alliance. With each day, the volunteers become more experienced in battle, more confident of victory whatever the foe may undertake. Each day too they see clear evidence that the 475 million people of China are united in their support and making self-sacrificing productive efforts to buy them planes, guns and tanks.

The Korean army and people, too, are confident. Their cause is just. The Chinese volunteers are fighting beside them on their own soil. They can bank on the active friendship of the 475 million people of our country and of the entire peace camp headed by the Soviet Union—almost 800 million people in all. Their gratitude to the volunteers is deep and abiding. Comrade Kim Lyul, Chairman of the Labour Committee of Hwanghai Province, told our delegation: "In our war of national liberation you have shed your blood, defeated the enemy and turned the tide. This act of international friendship will always be remembered by the 30 million people of Korea. Your deeds will be recorded in the brilliant history of our nation and be preserved for thousands of years to come."

Mao Tse-tung and Stalin Exchange Greetings On V-J Day Anniversary

From Chairman Mao Tse-tung to Generalissimo Stalin:

On this 6th anniversary of Victory Day in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, I send my heartfelt greetings and profound thanks to you and to the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet people on behalf of the People's Liberation Army of China and the Chinese people. The Soviet Union's great help to the Chinese people during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and the firm alliance between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for jointly preventing the revival of the forces of Japanese aggression have given the Chinese people boundless inspiration in their struggle against the forces of aggression in the Far East.

Long live the friendship between China and the Soviet Union in the just cause of opposing Japanese imperialism and maintaining peace in the Far East!

From Generalissimo Stalin to Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

Comrade Chairman: I thank you for your outstanding appraisal of the part played by the U.S.S.R. and its Army in the cause of defeating the aggressive forces of Japan. The Chinese people and their Liberation Army played a great role in destroying Japanese imperialism despite Kuo-mintang intrigues. The struggle of the Chinese people and their Liberation Army greatly facilitated the task of defeating the aggressive forces of Japan.

There is no doubt that the indestructible friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China upholds and will always uphold the cause of safeguarding peace in the Far East against all aggressors and warmongers. Comrade Chairman, please accept the greetings of the Soviet Union and its Army on the sixth anniversary of the Liberation of Eastern Asia from the enslavement of Japanese imperialism.

Long live the great friendship between the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R.!

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!

AN OVER-ALL PEACE FOR JAPAN!

Akizo Ouchi

The writer is one of the Japanese trade unionists illegally arrested in August 1949 in the framed-up Matsukawa Case when train No. 412 was derailed near Matsukawa Station in Fukushima Prefecture and three locomotive drivers died. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys turning this case into a Japanese version of the Reichstag Fire cried, "Communist sabotage!" and, though they were unable to prove their charge, called for a death sentence for 10 workers and imprisonment from 10 years to life for the rest. It was a vain attempt to terrorise the Japanese workers into ending the fight for peace and freedom, as this letter to the Chinese people shows.

Dear Friends:

From behind prison bars I am writing to you, dearly loved Chinese people, on behalf of all those "accused" in the Matsukawa Case. We salute you from our hearts.

Thank you for your support and solicitude—a most forceful support, a most precious gift. The Japanese fascists invented the Matsukawa Incident and arrested us, 20 innocent workers. Some of us have been sentenced to the gallows and some have been deprived of freedom and thrust into dark prisons. The Japanese rulers, obeying their foreign masters, have already imprisoned us for two years. You and people all over the world have been voicing strong support for us. Gratefully we listen to the footsteps of the peace movement outside the prison gate. Those footsteps are coming nearer and nearer, louder and louder. Yes! They are already shaking the iron bars!

Our struggle and your struggle are linked. We denounced the conscienceless Japanese judges in court. We are holding firmly to truth and justice and we will never surrender. You have been fighting a battle to defend peace and justice. You are marching forward victoriously in your righteous fight.... Your victorious march stirs painful memories in me.

It was 14 years ago when I was only a seven-year-old child, a skinny lad. Ignorantly holding the "sun flag" in my hand I stood among the crowds in the station seeing my elder brother "off to the war." I remember how fast and tight my father and mother held my brother's hand; they were reluctant to let him go. I remember my brother sticking his head out the train window and patting my head. He whispered to me: "... Grow up quickly!" My brother was sent to North China. He went there to butcher the Chinese people. Acting under the orders of the Japanese fascists, he slaughtered your brothers and sisters, your countrymen, and shed the blood of your people on your soil. Not only did he kill people, but he was killed. Killing and being killed, that's called "loyalty to the Mikado." A lively youth when he left home, my brother returned in a cask of ashes.

"... Grow up quickly!"—I have grown up! Growing up to me meant becoming an apprentice in a factory, joining the labour union and struggling against the capitalists. Growing up meant witnessing my father die of grief over the death of his son. Growing up meant my being fired by the capitalists and roaming the streets with my mother and sister. My brother did not know the crimes of the Japanese fascists; he did not understand what was right and what was wrong in the world. He has already turned into ashes. But I, I know, I understand! I have received enough lessons from war. I have had enough of oppression from the Japanese capitalists. Consequently, when I grew up, I could not help but become your comrade-in-arms.

We live now in a prison. The memory of millions of dead is still fresh in our minds. Japan is once again to be turned into an enemy of China. The imperialists are trying to use Japan as a plank from which to launch a third world war. The very existence of Japan is being threatened.

You, people of China, have faith in us, please. Keep up your interest in us. The Japanese people already have a steeled vanguard. Its strength is being consolidated each day. No obstacles whatever can stop us. We are struggling vigorously. We are determined to defend peace and we shall never, never again, allow history to repeat itself—July 7, 1937 shall never return!

The Chinese people defeated Japanese imperialism which was armed to the teeth. They also overthrew the comprador regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The Japanese people must learn from the Chinese people's experiences, must look for guidance to the experiences of their Chinese brothers. Resolutely opposed to the remilitarisation of Japan, we demand an over-all peace! We love peace, we love our people and our Motherland. We must drive the international monopoly-capitalists away from our shores. We must oppose the reactionary government which is universally hated by the Japanese people and strive for the creation of a peaceful, independent and democratic Japan.

Standing behind prison bars, we shout from the bottom of our hearts:

Long live the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the Chinese people's victory!

The U.S. Big Lie at Kaisung

Chen Ling-ho

Kaisung's place in history is assured by the stand made for peace in that city by the democratic peoples and by their exposure of the most ludicrous, tragi-comic exhibition of the U.S. Big Lie technique.

There were high hopes when the talks started that Malik's proposal for a ceasefire on the 38th Parallel would be the first step towards peace in Korea. It soon became evident however that while the Korean-Chinese side was sincerely anxious for a quick settlement and would not let minor matters interfere, the U.S. delegation and its South Korean puppet were trying to utilise the talks for purposes having nothing to do with peace.

For one thing, Asia was amazed at the strange preoccupation of these extrovert occidentals with questions of "face." U.S. Senators set up a howl because Kaisung was patrolled by the people's forces. But, as the course of events proved, from the very start, deeper, more sinister factors were at work.

On July 12, two days after they began, the talks were suspended for three days because the U.S. side tried to bring in 20 correspondents without previous joint agreement. This question was settled when the Korean and Chinese delegation also agreed on July 14 to a proposal to make Kaisung a neutral zone **"within which both parties do not carry out hostile acts of any kind" and where at U.S. insistence Korean-Chinese patrols would carry only light arms.**

On July 25 an agenda was agreed upon but the talks immediately bogged down on the question of the demilitarised zone. The Korean-Chinese delegation proposed the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line with certain adjustments if necessary. But the Americans then made the preposterous demand inside the conference room for a line that would take into consideration their so-called "independent air and naval superiority," thus fixing the demarcation line far north of the

present battlefield, and making the people's forces give up 12,000 sq. kilometres of North Korean territory. Not daring to make this demand public, the Americans on August 16 proposed a sub-committee to study the question further in secret session. But with them refusing any serious compromise by August 22, when the talks were suspended, no decision had yet been reached.

Meanwhile the Americans had again interrupted the talks for five days because on August 4, a number of armed guards had passed inadvertently through the conference area. This minor incident was settled by the clear assurances of the Korean-Chinese side against any recurrence. But no satisfactory reply had ever been received from the U.S. to protests against the strafing by a U.S. plane of a Korean-Chinese delegation supply lorry flying its white flag on the road to Kaisung or about the shooting by U.S. forces into the neutral zone near Panmunjon both within a few hours on August 7.

Plotters in a Hurry

Then events began to move faster. The American plotters were in a hurry. On Sept. 4 the San Francisco conference would meet to sign the U.S.-made "Peace Treaty with Japan." It looked as if there would be trouble even in getting all the U.S. satellites to sign on the dotted line. India and Burma were showing increasing reluctance to attend. Without them and without China and the U.S.S.R. it would be a settlement for Asia which the bulk of Asia rejected. Furthermore in the offing were the bills pending in mid-September for U.S. war expenditure—the 66½ billion dollar "national defence budget" and the foreign "aid" bill. A real peace in Korea would be a blow for all these aggressive enterprises and would make it more difficult to force the satellites to bigger war efforts.

The U.S. is already heavily involved in a war economy. Big business tooling up to the extent of \$29

billions is waiting hopefully for the expected war contracts. In these conditions peace in Korea would be a major disaster for the U.S. tycoons, however much the peoples and even the apprehensive satellites might want it. Yet because of the strength of the demand for peace among the peoples, not least among the American people, the U.S. imperialists hesitate to break off the talks themselves.

So on Aug. 19 U.S.-commanded South Korean troops ambushed and attacked a Chinese volunteer neutral zone patrol near Panmunjon, killed its leader Yao Ching-hsiang and wounded another people's patrolman. These events are known in detail as a Syngman Rhee puppet of the "ROK" 1st Division from Tongmul-sanri has been captured and confessed how, on U.S. orders, they stripped off their uniforms before raiding the zone.

The evidence was overwhelming—the dead body, the U.S. cartridge cases strewn around, the blood-soaked hole dug by bullets that went through the dead man's skull at point blank range as he lay wounded on the ground, the testimony of the wounded survivor and villagers who had seen the invaders. Ridgway flatly denied responsibility. He could not, he said, be responsible for the failure to keep order in the neutral zone (by patrols lightly armed at his own special request and attacked by his automatic riflemen).

This incident was still unsettled when a U.S. plane reconnoitred over Kaisung in the morning and another bombed and strafed around the Korean-Chinese delegation's house in Kaisung on the night of August 22 narrowly missing a cinema show packed with delegation personnel. Kinney, the U.S. liaison officer who after much persuasion came to investigate, ridiculed the whole matter, refused to make a serious investigation of the evidence left by 17 bombs, with distinguishable markings on fragments and finally said that it was

too dark and rainy to investigate and that he would come back the next day. It was at this point that the Korean-Chinese side suspended talks scheduled for next day.

This was the incident Ridgway described as "without the slightest basis in fact." But Joy admitted that an "unidentified" plane had been picked up on radar screens near Kaisung about the time of the bombing and unashamedly lied that this unidentified plane was not a U.S. plane. Ridgway claimed that the incident was fully investigated but his men never even appeared the next day to complete their investigation. No U.N. correspondents were allowed by the U.S. command to get near the evidence. Meanwhile U.S. planes continued daily (139 sorties between Sept. 1-8 alone) to infringe on the neutrality of the zone.

Murder Under the White Flag

U.S. provocations took an even more desperate turn as the date for the San Francisco conference approached. On August 25 at Panmunjon, 21 automatic carrying gunmen raided the zone but were driven off. On August 30 another attack was made on lightly armed patrolmen at Tamtonri in the neutral zone. Two were murdered, one escaped. When other patrols pursued the invaders their retreat was covered by the fire of South Korean troops using machine guns. The engagement lasted over eight hours.

On August 29 a reconnaissance plane had come over and dropped a flare over the site. On the night of September 1 a U.S. B-26 bomber, circling repeatedly, dropped two medium bombs 500 to 600 yards from the house of the chief Korean-Chinese delegate, General Nam Il. Kinney at the investigation next day was forced to admit the fact of the bombing. While the investigation was still in progress, another U.S. plane flew directly overhead. And yet according to Joy, and Ridgway in his note of Sept. 6, these incidents too were "fabrications," "baseless," "false," there were "no instances where forces under my command have violated the agreement," etc., etc.

The Joy and Ridgway notes again revealed the most inept contradictions. Joy admitted that on

August 29, a U.S. plane did drop photographic flash bombs in the vicinity of Kaisung. But 10,000 people saw the flares over Kaisung itself. He blustered that no agreement had been reached about the neutralisation of the air space over Kaisung! Provocation piled on provocation, evidence on evidence, Ridgway refused any re-investigation either by his own people, correspondents or neutrals. This was the most damning evidence of all. The Korean-Chinese delegation with the utmost patience made its points, determined that the U.S. tricksters would not get away with their lies, but that the conference should be preserved and that the millions of people who want peace should be disappointed.

Damning indictments have come from the only foreign correspondents who have seen the evidence. Alan Winnington of the London *Daily Worker*, an ex-air-raid warden, comments: "U.S. pressmen make no bones about it that they regard South Korean troops guilty of the attack (on Aug. 19)." But how to explain "the curious loss of control by the American command over this vital area through which runs the road to Joy's headquarters and Seoul?" He points out that the Americans never brought in their own press let alone the British to see evidence. He says the Americans attempt to shift the blame on "mystery planes," but "they sent up no fighters." Would the Americans allow an enemy plane to approach their own lines without interception?

Burchett of *Ce Soir* who as former *Daily Express* correspondent for many months observed American operations in the Pacific in the last war, reports that the August 22 bombing occurred and subsequent air infringements of the Kaisung neutral zone took place only six days after the Americans gave a written promise that their planes would not violate Kaisung's air.

Merai of the Hungarian *Szabad Nep* relates how Kinney truculently refused to admit that pieces of metal shown him were from U.S. napalm bombs: "Flush rivetting. Not our stuff!" but finally confronted with a whole unexploded napalm bomb promptly said: "It's too dark. Let's go home!"

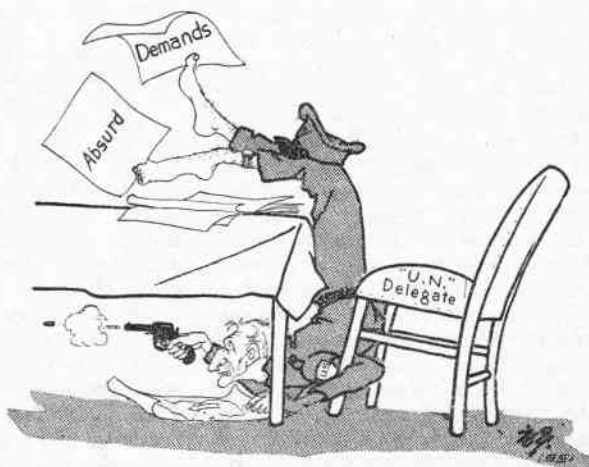
And yet this Kinney's "report" of an incomplete inspection in dark and rain was repeated by U.S. spokesmen from Truman down as the basis for charges of "malicious invention."

"Calm nerves on this side failed to be provoked by the murder attempts and grossest provocations to break off the talks," writes Burchett. People who are being herded to a slaughter by the Pentagon war makers in the pay of Wall Street "have the right to know the facts" writes Winnington. But that is the last thing the plotters want.

Ridgway's note of Sept. 6 even proposed a new site for the talks.

But to this Generals Kim Il Sung and Peng Teh-huai have replied, that no result can come from resumption of negotiations at any place without American good faith. And good faith can only be shown by American observance of the Kaisung neutral zone agreement.

Finally cornered on Sept. 11, the Americans started to beat a retreat. Joy was forced to apologise and admit that on Sept. 10, it was indeed their plane that strafed neutral Kaisung.



Peace Talks, American Style

A Cartoon from "World Culture"

Vatican Agent Riberi Expelled

By Our Special Correspondent

The case of Antonius Riberi once again exposes the extreme lengths to which the imperialists carry their futile attempts to undermine the Central People's Government. Using his religious activities as a cloak, Riberi gave cover to espionage agents working against the people's state and tried to intimidate and threaten Catholics into supporting his hostile policies. However, he reckoned without the vigilance of the People's Government. Religious circles, both Catholic and Protestant, in all the major cities welcomed the deportation order which frees the church of one more imperialist element who attempted to use it for ulterior purposes.

A Monacan imperialist element, Antonius Riberi, was deported from China on September 4. The deportation order announced by the Nanking Military Control Committee stipulated that Riberi may never return to China. Riberi's criminal record is as follows:

1. Taking part, in league with the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek, in the war against the people.

In December, 1946, Riberi came to China from the Vatican with the title "Internuncio" (Envoy of the Pope), at the time when Chiang Kai-shek was extending the civil war, staging the sham "National Assembly" and drawing up a bogus constitution. He flattered Chiang in every possible way. He praised the sham constitution as an "illustration of the progressive policies of China," and Chiang Kai-shek's war against the people as "continuing leadership in the great task of preparing the nation for a civilised future."

In 1947 Riberi made an "inspection" tour of the various Catholic parishes in China and actively stirred up the Catholics to support Chiang Kai-shek's war against the people. He said that his mission in China was to assist the Government to accomplish the task of "national reconstruction." He called on Catholics to "rally closely around the Government in an all-out effort." In the autumn of the same year, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army went over to the offensive against Chiang Kai-shek's brigand troops, Riberi hurried to Peking and Mukden following closely on the American imperialist Wedemeyer and flew to Changchun by a special American military plane. Five days later, he flew to Taiyuan, which was at the time encircled

by the PLA. There he organised the Catholic priests and laymen to join in the war against the people.

Riberi directed the Belgian espionage agent, Raymond de Jaegher, and supplied him with money to set up espionage and armed organisations in North China, such as the "Patriotic Catholic Youth Corps," also named "People's Self-defence Corps" and the "People's National Construction Association" to take part in the war against the people.

2. Giving cover to the spies of U.S. espionage organisations to carry out subversive activities.

He had close relations with many U.S. spies in China, including Tarciscio Martina, Italian priest and one of the chief criminals in the case of American spies recently brought to light in Peking, the so-called "delegate in Peking" of the "Internuncio." Using his religious profession as a cover, Martina carried out counter-revolutionary subversive activities and collected military information for Riberi.

When Martina was arrested there were discovered in his residence copies of intelligence reports he had sent to Riberi.

Francis X. Ford, an American priest and spy, who was arrested in Meih sien, Kwangtung, in April this year, also had close relations with Riberi. On July 18, 1947, by order of Riberi, Ford sent Hsu Teh, a traitor priest of the Chining parish, Mongolia, to Singapore. In a letter to Bishop Malacca, which was found in Ford's residence, Ford wrote that during the whole period of the Japanese occupation, Hsu had kept in touch with the Japanese on behalf of his Bishop, and was thus regarded by the

People's Government as a traitor. Riberi had made arrangements for him to come to Ford, who later sent him abroad.

3. Organising the illegal, reactionary and secret organisation, the "Legion de Marie."

In August 1948, Riberi sent the Irish priest, William McGrath, to Tientsin to assist the French imperialist element, De Vienne, in organising the North China leadership of the "Legion de Marie." He then sent McGrath to Canton, Kweichow and Szechuan to extend this reactionary organisation to those places. The task of this organisation was to carry out subversive activities throughout the country against the People's Government, including the collection of information and the organisation of terrorist incidents. In 1949, Riberi wrote to Chen Cheh-min, translator of the "Handbook of the Legion de Marie," that owing to the "deplorable situation" in China, the possibilities for Catholic missionary work had fallen to the lowest limits and had perished altogether in many places. He attempted to stir up Catholics against the People's Government.

Then in 1950, Riberi ordered A. Palmers, Vice-Bishop of the Nanking parish, a Belgian national, to take active steps to build the "Legion de Marie" in Nanking. After American imperialism launched its invasion against Korea, Riberi, in a speech delivered at the foundation meeting of the Nanking branch of the Legion on July 2, talked in veiled terms about the changes that would take place in China before the end of the year and encouraged the hopes of the most desperate reactionaries in the

return of the Americans and Chiang Kai-shek.

4. Stirring up Chinese Catholics against the people's revolutionary movement and the People's Government of China.

Time and again, he issued orders and directives hostile to the People's Government, forbidding Chinese Catholics from taking part in patriotic activities, joining progressive organisations or reading patriotic books and newspapers. Here are some extracts from these reactionary orders and directives:

(1) On February 16, 1947, Riberi issued an order prohibiting Catholic bodies and individuals from joining what he called "reactionary organisations." The main content of the order is as follows:

After the Second World War, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Democratic Youth have been continually growing in strength. Their various activities are very dubious. But the Pope has learned from reliable sources that they are spreading Communist theories throughout the world. Therefore, no Catholic bodies are allowed to join or to support these organisations.

(2) After Nanking's liberation, in his capacity of "Internuncio," Riberi issued a "Holy Declaration" on July 1, 1949, which said:

A. It is illegal to join the Communist Party or show sympathy to it. Although the leaders of the Communist Party say that they are not opposed to religion, in fact, they show in theory and in action their antagonism to God and the church.

B. It is illegal to publish or read books, periodicals and newspapers which carry the theories or activities of the Communists or to write articles for them. They should be prohibited.

C. Catholics who have done any of these things are not allowed to take part in the Sacrament of Holy Communion.

D. Catholics who believe in the materialism of the Communist Party or defend and propagate such theories will be unconditionally excommunicated by the Holy See.

(3) In his capacity of "Internuncio," Riberi issued a "warning" in the name of the Roman Catholic

Church on July 28, 1950, the gist of which is as follows:

Everyone knows that many organisations have been set up under the direction and approval of the Communist Party. The aim of these organisations is to teach the youth the theories and system of materialism and to attack the virtues of Christianity.

Therefore, I issue the warning that Christians who belong to these organisations under whatever pretext will be subject to the sanctions in the "Holy Declaration" published on July 1, 1949. In particular:—

A. Parents or guardians who freely allow children to join these organisations in violation of Clause 1372 of Article II of the regulations in the "Holy Declaration" will lose their qualification to receive the Holy Sacraments.

B. Those who educate youth in violation of Christian virtues and beliefs are subject to the condign punishment of excommunication.

C. Any Catholic who joins these organisations will lose the right to receive the Holy Sacraments.

Riberi has admitted that he had re-issued this reactionary document this year and that he had stated in various documents that the Catholic church in China obeyed orders only from the Vatican and the church superiors. This means that Catholics in China could obey orders only from such spies as Riberi, Martina and De Jaegher, and such traitors as Paul Yu Pin and Hsu Teh, but they were not allowed to obey the laws of the People's Government of China.

5. Undermining the nation-wide patriotic and reform activities of Catholic churches.

Riberi was extremely hostile to the patriotic movement and the reform movement which honest Catholics set up to combat imperialist manipulation and use of the Catholic church in China; and he carried out subversive activities by various base means.

He directed the Catholic Central Bureau in Shanghai to publish a vast quantity of printed matter in Chinese and foreign languages to undermine the prestige of the Government, stir up dissension between Catholics and the Government and to slander the patriotic movement of the Catholics. These publications carried Riberi's reactionary orders and directives which deceived

Catholics and threatened their patriotic movement.

He also directed Jean De Vienne, former Bishop of the Tientsin diocese to draw up a statement by all the Catholic bishops in China which was issued to bishops in various areas after his ratification. In one document, he attempted to make the bishops sign the statement by threatening them with the authority of his religious position.

From 1950 to 1951 Riberi twice signed and issued an order concerning the punishment of Catholics who attacked those in holy authority. The aim of this order was to threaten patriotic bishops, priests and other Catholics with "degradation" and "excommunication," thus preventing them from expressing support for the Government.

On January 29 this year, in a directive to Theodore Orck Budenz, Catholic bishop in Lanchow, Riberi wrote that the Bishop might allow Chinese priests to carry out secondary duties in his name, but that he should retain all real power.

Riberi attempted to use Chinese bishops and priests as puppets while firmly keeping the real power in the hands of the imperialist elements. However all these intrigues of Riberi could not undermine the Catholic patriotic movement. Riberi was infuriated by its rapid growth and issued a notice to all the bishops in the various areas, openly describing the patriotic Chinese people as "enemies."

What he said in the notice was that he had read in the Nanking press of March 31 a declaration bearing the signatures of Catholic church leaders and laymen of the Nanking area, in which they expressed their determination to free the church of imperialist influence. He went on to say that he was deeply grieved over this declaration. He intended to pray that all Christians be granted "wisdom and courage" to "understand and defeat" the activities of the "enemies."

These concrete facts indisputably prove that Riberi is an imperialist element who carried out subversive activities in New China under the cloak of religion. His mission was to organise espionage activities in China; to bully Chinese Catholics into supporting American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek; and opposing and undermining the People's Government of China.

A Close-up of Paiyen Village

Chow Hsueh-sheng

From the county town of Wuan in Hopei Province we travelled north by mule cart over gently undulating countryside. As we rumbled across a stone bridge, fresh green willow branches swept our faces. It was late spring.

The mule strained to pull the cart up a higher hill. From its top, in every direction we could see the geometrically terraced fields. Peasants were busy at field tasks, their draught animals were harnessed to new modern ploughs. Further on we passed mules in the shade of trees turning water wheels to irrigate the fields. The wheels were of metal—a new sight in the country. Driver Yang, our muleteer, explained that the peasants were getting ready to plant cotton. "There's a production competition on now," he said. "And this region is famous for its cotton yields."

As the cart clattered down the hill into the trough of its valley we came upon a cluster of brick houses. Carved on the wall of the first house in the village were the characters, "Paiyen Village."

The roads of the village were clean and well cared for. In front of many door-ways women were spinning cotton in the sunshine. A few neatly-dressed old men sat resting and smoking their pipes under huge cartoons pasted up on the wall. One showed the bloody hands of the American aggressors trying to seize Korea. Another was a war map of Korea. One of the old men was telling stories to youngsters who had gathered to hear news of the volunteers.

The children were well clothed. One little girl of six or seven in particular caught my eye. Red ribbons tied her plaits and she was wearing a gaily printed cotton jacket and trousers. Her shoes decorated with two embroidered birds matched the rest of her dress. I looked into her smiling eyes and admired her cheeks as red as apples. There was no resemblance

between this little girl and her companions and the children I'd seen in villages before land reform, children whose few rags didn't cover their bodies, whose unkempt appearance, running noses and faces caked with dirt aroused only pity and anger.

We went on to visit the home of a middle peasant Li Yu-pao. The village head went with us. Li's house was a great surprise. It was a solid structure made of bricks. Inside the house there were four rooms, a sitting room, a bedroom with a kang, and two store-rooms packed with farm implements, spinning machinery, cotton and grain. On the glass windows in the bedroom were pasted several beautiful and intricate scissor cuts. In the sitting room there was a solid redwood table and several chairs. On the table were two high vases and a large clock.

Plenty to Eat

It was lunch time when we arrived. Li's family of six was having a substantial meal of eggs, pork and vegetables.

Li Yu-pao is 49 years old. Tall and wiry, despite his wrinkled brow and the white hairs scattered among the grey, his eyes are bright and he gives an impression of strength. And, of course, he is strong. He could not otherwise have headed the county's most famous mutual-aid team.

When he was a young man, Li Yu-pao had been so poor that he had no land to plough. He had to become a beggar to keep alive. Later he managed to find work as a hired labourer and for a while life was a little easier for him. He got married during this period. But soon after his marriage hard times returned. And his family responsibilities had increased with the coming of two children. All his family had to eat were wheat husks and wild vegetables. Their home was a cave but even so they had to pay rent to the landlord

who claimed that the cave was on his land.

When liberation came, Li Yu-pao was one of those most active in struggling against the landlord and became a leader of the Peasants' Association. The peasants in the village will never forget the day he stood up in front of the landlord's house and called out to the gathering peasants: "Speak up, all you who have suffered at the hands of the landlord-despots. Our Peasants' Association will protect you!" Later when the land was distributed hired peasant Li Yu-pao and his family were given 20 mou.

The first mutual-aid team in the village was organised by Li in 1948. Only four families joined in at first. Li concentrated on agricultural technique and absorbed all the information he could get on technical improvements and how to raise yields. He made great efforts to teach whatever he learned to the others, particularly the women and those with less advanced technique in the team. The result was that while one mou's average yield was 80 catties of cotton in the past, the mutual-aid team averaged 180 catties for each mou. The number of families in the team increased. Some of those who had left the team rejoined. Now there are 32 families in the team.

The team, which also utilises its surplus labour to run a saw mill and recently purchased nine mule carts for transport, has nine modern ploughs and eight new water-wheels.

"Last year I went to Paoting and very much admired a tractor I saw in the exhibition there," Li Yu-pao said to us. "We hope to develop our team further. In the future we want to use tractors."

"Could we dream of such things before?" the village head added. "There is no comparison between today and the time before the land reform in 1948. Now we can think of tractors. Last year when the

government called on us to plant to more cotton, the peasants responded immediately. When harvest time came, they found they had a substantial sum of surplus cash."

There are 1,953 families in this village which has a population of 4,557 people with 13,456 *mou* of cultivated land. Before land reform landlords and rich peasants, who accounted for 15 per cent of the village population, owned 75 per cent of the cultivated land.

Land reform has raised the living standard of the majority of the former poor peasants and hired labourers in this village. They have since become middle peasants. On the average each person received three *mou* of land in the land reform. Every three families today owns a draught animal and the village last year purchased 130 animals and 74 new carts.

Land for the Landless

Tuan Fu-yo, another middle peasant in the village whom we met, had also been a hired labourer once. In 1943 he was so poor that he couldn't support his wife who left him and married another man who could support her. His son went off to study to become a Taoist priest. In 1948 Tuan got land in the land reform and married again. He traced the whereabouts of his son who came back to the village with him. His son soon married and had a child. They all live and work together.

Last year Tuan planted 12 *mou* to cotton and his yield was 2,000 catties of cotton. He paid 116 catties to the public grain tax which he told us himself he considered small. He purchased a mule for 1,100 catties and with another family put up the money to buy a cart. His share for the cart was 700 catties. Every four days or so his son and a member of the other family drive the cart to the county town 200 *li* away. The cart carries grain, cotton, wood and handicraft products from the village to the town and brings back farm implements, cigarettes, cloth and such like for the village. Tuan's son earns an average monthly profit of ¥400,000 in this way. And so, besides an additional 13 *mou* planted to grain, Tuan's family has enough money to buy food and new clothes.

As I was leaving his neat, quiet courtyard I noticed a Peking-made

plough there, which was far superior to the old style plough. Tuan said the price was reasonable, only 100 catties of cotton. The government made provisions for purchasers to pay for these ploughs over a three-year period in six instalments. In this way nearly every Paiyen villager could afford to buy one.

After last year's rich harvest, items for daily use which had never been seen in a peasant's home before began to pour into the village. Each family fitted out the window near the *kang* with glass. Cigarettes which had been few and far between began to replace cakes of tobacco. Every family has a thermos flask. In 1950 each person in the village purchased an average of 26 feet of machine-made cloth. At the lunar New Year every child in the village had two new sets of clothing. Before last year's harvest there were only six bicycles in the whole village. Now every four families has a bicycle.

Flashlights are phenomenally popular with the peasants of Paiyen Village. Every family has an average of two. As there is no electric light in the village yet, flashlights have become a popular form of lighting. Peasants present them as gifts to their parents and wives to light their way home from evening meetings, when formerly they had to make their way in the dark. It's even said that *yangko* dancers put flashlights in their lanterns instead of candles.

The head of the village co-operative likes to tell the story of how an old peasant stopped in one day and bought six flashlights. They were wrapped up for him, but the curious clerk asked, "Whatever will you do with six, Old Chao?" "Well," the old peasant replied, "an old man like myself gets one. My



The peasants eagerly discuss the merits of new agricultural implements which bring a promise of greater crop yields

Old Company (wife) gets another. My son and daughter-in-law will each have one."

"Well, that makes four," said the clerk. "Why buy six?"

"Ah," laughed Old Chao. "You're a stupid head! Don't you know my daughter-in-law's going to have twins!"

* * *

At dusk we started back. On the way we met teams of armed village militia. Muleteer Yang told me that all of them were local peasants and that they'd just returned from an Anti-U.S. Imperialism and Aid Korea meeting in the county town. Ordinarily they work in the fields, he explained, but once they take up arms, they become a military force to reckon with.

The local militia were driving home four ox carts. Two of them were piled high with an assortment of agricultural equipment. Two were filled with young white poplar saplings. The whole county last year planted 1,100,000 saplings to break the wind and keep down the sand of the North China plain.

The prosperous peasants of Paiyen are bringing green beauty into their village. The rolling fields and the freshly-watered saplings along the road were a testimony of the new happiness which had come into their lives.

THE IRON HEEL

Kung Chueh and Yuan Ching

The following is an excerpt from the novel Daughters and Sons, by Kung Chueh and Yuan Ching, to be published in English this month in the first issue of Chinese Literature, a Cultural Press publication.

This is the story of the bitter struggle waged by the best sons and daughters of China against the Japanese imperialists on the North China plains during the years 1937-45.

The two young authors themselves fought alongside these heroes and heroines for some time, sharing the life of the peasants, taking part in the land reform, fighting in the enemy rear. Their novel won the affection of the Chinese reading public immediately on its publication in the summer of 1949. The film based on the novel, called New Heroes and Heroines and produced by the Peking Film Studio, won an international prize for its director Shih Tung-shan at the 6th Film Festival, at Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia.

During the end of May 1942, the Japs launched an intensive campaign to 'mop-up' the Ba Lu (the Eighth Route Army) and all the people's military forces operating under its direction in Central Hopei. This time the Japs were too strong. They poured in from all sides, aiming at the destruction of major Ba Lu bases. The regular Communist Army shifted to other regions. Local Communist administrative and guerilla organisations were ordered to go underground.

Meetings of Party members were held everywhere on a county level. The Communists vowed that they would not waver or surrender, that they would stand with the people to the end. It was agreed that the period ahead would be the most difficult one, but that if they could see it through, victory was assured. Throughout the region, grim, solemn groups of men stood and pledged their faith.

The Jap sweep already was reaching towards the smaller villages. Groups of cadres were hastily formed to organise the preservation, concealment and protection of the people's forces. In one such group, Da-shwey, Shwang and Mey returned to district headquarters where they mobilised the people to hide useful articles and to keep secret the identity of the men and women going underground. Feverishly, the masses and the cadres make the necessary preparations.

The enemy drew nearer. Tunnels were ruled out because there was no place in the Bayang Lake section that you could dig very

deep without striking water. Concealed dug-outs were proposed, but no one had any confidence in them. At the last minute the cadres decided to wear the ordinary clothes of the poor peasants and mingle with the crowds which now were moving from one village to the next seeking a place of safety.

The number of the enemy increased. No one knew how many there were or where they were coming from, but transportation on the lakes, on the rivers, on the dykes—all were cut off by Jap patrols. People tried to hide in the wheat fields as the Japs, firing recklessly at anything that moved, surrounded the villages.

One afternoon, the Japs formed a dragnet nearly ten miles in circumference and marched towards its centre. The people dashed east only to meet infantry; a rush to the west brought them face to face with advancing cavalry—the Japs were everywhere. Women and children cried, village after village was put to the torch, and the sound of Jap guns became ever louder.

Da-shwey and the other cadres repressed their bitterness as they buried their pistols in the fields and marked the places with stones or clumps of earth. A few moments later, enemy cavalry squeezed the people in the wheat fields into a tight milling knot. Steel-helmeted, leather-booted Jap infantry, and green-uniformed puppet troops, with gleaming bayonets, herded the peasants on to the main road. The men were separated from the women, while machine gunners on

all sides crouched over their weapons.

An "interpreter" and another traitor in civilian clothes, walked up and down the line of prisoners, asking, "Who is Ba Lu? Who is a Communist? Point them out!"

No response.

"Who is a cadre? Who is a guerilla?"

Still no answer.

"We know this place is a nest of anti-Japanese," snapped a traitor in a white shirt, "and we're going to find them!"

Impatiently a Jap officer, with a puppet at his side, personally checked over the men prisoners, one by one. He looked at their hands, felt their leg muscles and pulled several peasants out of the line. Mey recognised some of them; others, she didn't know. Before long, Twur, the old Manchurian captain and Da-shwey were all dragged forward. Mey's heart began to pound.

Then the selection of women for "entertainment" started. When they reached Mey, one of the traitors said, "She's a beauty! Don't let her dirty face fool you. She's smeared it with black from a pot!" They pushed her to join the group of girls huddled together.

The sun was setting. The Japs picked out five of the seized men, including Twur and the old captain, tied their hands securely behind their backs and shoved them into the field. Traitors produced shovels and ordered the peasants to dig a pit. When they refused, they were

clubbed and beaten unmercifully until they complied.

The first victim dragged to the edge of the pit was only a boy, white as death, crying and struggling against his bonds.

The peasants sobbed aloud in helpless grief. "He's a youngster!" they pleaded. "Let him go!"

The Japs kicked him into the pit.

The next was the old captain, his lips a thin line as he stared contemptuously at the Japs. He walked calmly towards the pit. Just before he reached the edge, he whirled and kicked one of the Jap soldiers in the groin with all his might. The Jap dropped to the ground fainting with pain. Other enemy soldiers rushed the old captain, jabbed him with their bayonets, and threw him into the open grave.

Fuming, the Japs and traitors threw two more men into the pit, and then dragged forward Twur, the fifth and last. Kicking and struggling, he roared curses at the enemy.

"I—your grandmothers! You can't kill enough Chinese! Sooner or later you're going to die! . . ." They pushed him in with the others, but he continued to revile them. The people began to stir.

The traitors hastily ordered the peasants to start shoveling, but nobody moved. They grabbed the shovels themselves and smothered the cries of the victims with heaps of earth. Heedless of the people's tearful pleas, they stamped hard the horrid mound.

A bugle sounded. The Japs marched away with the remaining prisoners.

The moment they were out of sight, the people ripped open the mound with their bare hands. The first man uncovered was dead; the next—also dead . . . All five were purple with suffocation from head to foot.

Oh, the heart-rending crying and lamentation! Desperately, the people scooped dirt from mouths and nostrils with their fingers.

Tears running down his face, Shwang steadily pumped Twur's arms. Gradually he came to life.

Two others were revived, but the boy and the old captain couldn't be saved.

* * *

The prisoners were marched down the road, the men in the lead

and the women following. They were tied together in groups of six, with Jap soldiers and traitors between each group. The men's hands were bound behind them, they staggered under the weight of the knapsacks which the Japs had put on their backs. The straps of the bags, slung around the prisoners' necks, half throttled them.

Da-shwey, burdened with a couple of cartridge belts in addition to a big knapsack, could barely breathe for the pressure on his throat. He gradually managed to burrow his chin under the knapsack strap, work it into his mouth, and grip it with his teeth. As he plodded along, he thought of Twur and the old captain. His eyes were blinded with hot tears. He tried to turn his head to look back at Mey, but a heavy Jap boot kicked him forward.

Passing cavalry columns choked the prisoners with dust. The only way they could wipe away their dripping sweat and running noses was to lean forward and rub their faces against a raised knee.

Al! thought Da-shwey. They're sitting on our necks and can do anything they please. What kind of a mother's—world is this! Chairman Mao says that the anti-Jap war must go through three stages, and then we'll have victory. But how long do we have to suffer? The Japs are as many as grasshoppers. . . . I know we'll win in the end. . . . I'm only afraid I won't live to see it!

As they passed through a small village, they saw a group of naked women cowering under some willow trees. Fifty yards away, a Jap soldier stood on a mound holding a pair of trousers on the end of his rifle. He shouted something and

waved his hand. The women all ran towards him and scrambled for the trousers, which he held as high as he could, laughing uproariously.

In another village, there were more stripped women surrounded by a big circle of Japs. In the centre was a traitor, with a few sets of clothing hanging over his shoulder. He was holding a couple of chickens. They could hear his high-pitched voice shouting, "Whoever catches them, gets the clothes!" He flung the chickens from him and the Japs rocked with joy at the sight of the nude women stumbling and clutching in wild pursuit.

Mey, burning with humiliation, turned her head the other way. She could hear women screaming in the village in a way that made her flesh creep. I've got to get out of this, she thought, as a chill of panic ran through her bones. But how? Straining her wrists against her ropes, she was surprised to feel them give a little. She pulled and tugged until they were loose enough to slip off, but she kept her hands behind her back and showed no change of expression.

Night found them marching through the narrow winding street of a little village. The traitor guarding Mey's group had just turned the corner. The next group of prisoners had fallen behind, out of sight. Mey worked her hands free and dashed off the road into a public privy, where she crouched in a corner, temples throbbing.

She didn't stir for several hours after the procession of prisoners had gone by, for she could still hear the shouts and laughter of the Japs and the dull thud-thud of their boots. She was afraid that soldiers were billeted in the village, but she knew

The old woman shows Mey a way of escape from the invading Japanese

A still from the film New Heroes and Heroines



she couldn't hide in the privy indefinitely. Mey waited until things quieted down a little, then gathering her courage, she slipped back into the street. Hugging the wall and moving silently in the shadows, she left the village and lost herself in the dark open fields.

After a while, exhausted, she sat down and rested. She had no idea where she was in the pitch black night. Frightened and alone, Mey wept. She worried about Da-shwey and thought of the men buried alive. . . .

Mey wandered through the deserted fields all night and all the next day without eating. Pangs of hunger gnawed at her vitals. Late in the afternoon, she came to a village. After cautiously circling it and finding it completely quiet, she stole in. The main street was littered with empty cans, the bones of pigs and chickens. Plucked feathers stirred gracefully in the summer breeze. On all sides were burnt, collapsing houses. From some, wisps of smoke were still rising. An acrid, charred smell assailed the nostrils. Here and there small pools of blood could be seen, not quite dry. . . . Sickened, Mey hurried from the scene of carnage into a side lane. She knocked lightly on the door of the first whole house she came to.

A woman about 40 peered through a crack in the door, and seeing that it was only a lone girl, let her in. The woman offered a couple of corn muffins and some boiled water. Mey thought she had never tasted anything so good. While still munching avidly, Mey asked about the Japs.

The woman shook her head. "They came early this morning," she sighed, "and didn't leave 'til afternoon. It was horrible! They rounded us all up and said any family hiding a Ba Lu must give him up, or the whole family would lose their heads and their house would be burned. Ai! Ai! Three were killed right on the main street, and two heads were cut off not far from here! Then our neighbour's little boy—only two years old, and such a good child—a Jap

grabbed his feet and tore him in half to the neck! So much blood! I don't know what to do! There's no place to run to, but I'm scared to death to stay here!"

Hungry as she had been, Mey was too revolted to eat any more. The two women sat silent for a moment, sunk in misery. Then Mey forcibly shook off her black mood.

"We'll see it through," she comforted the other woman. "Once this stage is passed, things will take a turn for the better."

The woman immediately suspected her of being a cadre. She became panic-stricken. "This place isn't safe for you!" she cried. "Finish your muffins quickly and go!"

"But the enemy is everywhere," pleaded Mey. "Where can I go? As long as I'm here, you must at least let me spend the night! All of our work is for the people—people like you! If anybody comes, just say that I'm your niece from another village. I promise nothing will happen!"

The woman was moved, but she was badly frightened. She wavered on the edge of a decision.

"We fighters and the people are all one family," said Mey with tears in her eyes. "How can you let me fall into the enemy's cruel grasp?"

"Don't talk like that!" begged the woman putting her hands on Mey's shoulders in a motherly gesture. "I can't stand it! Of course you can stay here!" She said that her son was away from home, her daughter-in-law had returned to her own village, and that aside from her husband they were alone in the house.

Suddenly they heard the measured tramp of many feet and the sound of heavy wheels rolling over the cobblestones in the street. The woman ran out and bolted the compound gate. She returned pale and breathless.

"The Japs have come back!" she panted. "Into that room, quick!"

She shoved Mey into the next room, told her to lie down on the kang,* and covered her with a tattered old quilt. Moving with surprising speed on her small bound feet, she rushed out the room for a ladleful of dirty water, which she sloshed around the floor next to the kang, then flung handfuls of ashes into the puddles. She put a battered tea pot and a chipped bowl be-

sides Mey's pillow, and placed a pair of foul-smelling old shoes at the foot of the kang.

They could hear pounding on a neighbour's door and men's voices shouting and swearing. The husband, who had just been with the neighbour, had climbed the wall to come home when the noise started.

"They're making a house-to-house check!" he announced breathlessly as he entered the bedroom. Then he saw Mey and his mouth fell open in surprise. "What are you doing here?" When she didn't answer, he stamped his feet in despair. "Get out of here, quick! Do you want to bring calamity on our heads?" he hissed. "They'll burn and murder—don't you know that!"

Mey sat up, her eyes brimming with tears. Before she could reply, curses and the boom of heavy kicks against their compound door raised a terrific clamor. "Mother whore's —, who locked this door? Don't you want to live?" shouted a raucous voice.

The woman pushed her husband aside. Forcing Mey back down on the kang, she covered her with the old quilt from head to foot.

The pounding outside continued, followed by a splintering and a crash that meant the door was down. Eight Japs and traitors barged into the room, loudly accusing the couple of harbouring Ba Lu. Not daring to peek out of the quilt, Mey could hear furniture smashing. She trembled violently with fear that the husband would give her away. What are you shaking for? If you're going to die, then you'll die! Mey said fiercely to herself. Immediately she became icy calm.

"We're only farmers. What do we know about Ba Lu?" she could hear the husband protesting.

The Japs demanded money from him and beat him when he couldn't produce it. Then they moved towards the kang yelling "Ba Lu, Ba Lu!"

The woman feigned deafness. "I don't understand," she shouted. "What do you want?"

The Jap leader looked at the smelly shoes and the filth around the kang. "What's that?" he demanded, pointing at the ragged bundle that contained Mey.

"My niece," roared the woman. "She's sick. . . . Hasn't eaten any-

(Continued on page 39)

A kang is a large clay bed, the central object in many peasant homes. It is used for working purposes as well as sleeping. In winter the kang is heated by an oven beneath it and serves to warm the whole room.



The peoples continue to forge new links of friendship thwarting the warmongers' attempts to divide the nations. Never snapped even in the darkest moments of the last war, democratic cultural ties between the Chinese and Japanese peoples have today grown stronger even as Japanese reaction intensifies its oppression with the signing of the U.S.-dictated "peace" treaty.

In a typical letter from Japanese artists to the Chinese people on the 14th Anniversary of the anti-Japanese war, the Zhenshinza Drama Group wrote:

"We Japanese people want peace. Our Group is fighting on the cultural front for this. The pressure on us is heavy, but we're sure of victory; we are supported by the masses. In this work we rely on the co-operation of the Chinese artists to increase the cultural exchanges between China and Japan."

This co-operation among the modern cultural workers of the two countries has a firm foundation. It was laid some 30 years ago when famed Lu Hsun and Kuo Mo-jo, Cheng Fang-wu, now Vice-President of People's University in Peking, Hsia Yen, the playwright, and others went to study in Japan. They helped establish a more profound understanding than ever existed before between the popular art circles of China and Japan.

It was just at that time in the early 1920's that modern revolutionary literature first began to appear in Japan. This immediately aroused the avid attention of the Chinese intellectuals who were themselves searching for the revolutionary way forward both in art and politics against the reactionary regime in China. While the poet, Feng Nai-chao, the critic, Li Chu-li and several others continued to work in Japan in friendly contact with the Japanese Left-Wing Federation, Lu Hsun, Kuo Mo-jo and Hsia Yen were active in China introducing Japanese literature and especially its revolutionary literature to Chinese readers.

Sino-Japanese Cultural Ties

Lu Hsun played a major role in this work. In the 1930's he translated Plekhanov's *On Art* and Lunacharsky's *Art Policy* from the Japanese, also many works by Ishigawa Dakuboku and Kuriyaga Hakuson, the art theoreticians. He introduced Japanese woodcuts to Chinese artists and these, with the works of Kaethe Kollwitz and Soviet wood-engravings played an outstanding part in the development of the early modern Chinese woodcut. Kuo Mo-jo and Hsia Yen at that time translated a number of world classics and Marxist art treatises from the Japanese.

The strong ties thus formed weathered the hard years of the Japanese invasion of China. The writer Wataru Kaji was only one of those who then came to join the Chinese people in the fight against Japanese fascism and show them the real culture of the Japanese people. His *Three Brothers*, a play of how the peoples fight against war, was banned by the KMT but was a popular success. Through him China came to know of Takiji Kobayashi, the novelist and revolutionary martyr.

Interest in New China

Since V-J Day, Japanese progressive cultural workers have been working under the double threat of U.S.-Japanese reaction. Many journals have been banned; many artists hounded down by the police. But the cultural exchange between the two peoples has continued to develop. In battling this new oppression Japan's artists have a vital interest in the democratic art of New China. The Japanese Research Association on Chinese Literature and Art, the magazine *People's Literature* and the Japan-China Friendship Association are among the many organisations that are introducing New China's cultural achievements to the Japanese people.

Chairman Mao's works, including his speech at the 1942 Yenan literary discussion, have long been familiar to Japanese progressive intellectuals. His recently re-published *On Practice* has aroused new eager discussions on Chinese cultural and revolutionary theory

that have played no small part in the advance of Japanese artistic thought.

There is a keen interest too in creative literature. Many of the finest modern Chinese literary works have been translated into Japanese. Ting Ling's *The Sun Shines on the Sangkan River*, a land reform story; Chao Shu-li's *The Changes in Li's Village*, a story of the anti-Japanese guerillas; Tsao Ming's novel, *The Moving Force*, about Northeast reconstruction—are widely known in Japan. Modern Chinese poetry has also not been neglected. The young poet Li Chi's long poem *Wang Kwei and Li Hsiang-hsiang*, a story of love in the new society, and several works by Ai Ching have been rendered into Japanese.

The famous *Theatre* magazine has introduced the playwright Ku Pao-ju's play on the building of locomotive No. 305. Wang Hsueh-po's *yangko* play *Two Young Men* appeared in the first issue of the magazine *New Drama*. Kuo Mo-jo's historical tragedy *Chu Yuan*, Tsao Yu's *Sunrise*, describing the degeneracy of life under the KMT, and Lu Mei's *Song of the Red Flag*, about New China's textile workers, have had a warm welcome in stage circles. We have heard that Masao Shimada's description of New China's policy on the theatre inspired Japanese theatre workers to redouble their efforts to serve the masses of the people.

On their part, Chinese artists have taken a keen interest in cultural activities in Japan. In February this year Shanghai artists sent an open letter to their Japanese colleagues on the theme of Japanese rearmament and peace. It met a warm response. There is the vivid symbolism of reality in a letter that was lately published in *People's Literature* from the well-known writer Sunaho Tokunaga:

"It was just as I became aware of a secret agent following me, that I saw the letter from the Shanghai literary workers. It gave me courage. In defence of peace we Japanese and Chinese artists march together!"

CURRENT CHINA

Aug. 26—Sept. 10, 1951

V-J Day Anniversary

Sept. 3, the 6th anniversary of victory over the Japanese aggressors was celebrated throughout the country.

A joint declaration was issued for the occasion by the democratic parties and people's organisations. The statement recalled the heroic role of the Chinese people in defeating Japanese imperialism. Pointing out that Japanese militarism had been revived by the U.S. imperialists to further their aggressive designs in Asia, it called upon the Chinese people and all peace-lovers in the world to demand peace in Korea and oppose the U.S.-British draft peace treaty with Japan.

Regulations Promulgated

The Provisional Organisational Regulations of the People's Court of the People's Republic of China, the Provisional Organisational Regulations of the People's Procurator-General's Office of the Central People's Government, and the Organisations and Rules of the People's Procurator-General's Office of All Levels were adopted by the Central People's Government Council and made public by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on Sept. 4.

National Minorities Meet

Over 140 delegates from 11 nationalities' state-trading companies and private commercial organisations attended the All-China Nationalities Trading Conference from Aug. 17 to 31. The conference's chief purpose was to define trading policy in regions predominantly inhabited by the national minorities and make plans to increase the interflow of commodities in these areas.

Another national conference concerning sanitation work in national minority areas was held from Aug. 23 to 30. Concrete measures were worked out to fight epidemics and to improve the people's health.

Ending Illiteracy

In Port Arthur and Dairen seven out of every ten formerly illiterate people have learned to read and write in the past two years, states an Aug. 26 Hsinhua despatch. The rest will complete their literacy courses before the end of 1952. More than 51,000 graduates of the literacy classes have enrolled at various spare-time schools; and another 16,000 worker graduates are studying in special technical schools.

This year's campaign to wipe out illiteracy completely in the two cities includes the construction of another 180 schools, 1,700 classes and 300 libraries by the end of 1951.

Tangku Port Expansion

Tangku Harbour near Tientsin is being rebuilt to meet the needs of the nation's rapidly increasing trade. The harbour which at present can only handle 3,000-ton vessels will be able to accommodate 10,000-ton vessels even in winter. The project will be completed by the end of 1952.

Cotton Waste Reduced

Over the past seven months, Ho Chien-hsiu, a 17-year-old Tsingtao girl spinner has reduced the rate of cleaner wastes to only 0.25 per cent of the amount of yarn spun, one sixth of the average rate in Tsingtao. Her method means a qualitative improvement in the product, reduced costs and a rise in the workers' efficiency. The new method is being widely promoted in textile mills throughout China.

Stevedores Study

About 90,000 stevedores throughout the country are studying in spare-time schools and literacy classes. In Tientsin, 69 per cent of the stevedores have enrolled.

Korean Talks Suspended

Because of repeated U.S. violations of the Kaisung neutral zone agreement the Korean armistice negotiations—deadlocked on the question of fixing a military demarcation line—have been suspended since Aug. 23. (See page 28) Communications have been exchanged on new U.S. violations of the Kaisung neutral zone since Aug. 23. These included further air invasions, the dropping of a flare, the murder of more patrolmen and the bombing near Gen. Nam Il's residence. (For details see Supplement.)

Enemy Losses

Frontline despatches from Korea show that enemy losses during the month of August totalled more than 30,100 U.S. and satellite troops wiped out and 188 enemy planes brought down or damaged. The enemy's repeated "limited offensives" were repulsed.

Enemy aircraft losses from Oct. 25, 1950 to Aug. 25, 1951 included 1,070 U.S. and British planes brought down and another 412 damaged, according to incomplete figures contained in a Sept. 7 front-line despatch.

Aid Korea Campaign

Sept. 3 press figures on the progress of the donation campaign for heavy equipment to aid the volunteers in Korea and strengthen the nation's defence show that the Chinese people have pledged to contribute 2,452 planes, 254 artillery pieces and other heavy equipment.

U.S. Violations

U.S. imperialist aircraft and warships have recently stepped up their intrusions into Chinese territory.

On Aug. 23 a total of five planes flew over Northern Kiangsu, the Tsingtao area and the Jung-cheng area in Shantung Province. On the 25th two to four planes flew over the Chinghai, Tinghai and Hangchow areas of Chekiang Province and also the Shanghai area.

On Aug. 29, a U.S. plane dropped a bomb at Shihchutzechen, Kuantien County, Liaotung Province, Northeast China. Earlier the same day, another U.S. bomber flew over Yungtiencheng in the same county. On Aug. 30, a U.S. plane flew over Chi-an County, Liaotung Province, another over the northeast of Chaolien Island in Shantung Province and a third on three occasions over the northwest of Hwangcheng Island, Shantung Province. On Aug. 31, a U.S. plane on two occasions flew over the northeast of Chaolien Island, Shantung Province.

During the current month, on Sept. 1, a U.S. plane again flew over Chaolien Island. On the same day two U.S. bombers invaded Hsuehchia Island, Shantung Province. On Sept. 2, a U.S. plane again invaded Chaolien Island, and another flew over Chi-an County, Liaotung Province. On Sept. 3, a U.S. plane again invaded Chi-an County twice. Two other U.S. violations also occurred on the same day in Shantung Province.

Chefoo port on Aug. 29 was several times subjected to the search-lights of a U.S. warship off the coast. Other ports reported similar violations on Aug. 29 and 30.

Antonius Riberi Deported

Antonius Riberi, an imperialist element and so-called "Intefnuncio" (Papal Envoy) in Nanking, was deported on Sept. 4 by the Nanking Military Control Committee. He was guilty of carrying on subver-

sive activities against the people's government. (See page 30) Riberi's deportation was welcomed by Chinese Catholics and Protestants as a blow to U.S. imperialism.

Indian Note Welcomed

The Chinese press frontpaged the Indian Note of Aug. 23 to the U.S. Government, stating India's refusal to sign the U.S.-British draft peace treaty with Japan. The Peking *People's Daily* editorially welcomes the decision of the Indian and Burmese Governments to boycott the San Francisco conference and states that the action of the two countries, like that of the U.S.S.R. and China, proves that the age is past when imperialist governments can do whatever they please.

Students in Moscow

A group of Chinese students arrived in Moscow on Aug. 26 to undertake advanced studies in natural sciences, engineering, agriculture, medicine, education, law and communications. This is the first of several groups of selected government cadres and students who will receive the most advanced Soviet training in these fields.

Encyclopedia on Exhibit

110 volumes of the famous "Yung Lo" encyclopedia were exhibited in Peking from Aug. 13 to 31. Most of the 11,095 volumes of this encyclopedia with its 370,000,000 characters compiled some 540 years ago in the Ming Dynasty, were

pillaged from Peking by imperialist invaders in 1900. Eleven volumes of the encyclopedia taken from China by Czarist Russia were recently sent to China by the Lenin-grad Univ. Library of the U.S.S.R.

News Brevities

The National Days of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Sept. 2 and 9 respectively were celebrated in Peking. Congratulatory messages were sent to the leaders of the two states by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai.

Han Nien-lung, first Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, arrived in Karachi on Sept. 2.

A Chinese jurists' delegation of four led by President of the People's Supreme Court, Shen Chun-ju, attended the 5th Congress of the International Union of Democratic Jurists in Berlin from Sept. 5 to 10.

The Shanghai Military Control Committee on Aug. 27 requisitioned the "Race Course," formerly under the management of the British-owned Shanghai Race Club. British imperialist forces forcibly seized this area of 35 hectares in the centre of the city from Chinese peasants during their intervention against the Taiping Revolution about a century ago.

THE IRON HEEL

(Continued from page 36)

thing for days . . . just had some medicine!"

"Ba Lu!" insisted the Jap. He tried to flip open the covers with his bayonet, but Mey held them tight from the inside. A traitor stepped forward, ripped the quilt off with his hand, and threw it to one side.

"Put it back!" pleaded the woman. "She's just had medicine! She'll catch a chill!"

The traitor yanked the pillow from under Mey's head and flung it on the floor. Mey kept her wits, coughed weakly and closed her eyes as if half fainting.

"Be patient, poor child!" sobbed the woman, stroking the girl's fore-

head. "I'll boil some water for you to drink, soon!"

The Jap leader watched quizzically as the husband replaced the quilt, mumbling that his niece was very sick.

"Women's Association!" yelled the Jap, still probing.

"What's that you say?" asked the "deaf" woman. "You want rations? We haven't much food in the house but I'll look and see."

"Let's go!" said a traitor disgustedly. "It's not worth all this trouble. Besides it stinks in here!"

The raiding party left, jabbering angrily in Japanese. Quickly, the husband closed the door behind them.

"I thought we were all finished!" said the woman, sighing with relief.

Mey bounded from the kang and threw her arms around her. "I'll

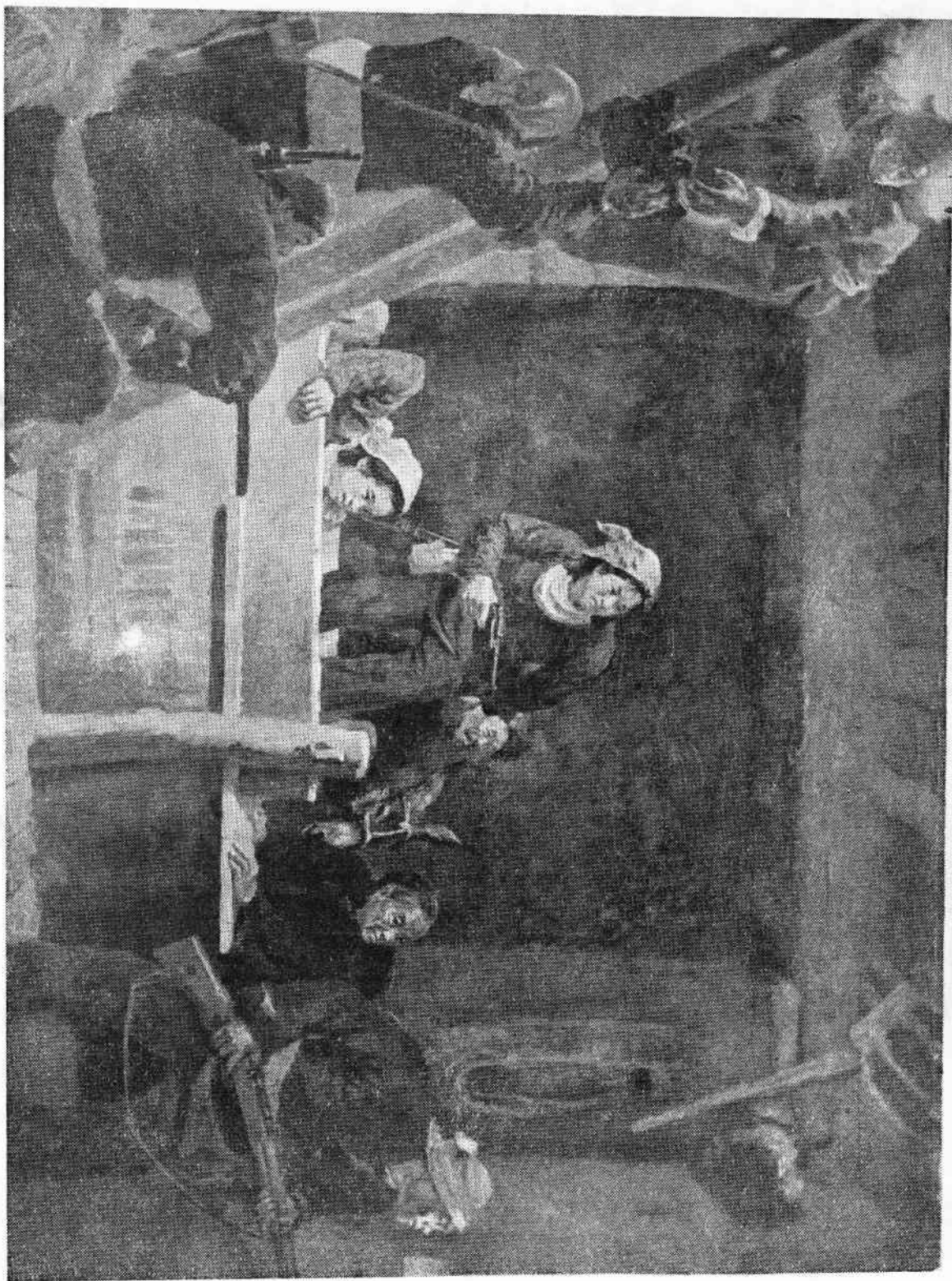
never forget this," she said gratefully. "You're my second mother!"

"I'm sorry I didn't understand the situation at first, comrade," apologised the husband. "I beg your pardon."

"Don't feel that way, uncle," said Mey fervently. "I caused you so much worry and danger. . . I beg your pardon! Things are too critical now, but when times get better, I want to come here often and thank you two properly!"

Mey planned only to spend the night, but the next morning they heard that the Japs still hadn't left the village. Nevertheless, she decided she had to risk it. After the husband had scouted out a fairly safe route, she escaped into the countryside while the Japs were gathered for their morning meal.

People's China



UNDERGROUND TUNNEL WARFARE—a form of warfare invented and practised by the people on the North China plain in their fight for liberation against the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang oppressors
Oil painting by Lo Kung-tzu